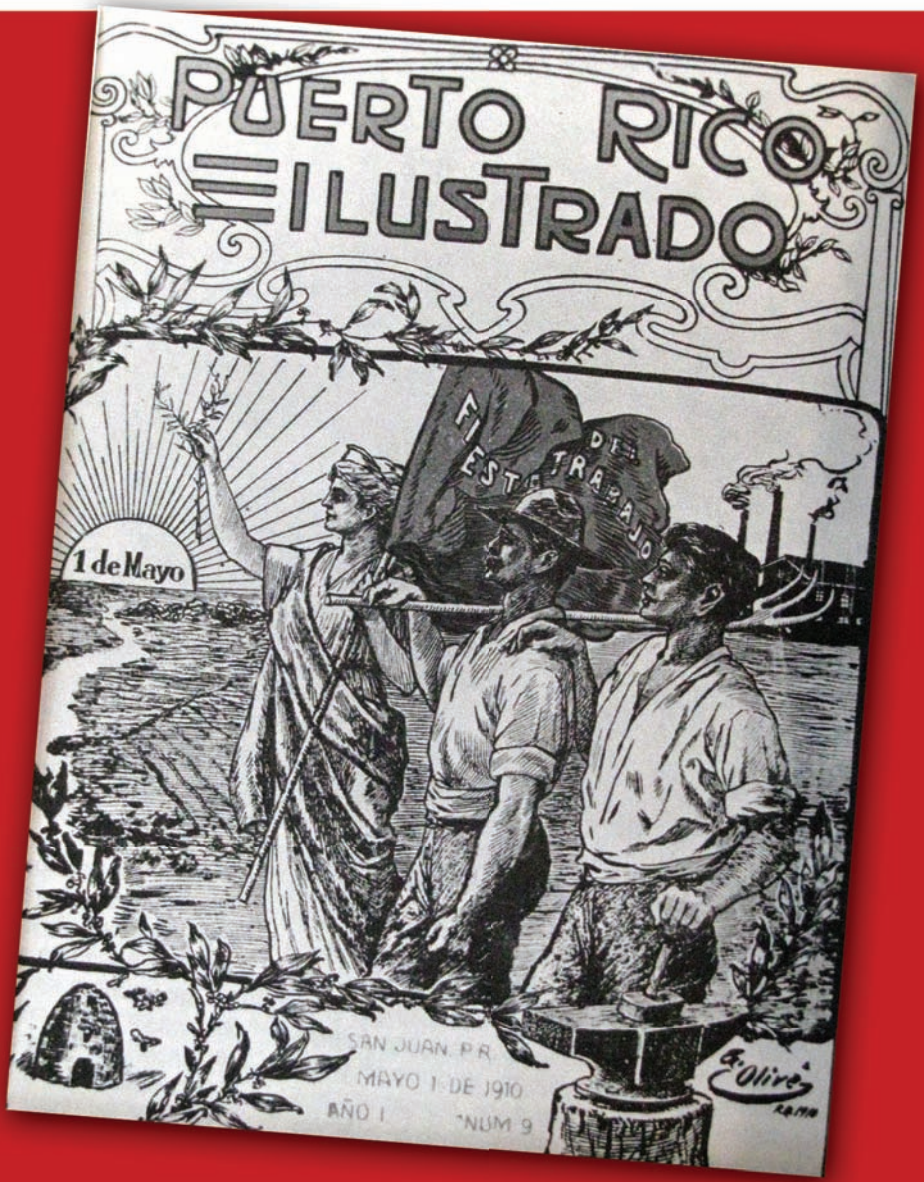
Black Flag BORICUAS

Anarchism, Antiauthoritarianism, and the Left in Puerto Rico, 1897-1921



Kirwin R. Shaffer

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To the history professors at the
University of Kansas who introduced
me to Latin America: Charley Stansifer,
Betsy Kuznesof, Tony Rosenthal, and the
late Robert Oppenheimer.

Afterward they will say of us that we didn't matter. But whether we matter depends on the scale by which they measure us. Doesn't the atom in all its mysteries reproduce the universe? We are made of the same clay as the rest of humanity. There is some bit of everything in all of us. The scenario may seem tiny. But what if it's a *life* we are talking about? There's no such thing as a tiny life!

—César Andreu Iglesias's *Los derrotados* (*The Vanquished*)

In that people [Puerto Ricans] there is such a quantity of resistance to all servitude that, as the great philosopher might well say to those who sought to dominate him: "Nothing and nobody can make me a slave because my freedom lies in myself."

—Belén de Sárraga's *El clericalismo en América a través de un continente* (Clericalism across the American continent)

Contents

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I have incorporated parts of several journal articles and a book chapter that have appeared over the past few years, including: "Contesting Internationalists: Transnational Anarchism, Anti-Imperialism, and US Expansion in the

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Abbreviations and Style Notes

ACP	American Communist Party
AFL	American Federation of Labor
ATC	American Tobacco Company
CMIU	Cigar Makers International Union (aka, the International)
CES	Centro de Estudios Sociales (Social Studies Center)
FLT	Federación Libre de Trabajadores (Free Federation of Workers)
FRT	Federación Regional de Trabajadores (Regional Federation of Workers)
IWW	Industrial Workers of the World (aka, the Wobblies)
POS	Partido Obrero Socialista (Socialist Labor Party in Puerto Rico)
PS	Partido Socialista (Socialist Party of Puerto Rico)
SLP	Socialist Labor Party

All translations from Spanish are the author's unless otherwise indicated. Throughout the book, *socialist* refers to someone with broadly socialistic ideas, while *Socialist* refers to a member of the Partido Socialista. I have tried to avoid the terms *America*, *American*, *North America*, and *North American* when talking about the United States. However, I have used the historical and contemporary *Americanization* when referring to efforts by the United States to make Puerto Rico more like the U.S. mainland.

Prologue

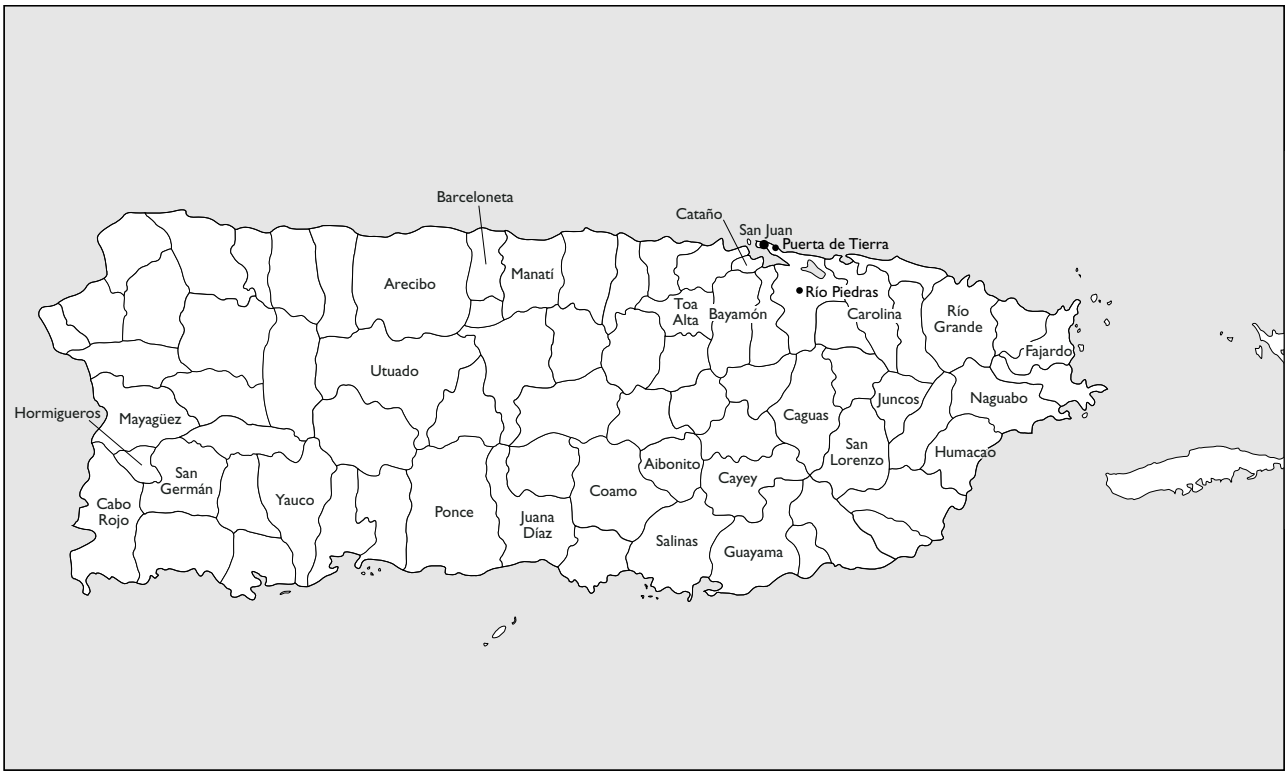
For days, tensions had been building in the small, east-central Puerto Rican city of Caguas. Tobacco workers across the island were on strike, and anarchists in Caguas were spearheading the efforts there. Juan Vilar was a teacher and organizer in the Caguas Centro de Estudios Sociales (CES)—a center founded by anarchists and other leftists to raise consciousness among the city's workers and offer alternative education to their children. CES membership had been growing, causing concern among local authorities. At a rally on Thursday evening, March 9, 1911, one speaker after another urged workers to hold on, condemning the U.S.-based tobacco monopoly for not acquiescing to strikers' demands.

But as the crowd dispersed from the rally, shots rang out. Within minutes, two members of the city's bourgeois establishment were dead—gunned down by a member of the CES who authorities claimed was part of an anarchist conspiracy. Over the coming year, anarchists and other leftists were rounded up, interrogated, tortured, and abused. In the end, the man who pulled the trigger was found guilty of first-degree murder. Juan Vilar—perhaps the most prominent and one of the internationally best-known anarchists in Puerto Rico—also faced numerous trials and retrials during this year. Yet, rather than try him for being an anarchist involved in the murders, Puerto Rican and U.S. authorities charged him with violating public morality. If these authorities could not jail him as an anarchist linked to the March violence, they would do so for publishing what they considered pornography—a story about a priest raping a child. Ultimately convicted, Vilar rotted in jail over the course of his one-year sentence, complicating his already-precarious health. On May Day 1915, Vilar died.

Juan Vilar's individual story in many ways captures the history of anarchism in Puerto Rico. The events of 1911 occurred near the middle of the twenty-four-year span in which anarchism played a role in the development of the island's political, cultural, and economic life. Vilar was a central figure among anarchists. In 1905 and 1906 he had published the island's first truly anarchist newspaper, *Voz Humana* (Human voice), helping to launch an intermittent wave of anarchist newspapers over the next fifteen years. Vilar had been a founding member of the Caguas CES, a teacher, and a link between anarchists and other progressive forces on the island like the freethinkers and the spiritists, all of whom praised alternative rationalist education and free speech while condemning Roman Catholicism. His role as an important political intermediary extended to his relations with other left-wing members of the leading union—the Federación Libre de Trabajadores (FLT, Free Federation of Workers)—and leftists who would become cultural and political leaders of the Partido Socialista (PS). As such, anarchists often worked in alliance with those whom they agreed on certain issues while staying true to their antipolitics, antireligion, anticapitalism, anti-imperialism, and anti-authoritarian calls for freedom and equality. Vilar's history and the events surrounding the Caguas affair of 1911 also reflect the joint Puerto Rican–U.S. government efforts to control and ultimately silence anarchists, a process that began with the antianarchist campaigns of repression in 1911 and continued relatively unchecked through the Red Scare into the early 1920s.

Finally, Juan Vilar reflects the transnational dimensions of Puerto Rican anarchism. From the beginning of U.S. control in 1898, Puerto Ricans began a slow, gradual history of circular migration between the island and the United States. Puerto Rican migrants began to leave the island for the U.S. mainland, often returning to Puerto Rico after a few months or years. Anarchists joined them in these circular routes. Puerto Rican anarchists could be found traveling a network from the island to the cigar factories in Tampa, New York, and Havana. In all three locations, they worked with anarchist groups, gave talks, and helped to publish anarchist newspapers. While Vilar was never one of these migrating anarchists who linked into anarchist groups up and down the Atlantic, he represents some of the earliest dimensions of transnational anarchism on the island. His columns to *¡Tierra!* (Land!)—the leading anarchist newspaper in the Caribbean Basin published in Havana from 1902 to 1915—were the first links between Puerto Rican and Cuban anarchists as both suffered under fresh waves of U.S. expansionism. Those columns brought the Puerto Rican context to a global anarchist consciousness. When those columns returned to Puerto Rico, they were distributed far and wide or read in cigar factories, CESs, and union halls.

In the end, Juan Vilar was one of a few hundred anarchists in Puerto Rico who struggled against what they saw as the new authoritarian reality of U.S. colonial rule, U.S. capitalist domination, questionable oversight of the island's labor movement by the U.S.-based American Federation of Labor (AFL), and continued Catholic cultural influence. Their rebellious spirit rejected those who would deny freedom, equality, and mutual aid to Puerto Ricans—whether these freedom-denying actions came from Puerto Rican officials or from Spanish and then U.S. colonial institutions. Thus, this anti-authoritarianism was equally anti-imperialist in tone and action. Meanwhile, anarchists proposed new avenues that Puerto Ricans could pursue to create an era of freedom and cooperation. While the state was never in danger of falling to anarchist revolution, Vilar and others influenced the labor and cultural politics of the island, perhaps more than their few numbers would initially lead one to suspect. As the future leader of the Puerto Rican Communist Party César Andreu Iglesias wrote years later about the nationalist and communist movements on the island, "whether we matter depends on the scale by which they measure us. . . . There's no such thing as a tiny life!" (*Los derrotados* [The vanished], 4). Andreu Iglesias could have easily said that same thing about Vilar and his anarchist comrades.



Sites of Anarchy in Puerto Rico.

Introduction

Cultural Politics and Transnational Anarchism in Puerto Rico

Today, in the latest manifestation of capitalist globalization, the traveler to the Caribbean more likely visits the islands to vacation than to work, more likely luxuriates in the bounty acquired from global capitalism than organizes to fight against global capitalism, more likely tries to forget the mindless bickering of politicians and religious pundits on the television each night than seeks to resist or even topple these rambling rubes. Yet, over a century ago, international anarchists made their way to the Caribbean during an earlier wave of capitalist globalization that swept the Atlantic world from the 1890s to 1920s. There migrants joined homegrown anarchists to fight against what they saw as the growing authoritarian, freedom-denying actions of international and national capitalists, religious zealots, and island politicians acting in concert with U.S. government officials.

In Puerto Rico, anarchists expressed their concerns and visions through their own brand of cultural politics. Some anarchists published collections of their poetry, complete with calls for revolutionary uprisings. Others published plays and short stories that highlighted class antagonisms, promoted worker revolts, and celebrated revolutionary violence to destroy the last vestiges of bourgeois society while planting the seeds for a new egalitarian future. Women—especially teenage girls—figured prominently in anarchist and leftist culture. Anarchist cultural politics included more than fiction. Anarchists also worked in educational realms to create schools and learning opportunities for both adults and children. Related to this was their consistent anticlericalism against one of the perceived central pillars of cultural authoritarianism in Puerto Rico dating to the days of Spanish rule: the Roman Catholic Church. Anarchists in Puerto Rico joined these educational experiments, anticlerical-

ism, and literary works with critiques of the island's political economy that was increasingly subservient to U.S. interests. As a result, anarchists forged a cultural politics directed against Puerto Rican and U.S. colonial rulers to promote an antiauthoritarian spirit and countercultural struggle over how the island was being run and the future directions that it should pursue.

While cultural politics reflected one way that anarchists engaged in debates over Puerto Rico–specific issues, many of these cultural debates were actually linked transnationally. For instance, when leftists in Puerto Rico staged plays, they were mostly written by leftists in Cuba, Spain, and the United States. When they engaged in anticlerical actions, they did so as part of a broader international movement of freethinkers that included globally famous activists such as the Spanish-born, Puerto Rican–raised Belén de Sárraga—a freethinking radical who spoke throughout the island in 1912. Thus, this book explores how cultural politics both reflected the island-specific reality that anarchists encountered, as well as the role that cultural politics played in larger transnational radical movements.

One cannot do transnational history without beginning from a solid understanding of local and national dimensions from which anarchists emerged as well as into which anarchists crossed and where they worked. Thus, the historian's interest in transnational history is still very reliant on country-specific approaches. Those approaches help us better understand the issues that fueled anarchist migration, newspaper distribution, and monetary flows. At the same time, the transborder dimensions of anarchism help us better understand how the global anarchist community and the anarchists who wrote for and traveled within that community impacted local and national expressions of anarchism. Ultimately, one can best understand local and national anarchist organizations by understanding their transnational infusions and vice versa.

In the 1890s, "revolutionary socialists," "libertarian socialists," and "anarchists" launched the labor movement in Puerto Rico and remained active in organized labor for decades. However, the island's anarchists did not limit their focus, energies, attentions, or presence merely to the island proper. Rather, as anarchists engaged in antiauthoritarian struggles against Puerto Rican elites, U.S. colonial officials, and labor rivals, they linked themselves to international anarchists in Havana, Tampa, and New York. To unlock these radicals' histories, I trace the movements of the island's anarchist men and women as they traveled around and beyond Puerto Rico, associating with anarchists in other locations and becoming in the process the flesh and blood of both Puerto Rican and transnational anarchism. These individual stories illustrate the importance of personal contact of these "militant go-

betweens" as their presence in different countries helped to put a face on the international struggle in different parts of the world generally and the Americas specifically.[1]

In Puerto Rico, anarchists mainly grew out of the tobacco industry. Caguas, Bayamón, and San Juan were anarchist centers largely because most of the leading anarchist writers and activists worked in the tobacco industry in these cities. But this tobacco-centered anarchism in Puerto Rico also facilitated the transnationalism of Puerto Rico–based activists who could circularly migrate between the island and other tobacco cities, especially Havana, Tampa, and New York. These cities allowed anarchist migrants a means to earn a living while away from the island and put them in touch with fellow tobacco workers, cigar rollers, and Spanish-speaking anarchists.

As a result, we see that anarchists—true to their internationalist orientations—stressed the importance of looking beyond the national boundaries of any given country. Meanwhile, their presence away from the island brought a Puerto Rican perspective to these other arenas. Workers and activists in New York, Tampa, and Havana gained a broader understanding of the issues facing their Puerto Rican comrades elsewhere, while at the same time these migrating anarchists were exposed to situations abroad that they could then relate to their Puerto Rican comrades upon return or through correspondence to the Puerto Rican press. Ultimately, the histories of these anarchist migrants from Puerto Rico helped to create an international consciousness in Cuba, the United States, and Puerto Rico, assuring readers of their works and audiences for their speeches that seemingly local problems were actually global in both scope and origin.

Recovering anarchists from their largely forgotten history on the island requires not just following a handful of radicals traveling around, to, and from Puerto Rico. Historically, a key source for reconstructing the history of anarchism around the world has been the anarchist press. For Puerto Rico, this becomes a challenge. Anarchists rarely published their own newspapers, and those that were published did not last more than a year. These few newspapers, however, are invaluable for understanding the anarchist attacks against their enemies and for anarchist visions of Puerto Rico's future. In the 1890s, the first two labor organizations—Federación Regional de Trabajadores (FRT, Regional Federation of Workers) and the FLT—published *Ensayo Obrero* (Labor experiment) and *El Porvenir Social* (The social future). While not explicitly anarchist, the papers reflected a late-nineteenth-century all-encompassing concept of "socialism" that included anarchist writers and analyses. A few years later, Juan Vilar published *Voz Humana* in Caguas from 1905 to 1906, and there were short-term newspapers in the succeeding years

in Caguas and Bayamón. Not until 1920 did anarchists again regularly publish another periodical, when the Bayamón-based *El Comunista* (The communist) became the most successful anarchist newspaper in the island's history and the most internationally read. As such it became a tool to link Puerto Ricans with anarchists mainly throughout the United States. It also serves as a major source for understanding the local issues and transnational networks of Puerto Rican anarchism during the radical early years of the Bolshevik Revolution, which the editors supported. Finally, the *El Comunista* group represents a new chapter in the historiography of the Puerto Rican Left. Until now, historians of the Left and labor have ignored this group and their radical agenda. The Bayamón anarchists were no obscure group, as they became a specific target of U.S. government repression in 1920 during the post–World War I Red Scare. That was also the period in which *El Comunista* began to appear in Spanish-speaking anarchist communities across the United States and money from around the United States arrived in Bayamón.

Yet, because of the brief runs of these newspapers, anarchists had to use other publications to express their criticisms and visions. Over the decades, anarchist writers regularly published in the union newspapers of the AFL-linked FLT, reflecting anarchist willingness to cooperate in broad alliances with the FLT even while criticizing the labor federation for its timidity and its links to the AFL. Some anarchists also published in newspapers linked to more moderate, often middle-class-oriented groups, such as the freethinkers. Such an association between anarchists and freethinkers—as well as followers of the "scientific religion" of spiritism, which some anarchists followed—was not uncommon in the Americas, and again it reflected the willingness of Puerto Rico's anarchists to work in cross-sectarian alliances when issues of concern overlapped with fellow progressives.

While they had their own limited press and used the publications of the FLT and the freethinkers, anarchists needed more consistent radical journalism to win the hearts of potential followers. To this end the island's anarchists had another media outlet: the international anarchist press—a key tool to unlock the transnational relations between Puerto Rican anarchists and their global brethren. In the late 1890s, they initially linked themselves to New York City's *El Despertar* (The awakening)—the first Spanish-language anarchist newspaper in the United States. In the coming decades, island-based anarchists submitted columns, monetary contributions for anarchist causes, and various communiques to anarchist publications mainly in Havana and New York.

Until 1915, the most important of these international newspapers was Havana's *¡Tierra!* Over a twelve-and-a-half-year span, anarchists in Puerto Rico sent columns and money to *¡Tierra!* and the paper was returned to the

island for sale and distribution. The Havana anarchists published 583 issues of *¡Tierra!* during this time. Of the 436 issues that have survived, 137 issues recorded monetary contributions from Puerto Rican anarchists. The first contact was in October 1903, but not until early 1905 was there consistent contact between anarchists on the two islands, with most letters, columns, and money coming from San Juan and Caguas, with much of that money coming from Juan Vilar and Pablo Vega Santos. In fact, Puerto Rican money arrived for 99 of the 194 issues of *¡Tierra!* published from 1905 to 1910. Over the years, this money came from small communities to the largest cities across the island, including Caguas, Ponce, San Juan, Guayama, Mayagüez, Juncos, Arecibo, San Lorenzo, Cabo Rojo, Cayey, Bayamón, Utuado, and Río Grande. The weekly contributions varied. In some issues, less than 1 percent of total reported income from a particular issue of *¡Tierra!* came from Puerto Rico. The largest percentage of the paper's income was reported on July 28, 1906, when 28 percent of the newspaper's income came from Puerto Rico. When weekly averages are examined, the Puerto Rican anarchist contribution to *¡Tierra!* represented an average of 6.5 percent of total weekly income for those issues reporting Puerto Rican monetary contributions.[2] However, with the closure of the Havana newspaper in early 1915, anarchists had to look elsewhere. In the early 1910s, Puerto Rican anarchists increasingly traveled to New York City, where they became involved with anarchist groups aligned with Spanish-born anarchist and publisher Pedro Esteve. These working relationships provided new transnational links between Puerto Rico and New York as the island's anarchists increasingly utilized the New York–based *Cultura Obrera* (Labor culture) and *Cultura Proletaria* (Proletarian culture) newspapers for their own agitation on the island.

When Puerto Rico–based anarchists read about issues abroad, they often became internationally involved by sending money to a newspaper in the United States or Cuba. The money sent abroad was used to support international anarchist campaigns to free political prisoners and support their families, to raise money for a newspaper's constant debt relief efforts, and to purchase subscriptions. Those newspapers from New York and Havana were then sent to Puerto Rico, where they were read aloud in cigar-rolling factories, sold or given away in cafés and restaurants frequented by the working class, made available for free in the libraries of the CESs, and passed out to interested workers. Just as migrant anarchists from the island helped to internationalize the movement wherever they went and to discuss international topics upon return to Puerto Rico, the international press functioned the same way. Puerto Rican columns helped readers in New York and Cuba understand their situations in larger transnational dimensions. At the same

time, readers of these newspapers in Puerto Rico read critiques of their own situation while coming to understand that they faced cultural, economic, and political struggles similar to those of their comrades abroad. As a result, for much of the early twentieth century, the Cuban and the New York anarchist press functioned as the Puerto Rican anarchist press. Thus, we cannot understand "Puerto Rican" anarchism by focusing only on the island. Rather, anarchists across the Caribbean and along the East Coast of the United States functioned in overlapping networks. As a result, anarchists in Puerto Rico did not operate in global isolation.

While anarchists in Puerto Rico operated in networks with anarchists elsewhere, it is important to consider the fact that anarchism in Puerto Rico occupied a unique trajectory in the history of anarchism in Latin America in two ways. First, Puerto Rico–based anarchists were colonial subjects of the United States. Throughout Latin America, anarchists emerged in countries that had been politically independent since the 1810s and 1820s. By 1898, Cuba and Puerto Rico were the only Spanish colonies left in the hemisphere. Cuba would become independent in 1902 but still suffer under various aspects of U.S. rule and coercion. In 1903, Panama became the newest independent country after seceding from Colombia, but the ten-mile-wide swath cut through the middle of the country for construction of the Panama Canal would be controlled by the United States, and the Republic of Panama became essentially a U.S. protectorate.

In their path-breaking edited volume on global anarchism, Steven Hirsch and Lucien van der Walt refer to Latin American anarchist movements operating in a "postcolonial" context as "ex-colonies that, despite independent polities, remain profoundly influenced by legacies of colonialism . . . [and] subject to a clear (but widely varying and contested) degree of indirect external control and of relative economic dependence within the world capitalist economy's division of labour. These external constraints condition, but do not determine, internal systems of domination by class, race, culture, and gender."[3] Yet, when one speaks of anarchism in postcolonial societies in Latin America, such a description only superficially fits the Caribbean and does not describe Puerto Rico. Cuba and Panama were U.S. neocolonial possessions. Their political, economic, legal, and trade institutions were quite determined by the United States and were not merely constraints, exemplified by the fact that both countries' constitutions authorized military intervention by the United States. Meanwhile, the Panama Canal Zone and Puerto Rico were wholly owned and controlled by the United States. In this sense, there was nothing "post" or "neo" about the colonial relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States. Rather, Boricua anarchists, unlike anarchists anywhere

else in Latin America (with the exception of the Canal Zone), operated in a colonial setting where legal, political, and educational systems were run or overseen by the U.S. government. Meanwhile, the island was increasingly taken over by U.S.-based big business, while the island's labor movement became a colonial offshoot of the U.S.-based AFL.

Second, throughout the hemisphere, anarchists constantly adopted global anarchist ideas and adapted them to fit national and subnational realities. For instance, anarchists in Cuba adapted anarchism to fit the reality of a large Afro-Cuban population. Peruvian anarchists did the same to fit the subnational reality of that country's large indigenous population, while anarchists in Brazil were challenged to adapt ideals to fit Afro-Brazilian populations as well as migrant workers from throughout Europe.[4] One finds no such adaptation to fit ethnic diversity in Puerto Rico. Rather, the island's anarchists were mostly homegrown and from a wide racial representation. Until 1898, anarchist influences arrived in Puerto Rico with Spanish migrant workers. However, large, consistent Spanish migration to the island ended with the war. In fact, the 1910 U.S. Census found that out of a total population of over 1.1 million people on the island, there were only 11,766 residents who were foreign born. While 56.3 percent of these were born in Spain, over 7,400 of the total foreign born arrived before 1901.[5] While Spanish laborers and anarchist activists continued to migrate in the early 1900s to anarchist outposts throughout the Caribbean, such as the Panama Canal Zone, Cuba, and southern Florida, they did not migrate to Puerto Rico. And, unlike the fresh waves of Spanish and Italian anarchists who reinforced the ranks of anarchists in Cuba, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and the United States, no such international reinforcement occurred in Puerto Rico.

Anarchist Histories

Studies of anarchist migration, anarchist activism in colonial settings, and anarchist cultural politics are central to emerging lines of inquiry into the history of global anarchism. These new histories not only employ an array of methodological approaches, including biography, counter culture, labor, and transnationalism; they also decenter the study of anarchism away from the historiographical focus on North America and Western Europe to describe and analyze anarchism throughout Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where capitalist exploitation and coercive state institutions were equally harsh if not more so. At the same time, these new approaches (especially those linked to transnationalism) shed light on the interconnectedness of anarchist organizations around the world.

It took a while to get this point, though. The history of anarchism from the 1880s to the 1930s once fell into two broad and often overlapping camps. Marxist historians portrayed anarchists as backward, millenarian, and out of touch.[6] At the same time, Marxist and non-Marxist scholars focused almost exclusively on anarchism in Western Europe and the United States. While a few studies from 1980 to 1990 addressed anarchism broadly in Latin America, these were rare and focused on just a handful of countries.[7] Periodically, new "global" histories emerged: George Woodcock (1962), Peter Marshall (1992), and Alex Butterworth (2010), but these focus overwhelmingly on the anarchist world of the North Atlantic. The best exception to this general rule is Michael Schmidt and Lucien van der Walt's *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (2009), which masterfully weaves the history of anarchism from around the globe into their analyses of anarchist strategies, tactics, and social themes from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.[8] Besides their narrow focus on the "West," the early historians tended to write their studies from one of three approaches: biographies of anarchists, labor studies that portrayed anarchists primarily as one dimension of a country's labor movement, and one-country studies that framed these radicals (who actually thought simultaneously in national, federative, and international terms) as actors operating almost exclusively within the confines of geopolitical borders.

The interest in "great" men and women cuts across most geographical areas of history, and the study of anarchism is no exception. Historians' biographical portraits of anarchists include the insightful studies by Paul Avrich of lesser-known activists in the United States and famous ones such as Sacco and Vanzetti, or biographies of famous anarchists Peter Kropotkin, Mikhail Bakunin, Errico Malatesta, Emma Goldman, and others.[9] While the biography can be seen as a traditional bourgeois approach that privileges the individual, such an approach nevertheless is appropriate for studying anarchists. After all, anarchism champions individual freedom within the context of a free society, and the renewed interest in biography (noted below) is important for helping researchers track the transnational migrations of these men and women. This biographical approach would eventually be adopted by historians exploring other parts of the world, especially Latin America, where from the 1970s to the early 1990s historians examined the individual lives and activism of anarchists, such as Rafael Barrett in Paraguay, Ricardo Flores Magón and Práxedis Guerrero in the United States and Mexico, Manuel González Prada in Peru, and Luisa Capetillo in Puerto Rico.[10]

While some biographies trace the lives of anarchists as they migrated around the world, the focus is as often as not on the role of these individuals

in labor movements of a particular country. This national focus soon characterizes histories of anarchism that center on how anarchists functioned within national political contexts and challenged (or were repressed) by local and national forces. Central to these one-country studies is the tendency to interpret anarchists primarily as part of a country's labor movement. Such studies focus largely on anarchism as a feature of national labor movement struggles, anarchist roles in strikes and boycotts, or as challengers to more reformist labor union groups and leaders—all within the nation-state context.[11]

These labor histories of anarchism derive largely from the turn toward social history that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s. Beginning in the 1980s, that social history focus spurred historians to examine new social dimensions of anarchism. Historians began to explore anarchists beyond the workplace and in other realms of the public as well as the private spheres. For example, historians write on anarchist women, anarcho-feminism, and larger ways in which anarchists dealt with gender issues. Martha Ackelsberg, Margaret Marsh, Maxine Molyneux, Dora Barrancos, and I illustrate how female anarchists in Spain, the United States, Argentina, and Cuba transcended traditional male-female social divides and played roles in the global anarchist movement as organizers, speakers, teachers, and fighters in armed struggle, while Richard Sonn explores anarchist rhetoric and action over birth control in France between the World Wars. These histories underscore that not all was rosy for these women who operated in male-dominated movements that—despite their egalitarian rhetoric—were often patriarchal.[12]

At the same time, building on Paul Avrich's earlier pioneering work on the Modern School movement in the United States and Ángel Cappelletti's study of Francisco Ferrer y Guardia in Spain, historians began to investigate anarchist educational initiatives in Argentina, Cuba, the Eastern Mediterranean, and elsewhere.[13] Historians explored how anarchists supplemented these educational venues with anarchist culture that included social gatherings, theater troupes, choirs, and bands. Anarchists published plays, short stories, and novels too. As a result, historians began turning to these often overlooked sources to explore the cultural work of anarchists as forms of consciousness-raising and popular education. "Labor" frequently was central to these cultural productions. For instance, in fiction and plays, workers and prostitutes were often the heroes. Also, in countries where cigar rolling was important, rollers elected a reader to read worker-selected books and newspapers that often included these cultural productions. These histories of anarchist culture are complemented by histories that explore anarchists and their relationships to art, highlighted especially by Allan Antliff's study of the influence of anarchism on modernism in the United States. Yet, an-

archist culture was not focused just on labor, women, or art. In fact, by the new millennium, historians began to look at how anarchists lived a form of prefigurative politics by developing—often in collaboration with other progressives—alternative lifestyles. Thus, Eduard Masjuan's seminal study of naturism and nudism in Spain lays the groundwork for other alternative lifestyle histories.[14]

Cultural studies illustrate how anarchists were more than just one aspect of the labor movement. That is not to say that labor histories are no longer important; they are. But the social and cultural approaches to anarchism illustrate how anarchists were not one-dimensional. Anarchists labored beyond the workplace, too. At picnics, social gatherings, and theaters, anarchists sought to politicize public spaces where people spent their free time. For instance, as Tom Goyens illustrates, German anarchists in New York City turned the beer halls into spaces for politicization outside the shop and factory. In fact, anarchists around the world engaged in a wide range of countercultural struggles against the dominant culture wherever they organized.[15] They worked to educate men, women, and children and in the process devoted considerable hours of the week and their own limited resources to agitate beyond the labor union by creating art and culture while addressing a wide range of issues that included lifestyle, education, and the roles of women in the movements.

These newer approaches to anarchism—whether they focused on labor, social, or cultural history—coincide with the growth in studies of anarchism in Asia, Africa, and Latin America.[16] Without doubt, the old Eurocentric focus on anarchism—though by no means dead—has increasingly been matched. In addition, social history approaches developed first in the Northern Hemisphere were being employed globally so that, by the 2010s, historians of anarchism had created an impressive body of scholarship that allowed one to compare histories of anarchists around the world in terms of labor politics, approaches to social issues of the day, and countercultural challenges to domestic forces via anarchist cultural productions.

Then the rest of the world rediscovered anarchists. In 1999, an alliance of counter-globalization activists—spearheaded by anarchists—brought turmoil to downtown Seattle and prevented the World Trade Organization from hosting its opening ceremonies. Perhaps for the first time in history, anarchists in action were beamed live and in reruns around the world. Even a movie was made about the event.[17] Anarchists were mobilizing across borders to challenge the newest wave of neoliberal, capitalist globalization. This transnational activism was almost simultaneously replicated in a new wave of histories about anarchism that employed transnational approaches. It is

important to note, though, that the transnational approach rarely completely replaced earlier biographical, labor, or cultural approaches nor completely supplanted a focus on the "national." Instead, transnational approaches have incorporated the best of these previous methods as the focus has been to look beyond national settings without ignoring national settings, and to look at national contexts as they were impacted and in turn impacted anarchists beyond political borders.

The blending of biographical and transnational approaches can be seen in studies by Benedict Anderson on José Rizal, Constance Bantman on Émile Pouget, and both Carl Levy and Davide Turcato on Errico Malatesta. Anderson's *Under Three Flags* uses the political life of the Philippines-based writer Rizal to illustrate the links between nationalism, anticolonialism, and anarchism as radicals in the late Spanish colonial world at the end of the nineteenth century traveled, wrote, and agitated for freedom. As Bantman puts it, well-known itinerant anarchists were "militant go-betweens" whose journeys between national movements and agitation in each locale helped to solidify anarchist transnational networks. For small and embryonic groups, the presence of important global figures in their midst helped to galvanize fund-raising campaigns, bring a certain international "legitimacy" to their local and national efforts, and resurrected old friendships from previous militant campaigns in other countries. In addition, anarchists migrated or people migrated and became anarchists in new national contexts. Frequently, these migrants maintained strong links with their countries of origin, organizing campaigns specifically to deal with issues not only in their adopted countries but also back home with former comrades. This is especially relevant among Italian anarchists and their best-known activist, Malatesta.[18]

Transnational approaches to previously studied countries and organizations have brought a better understanding to how anarchists in one country operated within larger regional and global contexts. For instance, Dongyoun Hwang, Arif Dirlik, and Kenyon Zimmer explore the transnational dimensions that facilitated organizing of Asian anarchists, whether in Asia itself or back and forth across the Pacific to California. Anthony Gorman's work on Italians in Egypt as well as Ilham Khuri-Makdisi's study of radicals and their transnational linkages between Beirut, Cairo, and Alexandria demonstrate how networks facilitated cultural sharing, financial exchanges, and migration between Italy and Egypt on the one hand and between Southern and Eastern Mediterranean cities on the other. Historians of anarchism in Latin America have been particularly active in adopting transnational and transregional studies. José Moya's history of European migration to Argentina and the consequences of mass migration on anarchist organizing opened the flood gates

to explore migration's role in network formation and transnational influences on national movements in Argentina, Brazil, and Cuba in particular.[19] At the same time, historians have illustrated how anarchists within Latin America reached beyond national boundaries to anarchists throughout the Americas to build networks that spanned the Caribbean Basin, the Andes, and the Río de la Plata region.[20]

The transnational turn has also incorporated cultural approaches. For instance, Khuri-Makdisi has shown how Mediterranean radicals shared anarchist plays and culture across the region. Likewise, I have explored thematic similarities of anarchist fiction and theater throughout the Caribbean. The importance of Francisco Ferrer y Guardia to anarchist education experiments, especially in the Americas, cannot be overstated. Of equal importance is the transnational impact of Ferrer y Guardia's death in 1909 that led to a surge in educational experiments in the Americas. Finally, anarchist fiction often was transnational in its production, distribution, and subject matter. For instance, while anarchists in particular countries published fiction in local presses and newspapers that never saw an international audience, the opposite was also true. Fiction from throughout Europe and the Americas was distributed to anarchist libraries worldwide, published in serial form in anarchist newspapers globally, and was available by mail order. The best examples of anarchist cultural transnationalism were the two series of short novels (La Novela Ideal and La Novela Libre) published in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s. More than 650 novels were distributed throughout the Spanish-speaking world, and the anarchist Adrián del Valle—a quintessential transnationalist born in Spain, exiled to London, and bouncing back and forth between Havana and New York City—published the first story in each series while living in Havana.[21]

The transnational lens with a particular focus on groups outside the United States and Europe also has spawned interest in how anarchists challenged another transnational entity: U.S. and European imperialism. While anarchists were adept at fighting the unholy trinity of church-state-capital, many anarchists around the world struggled against a fourth foe: colonialism in various guises. Besides Anderson's *Under Three Flags*, Hirsch and van der Walt's edited collection, *Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870–1940*, focused centrally on this issue that seems to be absent from anarchist discourse in the Global North, at least judging by silence on the subject in histories of northern anarchism. The volume showcases how anarchists in Asia and Africa rejected colonial rule while anarchists in Latin America—operating primarily in independent countries with the exception of Puerto Rico and the Panama Canal Zone—fought against postcolonial situations. While anarchists in one country challenged these imperialist forces and

linked themselves to anarchists around the world, one transnational organization did both: the Wobblies (members of the Industrial Workers of the World, or IWW). The anarcho-syndicalist IWW has been largely studied within the confines of one country—Australia, Canada, Chile, or the United States. However, as Anton Rosenthal demonstrates, the IWW not only operated in countries around the world, but its Spanish-language newspapers were vital to organizing Wobblies across borders throughout the Americas.[22]

Civil war and revolution long have been conceived of within national frameworks. However, a transnational focus on anarchists in violent scenarios has opened new avenues of understanding about anarchist networks. As Gerald Poyo, Evan Daniel, Joan Casanovas Codina, and I have shown, the Cuban War for Independence (1895–98) involved anarchists in three countries: Spain, Cuba, and the United States. From there, anarchists funded, wrote in support of, or fought in the war to liberate Cuba from Spanish tyranny.[23] Anarchists also played roles in the Mexican Revolution. Radicals from around the Americas raised money and fought in the revolution, most joining Ricardo Flores Magón's Partido Liberal Mexicano based in the U.S. Southwest but crossing into and fighting in Mexico. Historians have analyzed the role of individual anarchists, their efforts to create an autonomous province in Baja California, and the treacherous peril of how some of this blended into a race war and fueled ethnic tensions along the U.S.-Mexico border.[24] In addition, anarchists joined in revolutionary struggles in Russia and China, and historians are beginning to reevaluate these historical episodes.[25]

All of this is not to say that transnationalism—or internationalism (I like to think of *internationalism* as the anarchist ideal and *transnationalism* as living that ideal in addition to the historian's methodological approach)—has completely replaced histories rooted in national contexts. In fact, transnational histories that do not contextualize national settings are unsatisfying. After all, the networks could not have existed without local and national groups and actors. When people traveled along these networks to work, live, publish, and agitate, they had to deal with national realities. When anarchist ideas traveled the global circuit, they had to be adapted to fit local and national contexts to appeal to potential followers and make the international message relevant. As a result, the national and the local retain a privileged place in anarchist studies. However, the influence of transnational approaches cannot be ignored. Just as we need to know the local and national contexts to understand how the networks operated, those same local and national contexts did not exist in isolation. They were constantly receiving and sending new migrants and new newspapers, and appealing to the international community for financial assistance. Thus, just as transnational networks are rooted in communities,

cities, and nation-states, so too are these local and national environments part of the larger world. The interactions between the various dimensions—individuals, cities, nations, regions, and transregions—are key to unlocking the history of anarchism.

Writing the History of Anarchism in Puerto Rico

Until the 1990s and early 2000s, anarchism in the Caribbean attracted little attention except in some brief, often ideologically driven accounts. Then, in a ten-year span, three books, two dissertations, and several articles emerged, exploring various dimensions of anarchism in Cuba.[26] However, the rest of the Caribbean Basin continued largely to be ignored, but this is not to say that anarchists and anarchist groups did not emerge elsewhere in the region. Research is beginning to show that there was a regional outbreak of anarchism that encompassed Cuba, South Florida, Puerto Rico, coastal Mexico, and Panama, as these locations were part of transnational networks that crisscrossed the Caribbean, linked to the U.S. East Coast, traversed the Atlantic to Spain, and even stretched along the Pacific Coast of South America to Peru and Chile.[27]

Little has been written on anarchism in Puerto Rico. In the 1970s and 1980s, Ángel Quintero Rivera launched pioneering work into the history of the Puerto Rican Left with his studies on the labor movement, the creation of the Partido Socialista (PS) and the electoral campaigns of the Socialists after 1915. Other studies built on this work, focusing on different aspects of Puerto Rican labor, such as the rebellious autonomy of the artisans, efforts to forge working-class consciousness, labor strikes, early relations between Puerto Rican and U.S. unions, the impact of Puerto Rican contract labor, and the roles of organized labor and the PS during the Depression of the 1930s. From the late 1980s to the end of the century, Gervasio García and A. G. Quintero Rivera, José Alberty Monroig, and Juan José Baldrich published insightful histories of labor resistance. Finally, one finds a handful of works, including that by Juan Ángel Silén, that provide a clear, broad overview of the island's labor history, while the work of Arturo Bird Carmona reveals the world of tobacco workers in one locale—Puerta de Tierra on the outskirts of San Juan. Nevertheless, in most of these works, anarchists were largely absent, mentioned only in passing as part of the various labor struggles and organizations or as early—but soon outdated—influences on Puerto Rican labor. In his work on Puerta de Tierra, Bird Carmona devotes perhaps the most pages on anarchism in these labor histories by exploring the influence of anarchists on tobacco workers. He focuses mainly on their work as

consciousness raisers within the labor movement. Yet, even in his account, anarchists disappear from the pages of leftist history as the PS is formed.[28] In addition, these works are Puerto Rico–specific; exploring the links between labor and radical politics on the island with other cities and countries is limited primarily to relations between the FLT and the AFL.

Into this mix, Rubén Dávila Santiago published a number of studies in the 1980s looking at labor culture and labor's intellectual foundations. These works on the rise of cultural institutions such as the CESs and working-class theater began to explore the workers' movement beyond the struggles for better wages and away from the workplace. Dávila Santiago's anthology of working-class theater brought attention to the writings and creative efforts of radicals, including Ramón Romero Rosa (whose 1899 play *Rebeldías* [Defiances] was written while he still considered himself a "revolutionary socialist") and two plays by the most well-known anarchist from the island, Luisa Capetillo. In 2005, Carmen Centeno Añeses built on Dávila Santiago's cultural studies by examining the works of several working-class writers, including Romero Rosa, Venancio Cruz, and Luisa Capetillo, from the first decade of the twentieth century.[29]

The occasional biography overlapped these trends in the historiography of the Puerto Rican Left. Three figures stand out: Santiago Iglesias Pantín (a former anarchist who became an AFL loyalist and then the first elected Socialist senator on the island in 1917), Romero Rosa (an early confidante of Iglesias who moved away from anarchist direct action to parliamentary socialism when he was elected to the island congress in 1904), and Capetillo. Certainly, for those who know anything about anarchism in Puerto Rico, Capetillo's name is probably the one that people most quickly recognize as the Red Emma Goldman of the Caribbean. Her work and biography have been the subject of more study than those of any single person in the island's labor and leftist histories—even Iglesias. As a result, ironically, while the study of anarchism on the island has been quite limited and sporadic, one of the most widely studied persons on the Puerto Rican Left—thanks largely to the pioneering efforts of Norma Valle Ferrer—was the itinerant anarchist Luisa Capetillo, who journeyed between Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the United States.[30]

The Black Flag of Boricua Antiauthoritarianism

The black flag of anarchism dates to at least the late 1800s, symbolizing, among other things, misery and poverty. Thus, to fly the flag was to express one's solidarity with those most abused by the state, by capital, and by religion. In addition, black is a noncolor, so the black flag contrasts with national

flags that are filled with color and symbols. In this sense, the black flag represents all poor and exploited peoples regardless of national and political borders. While anarchists by the beginning of the twenty-first century adopted the black flag almost uniformly, this was not always the case historically. Even though the black flag dates to the late nineteenth century, anarchists just as frequently—actually maybe more frequently—carried the red flag of socialism into strikes, rallies, and demonstrations in the early twentieth century. After all, anarchism is a form of socialism. In the early 1900s, anarchists often referred to themselves as "socialists"—revolutionary socialists, libertarian socialists, and more. Thus, in much of the world, including Puerto Rico, the red flag was used by various socialist groups, including anarchists. I've used the term *black flag* here as a way to distinguish the anarchists in Puerto Rico from their leftist friends and socialist rivals both before and after the creation of the PS in 1915. As the reader will see, anarchists frequently cooperated with Socialists in various political, economic, and cultural endeavors; however, they always distinguished themselves and remained a separate ideological strand of activists on the island. Thus, the black-flag symbolism reflects this distinction within the Puerto Rican Left.

Those familiar with Caribbean and especially Puerto Rican history will know that the island's pre-Columbian inhabitants referred to themselves as Boricuas—residents of the island they called Borinquen or Boriquén. The name has been resurrected over the past century by numerous peoples to express an ethnic identity of being from Puerto Rico or of Puerto Rican descent. Such sentiment is equally strong among Puerto Ricans on the island and in the mainland United States. Since 1898, the island has had a unique status in the hemisphere—neither independent, nor a U.S state, nor an officially recognized colony. Because the island has belonged to the United States since 1898, Puerto Rico's history has been shaped as much by political, cultural, and economic developments emanating from the United States as it has from the Caribbean or Latin America.

Yet, Boricua is a term with its own political baggage. It can take on a nationalistic, patriotic, and even jingoistic connotation linked to various attempts to found independence movements; or, it can be used more broadly to represent the history, culture, and people of Puerto Rico. The latter usage is particularly relevant to anarchism. Almost universally, anarchists condemned political nationalism and the efforts by states to own and control the definition of a people as well as the symbols and cultural icons of that people. One of the fathers of modern anarchism and a central influence in the Spanish-speaking anarchist world was Mikhail Bakunin. Bakunin rejected nationalism but supported "nationality." While Bakunin condemned the former as a

patriotic political scheme by some to control the many, he urged anarchists to embrace the latter—an identity forged over time by a collectivity sharing a sense of common experiences and desires for freedom and autonomy. Such a collectivity could exist beyond any specific geographical setting and beyond any particular political borders.[31]

In a colonial setting, nationality could be a valuable, decentralized way to unite people in opposition to imperial rule. In Puerto Rico, economic and cultural resistance appeared throughout centuries of Spanish rule and into the first decades of U.S. control. Juan Manuel García Passalacqua describes the "geocultural history of Puerto Rican national affirmation" in which the masses throughout Puerto Rico slowly developed self-consciousness by the 1700s rooted in opposing first Spanish military rule, then by buying and selling contraband as a way to challenge Spanish economic restrictions.[32] While the island's elites all too easily cooperated with colonial rulers in Madrid and then Washington, "[I]t is in the masses, given our culture of resistance, where the nation will reside."[33]

In other words, "Boricua" can be less about a project of political nationalism and more about a collective identity of resistance—in short, a distinct form of antiauthoritarianism rooted in the island people's collective nationality against colonialism. Boricuas forged a culture of resistance to colonial rule throughout Puerto Rico's history of subjugation. A quick Boricua antiauthoritarian timeline should give the reader a hint of this history. In 1511, the Taíno Indians rose against early Spanish colonists. Over the centuries, Spanish mercantile control over the island economy resulted in widespread contraband activities as mentioned above. In 1868, the Grito de Lares (the Proclamation of Lares) was the first major uprising against Spanish rule that called for independence. In 1873, African chattel slavery ended (despite a three-year obligatory service contract that followed). From the 1870s to 1898, islanders pressed for autonomy within the Spanish Empire, gaining it for elections in 1898 that were thwarted when the United States invaded and took control. By the 1890s, organized labor, led by anarchists and socialists, increasingly resisted the growing capitalist control and reorganization of the economy. Finally, as is the subject of this book, anarchists, some PS members, and other progressives resisted U.S. authorities, U.S. labor unions, local elites, and the Roman Catholic Church from the 1890s to 1920s in various efforts to shape an island truer to the masses' idea of "nation."

Anarchists fused this Boricua identity forged from resistance with international anarchism's antiauthoritarian ideals of a stateless, nonreligious, anticapitalist society. One had to be cautious, though, about how to interpret this idea of a Puerto Rican nation in an era where one colonial master (Spain)

had been replaced by another (the United States). As the historian of anarchism Daniel Guérin notes in a summary of Bakunin's thinking, "[I]t would be regrettable if the decolonized countries were to cast off the foreign yoke only to fall into indigenous political or religious servitude."[34] Thus, anarchists never jumped on the nationalist, Puerto Rican independence movement bandwagon. To do so would have been to fall into the "servitude" about which Bakunin warned. After all, anarchists had been burned before on this issue. In neighboring Cuba, anarchists supported the war for independence against Spain from 1895 to 1898, seeing it not as a nationalist war but an anticolonial war. Throwing off colonial shackles seemed like a legitimate anarchist endeavor to achieve collective freedom. Yet after 1898, Caribbean anarchists saw how Cuban independence had been hijacked by political and economic leaders in Cuba, the symbols of the war for independence had been co-opted by the state, and Cuban leaders had colluded with their U.S. allies. As a result, most anarchists in Puerto Rico wanted nothing to do with those pushing for independence from the United States. This was the danger of a Boricua concept rooted in patriotism and nationalism: one elite-run state replacing another that lacked any regard for the interests of the popular and laboring classes; all it could offer were hollow symbols and empty words that would mask a new kind of authoritarianism.

Thus, the name Boricua and the free choice that many Puerto Ricans make to call themselves this—a name rooted in precolonial (i.e., pre-Spanish and pre-U.S.) control—epitomizes a concept of freedom and independence that the term "Puerto Rican" lacks since "Puerto Rico" is after all a colonial name. Boricua anarchists waged an antiauthoritarian campaign against foreign and domestic exploitation and perceived injustices similar to what islanders had been doing since the Taíno uprising in 1511. Consequently, in this history of freedom-fighting anarchists on the island and abroad, it seems perfectly reasonable to use the terms Black Flag and Boricua. Plus, the alliteration works well.

Black Flag Boricuas

This book unfolds chronologically. Chapter 1 illustrates the status of organized labor and the Left in Puerto Rico in the final decades of Spanish rule. It focuses on the tradition of artisanal autonomy and resistance, the rise of artisan and worker-based centers to develop class consciousness, and the emergence of the island's first important labor organizations in the 1890s. Central to the story is the arrival of Santiago Iglesias Pantín, a carpenter from Spain who had worked with anarchist groups in Spain and Cuba before

fleeing from the latter in late 1896 as colonial authorities ramped up their repression against Cuban anarchists due to their support for the independence struggle. Upon arriving in San Juan, he joined forces with libertarian socialists to form the first two labor unions and the first two important left-wing newspapers from 1897 to 1899. Iglesias soon rose to lead these organizations, and after the U.S. occupation began in 1898, he traveled to the U.S. mainland to join forces first with Socialists and then the AFL.

Though Iglesias personally abandoned anarchism, neither anarchists nor anarchist ideas disappeared from the island. Chapter 2 illustrates that during the first decade of U.S. rule anarchists cautiously joined the AFL-linked Federación Libre de Trabajadores, assuming leadership roles in local unions, publishing in union newspapers, and printing anarchist newspapers through the union presses. From within the union, anarchists criticized the FLT's pro-Americanization project, the rise of republican political institutions and electoral politics on the island, and the union's occasional attempts to engage in elections. These critiques, sometimes published at home and sometimes published in the international anarchist press in Cuba that was then mailed back to Puerto Rico, often found anarchists on the margins of union politics. However, anarchists knew that since the FLT was the largest labor organization in Puerto Rico, they could not remain outside of the union and still hope to have any influence in leftist politics or among the working masses. So, they worked as best as they could with the reformers while continuing to put forth a more radical agenda achieved by direct action, not parliamentary politics.

The need to work with more conservative labor elements reflected the larger anarchist project of working in cross-sectarian alliances with nonanarchists who shared certain beliefs. Chapter 3 explores how some anarchists aligned themselves with the emerging freethinkers' movement centered in the southern city of Ponce to address educational issues on the island. The Puerto Rican Left had been founding CESs since the end of the nineteenth century. Such centers were refuges for workers to read radical newspapers, books, and pamphlets or to see performances of radical theater and hear talks. On occasion, these centers offered classes to adults and children. While the freethinkers were mostly middle-class professionals, they shared with anarchists a fervent belief in free expression and freedom of speech. In addition, both anarchists and freethinkers condemned what they saw as the influence of religion on society, especially in education. As a result both called for rationalist education modeled after the ideals and Modern Schools in Spain developed by Francisco Ferrer y Guardia. Although freethinkers never put up money for the schools, anarchists and their leftist allies in the FLT did,

founding schools in the years after Ferrer's execution in 1909, only to see them collapse due to both economic and political repression.

The anarchist-freethinker alliance also centered on their equally fervent hatred of the Catholic Church. Chapter 4 explores the links between anarchists and other progressive factions on the island as they attacked and condemned the church. However, one of these factions—the spiritists—caused a dilemma within anarchist ranks. While rejecting the Catholic Church, *espiritistas* believed in reincarnation and the teachings of Jesus, which they believed had been bastardized by the church. Most freethinkers and some anarchists could be counted in the spiritist movement; however, not all leftists were comfortable with this "scientific religion." Nevertheless, from 1909 to 1912, this alliance often worked together to challenge representatives of Catholic authoritarianism, culminating in the 1912 islandwide speaking tour of international freethinker Belén de Sárraga.

Chapters 5 and 6 examine more closely the relationships between anarchists and their sometime-allies, sometime-antagonists in the emerging PS in the 1910s. Around the world, anarchists were prolific creators of cultural productions, including novels, plays, poetry, and short stories. A handful of anarchists in Puerto Rico carried on this tradition. In particular, they focused on two overriding themes: gender and the role of violence or violent imagery in bringing forth a new era. Many leftists who joined the PS or took more mainstream approaches to the island's politics likewise followed anarchist-inspired interpretations of these themes. The focus on cultural productions illustrates that the left wing of the PS and the anarchists understood their reality and their visions for a future Puerto Rico in similar terms. These friendly relations between anarchists and PS members continued throughout much of the decade, especially as wave after wave of strike actions crippled the island from 1916 to 1918. However, by 1918, anarchists centered in the city of Bayamón took an increasingly hard line against all aspects of the PS, especially concerning the relevance of electoral politics for the future of Puerto Rican workers, the appropriate responses to militarism, and the new military draft for the Great War that some PS leaders such as the elected Socialist senator Santiago Iglesias supported.

Chapter 7 investigates these Bayamón anarchists in 1920 and early 1921. An anarchist cell had existed in the tobacco factory city since at least 1906, headed by Alfredo Negrín and others. Negrín and his comrades remained radicalized over the coming decade and a half, publishing newspapers, fighting off police attempts to storm the local FLT offices, traveling to Cuba to work with anarchists there, and, beginning in 1918, organizing Bayamón-based radical groups that found their inspiration in the Bolshevik Revolution.

In 1920, the Bayamón bloc founded the newspaper *El Comunista*. The paper became the longest-running, most financially successful anarchist newspaper in the island's history. The Bayamón bloc's newspaper stridently attacked U.S. militarism and interventionism in the Caribbean Basin, offered a qualified opposition to calls for Puerto Rican independence, and found growing distribution throughout and financial backing from Spanish-speaking anarchist groups in the United States. The distribution, support for the Bolsheviks, and fervent attacks on U.S. policies led the Wilson administration in Washington to target the Bayamón anarchists during the Red Scare. The resulting closure of the newspaper spelled the end to the most successful anarchist organization to emerge on the island.

The epilogue explores the legacy of anarchism in Puerto Rico. While anarchist agitation and organizing came to an end in the early 1920s, individual anarchists continued to write to anarchist publications in New York and Havana. Other anarchists were absorbed into the Socialist Party and then the Communist Party. Over the coming decades, anarchists were few and far between on the island, with the occasional anarchist group emerging for a short time. However, the global economic recession that began in 2008, coupled with efforts by the Puerto Rican government and the Universidad de Puerto Rico to impose new fees on university students in 2010, gave birth to new interest in anarchism on the island as anarchist groups took to the internet, the cafés, and the university grounds. They began working with other groups in cross-sectarian alliances, offering classes on anarchism, reviving anarchist theatre, and drawing attention to the ravages of joint state-corporate attempts to seize private lands. In short, these new Black Flag Boricuas were resurrecting in the present the very history of anarchist agitation and antiauthoritarianism developed a century earlier.

1. The Roots of Anarchism and Radical Labor Politics in Puerto Rico, 1870s–1899

Since February 1895, Spanish soldiers had been chasing independence fighters around Cuba. For the third time in thirty years, men and women of all colors rose up against Spanish colonial rule. But it was not just the Cuban-born who sided with those seeking a violent repeal of European imperialism. Anarchists born in Spain but living and working in the tobacco industry in Havana, New York, Key West, and Tampa joined the struggle, putting aside their skepticism about a nationalist revolt and deciding that the fight for collective freedom was what mattered most. Among those European-born radicals in late 1896 was the twenty-four-year-old carpenter and cabinet maker Santiago Iglesias Pantín. For eight years Iglesias had been working with Havana's anarchist community, and although he had never been arrested for his leftist activism or support for Cuban independence, he nevertheless grew fearful that the colonial noose was tightening. By December of that year, Spanish authorities were clamping down on anarchists. Those born in Cuba increasingly saw the insides of jail cells. Those born in Spain faced deportation to the Spanish penal colony on Fernando Poo off the West African coast and other isolated places. After witnessing one comrade after another fall into the clasp of Spanish authorities, Iglesias prepared to flee Cuba for England, where in the past European anarchists had gone into exile, including Pedro Esteve, Peter Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, and Adrián del Valle. However, before setting sail across the ocean, the ship first stopped in Puerto Rico, Spain's other Caribbean colony. Upon docking in San Juan, Iglesias slipped off the ship and into the city.

The Puerto Rican political atmosphere that Iglesias found in late 1896 and early 1897 could not have appeared more different from the Cuban. Not only

was there no organized armed uprising seeking independence, but neither was there a particularly well-organized labor movement or much more than a superficial anarchist community. In Cuba and Florida, anarchists were emerging as strong blocs within their respective labor movements before Cuban independence from Spain in 1898. However, the slow, limited development of Puerto Rican anarchism mirrored the slow, gradual rise of working-class consciousness and organized labor on this eastern Caribbean island, where there was very little worker interest in anarchism or in political independence. In fact, no significant labor movement had existed in Puerto Rico until the late 1890s. Nevertheless, several features characteristic of an embryonic anarchism had emerged as early as the 1870s, including the role of the *lector* (reader) in tobacco workshops as a means of radical consciousness-raising, the creation of mutual aid societies as well as recreational and study centers to foster cooperativism and education, and the artisan tradition of challenging authority to maintain autonomy. Santiago Iglesias, the longtime labor activist, would quickly find like-minded spirits in San Juan, where they tapped into these embryonic forms of worker resistance and solidarity.

The Origins of a Labor Left in Puerto Rico

The *lector* played a key educational role in the development of worker and artisan consciousness in the tobacco industries of Cuba and Florida.[1] In Puerto Rico, the *lector* was also instrumental in spreading leftist ideas among cigar rollers. In 1890, the first *lector* appeared at San Juan's Ultramarina factory. The rollers paid *lectores* to read for three hours each day.[2] The *lector* read what the workers chose, usually newspapers, novels, pamphlets, and short stories. In this way, workers heard liberal and radical critiques of society as expressed in those publications. Because tobacco and cigars were primarily export products, port systems arose that also facilitated imports. In late-nineteenth-century Puerto Rico, where few roads hampered intraisland travel and communication, the region served by a port had better relations with that port than it did with neighboring regions. As a result, communities could be better tied to international influences than with cross-island ones. Spanish-language newspapers arrived in these ports, especially San Juan. As newspapers emerged in local tobacco factories and on the cigar-rolling floors in towns and cities across Puerto Rico, gradually workers and artisans came to hear these radical ideas.[3]

While the reader's influence and thus the audience's reception to radical ideas is difficult to measure, other dynamics reinforced this educational practice to help develop a consciousness among Puerto Rico's artisans and

workers. For instance, mutual-aid societies, which can be seen as inherently conservative institutions, furthered this growth. Workers contributed a small part of their income to a pool in case of injury or death. There was little that was radical or controversial in the practice. Certainly, this was not a fund used for political agitation or rebellious activities. Yet, mutual-aid societies were actually significant small ventures in worker collective behavior. Creating a fund separate from their employers and the state, artisans and laborers sacrificed small amounts of money to support themselves and their families should there be an accident or death. In a sense, individuals contributed to a cooperative effort for their collective and personal benefit. The first mutual-aid society emerged in Puerto Rico in 1873 when Spanish authorities issued the first *libertad de asociación* (free-association decree). Immediately, San Juan artisans, led by the carpenter Santiago Andrades, created the Sociedad Amigos del Bien Público (Friends for the Public Good Society). In the coming years, more mutual-aid societies arose across the island and were often linked to the creation of new artisan centers.[4]

The centers provided fertile ground for an emerging labor consciousness or even a radical agenda. Beginning in 1872, and growing in number after the free-association decree, urban artisans created the island's first organizations dedicated to the laboring classes. These *casinos de artesanos* appeared to be little more than recreation centers for dancing, drinking, and mimicking habits of the island's elite. However, these centers played important roles in resistance and solidarity. In San Juan, Ponce, Mayagüez, and San Germán, members of the casinos held regular *veladas* (social gatherings) where politically liberal plays were staged and readings held. While entertaining, these events grew to become as two historians note "a vehicle for class self-affirmation."[5] Along these lines, perhaps the most important and long-lasting impact emerging from the centers was the rise of educational efforts targeting artisans. While members staged plays at *veladas*, artisans also developed theater groups to act out their growing understanding of exploitation and injustice. Plays, thus, became educational tools. In addition, the casinos developed night courses for members, taught music and drawing, and established libraries.[6]

By the 1890s, radical artisans expanded these educational efforts beyond the casinos to create CESs. In Cuba, anarchists considered CESs central to their educational goals. Labor radicals in Puerto Rico did too. While Cuban anarchists were embroiled in war by 1897, Puerto Rican radicals—facing no such conflagration on the island—used CESs to advance their goal of transforming artisan education from bettering oneself for a job to freeing oneself from those who enslaved them.[7] As leaders in the emerging labor movement

saw it, CESs would play a role in educating workers politically. Such political work radicalized workers to launch a wave of strikes in the 1890s, helped to push the Spanish government to grant Puerto Rico a level of autonomy within the Spanish empire in 1897, and mobilized workers to confront the island's changing political and economic structures with the emergence of U.S. control after 1898.[8]

The best-known CES opened in 1897. That year, labor radicals José Ferrer y Ferrer, Eduardo Conde, Santiago Iglesias Pantín, Eusebio Félix, Fernando Gómez Acosta, and Ramón Romero Rosa created the newspaper *Ensayo Obrero* in San Juan to agitate for workers' rights and benefits. These men were "socialists" in the most all-encompassing of late-nineteenth-century meanings. They freely moved back and forth within different strands of leftist thought, publishing articles and opinions from a wide range of socialist camps, especially anarchism. While launching the newspaper, these men also opened the CES called El Porvenir de Borinquen (the Future of Borinquen) in July 1897. Twice weekly, the CES held meetings to discuss anarchism, socialism, and various tactics and strategies of movements in history and around the world. At other times of the week, workers were free to read from the growing library of socialist and anarchist works, some of which were translated into Spanish by members themselves.[9] While El Porvenir de Borinquen was the most famous CES, it was certainly not alone. CESs stretched around the island with no fewer than thirty in existence by 1900. All important cities had at least one, with some cities hosting numerous centers. There were three in Cayey, four each in Ponce, Yauco, and Mayagüez, and six in San Juan.[10] However, the future anarchist enclave in the tobacco city of Caguas would not gain a CES for several more years.

As workers and artisans slowly organized, capitalist labor relations penetrated various sectors of the island workforce at different times. The 1849 *jornalero* (day-laborer) law required landless Puerto Ricans to register with the government, carry passbooks, and get jobs on farms. The number of agricultural wage laborers rose after the end of the three-year obligatory contract that former slaves were forced to observe when slavery ended in 1873. By the 1880s, a coffee boom began replacing sugar production and landless workers increasingly worked the highland coffee fields as rural proletarians. Consequently, even before the arrival of U.S. industrialized agriculture after 1898, Puerto Rico's workers were becoming proletarianized.[11]

Throughout the nineteenth century, cigar makers primarily created their products in small shops or sometimes at home. As the artisan tradition implies, they were responsible for the entire production of the cigar, from selecting the leaf and de-stemming it to rolling the cigar. The proletarianization

of the tobacco industry slowly emerged alongside that of sugar and coffee. However, cigar rolling remained a largely artisan activity until the island came under U.S. control. By the turn of the century, the American Tobacco Company (ATC, or the Trust) was expanding into tobacco-growing areas, especially Cuba and Puerto Rico. In the latter, the ATC dominated Puerto Rico's tobacco industry by the early 1900s. The ATC had expanded industrialized cigar production in the United States and now wanted to take advantage of an almost union-free workforce on the island to break up the artisan shops and create modern capitalistic enterprises. In doing so, master cigar makers increasingly found themselves only rolling the cigar while other workers did the preliminary tasks. The ATC added new steps into the labor process, expanding from just selectors, de-stemmers, and rollers to include new divisions of labor such as dryers, humidifiers, sorters, packers, and weighers. Small shops began to disappear as the ATC built new multistory factories. The total effect, as it had been in the United States, was to undermine artisanal control of the workplace, proletarianize all tobacco workers (especially cigar rollers), and spur the process of alienation.[12]

The alienation and incipient class consciousness resulting from this process helped to radicalize some workers to accept anarchist principles, which were combined with a longer Puerto Rican artisan tradition of *parejería*, which Ángel Quintero Rivera describes as "disrespect for hierarchy and pride of self"—a distinct quality that he locates specifically in the island's artisan labor force.[13] Such acts of resistance and self-preservation were nothing new in the global artisan world. Throughout Europe and North America, artisans had long fought to preserve their autonomy and secure their livelihoods. As did their comrades in Cuba and elsewhere, anarchist-influenced Puerto Rican activists and workers blended the ideas of international anarchism with the local tradition of *parejería*. In doing so, they came to understand their island condition within a larger global political and capitalist context, thus developing "a very strong sense of internationalism, which they incorporated into their struggles and their traditions" by the 1890s.[14]

The growing division of labor, combined with the rise of large production centers employing over one hundred workers each by 1910, resulted in a 197 percent increase in tobacco workers between 1899 and 1909, while the overall workforce on the island rose only 24.5 percent during this time. As a result, cigar production soared, as did ATC control over the tobacco industry. In fact, by 1909, 79 percent of the island's tobacco value was controlled by the ATC. Thus, changes in the labor process that began in the 1880s and 1890s revved up in the first decade of U.S. rule and capital investment. As cigar rollers lost their autonomy and became proletarianized, they changed their

interests to be more sympathetic to the plight of rank-and-file wage laborers. Some brought anarchist ideas and critiques of the United States and the Trust to fellow workers. As a result, socialistic doctrines merged with the historic *parejería* to critique and challenge U.S. political and economic domination of Puerto Rico.[15]

While anarchist ideas existed on the island in the 1890s and would be espoused by activists in the coming decades, anarchism was only one of several socialistic tendencies among the island's workers. But anarchism would play an important historical role. As Rubén Dávila Santiago concludes, "libertarian socialism [i.e., anarchism] in our country offered theoretical bases to a series of developing principles in the forging of the working class and that oriented the worker point of view."[16] In the end, it is impossible to know exactly when anarchism arrived on the island. Undoubtedly, some Spanish migrants as well as Spanish newspapers brought these ideas to Puerto Rico, but there was no formal anarchist organization or press. It was not until the mid-1890s that "libertarian socialists" began organizing, just as the Cuban war for independence erupted. Out of that conflict would emerge a key person in the early years of Puerto Rican labor radicalism: Santiago Iglesias Pantín.

Santiago Iglesias Pantín

For anarchists in Puerto Rico, Iglesias could be a confusing, vexing man. Over the decades following the end of Spanish rule, Puerto Rico's anarchists developed a love-hate (though eventually mostly "hate") relationship with the man who would lead the most important labor movement on the island. Born in La Coruña, Spain, in 1872, Iglesias came of age in a politically charged era in that country. As he put it decades later: "Born and raised in an environment sympathetic to the social, economic, and politically progressive revolutionary movements . . . I received in my adolescence the first influences of that modern, philosophically revolutionary libertarian spirit of the workshop. I was converting and directing my thoughts, though still very young, toward becoming an incipient and enthusiastic militant of the great tragedies and human struggles for the emancipation and justice advocated by workers."[17] By the age of fourteen, he was apprenticing as a cabinetmaker and carpenter while visiting local workers centers. There, he read revolutionary works by Francisco Pi y Margall, Élisée Reclus, and other radicals. He also claimed that he began to see the United States as "the greatest example of freedom, democracy, and justice" in the world. While Iglesias would claim in his retrospective *Luchas emancipadoras* (Emancipating struggles) that he did not

understand much of the radical literature that he read as a boy of fourteen, he did not say that he misunderstood the United States.[18]

The same year of his teenage "radicalization" and growing fondness for America, Iglesias boarded a ship bound for Havana. A case of yellow fever in Havana forced him to return home, where he continued to read about and make sense of the growing internecine struggles between anarchists and Marxists within the Spanish Left. In 1888, the now sixteen-year-old Iglesias returned to Cuba, where he lived and worked until late 1896—nearly two years after the outbreak of the Cuban War for Independence. In the 1880s, radical elements among Cuba's workers and artisans took advantage of that island's free-association decree and began developing labor organizations out of the workers and artisans centers in Havana. From these emerged the island's first large labor organization—the Círculo de Trabajadores (Workers Circle), founded in 1885. Enrique Roig San Martín and Enrique Creci were among the anarchists who began to dominate the organization. They used the Círculo to lead strikes between 1887 and 1890, including the most successful strikes that tobacco workers had ever staged. Successful labor actions led to the rise of more unions and strikes. In 1892, the Círculo and other labor organizations held a labor congress. Besides debating economic issues, the congress passed a resolution calling for the overthrow of Spanish rule on the island before a true social revolution could emerge. With that, the island's anarchists were squarely (if not unanimously) on the side of Cuban independence. Spanish authorities were not impressed, suspending the Círculo for nearly a year beginning in May 1892 and heavily censoring the movement's newspaper *El Productor* (The producer). Despite these governmental measures, anarchists in Cuba and Florida actively worked for independence over the next several years.[19]

This was the volatile atmosphere into which Iglesias returned to Cuba in 1888. For a short time he worked on a pair of ships trolling along the island's coast. Then he gained employment in various factories and carpenter workshops in Havana. In the capital city, Iglesias engaged in Círculo-sponsored activities. He organized meetings and assemblies as well as sold workers newspapers, especially *El Productor*. During one strike, he lost his carpenter job, and became a *lector* in various tobacco factories.[20] Most importantly, though, were his interrelated roles with the Círculo leadership and the Cuban independence forces. Until José Martí's 1895 call to arms against Spanish rule, Iglesias served as the Círculo's secretary, promoting anarchist support for Cuban liberation. As war enveloped the island and anarchist-initiated violence emerged in Havana, Spanish authorities began arresting and deporting

radicals. By December 1896, Iglesias's residence had been raided, his books and documents confiscated, and an arrest warrant issued. Fearing that his arrest was imminent, Iglesias boarded a ship bound for London. The ship, though, first stopped at San Juan, where Iglesias jumped off and began to create a new life for himself beginning in 1897.[21]

What is one to make of Iglesias? While he recalls in his autobiography how he had worked with the anarchists in Spain and Cuba, his name does not appear in the leading anarchist publications from the motherland or the colony. While he might have written under a nom de plume, he never mentions this in his published personal accounts. Nor does his name appear in the published records of monetary contributors to Havana's *El Productor*, Tampa's *El Esclavo* (The slave), or New York's *El Despertar*—the leading anarchist newspapers linked to the Cuban movement in the 1890s. Maybe Iglesias operated as a functionary for the cause rather than an ideologue, with the result that he was working organizationally rather than publishing his ideas. Or, maybe he was simply never an anarchist or at least his anarchism did not run deep. In fact, judging by his later years discussed below, he seems to have been devoid of much ideological baggage. Rather, perhaps it is best to describe him as a realist in the sense that he joined with the leading labor forces wherever he was. In Spain and Cuba during the 1880s and 1890s, it would have been perfectly reasonable to align with the anarchists who dominated labor politics. However, in Puerto Rico, he would very quickly abandon—even condemn—anarchism once he aligned with the U.S. Socialist Labor Party and then the AFL. After all, the AFL was quickly becoming the dominant force in U.S. labor politics, and being the realist that he was, Iglesias would waste little time aligning with the AFL even while retaining a broad reform and parliamentary socialist perspective.

Puerto Rican Labor Radicalism in the Autonomous Era, 1897–1898

Santiago Iglesias arrived in San Juan in his twenties, a veteran of the Cuban independence war and anarchist agitation in Cuba after growing up in Spain during a volatile period of socialist and anarchist activism. One would have expected Iglesias to continue this radical leftist streak that emerged from the Cuban Círculo's appeal for political independence and social revolution. However, the Puerto Rico of 1897 was a much different place from the radicalized and violent world of Cuba. While collective labor actions were emerging in Puerto Rico in the 1890s, these actions were limited mainly to small groups of urban artisans. There were few strikes, but there existed an

embryonic pro-anarchist sentiment in the small labor press. For instance, the 1892 newspaper *El Eco Proletario: Semanario consagrado a la defensa de la clase obrera* (The proletarian echo: Weekly dedicated to the defense of the working class) advocated union efforts but opposed a union's strongest tactic—the strike—arguing that working-class intellectuals had to raise consciousness via workers centers and other means. As one writer put it, "The triumph of security and stability will be acquired by persuasion, not force."[22] While opposing the strike, the paper also urged workers to be cautious about anarchism. This was not a dismissal rooted in an attack against anarchist ideology or analysis. Rather, anarchism "today is a formula that is premature for resolving the *great problem* of our agitated times."[23] When taken together, the two statements suggest that Puerto Rican workers still needed to be moved intellectually before an anarchist approach would be viable for addressing the island's needs.

By 1897, anarchist ideas could be seen throughout the island's growing labor movement in the development of a CES and the newspaper *Ensayo Obrero*, edited by the printers Ramón Romero Rosa and José Ferrer y Ferrer with the carpenter Fernando Gómez Acosta.[24] These three formed part of the nucleus of the Puerto Rican Left for much of the next decade. While all three would eventually move toward socialist electoral politics, *Ensayo Obrero* and its successor from 1898–99, *El Porvenir Social*, were often anarchist—or at least broadly "socialistic"—in tone. The weekly *Ensayo Obrero* proclaimed the anarchist slogan "No Fatherland but the Workshop, No Religion but Work" on its masthead and printed liberal, socialist, and anarchist writings.[25] The writings and ideas of Mikhail Bakunin spread among these organizers. In fact, Bakunin's *Federalism and Socialism* had been published in San Juan in 1890.[26]

Puerto Rican authorities quickly caught wind of *Ensayo Obrero* and its publishing group, especially as articles appeared that called for creation of a labor federation, promoted international solidarity with other movements, and discussed international socialism. In mid-1897, the publishing group made socialist and anarchist books and newspapers available to Puerto Rican workers through their CES. By early 1898, Esteban Rivera and Gabino Moczo proposed a new CES where people could read a wide variety of materials and where *Ensayo Obrero* could be edited.[27] Despite these seemingly innocuous activities, the government stepped up its repression of *Ensayo Obrero* in early 1898. The paper was fined at different times for not submitting copies to the government in advance for approval and for attacking the Catholic Church. In addition, Iglesias and Ferrer y Ferrer served jail time on numerous occasions.[28]

One thing that the newspaper avoided discussing, though, was the war for independence in neighboring Cuba. As colonial authorities encountered the rise of a new labor activism, workers (and the whole island) were also attempting to figure out Puerto Rico's immediate future. The *Ensayo Obrero* activists neither advocated nor publicly discussed picking up arms to fight for independence. While Spain became embroiled in war in Cuba after rebels on the island rose up in February 1895, the Spanish government allowed Puerto Rico to become an autonomous province within Spain beginning in February 1898—just days before the USS *Maine* exploded in Havana Harbor, ramping up U.S. war fever against Spain. The leading political force in Puerto Rico was the Autonomist Party that had been melded together between two rival autonomist factions led by José C. Barbosa and Luis Muñoz Rivera. However, these two camps quickly grew apart after the onset of autonomy, delaying scheduled parliamentary elections for the island until late March 1898.

While their radical comrades in Cuba were fighting Spain, Ferrer y Ferrer, Romero Rosa, and Iglesias moved much more cautiously. In general, they supported democratic elections. This may seem like an odd position for those sympathetic to anarchism or revolutionary socialism, which after all rejected all governments. But it is perhaps understandable as well, since elections were a far better political option than the repressive monarchy with no popular representation under which they had lived most of their lives. As a result, *Ensayo Obrero* supported the autonomist cause: "We are organizing an army that will always be the defender of moral and material progress for Puerto Rico. It will always be on the side of those honorable men of consequence who serve in the advanced local party, which is the autonomist party."[29] The newspaper seemed to be following a line similar to that espoused by anarchists in Cuba who supported independence from Spain. On the surface, the choice between independence and autonomy appears quite different. Yet, both options encouraged workers to support decentralized rule that either severed the colonial link (as was being attempted in Cuba) or all-but severed that link while granting more local control (as was the option available for Puerto Ricans). While the former resorted to armed violence to break from Spanish colonial rule, the latter accepted the slower, more peaceful autonomist approach. But this still left the labor group in a quandary as to which autonomist candidate to support. The editors argued that in an ideal environment, workers would vote for candidates that they themselves had selected and who truly represented labor interests. However, faced with the candidates available to them, *Ensayo Obrero* called on readers to support Barbosa, who wanted to maintain no ties to the Liberal Party in Spain and thus would create the greatest freedom of operation. However, Muñoz Rivera won in a landslide.

A month later, the new Puerto Rican parliament was convened on April 25, 1898—the same day that the United States declared war on Spain.[30]

Anarchism and Radical Labor in Puerto Rico, 1898–1899

Puerto Rican autonomy was short-lived. Ostensibly, the United States sought to purge Spain from Cuba, but sent warships to the Philippines and Puerto Rico too. In July 1898, the United States invaded Puerto Rico. With autonomy now thwarted by the invasion, Iglesias refused to talk about Puerto Rican independence. While it is true that most of the island's independence leaders were mostly abroad in the United States, Iglesias could have served a unique role. He had emerged from Havana's anarchist-dominated labor movement that fought squarely for Cuba's independence from Spain. However, in the short time he had been in San Juan, he had abandoned the cause of independence as a precursor to social revolution and adopted a more broad-based working-class concept of organization that welcomed different ideas while standing for none. While democratic in that sense, the organization—from hindsight—seemed rudderless just at the time when Puerto Rican workers and artisans were beginning to look for direction.

Even before the invasion in July, some workers had begun to attack the political ambiguity of *Ensayo Obrero* and its editors. Responding to charges that the newspaper had become conservative, the editors cried foul: "They use to call us anarchists. That did not stick. Disorderly elements . . . Not that either. Socialists . . . Even less so. Opportunists . . . Ridiculous. Conservatives . . . Ha, ha, ha."[31] Yet, such statements did little to clarify what the paper stood for in the eyes of its potential followers and its critics. Still, considering both Iglesias's history with Spanish and Cuban anarchists as well as the libertarian socialist leanings of Romero Rosa and others, adversaries continued to call them anarchists. Again, the paper responded by rejecting the anarchist label and calling the true forces of chaos those people who "shoot workers in cold blood" for their own ambitions. "The true anarchist is he who steals bread from our families, producing the infernal machine of poverty and hunger." This depiction of anarchists had a point. Those leveling charges that Iglesias and others were "anarchists" implied that they were destroyers of civilization and criminals. By turning the label around, the paper said by that definition, the true "anarchist" destroyers were those in power. "Because your wild idea of an anarchist is one who kills all at once, but he who robs bread from a worker and his family is still more terrible because he kills little by little while enjoying his destructive work."[32]

By the time U.S. forces arrived in July 1898, Spanish authorities had suspended *Ensayo Obrero* from publishing, and several key labor organizers were under arrest. The arrests stemmed from a labor meeting on March 25, two days before elections to choose the new autonomous legislature. Besides an arrest order for Iglesias, a young but soon-to-be-prominent anarchist Emiliano Ramos was arrested, too.[33] Because Iglesias was born in Spain and had fled Cuba just ahead of arrest, he particularly feared coming into the hands of Spanish authorities. Therefore, he attempted to flee to New York. In early April, before he could successfully leave, he was arrested and remained in jail until after the U.S. invasion, when a decree from Washington ordered the release of all political prisoners. Upon his release, Spanish authorities tried to have him extradited as a dangerous anarchist wanted for activities on two islands. However, U.S. General John Brooke refused, taking Iglesias with him to San Juan for the official changing-of-the-flags ceremony that ended Spanish rule over Puerto Rico. The date was October 18, 1898. Two days later, Puerto Rican workers, including the same editorial core of the former *Ensayo Obrero*, launched a new organization: the Federación Regional de los Trabajadores (FRT). Anarchists, including Ramos, played active roles in the FRT and spoke at the opening of a branch in Arecibo on November 13.[34] Meanwhile, on October 23, the FRT launched the newspaper *El Porvenir Social*.[35]

During Puerto Rico's first year of independence from Spain, the island's young labor radicals continued to struggle to give their movement a sense of identity. The FRT was by no means an ideologically coherent organization. Its leaders came from numerous strands of socialist thought, including reformers, advocates for a socialist party, and anarchists. While FRT leaders remained ideologically diverse, the one thing that united most of the leadership and the newspaper's editorial staff was the belief that Puerto Rico's working class would be best served by celebrating the island's new relationship with the United States and linking Puerto Rican workers' concerns with those of U.S. workers. At the same time, the FRT attacked the island's local political parties, especially the two Spanish-era autonomous parties that remained on the island.

As the FRT and the newspaper took aim at local politics while seeking to develop relations with U.S. labor groups, numerous anarchist voices emerged through *El Porvenir Social*. In fact, *El Porvenir Social*, while funding itself with paid advertising, nevertheless regularly published anarchist writers in its pages. The paper was a hit in international circles as well. When copies of the newspaper reached the New York editorial offices of the anarchist *El Despertar* in late 1898, the editors saluted the Puerto Ricans for finally mobilizing and praised *El Porvenir Social* for its proanarchism stances.[36]

For Santiago Iglesias, the United States had long been a model of democratic progress. Since he had grown up in the monarchical tyranny of late-

nineteenth-century Spain, lived through the first year of Cuba's war for independence against Spain, seen many of his Cuban anarchist friends deported, and been victimized himself by Spanish officials both in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the image of U.S. freedoms of speech, press, and assembly held a powerful hold on Iglesias's political imagination. In addition, the Americans had freed him and not given him over to Spanish authorities. Finally, Iglesias believed that U.S. democracy benefited workers. Now that Puerto Rico was increasingly linked to the United States via military occupation, Iglesias and many of his FRT comrades decided to throw in their lot with an Americanization project for the island and with socialists based in the United States.

This belief that Puerto Rican workers would find salvation by linking themselves to the United States could be seen by late October 1898. In the masthead of *El Porvenir Social*, the editors expressed the new era for the island by noting that the paper was published in "San Juan, Puerto Rico—E.U.," the "E.U." referring to the United States (Estados Unidos)—which remained in the masthead for most of the paper's duration. The significance of the "E.U." was demonstrated early and often in the newspaper's commentary and coverage of Puerto Rican events. In the FRT's first meeting, several speakers praised the status of the working class in the United States. In his coverage of the October 24 meeting, Romero Rosa noted how Iglesias "demonstrated the grandiose expansion that today we are enjoying within the extensive progress of the United States."[37] At the same time, some speakers expressed how they needed to investigate just what the United States was all about. For instance, after praising the United States, Iglesias proposed sending a delegation of workers north to investigate actual working and political conditions shaping "that great nation."[38]

The FRT's program illustrates how it sought to Americanize Puerto Rican conditions by adopting demands central to the U.S. socialist movement of the era: an eight-hour workday, a democratic public administration, a public-education system identical to the U.S. model, a health and sanitation system similar to the best in the United States, creating maternity leave, legislating a minimum wage, organizing public kitchens for workers, and ending sales taxes.[39] The programs also reflected how several FRT leaders hoped that Washington would implement and protect the democratization of Puerto Rico that would benefit the island's workers.[40] To this end, labor leaders countered the island's "Spanish past" with its "American future." For instance, the chief of police in the town of Aguadilla prohibited a workers meeting in March 1899. *El Porvenir Social* protested, noting how workers in San Juan and throughout the United States had the right to assemble and that the chief's actions undermined the freedoms and equality that were at the root of the U.S. democratic system. "We protest the public functionaries

who try to imitate the Spaniards with their arbitrary and reactionary actions that are harmful to the honorable and hardworking people."[41]

The FRT's relationship with the United States and the U.S. Left reflected the political posturing that the movement's leadership assumed not only with regards to the North but also in opposition to the two main parties on the island—the Partido Republicano and the Partido Federal. Both political parties held a proautonomist stance. While acquiescing to U.S. rule, they nevertheless rejected annexation by the United States. Meanwhile, the FRT promoted ever growing ties with the United States, seeing the spread of U.S. political ideals and laws to the island as a bulwark against the encroachment of international capitalists and exploitation by the island's creole bourgeoisie. In just one year, Iglesias and the former *Ensayo Obrero* group had reversed political directions by abandoning autonomy within one country and supporting full incorporation into another.

The labor movement's growing visibility and desired links to the United States converged in 1899 in plans to celebrate the island's first May Day festivities. Published calls for unions to plan and participate in the events were accompanied by an illustration of a woman holding the U.S. flag.[42] The May Day festivities themselves were an odd mix of Americanism, socialism, and anarchism. The parade began at the FRT local in San Juan and was led by the U.S. flag. Local unions followed, carrying slogans praising the FRT and defenders of the working class. A large cardinal red banner with gold trim included slogans such as "¡Gloria al trabajo!" (Glory to work!) with a picture of an eagle, the U.S. flag, and multiple five-pointed stars. The red flag of socialism was followed soon after by a large portrait of U.S. president William McKinley. The accompanying rally at the Talía Temple led to calls for social reforms and the enacting of an eight-hour work day—an appeal that was in fact enacted (though never enforced) the following day by the military government. Within its coverage of this celebration of the "Left" and the "American," *El Porvenir Social* published the poetry of Italian anarchist Pietro Gori, who was then in exile in Argentina.[43] This blending of anarchism, socialism, and Americanism throughout 1899 would continue in the coming years.

Anarchists, the Puerto Rican Left, and the Socialist Labor Party of the United States

While the FRT and the Iglesias cohort desired U.S. government protection of workers and sought to align the workers' movement more closely to the United States, another linkage between leftists on the island and the mainland developed in mid-1899. In April, Iglesias was contacted by Daniel De

Leon, a Marxist born in the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao and who was now leader of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) in the United States. Marxists aligned with the International Workingmen's Association, more popularly known as the First International, formed the SLP in 1876. De Leon joined in 1890 and guided the party on a hard line, rejecting reformism or negotiations and collaboration with employers. Labor leaders responded by driving the SLP out of most established unions.[44] De Leon invited the FRT and its members to join the SLP and to form a branch of the party in Puerto Rico. By May, the SLP and the FRT exchanged correspondence and newspapers, and by June *El Porvenir Social* called on members to reject lending support to any Puerto Rican bourgeois party and instead show support for the SLP.[45]

The growing correspondence between Iglesias and De Leon, coupled with the Americanized May Day celebrations, encouraged the FRT to move even closer to its U.S. comrades. In mid-1899, the FRT leadership enthusiastically supported creation of a local branch of the SLP. Iglesias outlined how the party operated in the United States in a broad democratic electoral system that preserved freedoms and restricted the rise of despots and tyrants. Meanwhile, Iglesias continued, though there were few publicly acknowledged socialists in Puerto Rico, the socialist cause had long been expounded on the island. It just had not been called socialist. As Iglesias put it, "today, under the American regime, we declare that the enemies of freedom of association and thought, and hence of socialism, are many in this country, founded by dictators of a politics a thousand times worse than that used by the Spaniards."[46]

Iglesias and his colleagues continued to compare the current situation with the island under Spanish rule. They attacked Puerto Rican politicians for failing to appreciate the benefits of U.S. control that could accrue to the island's population. Instead, *El Porvenir Social* noted, the former Puerto Rican autonomous parties "have all of the defects and education of a *caciquismo* [local political bossism] and the bad passions of Spanish politicians. But, they lack the civic virtues of [Spanish liberals Nicolás] Salmerón and [Francisco] Pi y Margall."[47]

Still, the Left in Puerto Rico seemed a bit confused. When De Leon first approached Iglesias, Iglesias and his colleagues were unsure of what the SLP actually stood for and how Puerto Ricans could benefit. While not admitting so at the time, some thirty years later Iglesias confessed that "[w]e publicized the ideas from their invitation and, even though we did not exactly understand De Leon's position, we decidedly supported them. . . . We could tell ourselves that accepting this invitation from the U.S. socialists was a great step toward progress for Puerto Rico."[48] But the transition to supporting the SLP and creating a local branch may be best understood by

appreciating the growing controversy within the FRT in mid-1899. This controversy developed as some members of the union grew sympathetic to Puerto Rican nationalism. The nationalistic stance could be seen in a flyer distributed for a FRT meeting to be held in the western city of Aguadilla in late April. The flyer urged workers, above all, to strive for complete individual freedom, while also urging them to awaken to the idolized sense of *patria* (fatherland).[49] Meanwhile, others in the union decided to support one of the island's bourgeois political parties. The latter stance once and for all shattered the FRT's goal of remaining politically neutral and rejecting the parties that were holdovers from the Spanish era.

Rather than expel these factions from the FRT, Iglesias, Conde, Romero Rosa, and others formally broke away from the union and founded the Federación Libre de Trabajadores. This faction, which actually represented a majority of the unions in the FRT, not only formed the FLT but also created the Puerto Rican branch of the SLP at the same time. In August, the move was complete and the Partido Obrero Socialista (POS) was launched. By September, *El Porvenir Social* dropped the reference to it being published in "San Juan, Puerto Rico—E.U." and now noted that it was the "Official Organ of the State Committee of Puerto Rico, of the Socialist Labor Party of the United States of America."[50]

The formal linkage between the FLT and the SLP in the summer of 1899 would seem to have been the type of event to drive anarchists out of the union. After all, this relationship placed the FLT squarely on the side of socialist party politics and as an affiliated branch of a party that had run candidates in U.S. elections. In addition, not all in the union were happy about recent U.S. actions in Puerto Rico, including the abolition of the autonomous parliament and new voting laws that were more restrictive than those in the autonomist era. Elements within the FLT apparently did seek to purge anarchists, but the leadership actually came to the anarchists' defense. In July, as the formal relationship between the party and the union was being sealed, the writer D' Gualfircio recognized that there were two—sometimes conflicting—branches of socialist struggle within the FLT, but the writer urged fellow socialists not to condemn the anarchists who after all had the same long-term goals. "Were anarchists our victimizers? Are anarchists the men who under American domination and with dishonor from that great Republic, the ones who advised the suppression of the vote, granted by a monarchy, to the Puerto Rican people? Are anarchists the owners of workshops and businesses, who, upon feeling threatened by conscientious men who go on strike, then use force to humiliate them?"[51] The author answered "no" to all three questions, urging fellow socialists not to purge their anarchist brethren. A few months

later, Romero Rosa likewise came to the defense of anarchists within the FLT. Responding to perceptions of anarchists as destroyers and believers in chaos, he finished one column noting that while he was beginning to no longer consider himself a revolutionary socialist, one should understand that anarchists were noble in their ideals and thus worthy of emulation. "Anarchists don't pursue the destruction of capitalism, but instead the elimination of poverty and privilege. To get there, they seek the complete emancipation of all Humanity. They aspire to the greatest happiness possible within Order, Peace, and Harmony. . . . The anarchists follow the supreme principle that all human beings are good by nature, but that the social environment in which we live, owing to our current unjust society, corrupts and depraves us. Their conclusions are immense love, total solidarity, and unlimited happiness."[52]

Such rather romantically noble descriptions of anarchists might have helped to convince their detractors not to purge them from the FLT, but the nature of the SLP itself seems to have created some degree of affinity between the Puerto Rican branch of the party and the anarchists. With the exception of the party's call for participation in elections and universal suffrage, anarchists could find little in the SLP's platform that went against their own goals and ideals. In fact, a decade later, one of the island's leading anarchists, Luisa Capetillo, took up the call for female suffrage. Thus, while anarchists throughout the Americas generally refrained from anything relating to workers party politics, in Puerto Rico some anarchists had less trouble with this. In addition, De Leon could be an appealing figure: he was a Caribbean syndicalist living in the United States, who in 1905, not long after the demise of the SLP in the United States, would help to found the Industrial Workers of the World.

Transnational Anarchist Culture in the Puerto Rican Left

While the union leadership steered the FLT toward mainstream socialist politics and a decidedly pro-U.S. political stance, anarchists who belonged to the FLT's rank and file continued to agitate for their positions. Besides speaking at union rallies, they made a point of publishing anarchist critiques and columns. Throughout 1899, *El Porvenir Social* served as the organizational newspaper of the FRT and then FLT. As its editors adopted a broad-based "pro-labor," nonsectarian agenda for the paper, anarchist perspectives continued to appear in its pages. To get a better feel for how anarchist ideas were regularly expressed by the newspaper, we can turn to its pages during the important transitory year of 1899. On the one hand, the paper frequently

published articles from well-known international anarchists and advertised the arrival of anarchist newspapers from Spain and Cuba. This is particularly intriguing since few Marxist authors were ever published or socialist newspapers and books ever mentioned in its pages. The paper's third issue published Anselmo Lorenzo's "Caridad y solidaridad" (Charity and solidarity) in which he decried "charity" as elitist, unjust, and reactionary while praising "solidarity" of people working together as just and progressive.[53] This column was followed over the next year with columns from Luis Prado on the state of Spanish anarchism, Soledad Gustavo on the Boer War, and Lorenzo's "La guerra futura" (The future war). The latter was a two-piece discussion centering on the growing arms race among major countries that led to increased efficiency in the "art of killing." The columns speak to the continued influence of major anarchist writers in the Puerto Rican labor press, especially since these last two columns were published on page 1 of the first issues of *El Porvenir Social* that proclaimed the paper as the organ of Puerto Rico's Socialist Labor Party.[54] Added to this is the fact that the September 7 edition, which preceded the editions that published "La guerra futura," published Pi y Margall's "El individualismo y el comunismo" (Individualism and Communism) on page 1 under the "Socialist Labor Party" banner. While Lorenzo's columns were more social science in orientation, Pi y Margall's column was pure anarcho-communist doctrine. In a fictional dialogue, the protagonist praises both individualism and communism: "Communism and individualism are equally necessary for life and the development of our lineage. Without communism, societies would dissolve. Without individualism, man would lose his personality."[55] There could be few better examples of the core anarchist philosophy.

As *El Porvenir Social* published analysis and commentary from leading international anarchists, it also developed a relationship with anarchist groups in Argentina, Spain, and Cuba. While it is difficult to establish the extent of this relationship in 1899, the FRT/FLT received and distributed copies of anarchist newspapers from these countries. As early as March, the offices made available copies of Argentina's *Ciencia Social* (Social science). Beginning in May, Spain's *La Revista Blanca* (The white magazine) arrived and was advertised as "excellent." Havana's first post-Spanish anarchist newspaper, *El Nuevo Ideal* (The new ideal), arrived for workers to read that spring as well and became the FRT and FLT's main source for understanding events in Cuba. In fact, at times the editors used this Cuban newspaper to write articles on the Cuban labor situation and compare it with Puerto Rican conditions.[56]

Besides publishing anarchist works and advertising the availability of international anarchist newspapers, *El Porvenir Social* frequently published

critiques of Puerto Rican society from traditional anarchist perspectives. For instance, writers attacked the Roman Catholic Church as well as regional and island politics. While anticlericalism had long been a tradition of liberal and leftist politics throughout the nineteenth century, the critique of the church continued into the post-Spanish era and adopted a vocabulary recognized especially in anarchist discourse. For instance, in March 1899 the newspaper published two front-page articles on religion. The first was a brief report on the lingering impact of the clergy in Puerto Rico. After praising how Spanish barbarism was sure to end now that the United States controlled the island, the paper noted how the church—"always distinguished in this country by its policy of suspicions, hatreds, abuses, and tyrannies of all types"—sought to survive the end of Spanish rule and continue practicing exorcisms to drive out "malignant spirits of the heart and body." For the editors, the church threatened to remain a potentially powerful force from the past that could align itself with the mainstream political parties as a way to exorcise radical elements from the island.[57]

While tapping into the history of antichurch hatred, and linking the church with the traditional anarchist unholy trinity of church-capital-state, the editors followed this piece three weeks later with another front-page article two days before Easter 1899. In a supposed dialogue between father and son, the boy asks his father who Jesus was. The father responds that he was a man like any other, not a god created by fantasy or described by lying religious histories. The author, Ramón Romero Rosa (writing as R. del Romeral), then offered his leftist interpretation of Jesus as a man who supported the oppressed and began to spread the word of liberation: poverty should be nonexistent; land is for all of Nature's children; misery does not result from sin but from earthly tyranny; all are equal because they are composed of the same material. For these troubles, "Jesus Christ was murdered by the aristocratic bourgeoisie of Caesar Augustus and his henchman Herod."[58] Thus, while remaining nonsectarian, the paper clearly adopted the standard anarchist line on organized religion and how anarchists portrayed Jesus as a liberator assassinated by capital and the state.

In addition to launching into antireligion screeds during Holy Week, the paper consistently tackled the thorny issue of politics on an island and in a region in which the United States was beginning to expand. One of the first celebrations of anarchism in the paper occurred when Iglesias wrote a brief but glowing piece about the return to Cuba of his old comrade Manuel María Miranda. Miranda had been a prolific anarchist in Cuba before the beginning of the war in 1895. After the outbreak of hostilities, the government of General Valeriano Weyler ordered his arrest and deportation to the

Spanish penal colony on Fernando Poo. In the tribute to his friend, Iglesias celebrated Miranda's anarchism by noting how Miranda was "a propagator of absolute freedom for the people."[59]

While the newspaper celebrated the anarchist Miranda's return to his homeland as a sign that regional politics were improving under U.S. rule, it continued to attack Puerto Rican politics—even adopting at times an anarchistic antipolitics line against the island's political parties and political system. This antipolitics line appeared throughout 1899. Initially the FRT avoided alignment with either of the two political parties, but when some FRT leaders began aligning with the *republicanos*, the Iglesias cohort broke away and created the FLT. Iglesias argued that such nonpartisanship had pro–working class motivations so that the FLT would create an environment open to all workers in order to prevent a litmus test that would divide the workers.[60] This refusal to be involved in island party politics was met with anarchist approval as well since anarchists nearly always condemned such political machinations. In a May front-page column imbued with anarchist undertones, Quintin Pitifré wrote that "It is not the hour for politics. It is the Era for honorable work. . . . The popular masses, the workers, have awakened from their paralysis to the resonant shout of Freedom. . . . Down with politics. . . . To the Great Social Revolution. To the Great Universal Society."[61]

Antipolitics critiques could take on an antinationalist dimension as well, especially when the island's political parties portrayed themselves as "Puerto Rican" parties. Both of Puerto Rico's mainstream parties drew most of their support from the island's commercial and propertied class—a fact not ignored by *El Porvenir Social*'s editors. As Romero Rosa reminded readers about those who urged workers to support a political party, "So it is, my friend, that there is no reason to listen to the compañeros who speak to us about *puertorriqueñismo* (Puerto Ricanism) and the 'union between capital and labor.'" Puerto Rican capitalists exploited workers just as much as Spanish or U.S. capitalists. "To end exploitation, what we need is to organize a good struggle to unite workers of all countries."[62] Another writer noted that "The current parties represent the Puerto Rican and American bourgeoisie. . . . We have to protest in all seriousness how in these moments the politicians use the same means that the Spanish government used."[63] Thus, the paper urged readers to consider the tenuous situation that workers found themselves in—short of working-class unity and dangerously close to Spanish-era political exploitation of the workers. As a letter by FLT secretary Gómez Acosta to the paper in June put it, "The politicians—those masters of yesterday—are huddling together to deceive the people again."[64]

Such calls for avoiding politics and even dismissing what they saw as a bourgeois-defined sense of nationalism set the FLT up for attack from local officials. Throughout 1899, FLT leaders—especially Iglesias—were condemned by their class opponents. Because of his nonnative status, when Iglesias rejected "Puerto Ricanness" and patriotism, his opponents could accuse him of being a "foreigner" and thus not understanding the "true" needs of Puerto Rican workers. Iglesias, for instance, was attacked for being a Spaniard. Other FLT members faced opponents who wanted them deported for being anarchists.[65] Such an independent streak among FLT leaders—and thus also their rejection of Puerto Rican politics—found symbolic expression during the first celebration of U.S. Independence Day in Puerto Rico on July 4, 1899. As Romero Rosa wrote to his readers in the days following the celebration, "Declare your independence! And flee from the bourgeois politicians as you flee from cholera and small pox . . . Down with bourgeois politics! Up with the worker! Long live your independence!"[66]

Meanwhile, anarchist ideas were finding expression in leftist culture beyond the worker press. If anarchism was not the reigning doctrine of the FLT, certainly the leaders of the movement found anarchist culture, ideals, and vocabulary useful for pushing the FLT agenda. Culturally speaking, the FLT was one of the first labor organizations in the Americas to perform the anarchist Adrián del Valle's play *Fin de fiesta* (Finale). The play centers on the factory owner Don Pedro, his daughter Elena, and striking workers at Don Pedro's factory. Don Pedro refuses to negotiate with the strikers and decides to close his factory permanently. Outraged by this, the workers decide that if he is going to deprive them of a livelihood, then they too will deprive him of the ability to sell off the factory to make money. So, they burn it to the ground. The now-armed workers then set off for Don Pedro's house, where they are confronted by the pistol-toting owner, who asks what they want. Three workers, emboldened by their actions and their weapons, respond: "We want the bread you eat but deny us." "We want the riches you accumulate from the cost of our labor." "We want your blood in order to avenge the injustices and abuses that you committed against us." When Don Pedro raises his pistol and shoots at the offending workers, Elena steps between her father and the strikers, taking the bullet. Shouts arise: "Kill! Kill!," but the workers are urged to let Don Pedro live so that the suffering from killing his own daughter will be his ultimate punishment.[67]

Del Valle (writing under the name Palmiro de Lidia) wrote the play in 1898 in New York, where he lived and agitated during the Cuban War for Independence. He returned to Cuba in late 1898 to publish the newspaper *El*

Nuevo Ideal. The play was performed regularly in anarchist social gatherings for decades. Immediately after publishing the play in 1898, del Valle sent a copy to Puerto Rico. Romero Rosa wrote a synopsis of the play and praised it in *El Porvenir Social*'s second issue in October 1898.[68] A year later, the FLT in San Juan staged the play, calling it a "socialist drama," with Iglesias playing the role of a priest who is an ally of Don Pedro. Eduardo Conde noted the play's spirited reception and pledged to stage it again.[69] In fact, the FLT would perform the anarchist del Valle's best-known play for years to come.

Besides anarchist cultural productions finding expression within the early post-Spanish-era labor movement, readers of the newspaper could find anarcho-naturist and anarcho-communist concepts. In May 1899, the editors published "Our Ideal; Its Scientific Basis: Memorandum for the Worker." The two-and-a-half-page memorandum is divided into sections on philosophy, science, nature, the universe, Earth, man, sociology, society, free assembly, solidarity, instruction, freedom, equality, and fraternity. The piece outlines the rise of the universe, earth and mankind's creation, and the development of human society in evolutionary biological terms, though without Darwinian or Spencerian undertones of natural selection or survival of the fittest respectively. Instead, the unnamed author notes that "association is a universal principle of Nature." Thus, the memorandum introduces the concept of mutualism, which was central to anarcho-communist thought. However, the writer continues, in the past, priests, authorities, the military, the rich, and others entered the picture to create human and political laws that contradicted natural laws. As such, those who had been oppressed by such "un-natural laws" had to act. Free association, individuals coming together in solidarity to express their mutual concerns and goals, and instruction would be central to helping people achieve freedom and equality. As a result, a free and equal society—as Nature intended—would lead to the natural consequence of fraternity, that is, what Peter Kropotkin would call "mutual aid."[70] To this end, it is insightful that the newspaper and organization never published anything by Marx or Engels but included writings from international anarchists and pledged an "ideal" that was at that time becoming the philosophical and scientific basis of those who followed anarcho-communism and the writings of Kropotkin.

When taken together, the impact of anarchist culture and ideals in the FRT and FLT and in the pages of the first post-Spanish-era labor newspaper in Puerto Rico, *El Porvenir Social*, cannot be dismissed. Added to this is the recurrent language rooted in the Spanish-speaking anarchist community on both sides of the Atlantic. Two phrases suggest this above others: "social

revolution" and "revolutionary socialism." While socialists of all stripes may have discussed creating a revolutionary society built on the dregs of industrial capitalism, anarchists regularly incorporated the transformative imagery of the phrases into their writings. Thus, when Puerto Rican labor leaders used the phrases, one cannot discount this use as casual or unimportant. In a column titled "Notes on the Socialist Manifesto" published in December 1899, the anonymous author praised the phrase and concept most commonly used by anarchists to describe their ideal: "Revolutionary socialism," not "parliamentary" socialism. "The men who defend the current society, the employers' or capitalists' society, will tell you that revolutionary Socialism (the life-saving doctrine that we propagate) is a chimera, it is a lie, and those who fight for such ideas are perverts and crazies."[71]

The vocabulary and idea of revolutionary socialism fit well into the anarcho-communist notions of the memorandum. They fit even better into the actions seen in the oft-produced play *Fin de fiesta* of workers banding together to go on strike, burn down the factories of owners who will not negotiate with them, and storm the home of an owner, guns at the ready. This influence, when coupled with traditional anarchist vocabulary, attests to the continued anarchist presence on the island in the politically charged first year of U.S. occupation and Puerto Rican colonialism under a new master. In fact, the December discussion of "revolutionary socialism" appeared next to a list of newspapers received by *El Porvenir Social* and available to the public. Of twenty-seven newspapers from Latin America, Spain, and the United States, seven were mainstream or topical, two were "communist," five were "socialist," and thirteen were "anarchist" or "revolutionary socialist." As Rubén Dávila Santiago has argued, "libertarian socialism" would have a long-standing impact on the direction of the Puerto Rican Left through its influence of "proletarian internationalism," "militant solidarity," "revolutionary morality," "the struggle for a different life," and "freedom."[72] However, such radical influences and imagery would have to be tempered after 1900. In that year, the FLT would abandon forming a working-class socialist party, break from the SLP, and merge with the reformist and very anti-anarchist American Federation of Labor as Santiago Iglesias led organized labor in a wave of pro-Americanization.

2. Radicals and Reformers

Anarchists, Electoral Politics, and the Unions, 1900–1910

The pool of political candidates kept growing as Puerto Rico entered a new election cycle in 1906. Mainstream candidates for the island legislature and municipalities campaigned around the island in late summer. These candidates were primarily retooled versions of the old autonomy parties from 1898. But other political players were emerging. The traditional parties now were increasingly joined by candidates representing new working-class political parties. Because Americanization was ushering in U.S. political reforms and electoral politics, some working-class activists saw an opportunity that had been denied them in the 1898 autonomy elections. In those elections, voters could only choose between two bourgeois pro-autonomy parties. *Ensayo Obrero* during that campaign had lamented that workers lacked their own candidates and parties. Now they had them as candidates from these parties joined in electoral politics that had seen some workers already elected to office as candidates of other parties.

As the working-class candidates—with FLT backing—made their electoral push, news began to arrive from Cuba. In August, the two main political parties had taken up arms against one another, driving Cuba into chaos and ushering in a new U.S. military occupation. For anarchists in Puerto Rico, the messages were clear. They tried to tell their fellow workers that being involved in elections was a bad idea, that politics was nothing but a shell game. Politicians offered promises to get votes, only to renege on them once elected. And working-class politicians? What did voters really think one or two prolabor politicians could accomplish in a political system designed to benefit capitalists? And, just what did workers really think could be accomplished if somehow working-class candidates did take over the towns and

the legislature? Did they really think that the United States would stand by and allow legislation to be passed that would harm the capitalists' bottom line? Thus, as did their brethren around the world, anarchists in Puerto Rico waged a war against electoral politics. But in this new colonial era, antipolitics agendas had larger anti-imperialist implications by rejecting not only elections but the relationship between the island's elected representatives, the U.S. government, and an entire electoral system founded on the U.S. model. And, because all politics is about power, this antipolitics and anti-imperialist campaign found expression beyond opposition to the ballot box as anarchists critiqued the growth of U.S. authority on the island from democratization and U.S. military control to domination by U.S. corporations and the AFL.

Anarchists and anarchist impulses remained fervent and in contention with other socialist impulses throughout 1899 and into 1900, but early alliances between anarchists and their fellow leftists began to break down following May Day 1901. Radicals choosing to remain loyal to their anarchist roots would continue to work within the FLT. However, the FLT leadership, led by Santiago Iglesias, began its controversial move away from radical socialism and toward reformist trade unionism as Iglesias would make the FLT the Puerto Rican branch of the AFL. While FLT leaders Ramón Romero Rosa, José Ferrer y Ferrer, and others would still praise the work and ideals of anarchists, tensions over ideology and the appropriate relationship with the United States often brought reformists and radicals into conflict. The beginning of this conflict rested in Santiago Iglesias's September 1900 trip to New York and his inaugural meetings with AFL leader Samuel Gompers.

Anarchist Challenges within the Puerto Rican Labor Left

On May 1, 1900, President McKinley appointed Charles Allen as governor, and U.S. military rule over Puerto Rico gave way to U.S.-controlled civilian rule. U.S. federal laws were applied to the island, though U.S. citizenship for islanders remained nearly two decades away. Over the coming months, workers across the island went on strike, making small material and moral gains. However, Puerto Rican authorities responded by jailing numerous FLT organizers. In late August, authorities temporarily jailed Iglesias, accusing him of being a dangerous anti-American, foreign anarchist.[1] A month later, Iglesias fled Puerto Rico, "with the hope of finding protection and solidarity among the organized workers of America, in order to create a more effective workers movement in Puerto Rico, and to end the mistreatment that Federación Libre workers suffered."[2]

As so many leftists from the Caribbean had done and would do in the future, Iglesias made his way to the radical circles in New York City, working as a cabinetmaker, listening to leading socialists and anarchists, and writing for local radical newspapers. He came to believe that Puerto Rican workers should no longer affiliate with the SLP and began to consider aligning with the AFL. The AFL pursued "pure unionism," seeking immediate economic gains for workers through peaceful negotiations with employers whenever possible. The AFL also rejected worker-based political parties and engaging in electoral politics. This was diametrically opposed to De Leon's tactics of radical union activism enjoined with electoral politics. To Iglesias, the AFL approach seemed the best option for Puerto Ricans. While Iglesias initially might have believed that a socialist party would be an ideal vehicle to help the island's workers, several obstacles stood in the way of its success, including an unprepared, mostly nonindustrial island work force that lacked much working-class consciousness. Now seeing party politics as a losing proposition for Puerto Rican workers, he grew to believe that trade unionism could hold out the best hope. In his mind, the AFL—the largest labor organization in the United States—offered Puerto Rican workers their best protection and possibility for economic advancement. To this end, Iglesias attended the AFL national convention in Louisville, Kentucky, in December 1900.[3] From that point on, the Puerto Rican FLT leadership under Iglesias left behind radicalism to affiliate with the more conservative AFL.

But if Iglesias was evolving to a new political position, not all Boricua leftists were joining him. During Iglesias's absence from the island—and in the months following the AFL convention—the FLT maintained its broad socialist-anarchist agenda. In February 1901, Romero Rosa began publishing the one-page broadside *La Miseria: Periódico defensor de la clase obrera* (Poverty: Newspaper defending the working class) in San Juan. The paper condemned the culture and excess of carnival and the practice of using contracted migrant labor in which Puerto Rican sugar cane cutters were loaded onto ships and sent to cut cane in the other new possession of the United States: Hawai'i. The criticism of carnival followed anarchist critiques of the event that would emerge in Cuba as well. In an open forum to the *pueblo productor* (producing class), Saturnino Dones asked workers if they knew it was the capitalists, politicians, and religious figures who organized the festivities—and thus grew wealthy from worker expenditures. "These are the working people's enemies!"[4] In both Cuba and Puerto Rico, anarchists viewed carnival as a capitalist spectacle that garnered profits for businessmen while offering a safety valve for pent-up mass frustration. The appraisal pointed to another issue that anarchists in post-Spanish Cuba and Puerto Rico were

encountering: how to gain not only political separation from Spain but also cultural and religious separation from the legacies of Spanish colonialism if the working masses were ever going to create new, truly liberated societies.[5]

The rounding-up of contract labor to be sent to Hawai'i drew particular scrutiny. In a four-part series, Romero Rosa attacked the practice. He argued that there was so much Puerto Rican land that could be tilled that it made no sense to send islanders to the Pacific. More damning—and resonant considering that slavery had ended in Puerto Rico less than a quarter century before—Romero Rosa compared the practice to the Spanish importation of chattel slaves from Africa. Taken from Puerto Rico, they were free "to be slaves in the Hawaiian islands."[6] In an open letter to Governor Allen, the newspaper asked, "If in the United States, such contracted labor agreements are not permitted, if the law severely punishes those who contract laborers, then how can it be conceived that in Puerto Rico—integrated territory of these States—such trade in working people can be publicly tolerated?"[7]

While labor leaders made their cases, Washington did not feel particularly threatened. In May 1901, the U.S. Department of Labor reported on the state of workers and organized labor on the island. Only a small percentage of the workforce was unionized, and those were mostly in the coastal cities and larger towns. The FLT's flirtation with the SLP did not impress these federal observers, who concluded that "federations with leanings of socialistic and anti-socialistic character have existed in the island for several years, though the socialistic body has lacked the virility of the other, and has had of late, if it still exists, only a lingering existence."[8] In fact, labor department officials saw Puerto Ricans as easily managed, despite the presence on the island of a few firebrands.

> The labor agitator is not unknown here, especially in the socialist order. Several times some of the most ardent exponents have come to conflict with the authorities in the utterance of their views. Appeals to violence in the furtherance of the efforts of the *gremios* (unions) to obtain the results sought have been of not infrequent occurrence, and intimidation of scabs or substitutes during a strike has not been confined to words play. A vigilant system of picketing, of oversight of all suspected parties, of preventive telegraphic communication with all parts of the island whence substitutes might come, and of the display of force, and it is said some times of incendiarism, etc., have been maintained wherever a strike was on. But the Porto Ricans are a peaceable and gentle people, except as inflamed, and any equitable system of the regulation of labor, established by law, would have a very general and cordial support from all classes.[9]

At the very moment that the labor department was publishing its findings in the spring of 1901, Iglesias was working with the AFL to secure help from

President McKinley. However, FLT leaders and others on the island were making his efforts more difficult. A year earlier, some in the FLT questioned "who had authorized Iglesias and Conde to represent us in Washington? . . . Was there no worker in Puerto Rico capable of representing us" other than that Spaniard?[10] Such controversies revolving around worker representation and national identity played out in other ways. In March 1901, Ferrer y Ferrer made light of Puerto Rican politicians' lack of power to do anything about the Hawai'i crisis. He charged that the United States was the real power behind the scenes that allowed the exploitation of fellow Puerto Rican workers. U.S. leaders "desire that Puerto Rico become totally Americanized, and from there arises the paralysis of State and Municipal works, so that the people, shrouded in misery, emigrate to distant climes in search of Bread and Shelter, obtaining in exchange for that eternal struggle for existence, a miserable exile." And, he added, local leaders could do nothing to stop this work of those representatives of the "American Colossus."[11] By April, the writer "Un Hambriento" (A starving man) described the emigration as nothing short of a U.S. plot to Americanize Puerto Rico.[12] If the United States could depopulate workers, there would be fewer Puerto Ricans to indoctrinate.

Added to the vitriol of these attacks during Iglesias's absence and courting of McKinley, *La Miseria*'s pages were dotted with explicit anarchist messages and notes on anarchist activists. For instance, in the midst of his anti-Hawai'i emigration campaign, Romero Rosa issued a call for all unions around the island to maintain their anarchist spirit when he charged that "workers associations will be purely libertarian." In April, this libertarian presence on the island emerged again when the paper noted that anarchists Venancio Cruz and Alfonso Torres were coordinating with other workers to create a union in Caguas—a town that would soon become an anarchist center. Immediately following Un Hambriento's suggestion that the Hawai'i emigration was a U.S. plot was an article titled "Anarchy," which praised anarchist perspectives. May Day 1901 soon arrived. The FLT program listed as part of the day's festivities a talk by anarchist Severo Cirino and a performance of Adrián del Valle's play *Fin de fiesta* by the Grupo Juventud Socialista (Socialist Youth Group).[13]

However, such an open anarchist presence within the FLT was about to be challenged by Santiago Iglesias himself. Ten days after the May Day celebrations, *La Miseria* reprinted an article that the still-U.S.-based Iglesias had published in the *New York Journal*. Now firmly allied with the anti-anarchist AFL, Iglesias for the first time openly attacked anarchism, criticizing in particular recent acts of anarchist violence in the world. "Anarchists [in Buenos Aires and Paterson, New Jersey] prepare plots to kill kings and emperors. These anarchists have too much faith. And the sad truth is that anarchists

squander their time so pathetically. . . . Anarchists," he concluded, "your time has passed. Your function is archaic. . . . For you there is nothing else to do." While he may have focused his criticism on anarchists based in Argentina and the United States, Iglesias's message seemed clear. Puerto Ricans should abandon anarchist direct actions such as "propaganda by the deed" as well as anarchist principles in general. The future for the island's working class lay in joining with the AFL.[14]

Two weeks later, Iglesias began submitting official documents to make the FLT an AFL affiliate. In September, the AFL recognized the FLT. In October, Gompers named Iglesias the AFL general organizer for Cuba and Puerto Rico, and Iglesias accompanied Gompers to the White House to meet President Roosevelt, who had assumed the presidency following the September assassination of President McKinley by Leon Czolgosz, the self-proclaimed anarchist. In November, after having been gone for over a year, Iglesias returned to Puerto Rico.[15]

From the beginning, the FLT was an awkward fit for the AFL. In the United States, the AFL drew most of its membership from urban trades and crafts. In Puerto Rico, most organized workers likewise labored in the cities. However, the urban skilled labor force was a fraction of the island's overall labor force. For instance, in 1899, while there were only 26,000 factory workers in Puerto Rico, there were nearly 200,000 agricultural workers. In fact, in 1899 there were more maids and laundry workers in Puerto Rico than skilled tradesmen and artisans. The reality was that Puerto Rican labor looked very different than labor in the United States, where industrialization had been surging for decades. Recognizing this, the FLT decided to reach out to nonurban labor, but with little luck. From 1904 to 1907, the FLT saw a decline in membership in all sectors except carpenters and cigar rollers. Declines in membership meant insufficient amounts of money to wage effective strikes and labor actions. This situation was further complicated because the U.S.-based AFL controlled strike funds and decided when—and if—to send money to the island.[16]

While Iglesias pulled the FLT into this ill-fitting alliance with Gompers, many in the FLT retained their anarchist beliefs and talking points and were less willing than Iglesias to acquiesce to bread-and-butter unionism. Even so, some anarchists retained a certain degree of loyalty to their old comrade Iglesias. This loyalty could be seen in 1903 when the anarchist writer Venancio Cruz published his poetry collection *Fragmentos* (Fragments). The work includes the standard attacks on the rich, militarism, and the government. "My poetic compositions have one foundational principle and a logical conclusion: the principle that humanity fraternizes in all walks of life; and the goal of diminishing or extinguishing the government of bayonets."[17] But

Cruz also wrote poems explicitly praising FLT leaders, including "Santiago Iglesias" and "A mi querido camarada J. Ferrer y Ferrer" (To my dear comrade J. Ferrer y Ferrer).[18] Cruz saved his longest, most ambitious poem for the end, highlighting his anarchist loyalties. In the twenty-eight-stanza "Época insana" (Insane age), he describes a world "with the stain of tyrannous slavery/the insult of ruinous iniquity." After laying forth all that could possibly be wrong in an anarchist-defined dystopia, Cruz calls for "the end of usurpation, the end of war" and in the final stanza of the collection concludes

> Listen, unhappy people: the insane era
> will bring courage to your fevered protest
> and in the books of the wise Malatesta;
> you will read your future, perhaps tomorrow.[19]

Thus, as seen in these cultural works in the first years of the U.S. occupation, anarchists might not have appreciated the new strategy followed by the union's leaders, but they could nevertheless note their continued camaraderie with reformers while holding true to anarchist ideals such as those reflected by Errico Malatesta. Consequently, members in both the radical and reformist camps retained a personal affinity for one another that reflected a respect based on friendship and shared past struggles, even if their developing strategies were beginning to drive a wedge between them.

This affinity was based partly on a history of joint activism. There seems to have remained a genuine cordiality and warmness between anarchist and nonanarchist leftists in these early days—despite Iglesias's New York attacks on anarchists—when various social sectors struggled to understand the contemporary political landscape and jockeyed to put forth their own agendas for a Puerto Rican future. But the continued affinity also derived in part from the harassment and violence that all FLT leaders encountered in the first years of the new century. In short, repression created allies. In 1900, for instance, while working in the FLT offices in San Juan, a group assaulted Severo Cirino.[20] Cirino was a high-profile anarchist member of the FLT, taking part in various demonstrations in 1900 and 1901. These demonstrations frequently led to his arrests.[21] Other radicals were arrested in 1902 in Puerta de Tierra when they arrived to "serenade one of their comrades" with working-class and "libertarian" songs.[22]

Meanwhile, Romero Rosa and Fernando Gómez Acosta fell victim to assaults in April and May 1902. Political violence was not uncommon in the first years of the new century. From 1900 to 1904, armed groups from the Republican and Federal parties took turns physically attacking one another and any other political force with whom they disagreed. In San Juan in 1902, for

instance, armed mobs led by the Republican José Mauleón attacked Federal supporters. The FLT accused Mauleón of violently assaulting union members too. They appealed to the governor, but to no avail, prompting the union to reject the governor's claim that there was nothing he could do. Actually, the police did step in, but to arrest FLT leaders, among them Romero Rosa and Cirino. Romero Rosa seems to have been a particularly attractive target of the mob violence.[23] Roving bands not only bruised him but also abused his daughters. During another FLT event, Gómez Acosta—a founder of *Ensayo Obrero* and *El Porvenir Social* as well as a labor leader and friend of Cruz, who wrote the prologue to Cruz's anarchist poetry collection *Fragmentos*—was shot at by vigilantes, miraculously escaping the eight shots fired at him. Throughout May, the anti-FLT violence reached such proportions that one contemporary charged that the assaults were "converting the city of San Juan into a frightful state of anarchy."[24] Apparently, though, some anarchists were willing to resort to violence themselves. In 1902 in the midst of the political violence rocking the island, anarchists were accused of planting a pipe bomb that exploded in the southeastern city of Humacao, killing a servant who was taking a break.[25] In all, political violence stretched across the political spectrum in the first few years of U.S. control.

Throughout these years of inner searching and attacks from the Puerto Rican mainstream, many midlevel FLT members, especially more politically conscious tobacco and sugar workers, continued to support the FLT leadership while advocating anarchist principles.[26] For instance, in Caguas in 1901, Pablo Vega Santos and other anarchists joined with Ferrer y Ferrer to organize tobacco workers into an FLT local.[27] Venancio Cruz joined with Ferrer y Ferrer and Manuel Vargas to publish the short-lived *El Porvenir Obrero* in late 1902 while Ferrer y Ferrer, Vega Santos, and Cruz published *Voz Humana* out of Caguas in 1905 and 1906.[28] Anarchists played roles in FLT meetings around the island, such as the recitation of Cruz's poem "El socialismo" in 1901 or the speeches made by the young female anarchist Paca Escabí from Mayagüez in 1902 and 1904.[29] In 1905, female anarchists took the podium at the FLT's Third Congress as Marcela Torres de Cirino and Escabí urged workers at the end of the conference to avoid politics.[30]

Thus, an anarchist presence in the FLT, even after the union affiliated with the AFL, resulted from both affinity and personal relationships between anarchists and nonanarchists, as well as the fact that labor union members were legitimate targets for repression whether they were anarchists or not. Still, there is a third reason to explain anarchist activism within the union. César Andreu Iglesias—a novelist, historian, and leader of the Puerto Rican Communist Party in the 1950s—argued that the AFL's overall approach to

labor organizing actually could have appealed to anarchists. After all, the AFL was reaching out to organize workers across political borders, exhibiting an element of internationalism. In addition, the AFL rejected involvement in politics and forming of working-class political parties—an antipolitics stance preached by anarchists.[31] If anarchists were willing to overlook how the AFL tended to operate in reality, and recognized that the FLT-AFL was really the only union organization of any strength in Puerto Rico, then it does not take much to imagine that these male and female anarchists could join common cause with their fellow workers to fight for better working conditions in the short-term while advocating within the FLT for longer-term social revolutionary goals. In some ways, this situation mimicked how Florida anarchists came to work with the AFL-linked Cigar Makers International Union in Tampa in the early 1900s.[32] It also speaks to a similarity that anarchists in Cuba experienced in the 1890s when they decided to put the island's immediate liberation struggles ahead of their larger goals for social revolution. Anarchists could be political pragmatists when they needed to be, and in Puerto Rico they often needed to be.

Democracy, Electoral Politics, and the Left in the New Puerto Rico

For the first decade of the century, the FLT sometimes engaged in electoral politics and sometimes rejected them; the latter position followed both AFL and anarchist rejection of workers running as candidates or forming worker-based parties in electoral campaigns. Nevertheless, the antipolitics position rested on different assumptions. While the AFL had no problem with democratic politics and elections, they didn't want the union effort to be diverted toward political campaigning for working-class parties. Meanwhile, as the FLT leadership praised U.S.-style democracy, anarchists were less sure of that democracy, fearing that U.S. ideals of equality and liberty (ideals shared by both anarchists and the American creed) were merely a veneer hiding a government that worked in tandem with its capitalist class. Along these lines, anarchists distrusted all electoral politics, not just workers partaking in them. In this Puerto Rico–specific colonial context, when anarchists rejected democratic politics they were also showing skepticism about the larger U.S. project of "Americanizing" the island. Within this skeptical view, anarchists were suspicious of the role that the AFL was playing in the Americanization of the Puerto Rican workforce. Anarchists questioned whether the AFL had the island's workers and future in its best interests. Symbolically, the anar-

chists had a lot to be suspicious about. After all, by 1907 much of the Puerto Rican labor movement no longer commemorated the traditional leftist May Day celebration, replacing it with the less radically inspired U.S. custom of Labor Day in September.[33] In addition, Santiago Iglesias—the FLT's main representative to the AFL—was paid by the U.S.-based AFL, not Puerto Rican workers. As a result, anarchists questioned whether his true interests lay with the island's workers.[34]

As the island's larger labor movement became involved in the developing political situation in the early 1900s, Puerto Rican anarchists found themselves on shaky ground. As internationalists, they rejected blatant, jingoistic calls for "rallying-'round-the-flag" nationalism. In Cuba anarchists had largely supported that island's fight for independence, seeing the conflict as a way for a people to be free from colonial rule. Yet, after independence, Cuban anarchists repeatedly challenged political leaders who expropriated the images of the war and "national" symbols for their own political agendas while the Cuban masses failed to enjoy the benefits of a promised, but never launched, social revolution. Puerto Rican anarchists found a slightly different dilemma. They rejected nationalism, too. However, to reject nationalism put them squarely in the same camp as the FLT leadership, which rejected independence for the island. Thus, these anarchists—operating in the midst of a colonial environment—did not push for independence, but likewise rejected forging closer political linkages to the United States generally or the AFL specifically. In essence, the island's anarchists were "antinationalist" while not being pro-U.S. As a result, anarchists could find themselves fighting against their fellow FLT workers over a number of political concerns: the overall meaning of democracy, the island's relationship with the United States, the utility of elections, labor conditions, and worker apathy.

From the beginning of the century, the Left struggled with the democratic principles that they encountered in the new Puerto Rico. There had been an early thrill in the notion that average men could have a say in choosing their representatives. But, such democratic window dressing did not necessarily protect workers and certainly did not succeed in creating a new social order. Soon after the FLT made overtures to De Leon's SLP, some FLT leaders cast their support for republican democracy. In 1900, Jesús M. Balsac and Santiago Valle—later leading socialists on the island—published *Revolución*, a short book that laid forth how workers could democratically bring about a "free socialism." While remaining loyal to the cause of the social revolution, Balsac and Valle urged workers to now use a tool that they had rarely before had: the vote. But workers had to avoid voting for bourgeois parties

that would lie to the masses. Instead, they had to use "the sacred right of the vote" to support their own parties. In this way, the social revolution could be brought forth through peaceful democratic struggle.[35]

Of course, most anarchists—fearful of most aspects of electoral politics—rejected the idea that workers should partake in political campaigns. Such political activities were little more than acts of the elite making promises to workers to get their vote one day, only to turn around and ignore workers' interests once in office. One of the first political challenges that anarchists faced lay in the relationship between the FLT and the mainstream political parties on the island. In 1902, the FLT backed an alliance between the Partido Obrero Socialista and the Partido Federal led by Luis Muñuz Rivera; however, the rival Partido Republicano dominated the results. By 1904, the POS was dead in all but name, and some FLT leaders looked elsewhere to find allies in the political system. They found them in time for the 1904 elections, when *republicano* dissidents joined with dissidents from the Partido Federal and working-class leaders to create the Partido Unión. The newly formed Partido Unión worked closely with the struggling POS to support working-class candidates for the Puerto Rican House of Delegates elections that year.

The 1904 election was a new opportunity for working-class politicians because the number of eligible voters had increased. The March 1898 autonomy elections had been the first on the island to grant universal male suffrage. Over a hundred thousand male voters (71 percent of adult males over the age of twenty-five who had registered on an electoral census) voted in those elections. But after the United States invaded a few months later, universal male suffrage was replaced with restricted suffrage based on literacy and property qualifications. Now, as Puerto Ricans mobilized for the 1904 campaign, the colonial government brought back universal male suffrage.[36] Suddenly, working-class candidates could appeal to a working-class electorate. As a result, five workers won election to the Puerto Rican House of Delegates on the Partido Unión ticket, including Ramón Romero Rosa, who won a seat from San Juan.[37]

Romero Rosa's election came after publishing his short book *La cuestión social y Puerto Rico* (The social question and Puerto Rico). The work was a broad attack against capitalism on the island. He described how capitalism in Puerto Rico had been built on the foundations of religious, social, and political "lies" that were buttressed by colonialism. Ultimately, the social question for Romero Rosa was a "question of right, that is to say of freedom and justice," which required not just complete social, economic, and political restructuring of the island but also an intellectual change in Puerto Rican workers because "the proletariat is divided by patriotic questions that have

no real use while capitalism becomes more and more internationalized."[38] Certainly the divides between the FLT and FRT, the role of some workers campaigning for political parties other than the POS, and the disputes between anarchists and reformers in the FLT played on his mind when he wrote about the disunity among the island's laborers.

Key to this disunity was a perceived lack of working-class consciousness that troubled anarchists and Romero Rosa. "Workers are soldiers. Workers are sailors. Workers are policemen. Workers are the servants of the entire capitalist class," he wrote. Workers had to unite not just in a sense to liberate the island but to overthrow U.S. colonial rule that reinforced the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of a few. "Puerto Rico cannot enjoy its economic independence because it is understood to be a country in the colonial system. Colonization is the political crime that the capitalist class uses to keep the colony dependent and in economic slavery." Yet, it was not just U.S. colonial officials who brought this on. Puerto Rican judges, magistrates, and police colluded in all of this, as well. Simple nationalistic independence was not the answer. A combination of U.S. policies, international capitalists, and Puerto Rican henchmen created a civil government with an inadequate citizenry and a House of Delegates without proper representation.[39] Elections, he suggested, could be one way for workers to combine their numbers and begin to gain collective political consciousness while electing representatives to put the brakes on capitalism and colonialism on the island. Thus, at the same time that Santiago Iglesias was promoting Americanization of Puerto Rico, one of his chief FLT comrades was about to be elected to what was effectively the colonial legislature while simultaneously denouncing U.S. rule.

With his election victory coming shortly after publishing *La cuestión social*, though, Romero Rosa became a lightning rod for Puerto Rican radicals. In 1905, the Mayagüez-based FLT newspaper *Unión Obrera* (Labor union) cited his efforts to introduce a new bill authorizing the eight-hour day. This was met by other leftists such as Jesús María Balsac urging Romero Rosa to offer more proworker legislation, including raising the minimum age to eighteen for typographers as a way to help keep children in school.[40] Yet, not all leftists in the FLT liked his efforts. An anonymous writer to *Unión Obrera* in October 1906 accused him of becoming nothing but a politician and having sold out workers. This was the danger of workers becoming too cozy with parliamentary politics. Then, this seemingly anarchist critic used Romero Rosa's own words from his days as an editor of *Ensayo Obrero* against him. Romero Rosa had written, "'(w)e will never give away our will to any political party because we are committed and we are workers, nothing more.'" The writer accused him of having forgotten his convictions, then

warned readers: "That is Romero Rosa: there are many like him who sell their ideals for a small scrap of the budget." Such criticisms continued for several issues. Romero Rosa never responded—or at least the paper did not publish any response.[41] But some FLT members supported Romero Rosa's efforts. Reflecting the continued broad-based mission of the FLT and its press, articles in a later issue of the newspaper urged workers to vote for candidates sympathetic to the FLT.[42]

To some degree, Romero Rosa's position and the controversy it engendered reflected the same dynamic splitting socialists and syndicalists on the mainland. Just as Romero Rosa embraced "socialist" ideas for election as a representative of workers in 1904, Daniel De Leon continued his move "toward revolutionary syndicalism," helping to found the IWW in 1905, and urging the IWW and workers to use the creation of One Big Union to gain political power via electoral politics. Just as Romero Rosa came under fire from both AFL-affiliated members and anarchists alike for his electoral path, so too did De Leon suffer attacks from the Left, especially from "Big Bill" Haywood of the IWW.[43]

While anarchists labeled Romero Rosa a "sell-out," he was not as quick to dismiss anarchism. A typesetter by trade, Romero Rosa came to politics reluctantly, generally holding the broad socialist notions that all politics is deception and workers should instead work within their unions and other organizations for better conditions and social revolution. This was all the more apparent when he took his seat in 1905, just as his twenty-four-page book *Catecismo socialista* (Socialist catechism) was published.[44] The book offered stark critiques of electoral politics, laying out various paths that workers could take to create an "egalitarian and just society, without owners or slaves, without exploiters or exploited, without rich or poor." Romero Rosa's attitude toward politics—a politics that he had just become a part of—reflected the traditional anarchist antistate attitude: politics was "the art of deceiving the sentiments of workers and to impose laws by force to guarantee THEFT and the so-called PRIVATE AND INDIVIDUAL PROPERTY."[45]

For Romero Rosa, only socialism could liberate men and women, but this required destroying industrialism and the capitalist system. To that end, he offered variants on socialism, and what he recommended for the island. Of these, he counted two to be the most important to consider: parliamentary socialism and libertarian socialism. While both had the same economic goal—making the world a better place, more in line with Nature's laws of universal love and reason—he called the former socialism "authoritarian" and the latter "anarchic." While not explicitly endorsing either initially, Romero Rosa concluded by citing the differences as he saw them between "socialists"

(those using the political system) and "trade unionists" (those using direct action). In his mind, the best a worker could do would be to work within the trade unions to bring about socialism.[46] By exclusion, Romero Rosa was preferring libertarian over parliamentary socialism, and yet he had just been elected as a parliamentary socialist when the book was published.

Obviously, Romero Rosa was conflicted. But just as many anarchists worked within the FLT even after it aligned with the AFL, he came to believe that any venue that offered an opportunity to improve workers' lives was worthy of exploring. What is clear is that Romero Rosa—even while serving as a congressman—continued to warmly embrace anarchists and his own libertarian background. While Romero Rosa came to see his election to the House of Delegates as a means to bring about socialism from the parliamentary angle, he still publicly praised the work of anarchists and direct action. For instance, in 1906 he published his short collection of essays and stories *Entre broma y vera* (Half jokingly). In "El poder de la amistad" (The power of friendship), the author-politician recounts a conversation with a friend about anarchism. The friend had read in a newspaper that anarchists sought to resolve all problems with bombs, feeding into the popular imagination of anarchists as bomb-toting thugs—an image that anarchists were partly responsible for thanks to their occasional use of assassination in Europe and the Americas.[47] Romero Rosa corrected the friend (and thus the potentially misled reader): "Look, anarchism is an ideal that is extremely honorable and good." It seeks to supplant an exploitative capitalist system with "a universal revolution that inevitably will bring forth its own libertarian ideas." After this praise, he concluded that he would like "to share some bits of wisdom from Kropotkin" with this friend.[48] Thus, in just a few pages, Romero Rosa—a socialist congressman from San Juan—let his friends and enemies know his knowledge of and continued sympathy for anarchism and one of its most influential theoreticians, the anarcho-communist Peter Kropotkin.

Romero Rosa was not alone on the Left in having conflicted sentiments about the utility of the democratic process. So was Jesús Balsac. In his depiction of a "free socialism" outlined in 1900, Balsac had proposed using the democratic process to bring about the Social Revolution. By 1905, Balsac was the FLT secretary in the western city of Mayagüez. The following year he published *Apuntes históricos* (Historical notes) that chronicled labor meetings and activities in the city between 1902 and 1905. In the conclusion, Balsac reaffirmed his concept of a free socialism that mirrored the classic anarchist slogan: antistate, antipolice, antimilitary, and antireligion. "All of these obey the directives of property owners, of organized capital." Then, to reinforce the anarchist dimensions of his thinking, he cited the U.S. anarchist Albert

Parsons—a man executed in 1887 for his role in the Haymarket Affair in Chicago—as an example of how the world's workers would continue to expose and fight against injustice.[49] In short, Balsac clearly wavered in his faith in the electoral process while continuing to sympathize with anarchism.

It may seem contradictory for Romero Rosa and other leftists at this time to become parliamentary socialists while still being sympathetic to anarchism. Yet, one suspects that many people on the Left during this period—if they were not out-and-out ideologues—shared such conflicting sentiments. In a time of rapid political change in Puerto Rico, some leftists saw an opening to influence the political and legal system. While they could have completely surrendered that system to the capitalists to do with as they pleased for their own economic interests, Romero Rosa and workers elected to political offices around the island sought to use their limited influence to gain legally what had not yet been won via strikes or other labor actions. Of course, the danger was that such efforts could corrupt these new labor politicians. Nevertheless, even while suffering abuse from anarchists, Romero Rosa and other socialist prodemocracy advocates such as Balsac saw the goals of anarchism as their own—they just saw an opening to bring them about via another tactic. As it turned out, that opening for Romero Rosa was not appreciated by most anarchists or the FLT. Unfortunately, his decision to stand for election as a candidate for the Partido Unión in 1906—despite his obvious proworker sentiments—resulted in Romero Rosa being expelled from the FLT. He died in 1907 under a cloud of shame.[50]

Anarchists versus U.S.-Style Democracy in Puerto Rico

The changing political landscape obviously worried anarchists. In the few short years since the end of Spanish rule, they had seen leading comrades succumb to U.S.-style unionism and participation in elections as candidates. For those who maintained a hard-line rejection of all politics, the time seemed right to retrench and begin new antiauthoritarian organizing efforts in Puerto Rico. While anarchists continued to live, work, organize, and write around the island, one of the first anarchist pockets of resistance arose in the east-central town of Caguas. There, a group of radicals dominated the FLT local. While the socialist José Ferrer y Ferrer was president of the local, anarchist Pablo Vega Santos was secretary. Meanwhile, Juan Vilar and other Caguas-based tobacco workers organized Grupo "Solidaridad," (Solidarity Group) the first autonomous anarchist organization on the island, in the spring of 1905. The group held meetings, wrote columns to anarchist newspapers in Cuba,

founded a CES for educational work, and on May 22, 1905, began publishing their own newspaper, *Voz Humana*.[51]

Widespread labor unrest rocked the island in early 1905, and anarchists used these labor disputes to critique the island's political reality. For instance, they challenged how the island's political leaders and the dominant press addressed labor concerns. In a pointed attack, Vega Santos noted how Puerto Rico's elite criticized these labor actions by calling the strikers bamboozlers, uneducated, ignorant, and led by destructive anarchist doctrines. Such attacks were published in the newspaper *La Democracia* (Democracy)—a point, according to Vega Santos, that reflected how the press (even with such a name as "democracy" in its title) "had been placed on the side of the capitalists and the government." Such a situation raised the question of how officials on an island now ruled by the "democratic" United States could so openly throw strikers in jail, break up peaceful public meetings, and ban demonstrations. How "democratic" was that?[52]

For other anarchists, the early shine of U.S. democracy also wore off fairly quickly. Like many associated with the FLT, Alfonso Torres had been intrigued by U.S. democracy, but cautioned readers in his 1905 book *¡Solidaridad!* (Solidarity!) that republican democracy was not the only—or even best—answer to the plight of Puerto Rican workers. He charged that little was different from the Spanish era: "the laboring classes are as enslaved, as exploited, and as ignorant today as they were yesterday." Actually, he continued, "if they have improved in anything it is not because of some governmental formula that is more or less democratic, but on the contrary due to their own efforts." The government, on the other hand, was and would remain ineffective in meeting the needs of working peoples: "And those representatives of the people, we repeat, of that people that stupidly struggles and labors in order to give its representation to a small handful of men who do not know, nor have ever known what it is like to earn a piece of bread with the honest sweat from their brow: they only know how to legislate unjust and arbitrary laws [that protect property and enslave the working people]." Thus, the political struggle for votes was pointless for the working man. "We should forget political questions because these only benefit those who live for politics. Our place is not in the political camp, but rather in the economic camp, the social camp." Rather than engaging in politics, Torres urged workers to make the unions their central focus for improving lives and conditions. And here he actually praised the AFL as "the most powerful one existing in the American world" and that was the best expression of true solidarity. In Puerto Rico, he surmised, only the FLT as part of the AFL "will be able to achieve that great benefit [improved living conditions] for this unhappy people."[53]

Torres then commended the AFL for being a truly redeeming union that did not discriminate based on job, race, or nationality.

Venancio Cruz joined the anarchist critique of electoral politics on the island. In 1906, Cruz published *Hacia el porvenir* (Toward the future). Cruz's literate and well-educated background emerges in the book's pages as he speaks expertly about socialist and anarchist ideals as well as European history. Curiously, Cruz does not specifically mention Puerto Rico in the book.[54] However, there is little doubt that his essays condemning patriotism, politicians, and democratic politics did not emerge from simple study. They are clearly rooted in the evolving political context that he witnessed on the island. For Cruz, "democratic" institutions merely provided a new means for elites to pass laws in their favor "with no further objective than the subjugation of the masses." One had to question the value of democracy, how it came about, and who actually benefited, he adds. "Democracy, oh Democracy! Yesterday the people coveted it because it was offered to them by the *chupópteros* [bloodsuckers] of capital and government. Democracy then today is a farce, constituting the ultimate refuge for political tyrants."[55]

Yet, if democracy was an art of deception in which the elites held out the promise of a better day for the workers if the workers would just vote for them, then the laboring classes also bore some responsibility for being so willingly duped. As Cruz asked, "How can one explain how workers went to deposit their votes in the electoral urns to elect those poorly named pro-man politicians? Such has been the fruit of the detestable tree of our disastrous politics."[56] The derisive attack against Romero Rosa and other working-class candidates—the "pro-man politicians"—was hard to ignore.

This early theoretical and polemical critique of democracy was played out in numerous ways from 1905 to 1910 as anarchists challenged the role of the U.S. government on the island, the role of elections, and the threats posed by U.S.-based unions in Puerto Rico. During this half decade, anarchists increasingly connected the dots between these various aspects of U.S. origin. The United States had imposed the democratic process on Puerto Rico after 1901, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared in the famous Insular Cases that Puerto Rico belonged to but was not part of the United States. Consequently, democracy as it worked on the island was seen by anarchists as a foreign tool that not only facilitated colonialism but also gave the illusion of popular will while denying Puerto Ricans control over most of their own political, economic, and social conditions. Puerto Rican workers who took part in these elections as "pro-man politicians" and who thought they could improve the state of the laboring classes via parliamentary socialism were increasingly mocked for their shortsightedness. Because the FLT worked cooperatively

with various political parties, anarchists within the union increasingly faulted the FLT for playing party politics and thus facilitating U.S. imperialism.

Throughout 1905, anti-U.S. sentiment found regular expression in the international correspondence columns that Puerto Rican anarchists sent to their comrades in Havana. As police abuses mounted against striking workers in the early fall, the Caguas anarchists documented these abuses and asked how such events could occur in a "democratic" land. In September, one anonymous writer accused the police of behaving no better than Russian Cossacks and San Juan looking no different than Moscow, Odessa, and St. Petersburg, where the Russian police and military were butchering workers rising up in the 1905 revolution. All of this occurred, noted the writer, while the U.S.-appointed governor Beekman Winthrop—a twenty-nine-year-old friend of President Roosevelt—promised to bring peace. Winthrop, the writer charged, was a "miserable hypocrite" who sat by and let the police do their work for the interests of capital and the state.[57]

Writing from Mayagüez a month later, Paca Escabí echoed a theme that anarchists in Cuba were espousing at the same time. She asked: what had really changed since the U.S. invasions in 1898 and the removal of Spanish rule? When a worker is murdered in cold blood, no one notices, but as soon as "a tyrant is struck down," everyone cries "murder." Since the U.S. invasion, she continued, all that had really changed was that the invaders, who had led people to dream of a better life, had actually crushed peoples' hopes. "The American invasion of Puerto Rico only means division among workers, scandals in the administration, moral disorder, and hunger, exodus, and grief for the people." In a sense, any changes since the Spanish era were detrimental to the overall health of the island, since "the government is incompetent, and the people's political representatives have done nothing but foolishly approve laws acting against the interests of the Puerto Rican people and the working class in particular." The people, meanwhile, were sitting helplessly, "deceived into being victims of the tenacious, free, progressive, and avaricious descendants of Webster and Grant."[58]

While it was one thing to replicate the traditional anarchist antipolitics sentiments around election time, the uniqueness of Puerto Rico's larger political status with the United States placed the island's anarchists in the position of attacking both Puerto Rican and U.S. politics—a situation that coincided well with their earlier critique on the status of "democracy" in Puerto Rico. Thus, while anarchists in Cuba may have periodically challenged the military occupation governments of 1899–1902 and 1906–9, and occasionally lamented the threat of U.S. intervention as guaranteed by the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, Cuba was at least—technically—an independent

country. Puerto Rico's status was always clouded by Washington's refusal to incorporate the island as a state or to grant independence.

Because the island governor was a U.S. presidential appointee, anarchists easily extended their antipolitics rhetoric into an anti-imperialist attack. Alfonso Torres in San Juan addressed this specifically in a column published in Cuba but distributed on the island: "Here in Puerto Rico, where we cannot count on our own government . . . here where no power exists other than that of the North Americans, here where the governor and the executive council are the same rulers, what they order, oppresses the people, so that the struggles of the political parties are not really about power because power is in foreign hands."[59] For those politicians who claimed that the November 1906 elections would be a watershed event in Puerto Rican history, the Caguas anarchists sarcastically opined in *Voz Humana*: "The country will be saved" by the elections.[60] Thus, while some on the labor left, including Romero Rosa, saw an opening to use elections as one more tool to improve workers' conditions on the island, anarchists reminded Puerto Ricans of that delusion. The real power on the island was in Washington, not San Juan, and casting a vote for a prolabor politician merely created false hope.

Even before a new round of political campaigns heated up in 1906, the Caguas anarchists attacked these "politics of deception." Vega Santos warned workers. Remember, he wrote, how the police attacked striking workers and even killed a comrade. Those policemen obeyed the island's "hypocritical political clique comprised of both *unionistas* and *republicanos*."[61] As elections neared in November 1906, anarchists expressed ever-increasing concerns about the influence of party politics within the working class, fearing that workers were abandoning even the smallest amount of working-class consciousness in order to join with one political party or another. From Cayey, "Diógenes" lamented that "here, politics invades everything; workers struggle and fight against workers, each one defending their bosses and what they believe are their redeeming and saintly causes." In Caguas, an anonymous writer described the "wave of politics invading everything" as politicians arrive in every town, village, and hamlet "telling the residents that the *country* needs the force of the young to be great and prosperous, and that the only way they can express this patriotic sentiment is by giving the candidate their votes."[62] In Humacao, one writer taking the name of a famous anarchist bomber Rabachol was more specific. He charged that the political parties, especially the *unionistas*, were attempting to get rural votes by promising better health conditions and increases in medical care. Rabachol suggested that the *jíbaros* (rural Puerto Ricans) were not so stupid and ignorant that they could not see this as blatant electioneering.[63]

Still, anarchists knew that more workers were siding with one political party or another. Even though *Voz Humana* had over seventy individual financial backers scattered around the island (and who knows how many nonpaying sympathizers) and it drew heavy support from tobacco workers, this was not enough to sway workers to stay away from the polls.[64] But it was those workers running for political office that really angered anarchists. As one former working-class politician who signed himself "Político, jamás" (Politician, Never Again) put it just two weeks before the election, "workers who are politicians too are criminals for their own cause because they commit an outrage against their individual freedom, choosing to be the minions and sustainers of the bourgeoisie."[65] Ultimately, Alfonso Torres in San Juan summarized anarchist sentiment in a column titled "La farsa electoral en Puerto Rico" (Electoral farce in Puerto Rico): "But voter registration drives begin six or seven months before and as a result the salaried classes of the politico-bourgeois press, charged with agitating popular passions, light the flame of hate and discord, where the working people—eternal conscience-lacking beast!—like the innocent butterflies, flying crazily around the flame and stupidly burn their own wings of freedom and fraternity only to fall and roll around in the dust of their own desperation and misery. Oh, voluntary slaves of the twentieth century!"[66] Torres's column, published in Havana's *¡Tierra!,* returned to Puerto Rico for distribution at the end of August, just as the two leading political parties in Cuba rose up in civil war against one another, ushering in a U.S. invasion. The column, coupled with current events in Cuba illustrating electoral catastrophe and U.S. interventionism, was a one-two anarchist punch to show the futility of republican democracy for Caribbean workers. For whatever gains Romero Rosa and others hoped to achieve from taking part in local and islandwide elections, their efforts proved fruitless. The FLT officially broke with the *unionistas* and participated as its own political party in the 1906 elections. FLT candidates received less than 1 percent of the vote (though workers running with the other two parties fared slightly better). The FLT's disastrously low returns in 1906 and again in 1908 illustrated that the union needed to stick to its economic mission.[67]

Anarchists heaped scorn upon organized labor and labor's failed attempt as an independent political force in Puerto Rico. As early as October 1906, anarchists in Bayamón led by Alfredo Negrín, temporarily broke from the FLT because of union support for electoral politics and organized an independent union—a move that itself led to a violent confrontation with a foreman of the Porto-Rico American Tobacco Company in which Negrín punched the foreman in the mouth and the foreman pulled a gun and began shooting at Negrín.[68] He survived and soon came to colead labor militancy

in Bayamón. Following the 1908 elections, writers to the Bayamón-based *El Eco de Torcedor* (Echo of the Cigar Roller), edited by Alfonso Torres, led the revitalized antipolitics charge. Then, Antonio Quiñones Ríos of Mayagüez urged delegates to the Sixth Workers Conference of the Puerto Rican FLT in 1910 to pull the FLT completely out of party politics. For Quiñones, politics was distracting from the union's economic goals. If FLT leaders wanted to engage in politics, then let them create a labor party. "But we do not want it to be called the 'Federación Libre' and don't run a campaign in the name of the institution."[69] While the labor left—including some anarchists—had early approved of or at least accepted some U.S.-influenced democratic reforms on the island, this quickly changed. After less than a decade, all anarchists and most on the Left had grown weary of this aspect of Americanization. By 1910, few supported continued participation in electoral politics. The sentiment was so widely held that FLT delegates to the 1910 labor conference voted to abandon party politics and readopt the previous no-politics stance. While the move placed the FLT back in line with the AFL's "no politics" approach, it also reflected the same antielections stance that FLT anarchists had been pushing within the union for years.[70]

Anarchist Suspicions of Americanization, Iglesias, and the AFL

While anarchists fretted about U.S. political initiatives and their impacts in Puerto Rico, they also began to question the impact of the AFL, its leader Samuel Gompers, Santiago Iglesias (Gompers's key representative in Puerto Rico), and other issues related to the impact of the U.S.-based workers movement on the island. Wherever the AFL emerged, it generally encountered anarchist opposition because of the AFL's willingness to work with employers for wage improvements and the union's perceived close links to the U.S. government. In anarchist eyes, such collaboration undermined the drive for social revolution. After all, how many labor leaders could be said to have dinner in the White House, as Gompers and Iglesias had done? On the U.S. mainland, the AFL also engaged in "nativist" labor organizing by seeking to restrict membership to U.S. citizens and attacking foreign workers. That nativist versus internationalist vision of the labor movement often brought the AFL and anarchist groups to verbal blows. Puerto Rico, though, was an odd case. Neither citizens nor foreigners, Puerto Rican workers occupied a unique position for both the AFL and the anarchists.

While the FLT had flirted with politics, its main concern still revolved around improving working conditions. A successful FLT-led strike in 1905 had brought recognition of a ten-hour workday and 15 to 30 percent wage

increases, despite repeated concerns expressed by Governor Winthrop that too many members of the FLT were anarchistic in nature and doctrine.[71] Anarchists had worked closely with nonanarchists in the FLT since its founding in 1899. Yet, while it was one thing to work within the FLT, their early impressions of the AFL and what it stood for suggest that Puerto Rican anarchists had mixed feelings. As noted earlier, Alfonso Torres, an early anarchist writer in the FLT, expressed in 1905 his initial interest in the AFL. It had, after all, come to the island and provided needed organizing power and structure via the FLT. In addition, at the end of his book *¡Solidaridad!* he wrote that the union struggle—removed from the political struggle—would lead to a social revolution that would create a new system based on "communism." Torres's concept of communism was quite specific, and quite anarchistic. It was a communism as Kropotkin, Bakunin, "and a hundred more eminent libertarians" defined it.[72] When examined in its entirety, Torres's *¡Solidaridad!* concluded that the AFL could help bring about anarcho-communism. The AFL's U.S. leadership—especially Gompers—might have taken pause over Torres's interpretation of the AFL's role in Puerto Rico—if they had been able to read Spanish. Of course, Gompers and the AFL opposed "communism." Yet, Torres believed that unity with the AFL could bring forth a communist future for Puerto Rico.

Throughout the early 1900s, this initial anarchist support for the AFL changed to a frequent criticism of the organization's policies and its leadership on the island. One key policy dispute rested on Iglesias's pro-Americanization stance for the FLT. He believed that the island's workers were best served by closely aligning themselves with their new protector in Washington and accruing the perceived benefits of being nominal, if not actual, U.S. citizens. As most anarchists saw it, Americanization was simply pie-in-the-sky romanticism. Iglesias and reformist leaders in the FLT, among them Rafael Alonso Torres and Eduardo Conde, were not alone in trying to ingratiate themselves with every U.S.-appointed governor of the island. In the first decade of U.S. rule, these union leaders met with and lobbied for better workplace conditions, eight- to ten-hour work days, and improved wages. Governors Charles Allen (1900–1901), William Hunt (1901–4), and Beekman Winthrop (1904–7) sat with Iglesias and his associates, listened to their appeals, allowed peaceful May Day and Labor Day celebrations, and issued reports on the condition of labor on the island. For anarchists, besides the image of working-class leaders sitting down with the state, they argued that very little benefit actually derived from such collaboration.

The state had a different view. In his 1903 annual report on conditions in Puerto Rico, Governor Hunt concluded "[t]he fact remains, however, that there has been in the past four years a slow but steady increase in the

wages of the ordinary laborer which, with improved sanitary conditions and greater personal liberty of action, have greatly improved his condition. The cost of living has increased to some extent, perhaps, there being complaints of this fact, but, on the other hand, the peon lives better than formerly and has developed a greater earning capacity."[73] Anarchists must have found this amusing, especially considering the reality they faced. If conditions were so much better, then why did so many islanders flee Puerto Rico to find jobs in Hawai'i, Ecuador, Mexico, or the United States? Ultimately, they believed that Iglesias's ineffective lobbying efforts undermined the workers cause. In fact, it is not difficult to imagine how watching the AFL-FLT begging for governmental help and protection must have weakened the image of the union in certain workers' eyes, especially when actual conditions on the ground did not appear to improve following such groveling.

Besides seeing the FLT leadership as an ineffectual lackey of U.S. administrators, anarchists also believed that the AFL as a whole had a bias against Puerto Rican workers, despite the cozy relationship between Iglesias and Gompers. For instance, in 1906 and 1907, anarchists challenged the AFL-linked Cigar Makers International Union (CMIU, or the International). The CMIU was a highly structured union with an abundance of rules coupled with a high initiation fee of three dollars and weekly dues of thirty cents. High fees were leveraged by negotiators who achieved good pay and conditions for members, strike funds, and travel loans, as well as sickness, unemployment, and death benefits.[74] The CMIU was attempting to expand it organizational reach throughout the cigar industry in South Florida and Puerto Rico. In 1908, the union slashed fees to try to attract Tampa workers.[75] For years, the International had campaigned for recognition in Puerto Rico. However, operators feared the combined impact of the CMIU, the FLT, anarchists, and the tradition of *parejería*. In January 1907, the island's tobacco workers voted to align themselves with the CMIU.[76] Yet, anarchists were not pleased with this development and had worked to prevent the CMIU's arrival. Anarchist opposition rested in part on issues of autonomy. They saw CMIU encroachment as a battle to determine who would control labor agitation in general and strikes in particular.[77] Always suspicious of centralization, anarchists feared that local initiatives would fall prey to dictates from a central CMIU union hall that answered to AFL headquarters in the United States.

This distrust of a distant CMIU-AFL monopoly and control worried anarchists on another front. Anarchists criticized how the International charged equivalent dues regardless of a worker's location. Thus, worse-paid workers on the island paid the same fees and followed the same by-laws as better-paid workers in Tampa, New York, and New Orleans. In essence, Puerto Ricans

paid a higher proportion of their wages to the union than their compatriots on the mainland. As one writer noted, the so-called "international" union seemed more interested in mainland-based workers, and should really be referred to as the Unión Internal, not Internacional.[78] Likewise, writing to Havana from Arecibo, Venancio Cruz charged that such practices undermined labor organization on the island, fostering worker apathy.[79] In short, were such unions truly internationalist in scope or were they merely manipulating "internationalist principles" in a larger labor movement power play against Puerto Rican workers? When Cruz published similar criticisms in the FLT's *Unión Obrera*, the CMIU fought back, charging that such criticisms undermined all union efforts. In fact, the CMIU slandered Cruz, accusing him of being a secret agent of the factory operators whose words were designed to divide the tobacco workers.[80] Anarchist conspiracy theories were being realized: any anarchist who criticized the CMIU or the AFL ran the risk of being labeled an agent provocateur or a scab.

A clear snapshot of the love-hate relationship between AFL-linked organizations and Puerto Rico's anarchists can be seen in a three-month span in mid-1909. In April, a columnist took to the pages of *¡Tierra!* to attack Iglesias and earlier harsh words that Iglesias had uttered against Caribbean anarchists. Iglesias had called anarchists *pícaros* (rogues). In response, this writer called Iglesias a sell-out and a hypocrite: "you were one of them [an anarchist], with the difference that you lost your old work shoes while we, with dignity, kept ours." The charge of Iglesias having sold out and become part of the labor aristocracy was reinforced in the same column when the writer, building on Iglesias's history of meetings with Washington politicians, accused Iglesias of "aspiring to suck the Washington dairy from [President] Taft's teat."[81]

Yet, while such animosity could flourish, anarchists still worked among the FLT rank and file. Anarchists played important roles in various organizing efforts, including Pedro San Miguel, Juan Vilar, and Pablo Vega Santos, who helped to launch the first Great Assembly of Puerto Rican Tobacco Workers in January 1907. In September 1907, the FLT and anarchists within their midst celebrated Labor Day as a way to appeal to workers to struggle for the FLT program outlined at that year's May Day celebration, including a minimum work age of fourteen, employment of a doctor in all factories and workshops, and abolishing pay in anything other than official currency. In 1909, anarchists were working intimately with the FLT's Cruzada del Ideal—a 1909–11 propaganda campaign designed to agitate among, recruit, and organize workers. During the campaign, mostly urban unionized workers—especially tobacco workers—donated part of their earnings to fund activists who traveled the island propagating the twin ideas of labor organization

and socialism.[82] Cruzada members staged plays, recited poetry, and sang revolutionary hymns in these consciousness-raising campaigns.[83] Among FLT strategies was the incorporation of important midlevel FLT working-class intellectuals to speak at public meetings and demonstrations. Because anarchists tended to operate in these midlevel structures of the FLT, often they could be found traveling across the island and spreading propaganda. In Mayagüez, for instance, anarcho-feminist Luisa Capetillo described encountering Alfonso Torres and other anarchists—suitcases in hand—heading out to mobilize the workers in July 1909.[84]

Thus, anarchists were intimately involved in FLT efforts to organize and raise the consciousness of workers. However, they never shied away from challenging labor union leaders and bureaucracies, especially when they believed that the actions of those leaders and bureaucracies undermined larger social revolutionary goals to which anarchists remained committed. This was one of the central dilemmas of being a Puerto Rican anarchist: the power and influence of U.S. political, economic, and even labor institutions meant that one had not only to challenge the Puerto Rican political and economic elite but also their U.S. overseers. These were twentieth-century anarchists dealing with twentieth-century colonialism. Anarchists always had to struggle to spearhead anarchist resistance within the Puerto Rican–based FLT. But just as importantly, they had to ask to what degree they were willing to join AFL efforts organized from the United States—efforts to which they held significant reservations about the overly pro-U.S., collaborationist tactics of much of the union's leadership.

Ultimately, anarchists were not particularly successful on the island a decade after the end of Spanish rule. But neither was the overall union effort in Puerto Rico. Whether due to anarchist critiques of the AFL-FLT-CMIU troika, general worker apathy, something else, or some combination, labor organizing was not gaining speed a decade after the United States took over the island. Attempts to politicize workers with their own party had collapsed due to the inability to achieve anything but a negligible vote. The Partido Unión had rejected socialists and workers for election slates. And, just as importantly, organized labor—for all of the FLT's efforts and its linkages with the AFL—had failed to organize critical numbers of workers. In 1904, the FLT claimed unions across the island, but their membership ranged from a low of ten in the blacksmith's union of Arecibo to 3,500 members in the Central Workers Union in Ponce.[85] Despite a decade of organizing, a decade of seeking help from U.S. administrators to gain worker improvements, and a decade of on-again, off-again cooperation with various political parties, by 1909 no more than 8,000 workers were organized across the island—an actual decline from

the peak of FLT organization of 8,700 in 1905.[86] To some degree, anarchists were correct. Neither electoral politics nor Americanization had resulted in a better organized workforce with sufficient working-class consciousness.

Attacking Worker Apathy

While anarchists dealt with political issues, concerns with labor organizing, and dilemmas of divided loyalties among workers on the island, they also challenged workers to consider the status of their overall working-class consciousness—or lack thereof for far too many workers. The roots of such apparent apathy ran deep. The U.S. Department of Labor had commented on the small number of organized workers a decade earlier. Officials ascribed a host of issues to explain it: "The great illiteracy among all classes, the much less general intelligence [of Puerto Ricans], the difficulties of organization under the former government [of Spain], the lack of competent leaders, the difficulties of transportation, and, above all, the extreme poverty of those most interested, have doubtless each borne a part in preventing any such solidification of thought and action as the great labor organizations in the United States represent."[87]

From the anarchist point of view, workers seemed reluctant to join the labor movement in any meaningful way, and then only if joining would garner them a few cents increase in wages. In 1905 in the midst of strike activities in Caguas, Río Grande, Carolina, and Arecibo, Pablo Vega Santos wrote to his comrades in Havana, lamenting what he saw around him. He criticized other workers for so willingly joining carnival celebrations, wasting their time, money, and efforts for a bourgeois celebration. Such festivities, he asserted, illustrated workers' indifference to the need for a larger social revolution. Here they were, their fellow workers in need of their support and solidarity, but instead they chose to partake in carnival parades and drunken revelries that only benefited the elite.[88]

A year later, Fernando de Mantilla in Mayagüez echoed this class analysis of carnival and its larger implications for the island's workers. The writer lamented the extraordinary amounts of money that the "dandies" lavished at carnival time while so many people went hungry. And where did that money come from? It is "money that is nothing other than the accumulation of work from a wretched worker succumbing to anemia and hunger." Yet, he lamented, the workers join in the processions without taking all of this into account. Mantilla concluded that what made this worse were the events at the end of the first day: as one "dandy" rode in his coach next to several young women, a poor boy threw a confetti-filled egg, striking the coach's interior.

The man jumped out of the coach and struck the boy with the coachman's whip. For the writer, the symbolism was clear: this is what awaited workers in the future. They may celebrate side-by-side with their "fellow countrymen," but the "dandies" would always be superior. "[I]f you don't wake up to the reality of today's punishment of the boy, tomorrow the punishment will be leveled on the crowd and with impunity."[89]

On a daily basis, activities of workers caught the ire of anarchists. Taverns fell victim to frequent anarchist criticism. For instance, José G. Osorio in Caguas in 1905 and an anonymous anarchist in 1908 complained to their Cuban colleagues about poor pay and the increasing desperation that they and their friends were feeling. Despite these trying times, many workers refused to join the movement. Osorio claimed that Puerto Rican workers were quick to complain about low wages that didn't provide enough food for the family but once Saturday evening rolled around they chose to forget these problems by going to taverns to concentrate on the appropriate billiards posture or to carouse with loose women.[90]

While known for their radicalism, Caribbean anarchists could be quite moralistic and prudish in their attacks of alcohol consumption and laborers whose working-class consciousness tilted more toward hoisting a beer with fellow workers than dedicating time to education and agitation. Yet the beer hall had a long history as a center of radicalism in Europe and the United States. As Tom Goyens has illustrated, anarchist beer halls in Metropolitan New York City were part of a network of locations where German anarchists held lectures and discussions while tipping back a lager.[91] Unfortunately, anarchists in Puerto Rico could not publicly accept such a position and saw afterhours drinking as backward rather than an act of solidarity. Instead of the labor movement generally or anarchists specifically "taking over" a tavern and making it their social zone, they rejected the tavern and thus alienated unknown numbers of working people.

Anarchists, including those in Cuba, sought to overcome worker apathy in a number of ways, including expanding their press offerings. Because of their small numbers, this was difficult for Puerto Rico's anarchists. Nearly all newspapers led by or operated in cooperation with anarchists were affiliated with FLT locals. Yet, when one recalls the low numbers of FLT organized workers by the time of the 1910 labor congress (only about eight thousand), one can begin to understand that even here there were difficulties generating enough circulation and readership to sustain any long-term anarchist newspaper project. Maybe tavern organizing would have helped raise this figure. Still, anarchists did what they could by founding, editing, or incorporating anarchist perspectives in at least five newspapers on the island from 1906 to

1910: the aforementioned *Voz Humana*, edited by Juan Vilar and others in Caguas (1905–6); *El Eco de Torcedor*, edited by Alfonso Torres in San Juan and then Bayamón (1908–9); *El Centinela* (The sentinel), edited by Severo Cirino (1909); *Nuevo Horizonte* (New horizon), edited by Torres and Pedro San Miguel in San Juan (1909); and the FLT's *Luz y Vida* (Light and life), edited by the socialist Rafael Alonso but including the writings of key anarchists (1909–10).

At the beginning of the century, many Puerto Rican radicals had hoped that U.S. constitutional protections regarding a free press and free speech would benefit their ability to reach out to workers. However, radicals easily could run afoul of U.S. laws, as occurred in December 1908 when the editors of *El Eco de Torcedor* went on trial in San Juan for libel. The judge convicted two editors, imposing a fifty-dollar fine that the FLT paid from a collection taken among the city's workers.[92] However, the trial reflected a larger issue surrounding radical journalism: finding affordable, sympathetic presses. Just before the trial, Alfonso Torres noted the need for *El Eco* to have its own printing press. This would facilitate cheaper, more regular production of the paper. Because costs were always an issue, *El Eco* followed the lead of the earlier *El Porvenir Social* by dedicating page 4 of each issue to advertising from local shops, cafés, and lawyers. One advertisement, placed by *El Eco* editors, urged businesses to advertise in the newspaper because it would be read by three thousand workers weekly.[93]

Following the December trial, the paper moved to nearby Bayamón, where it continued to be published at a small printing house run by comrade Pedro Moreno. The paper announced the move by saying that Bayamón "will from now on be our general quarters, our fortress from where we will continue combating the enemy of our well-being and progress with the same energy and enthusiasm as always."[94] Such flowery rhetoric tried to hide the fact that the move reflected not only the opportunity to have their own printing press but also because no other printing press would risk publishing a paper whose editors had just been convicted of libel. The move, though, would have long-term consequences. Over the next decade, some of the most active and continuous-running anarchist groups would be based in Bayamón.

As did so many papers before and after it, *El Eco* soon faded from the scene. However, in July 1909, Pedro San Miguel launched *Nuevo Horizonte* among San Juan's tobacco workers. One of the paper's cofounders—the anarchist Ángel M. Dieppa—called the paper a successor of *El Eco* and to that end attempted to promote anarchist agendas and interpretations within the mostly tobacco-worker press. Both *El Eco* and *Nuevo Horizonte*, as well as the San Juan paper *Luz y Vida* published by the New Ideas Club, wrote

about education specifically. Just as importantly, they became conduits for workers to share money and resources while understanding issues affecting tobacco workers elsewhere, especially their colleagues in Tampa. As with newspapers throughout the international anarchist movement, one of their central roles was to coordinate flows of ideas, people, and resources. *Luz y Vida*, while published as an official organ of the FLT in 1909 and 1910, nevertheless published works from important international anarchists in an effort to educate readers. Workers could read a biography of Proudhon and his ideas while reading the ideas of their own anarchist Alfonso Torres in his "El amor y el ideal" (Love and the ideal) in the same August 1909 issue. The paper also published biographies of Francisco Pi y Margall and radical educator Francisco Ferrer y Guardia. In addition, this FLT paper followed the exploits in the United States of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn in her Spokane, Washington, free-speech fights, and reported on anarchists being held as political prisoners in Mexican jails.[95] Similarly, Severo Cirino noted in the opening issue of his *El Centinela* that workers needed to avoid party politics and those politicians who would try to persuade workers to join their cause. Rather, he concluded in a way that reflected so much of the blending of socialists and anarchists in Puerto Rico, workers should struggle as a class to take power by using "the party of class and the workers union" just as both Marx and Bakunin advocated.[96] To this end, readers would need to know the ideas of all of these leftist thinkers.

At times, newspapers reflected larger efforts to coordinate resource sharing around the island. For instance, in 1908 and 1909, *El Eco* announced that anarchists Juan Vilar and José Morales had collected money in Caguas and brought it to San Juan to pay for the health care of their ill comrade Aurelio Villariny. Meanwhile, Venancio Cruz and Alfredo Negrín sent money from Bayamón to help sustain the newspaper, receive copies, and then distribute the paper there.[97] The editors of *Nuevo Horizonte* continued this intraisland networking by sending copies from San Juan to anarchist communities in Caguas and Bayamón. The paper also printed news from Tampa when it published correspondence from an unnamed writer on conditions in that city's tobacco factories. Puerto Ricans read about the growing unemployment in the Tampa factories, the impact of urbanization as more and more workers migrated to the city to find work, and the plight of female Italian tobacco workers who worked (if they could) to help support families. The Tampa correspondent concluded by noting "this is enough so that Puerto Rican comrades can judge for themselves the position of tobacco workers in these *arenales* [quicksands]."[98]

Ultimately, during the first decade of the post-Spanish era, one cannot speak of an "anarchist movement" in the same way that one existed in Spain, the United States, or Cuba at this time. Puerto Rico was a unique environment for anarchists. The impact of U.S. occupation and control led some radicals to believe that change could be achieved peacefully and within the democratic institutions brought to the island. Thus, many radicals first developed relations with the SLP of the United States and then later with the AFL. Most anarchists, however, did not accept these alliances, let alone the idea of pursuing electoral politics. Their criticisms of electoral politics rested as much on traditional anarchist skepticism of politics and governments in general as with Puerto Rico's political condition. After all, the island was controlled by the United States. As such, the real power would never be in the municipal councils or the House of Delegates. The real power was in Washington because, when all was said and done, Puerto Rico was a colony.

While rejecting this aspect of Americanization for the island, anarchists cautiously joined another aspect of Americanization: the AFL-linked FLT. Because the FLT was the most important—and for most of this time the only—Puerto Rican–based labor organization on the island, anarchists willingly joined and worked critically within the FLT. At the same time they critiqued the role of the AFL in the Americanization project for Puerto Rican workers. These anarchists tried to keep their ideals alive by publishing pamphlets and books, editing newspapers that included anarchist themes and issues, performing plays, conducting readings at labor meetings and festivities, and engaging in the FLT Cruzada del Ideal propaganda tour. As a result, anarchists found themselves working across sectarian lines while maintaining their radical ideas for the island. Such freely chosen cross-sectarian associations would continue into the 1910s as anarchists linked themselves with freethinkers, rational-religious *espiritistas*, and FLT radicals in the culture wars over education and religion on the island.

3. Anarchist Alliances, Government Repression

Education, Freethinkers, and CESs, 1909–1912

It seemed that every week new faces were joining old radical stalwarts. Single men as well as couples were walking through the doors of the nondescript building that housed the Caguas Centro de Estudios Sociales near the center of town. They came for a number of reasons—some to hear a speaker or watch a play, a few to discuss labor issues and conditions in the tobacco factories, others to browse the library of radical literature or read the anarchist newspapers arriving from New York, Barcelona, and Havana. Workers also came in the evenings to attend night classes. By 1909, radical activists in the community decided that it was not enough to educate men and women after a long day of work or to hold social gatherings on Sunday evenings. Somehow, the next generation of workers had to be reached. These children of workers were the first generation born and raised in this new colonial reality.

For the next two years, Juan Vilar and a handful of dedicated teachers opened and ran Puerto Rico's first radical school for children. Together, the school and the CES were turning Caguas into a center of anarchist activism on the island. Both Puerto Rican and U.S. authorities were nervous about the growing presence and visibility of radical educational experiments emerging around the island, especially considering how a group of freethinking professionals based in the southern city of Ponce were also advocating the development of such antiauthoritarian schools and centers. In 1911, under the cover of suppressing strikers and uprooting anarchist cells around the island, authorities set out to eliminate radical education.

Freedom from the state, capital, and church meant freedom from authoritarian institutions, but anarchists also wanted a freedom "to" and not just

a freedom "from." Anarchists on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean believed that these two dimensions of freedom could be achieved by fostering rationalist education modeled after the theories of Barcelona-based activist Francisco Ferrer y Guardia. He opened the first Modern School in 1901. The school and others modeled on it were coeducational, where students studied core subjects such as math, science, and social studies in a nondogmatic, nonauthoritarian setting. Students learned hygiene and about the natural world. Free time was prized so that children could explore their imaginations while developing strong, healthy bodies. The nonhierarchical structure of the schools, where teachers were primarily facilitators and not disciplinarians, preserved ample opportunities for children to explore their own interests and vocations. If students grew bored with a subject, they were free to drop it and explore something that stimulated their curiosity. Students were not rewarded or punished through examinations or grades, because to do so would introduce a power relationship and class structure into the classroom. Ultimately, free children needed the liberty to explore and enjoy without the very authoritarian strictures that anarchists believed undermined humankind's natural freedom and equality.[1]

Because they stressed that education should be dogma free, anarchists rejected both public and religious education. Public education in their minds was little more than government education: since it was state-sponsored, state-financed, and included a state-developed curriculum, it must also be state-indoctrinating. Because anarchists also opposed organized religion, especially the Roman Catholic Church, they equally condemned religious education. Essentially, they viewed the church as a repressive, regressive, antiscience institution whose backward influences on women and its lingering tentacles in schools would slow the path of human progress. As best they could, anarchists and their labor allies opened and ran the CESs and rationalist schools to battle working-class apathy and provide a means to educate men, women, and children to prepare themselves for the social revolution. For a political, legal, religious, and economic establishment that sought a docile and obedient labor force, such antiauthoritarian experiments in autonomy had to be destroyed.

Anarchists, Freethinkers, and Rational Education

In May 1909, Vilar wrote his colleagues in Cuba, who were then launching their own series of rationalist schools throughout metropolitan Havana. He noted the difficulties he was having at the school in Caguas. The problem's source was not so much the children as it was their parents' apathy and

religious practices. While Vilar could try to tap into the children's interests, they nevertheless tended to think and act as their parents did, or "to say, that slavery begins in the home; the innocent brain becomes inoculated by the most antagonistic and antinatural preoccupations . . . because the family's feudalism imposes its beliefs, shutting down the child's natural sentiments so that he has lost his individuality, his intellectual impulse; he is an automaton." Vilar continued by blaming Caguas's workers for an indifference to freedom and working-class betterment, while at the same time having no problem allowing their older children to attend gaming parlors or permitting all of their children to attend catechism classes. This "religious fanaticism" to which workers subjected themselves and their children caught the special ire of Vilar. He could not understand why workers would require their children to attend an institution that worked against workers' material interests while denying children the opportunity to attend a school where they could pursue freedom.[2]

In October 1909, the Spanish government executed Ferrer y Guardia. As news spread throughout Puerto Rico, leaders and authors were realizing the difficulty of creating and operating their own rationalist schools. Still, they remained committed to the rationalist school movement. In an article published by *Luz y Vida* shortly after news of Ferrer's execution got out, the editors sprang to defend Ferrer's educational mission.[3] Meanwhile, the papers launched attacks against the island's educational system, especially religious schools. Pablo Vega Santos, reflecting on the activities of Argentine freethinkers challenging religious education there, noted that "in San Juan an imposing demonstration called 'Reason' has taken hold." In his view, there was a solid antireligious education sentiment in Puerto Rico, and, ironically enough, this had been facilitated by the United States whose system was, if not the best, at least better than the Spanish system had been. "Spain was only interested in teaching how to pray and the Americans are interested in instructing. We are not congregants."[4] Both worker apathy and a belief that the U.S. education system was not so bad undermined anarchist efforts to create rationalist schools. By March 1910, when the FLT held its Sixth Workers Congress in Juncos, the delegates paid a brief tribute to Ferrer y Guardia and condemned the execution.[5] Unfortunately, that was the extent of their protest. Pablo Vega Santos and Enrique Gómez did offer a resolution to create night schools for workers. However, the congress's only initiative to help young people was a resolution to establish a music band in Caguas for the "unionized youth of that town."[6]

By 1910, the state of public education in Puerto Rico was dismal, but not that different than Cuba, which had also been a recipient of U.S.-guided

public-school reform for a decade. In Cuba, the United States created a new education system modeled after the School City experiment in New York, which provided basic instruction, including civics and trades. Such approaches were replicated in Puerto Rico, where U.S. officials viewed public education as a central tool to Americanize Puerto Ricans and make the island a bilingual, bicultural resource linking the United States and Latin America. Thus, not only were students to learn trades but also civics (e.g., saluting the U.S. flag each morning), industrial education, and especially English.[7]

However, such efforts had limited success. A decade after liberation from Spanish rule, both islands had public-school attendance rates hovering around 31 percent. In 1910, over 404,000 Puerto Ricans between six and twenty years old lived on the island, but only 31.6 percent attended school: 35.1 percent of six- to nine-year-olds, 47 percent of ten to fourteen-year-olds, and 13.1 percent of fifteen- to twenty-year-olds. In the second decade of U.S. rule, school enrollments and attendance dropped significantly. While 207,010 students enrolled and 155,830 students actually attended in the 1913–14 school year, these figures fell to 155,657 and 116,779 for 1916 and 1917, respectively, even though the number of teachers and schools increased over the same period.[8] Meanwhile, the Roman Catholic Church and a variety of Protestant churches operating under the American Missionary Association ran schools across the island. The latter in particular were part of the U.S. Americanization project and targeted "training" in manual arts.[9]

While anarchists were generally the strongest proponents of Ferrer's Modern School and plans for rationalist education, other progressives, especially a group of freethinkers based in the southern city of Ponce, were sympathetic to those concerns as well. In October 1909, less than a week after Ferrer's execution, the Organizing Committee of Freethinkers launched its first issue of *La Conciencia Libre* (Free conscience). This eight- to sixteen-page weekly newspaper quickly became not only the island's leading advocate for rationalist education but also the strongest critic of the Catholic Church. The freethinking professionals and the labor left agreed on religion, free speech, and the need for rationalist schools modeled after Ferrer. Issue after issue of *La Conciencia Libre* attacked religious education and promoted Ferrer's Modern School Movement. They blamed priests for his execution but could also claim that, at the current time, "schools in Puerto Rico, the United States, France, and in all free nations" were increasingly like his Modern School ideal.[10] Yet, while the editors praised Ferrer, they seemed to have paid little more than lip service to rationalist education. Neither the newspaper nor the groups supporting it launched a campaign to create rationalist schools such as those undertaken by anarchists throughout the Americas.

In Puerto Rico, this effort to found rationalist schools was left largely to the anarchists and some of their socialist allies. In Cuba from 1909 to 1912, Ferrer's execution energized the anarchist community, which launched fund-raising drives to create rationalist schools and hire teachers to guide the children. The larger anarchist community around Havana, complete with its own press, was in a much stronger financial and political condition to start schools. The furor over Ferrer's execution was no more timid in Puerto Rico, but lacking large numbers of activists as well as their own newspaper, anarchists struggled to cobble together whatever they could to create a rationalist educational program. While the freethinkers offered public support for these initiatives, they seem to have not put their money behind the efforts.

The short-lived Puerto Rican experiment in rationalist education lasted from 1909 to 1911 and was based in Caguas, San Juan, and Bayamón. Considering the demography of the island at this time, it was little wonder that these were the three most radical communities. All three were centers of cigar production as factories emerged and populations surged, attracted by the new employment opportunities. The cities themselves (exclusive of the surrounding communities that made up the larger political municipal districts) grew rapidly after 1898, as reflected in table 1. As cigar production surged and workers migrated to these small cities to work in the factories and supplement complementary shops and businesses, anarchists began to organize in the communities. They hoped that more workers in these cities would increase attendance at the CESs and inject money and interest in building schools for their children.

The tobacco workers in Caguas had been at the forefront of labor militancy. One recalls that the first anarchist group in the post-Spanish era was organized in Caguas in 1905 thanks to efforts by Pablo Vega Santos and Juan Vilar. Vilar also had been instrumental in launching a CES in Caguas that same year. In January 1910, as the freethinkers in Ponce were doing little more than celebrating Ferrer's theories and achievements regarding rationalist education while lamenting his death, anarchists opened the new

Table 1. Urban Population Growth, 1899–1910

	Total Population 1899	Total Population 1910	Percentage Increase
San Juan	32,048	48,716	52%
Caguas	5,450	10,354	90
Bayamón	2,218	5,272	138

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910*, 1181.

Centro Racionalista Juventud Estudiosa (Studious Youth Rationalist Center) in Caguas. To broaden their propaganda efforts, Vilar and his comrades then organized the Grupo 13 de Octubre (October 13 Group), named for the date that Ferrer was executed in Spain.[11]

Meanwhile, anarchists in San Juan were inspired by Vilar's efforts and launched the new group Nuevas Ideas (New Ideas). Most of the San Juan group's organizers were anarchists, including Severo Cirino and Alfonso Torres. They hoped to create a revolutionary library and organize schools in the capital city. Torres was the group's correspondent, and he clearly showed his gratitude to Vilar's educational leadership in a front-page letter in *Unión Obrera*. He thanked Vilar for helping him get the idea to create a new CES in San Juan and looked forward to networking between the two cities.[12]

Tobacco workers in Bayamón were equally repulsed by Ferrer y Guardia's execution but took longer to form an educational center. Not until the violence surrounding the tobacco strikes of 1911 (discussed below) would anarchists and other radicals found a CES in Bayamón. Alfredo Negrín, Ramón Barrios, Epifanio Fiz Jiménez, and others opened the CES 11 de Marzo (March 11), named for the date that their comrade Adolfo Reyes was murdered by a strikebreaker during labor violence in March 1911.[13] The center was not much to speak of: a small library and parlor with the works of the leading radical writers from abroad, a large table to gather around, red flags hanging from the walls, and portraits of Kropotkin, Marx, Bakunin, Máximo Gorki, Anselmo Lorenzo, and other "honored men who figured prominently in the libertarian movement that convulsed throughout the European continent." While no formal classes apparently were held, children and youth did visit the Bayamón center to read the books and attend daily meetings held by the CES founders. To this day, Bayamón is the only city on the island—and one of the few cities in the world—with a street named after Ferrer y Guardia.[14]

Around the island, anarchists and other leftists also attempted popular education. Worker culture in Mayagüez and elsewhere took advantage of holidays and other opportunities to educate the masses in whatever tools they had. As in Caguas, cultural performances in Mayagüez included anarchist plays. For instance, on Labor Day 1910, the city's activists performed the classic del Valle play *Fin de fiesta* in the Teatro Yagüez. But an event with a cloudy agenda like the one in Mayagüez could create confusion. The FLT in the city was responsible for the Labor Day festivities. While the day's events culminated with del Valle's play, the celebration also included a speech by Dr. Gutiérrez Igaravidez, Governor Colton's representative to the meeting.[15] Thus, the FLT in Mayagüez included broad representation on its bill; however, when

representatives of the colonial government were featured speakers alongside the performance of anarchist plays, it was easy for an audience member to get mixed messages. The more anarchist-led stronghold of Caguas seems to have avoided this problem. During Labor Day celebrations there in September 1910, Vilar and others spoke to an estimated crowd of over a thousand. According to Pablo Vega Santos, it was the largest workers' gathering in the city's history—with no proworker message diluted by "official" speakers.[16]

Unfortunately, none of the CESs thrived, and both popular and formal education endeavors flailed in the face of economic pressures and political repression. In San Juan, the group Nuevas Ideas was sputtering along, with no news emerging about its efforts, or whether or not rationalist classes were being held. Yet, anarchists and socialists in the capital remained committed to rationalist education. On the first anniversary of Ferrer's death in October 1910, the FLT and Nuevas Ideas joined forces at a rally in the Plaza de Baldorioty. Under the name La Liga Pro-Ferrer (Pro-Ferrer League), they published a manifesto signed by leftists José María Dieppa and Pedro San Miguel. Meanwhile, Alfonso Torres spoke at the rally as did Santiago Iglesias. The rally, though, appears to have been a rare show of support for the Ferrer schools in San Juan.[17]

Economics undermined efforts in Caguas. By June 1910, the Caguas economy was on the ropes. The FLT newspaper reported that factories which usually employed 200 to 250 workers were only employing 30 to 40 workers due to a shortage of tobacco leaf.[18] While one could say that workers and potential beneficiaries of a CES might have had more time to go to the center because they lacked employment, the equal reality was that few people had disposable income to spend at the CES for newspapers or even to support the CES's operations. Despite this, the CES did its best to survive and even extend its reach. Anarchists were accustomed to having no money and making the most out of good intentions and a few dollars. In July, the CES set out to print its own newspaper, launching a fund-raising campaign, but to no avail. On another front, the Caguas CES started to offer day classes for working-class children. In addition, as the strongest CESs in the Americas showed, no CES was worth its name without a band. CES member Rafael Ceferino led the one in Caguas that had been launched during the workers congress earlier in the year.[19] Just as a CES needed music, it also needed plays. One of CES member Enrique Plaza's fondest memories of the Caguas group was the dramatic performances of plays, among them Gori's anarchist *Primero de mayo* (May Day).[20]

Juan Vilar was the key to the Caguas CES; however, he could rub people the wrong way. Erudite and dedicated, he saw rationalist education as his true calling. But Vilar was sickly, too, and his health began steadily to deteriorate

in 1910. In mid-1910, he became increasingly ill. Stomach pains led to high fevers and blurred vision. Eventually, he had to stop working in the Johnson cigar factory in Caguas. With no money coming in, his compañera went to work. But coworkers also took up a collection, raising enough money to buy some medicine. These initial acts of solidarity, though, were short-lived. Soon, his companion—a fellow teacher at the CES Juventud Estudiosa—also fell ill and was unable to work. Worse, upon hearing that Vilar was feeling better but not yet capable of returning to work, his former colleagues in the factory declined to raise more money to help him. As Vilar put it in a letter to Santiago Iglesias, "That was the last straw."[21]

In a series of letters addressed to Iglesias and published in *Unión Obrera* during June and July, Vilar railed against the state of Puerto Rican working-class consciousness in general but in Caguas in particular. As Vilar saw it, "too many men in our camp call themselves altruists, and what they actually do is destroy the unity and sentiments that ought to be in the hearts of men belonging to the same family."[22] As evidence, Vilar accused workers of not only abandoning him—a man who had fought all of his adult life to improve their lot by working alongside them during the day and teaching them in schools at night—but also abandoning the CES. According to Vilar, just as workers had stopped supporting him during his illness, "the majority of my friends and comrades fled from my side" and the school nearly collapsed. Was this because they simply had no money to give? Not in his eyes: "the men, stupid and savage, threw traditional parties full of immoralities while the bird of destitution swooped down upon two human beings [Vilar and his compañera]."[23]

It is possible that Vilar was actually suffering from an unrealistic optimism—if a poor, sickly man who works all day and teaches all night can be said to suffer such a condition. However, his letters took on a curious tone. They began by criticizing members of the FLT who seemed to be members for no other reason than to get better pay. The letters also lamented how quickly workers could abandon the educational experiments once the CES creator and his partner suffered setbacks and then no one stepped forward to pick up the slack. Yet, by the end of these letters (seven in all), Vilar was actually optimistic. While too many people could easily slip "into the abyss of vice and wickedness" that was ruled by an alliance of capitalism, "state, religion, and *patria*," there was hope. Despite everything, the Caguas CES was still operating in a new building dedicated to teaching working-class children.[24] Just as importantly, after Vilar had traveled to San Juan to seek expensive psychiatric care, workers in the capital city as well as the radicals in Bayamón had come to his aid by raising funds to subsidize his treatments.[25]

While Vilar's health concerns provided him a literary vehicle to discuss education, working-class consciousness, and the state of the island's labor movement, not all readers of *Unión Obrera* were sympathetic. Vilar's accusations touched raw nerves for some who either did not like having their credentials and loyalties questioned or at least thought that Vilar might be taking some liberties with the facts—to the detriment of all. The last word on this came shortly after Vilar's final letter to the newspaper. Enrique Gómez, a delegate to the recent labor congress, took umbrage with Vilar, indirectly accusing him of misappropriating union funds. According to Gómez, Vilar had a long history of seeking health benefits from his fellow workers and the FLT. For whatever reason, Vilar apparently never sought treatment from the FLT's own doctors. When word of this circulated, some workers wondered whether or not Vilar was really ill. Gómez charged that Vilar had been heard to say that he wanted to get as much money as possible so he would not have to work for a year. Meanwhile, what Vilar saw as abandonment might actually have been suspicion about a man who repeatedly received FLT health allowances while other workers and activists, including Pablo Vega Santos, who had children, could have better used the union's limited amount of funds available for workers' health needs. Interestingly, Vilar did not respond to Gómez's column, especially after Gómez noted that from 1908 to 1910 Vilar had been given over two hundred dollars' worth of benefits from the FLT.[26] In fact, even the much-maligned CMIU had raised over seventy dollars for Vilar in January 1910 after he had been ill for over a year.[27]

Vilar certainly had fallen out of favor with some FLT members, but it was impossible to deny that he remained an influential and controversial figure in Caguas, within the union, and in rationalist education. His radical activities and perspectives kept the anarchist agenda in play within the union. But they also brought Vilar to the attention of authorities when in 1911 he was implicated in crimes ranging from immorality to murder.

The State Fights Back

In late January and early February 1911, tobacco workers across the island went on strike. In Bayamón, Epifanio Fiz Jiménez, Ramón Barrios, and Alfredo Negrín celebrated the strikes by publishing a short-lived newspaper, *¡La Huelga¡ Órgano Defensor del Movimiento* (Strike! Defensive organ of the movement), which praised the courage of the average men and women who used their only weapon: the strike.[28] Caguas cigar makers followed suit. They demanded higher pay, reinstatement of workers they felt had been unfairly

fired, and reversal of a plan to halt the custom of giving workers six to twelve free cigars each day. Targeting the Cayey-Caguas Tobacco Company, the American–West Indies Trading Company, and others, the strike stopped the production of more than 600,000 cigars per week, approximately one-fifth of the total Puerto Rican output.[29]

The Caguas FLT organized a mass rally on March 9. According to press reports, "inflammatory speeches" filled the rally, including calls for actions "against the factory heads." As the meeting ended, a striking worker named Ventura Grillo pulled out his revolver and shot dead Adrián Pérez, factory manager of the American–West Indies Trading Company, who was crossing the city plaza at that moment. Pérez's friend Pedro José Díaz, a dry-goods merchant, came to his aid but was gunned down by Grillo as well.[30] The double murder rocked the city. While interviewed in police custody, Grillo claimed he shot Pérez because the day before he and his comrades had gone to Pérez with a list of strike demands, but Pérez had rejected them.[31] In the immediate wake of the shootings, strike-related violence spread. The next day in Bayamón, labor leader Adolfo Reyes was gunned down by the strike-breaker Justo Andrades.[32]

Grillo's confession sent the police looking for a broader conspiracy. Ángel Acosta, the district attorney for Humacao, led the murder investigation. Though no solid proof could be obtained, Acosta charged that more FLT members were involved in the killings. More specifically, using Grillo's statement that he was an anarchist and had plotted with other anarchists in the city to murder Pérez, Acosta claimed that an anarchist cell in the city was behind Grillo and the murders. The district attorney ordered widespread detentions of workers, especially anarchists, affiliated with the Caguas FLT. Within two weeks of the killings, police had arrested twenty-two men in Caguas believed to be part of a recently discovered "Anarchist Club" that had anarchist literature and photographs of known radicals. Police sent half to jail cells in San Juan and the other half to Humacao. Meanwhile, Governor Colton sent additional police to Caguas to stifle unrest and a fresh wave of worker agitation that had grown in the wake of the mass arrests.[33]

One of the detainees was Juan Vilar. As head teacher in the Caguas CES, Vilar was a natural political target. On March 20, police temporarily detained him while they confiscated papers and documents from the school and then closed the CES. His release was short-lived. A few days later, he was arrested and transferred with ten others—including his friend and future PS radical Juan Marcano—as part of the group sent to jail in San Juan.[34] Over the coming months, Vilar's and Grillo's legal dilemmas paralleled each other as the

government struggled to put an end to labor unrest and the consistent thorn of anarchism and radicalism. By early April, most of the detainees had been released, with the notable exceptions of Vilar and Grillo.

In early April, Vilar appealed his detention to the Tribunal Supremo de Puerto Rico (the island supreme court), claiming that his habeas corpus rights had been denied. Vilar won his appeal before a preliminary panel, and Justice Aldrey ordered his release; however, District Attorney Acosta appealed this decision to the entire court and Vilar remained in jail. With Vilar sitting in jail awaiting his supreme court trial, Acosta brought charges against him in Caguas municipal court. This time Vilar went to trial not for being part of an anarchist conspiracy but for immorality and sex crimes. He was accused of "un delito contra la honestidad" (crime against decency). The charge stemmed from an article that he had reprinted years earlier about a Catholic priest raping a six-year-old girl. Copies of the newspaper that included the article were among the items confiscated from the CES in March. On April 26, the municipal court found Vilar guilty, sentencing him the next day to eighteen months in jail and ordering him to pay a 200-dollar fine—a sentence that he and his FLT-financed lawyer immediately appealed.[35]

On May 2, Grillo was transferred from Caguas to Humacao for a trial that began on May 16. The prosecution's murder case was clear-cut: plenty of witnesses and Grillo's own confession. The defense rested on trying to prove that Grillo was temporarily insane—a defense that itself reflected early press portrayals of the assassin as mentally deranged. However, the jury needed only two hours to deliberate, returning a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree.[36]

The initial arrests and subsequent interrogations prompted the original detainees and some supporters to petition for redress from the government. In July, the former detainees—minus Vilar, interestingly—published a public appeal addressed to Governor Colton, claiming false imprisonment and abuse while in custody. They maintained that they had been detained without any legal order for their detentions. At the Caguas police station, Acosta and police detective St. Elmo were party to several of the arrested men being physically attacked, one with his face slammed into the wall and another slapped across the face during interrogations. Not getting information about the supposed anarchist plot in their midst, the police then separated each detainee and interrogated him individually, claiming to each that others had admitted to an anarchist plot in which they gave Grillo twenty-five dollars to buy the revolver and helped him make the purchase. As the men sat in custody, police searched the homes of several detainees. All of this occurred without a search warrant and without the detainees having had the opportu-

nity to secure legal counsel. After being divided up and sent to San Juan and Humacao, the misleading and physically abusive interrogations continued until all but three detainees were released. In their appeal to the governor, the petitioners did not claim so much that their legal rights had been assailed—though they did mention this. Rather, they based their protests mainly on issues of integrity and honor:

> We consider that the most infamous of injuries has been committed against us. Our honor and our dignity have been put in doubt; public opinion came to believe the false claims by the District Attorney. . . . Our names have been seen in the most important newspapers of the country where we are portrayed as murderers or accomplices to murder. . . . Our children have been deprived for several days of our caresses, of what is most indispensable, of food; our mothers, spouses, and sisters have suffered grave moral illnesses and tortures; our spirit and our sense of ourselves as honorable men have suffered the tortures of our shameful persecution.[37]

Rather than appealing their rights as "citizens," they—in good leftist terms—appealed as human beings. In the name of justice, they urged the governor to rectify these abuses and give satisfaction to those who had suffered harsh, degrading, and illegal actions by government officials.[38]

The island's authorities, in particular Attorney General Foster V. Brown and Governor Colton, ultimately agreed that District Attorney Acosta had gone too far in his charges and rounding up of suspects. However, they refused to condemn the district attorney, claiming that the heightened state of tensions arising from the strike had made the situation in Caguas particularly tense. From their perspective, Acosta was wrong, but understandably so. In a letter to Governor Colton that June, Brown supported Acosta's claim "that Grillo did not proceed on his own initiative to commit the double murder in Caguas but rather was the instrument or medium in the hands of the anarchist society discovered in that locality, although proof of this has not been obtained."[39]

Acosta, Brown, and Colton remained convinced that Grillo was not just a random criminal but, in fact, a violent anarchist who was part of a larger dangerous anarchist element in the city. Governor Colton claimed in July that Grillo "was a member of an anarchist society in Caguas, named 'Centro de Estudios Sociales,' that had relations with other societies of like nature in Cuba, Spain and South America." Colton believed that members of the CES were involved in a plot to kill the two victims based on the fact that Gillo was an anarchist member of the CES and no evidence had been unearthed that Grillo had any personal motives for the murders. For the governor, this was

more than just a murder investigation: "Anarchy and anarchist societies have no room in this territory nor in any other under the American flag." Colton sought to reassure Puerto Rican workers that he was on their side and that workers deserved justice, rights, and good earnings. However, "I assure you that I absolutely will not tolerate breaking the law or back-stabbing plots from anarchists or anyone else who considers themselves above the law."[40]

The CES that Colton identified was obviously Juventud Estudiosa, and to any casual observer of the labor press on the island, it would have been obvious that no secret anarchist cell existed. Anarchists were quite open about who they were and what they believed. Unlike the nearly two dozen men detained by Acosta following the murders and then released for lack of evidence, Vilar (like Grillo) had remained a prisoner, jailed initially on suspicion of conspiracy and held in order to keep him from committing another crime. Then a trumped-up morality conviction kept Vilar in legal limbo. By summer, Vilar's case remained in the media and courts. Fearing the ongoing strike, coupled with the Vilar case, tobacco companies in Caguas began to forbid the *lector* in their factories from reading political, independent, or workers newspapers—a move protested by organized labor but apparently to no avail.[41]

On June 20, the Tribunal Supremo de Puerto Rico ruled on Vilar's habeas corpus case. Anarchists (and others on the labor left) found themselves squarely in the middle of Puerto Rico's strange relationship with the United States. The Puerto Rican legal system did not include grand juries. As a result, the district attorney in the case argued that following his original detention in March, Vilar had to remain a prisoner in order to prevent him from performing an illegal act while an investigation into his culpability ensued. The problem, as supreme court Justice McLeary noted, was that even when there was a grand jury in the United States, its investigation had to conclude before one could be arrested. Thus the DA's argument did not hold. Vilar charged that because he had been held in jail since March 22 with no charges filed in the Grillo matter, his habeas corpus rights had been violated. The court ruled in his favor. McLeary concluded that "*habeas corpus* cannot stand in the way of justice, but it can and ought to impede illegal imprisonment."[42] The U.S. legal system had come to the anarchist's aid . . . at least for now.

Throughout the second half of 1911, political and corporate authorities in Puerto Rico were consistently plagued by worker radicalism and the legal wrangling by workers and anarchists in the courts. Portraying this as part of a larger Caribbean conspiracy, the mainstream press reported in June on a purported anarchist plot in Havana to dynamite the presidential palace during the wedding of the president's daughter. By November, strikes and anarchist

meetings in Caguas and Bayamón continued to concern the island's elite.[43] This renewed militancy coincided with a new wave of trials.

In late October, Justo Andrades—a strikebreaker charged with the murder of labor leader Adolfo Reyes in Bayamón the day after Grillo's action in Caguas—went on trial for murder in the first degree. Anarchists were among the prosecution's witnesses, including Alfredo Negrín. On November 3, the jury convicted Andrades. But the legal system simultaneously began anew its harassment of the Bayamón radicals. In November, three workers from Bayamón—Francisco Pagán, Luis Aguilar, and Tomás Vega—went on trial in municipal court, accused of disturbing the peace by advocating violence and anarchist ideas at public meetings.[44] The defense argued that socialist ideas were advancing throughout the world, with socialist lawmakers taking their seats throughout Europe. Likewise, anarchist ideas were widely advocated, anarchist meetings regularly held, and anarchist books readily available in libraries. Since this was the case, then how could anarchism be so dangerous? The court disagreed and fined the defendants fifty dollars each, plus court costs.[45]

Part of the new focus on anarchist agitation in Bayamón by city authorities rested with the fervent zeal of police detective St. Elmo, the same detective that Caguas detainees had charged with abuse months earlier in their appeal to Governor Colton. Detective St. Elmo was spearheading police surveillance of the Left in Bayamón, and as Pablo Vega Santos put it, "'has discovered' another anarchist society, similar to the one in Caguas, and several comrades have been detained. The result," according to Vega Santos, "is that the detective sees anarchists everywhere and everywhere he sees them planting dynamite bombs and hunting with their bloodstained daggers as they seek to destroy their masters, the poor capitalists."[46]

This air of anarchist radicalism led municipal and U.S. authorities to look beyond the unions and strikers to the CES 11 de Marzo in Bayamón. The closer they looked, the more scandalized they became. Not long after the CES opened, the city elders and the police grew fearful of the building and the activities it spawned. The sight of school-aged children entering the building and attending radical meetings sent the city fathers into a tizzy. Having received their letter announcing their concerns, Governor Colton responded by authorizing the city police force to raid the CES. Officers entered the building, removed the portraits of radicals and the flags from the walls, cleared the bookshelves, and closed the building. Protests from Santiago Iglesias went unheeded, and the CES never reopened, while the tobacco trust blacklisted the anarchist and socialist leaders of the CES for years to come—a move

that ultimately forced some, including the anarchist Ramón Barrios, to sail to Cuba, New York, and Tampa to find work in early 1912.[47]

Juan Vilar was even less fortunate. While he had been vindicated in his habeas corpus appeal to the supreme court in June, Vilar still faced a conviction on public morality charges. Following his Caguas municipal court conviction in April, he appealed to the district court in Humacao. After being denied there, the FLT's resident counsel Rafael López Landrón appealed Vilar's conviction to the Tribunal Supremo de Puerto Rico. In October, the court took up the case. For the second time in a year, Vilar went before the justices to win his freedom. However, in November, the supreme court of Puerto Rico upheld the conviction on the morality charge but reduced the sentence from eighteen months to one year in jail. Later that month, Vilar entered the Humacao jail to begin his sentence. Within a week, his weak physical condition—dating back to his health problems of 1910 and aggravated by a year of stress, lengthy court battles, and prison time—had landed him in the prison infirmary.[48]

Vilar's legal troubles throughout 1911 meant more than just his personal incarceration. As the leading proponent and activist for rationalist education and anarchist schools in Puerto Rico, his sentence also spelled the end to the Caguas-based CES and anarchist educational initiatives on the island. While freethinkers might have been remiss in pursuing rationalist education or even offering support for anarchist educational initiatives, some nevertheless remained loyal to their anarchist, freethinking brethren. In January 1912, supporters of the freethinking spiritist magazine *Iris de Paz* (Peacemaker) called on freethinkers to lend their aid to Vilar. Juan Obrer urged the magazine to follow the dictates of Jesus to "'console the afflicted' since a man, similar to ourselves, Juan Vilar, editor of *Voz Humana*, has just landed in jail, condemned to one year in prison" for having published the article about a priest. It seemed odd, continued Obrer, that "the press of a republican country [Puerto Rico] would have fewer freedoms than a monarchist country dominated by clericalism [Spain]." Ultimately, he concluded, freethinkers had to back up their pronouncements for free speech with money. He urged the editor Ramón Negrón Flores to start a fund-raising campaign to help support Vilar's family while he sat in the Humacao jail. Negrón Flores liked the idea and began fund-raising.[49]

Unfortunately, the entire ordeal was an immense burden for the young, sickly anarchist. Imprisonment and poor health weighed heavily on Vilar. After leaving jail in late 1912, his health deteriorated even more. In 1914, Vilar managed to publish his book *Páginas libres*, but beyond that he became nearly

invisible in the labor, anarchist, and other radical campaigns that would lead to the founding of the PS in 1915. In fact, within two and a half years of being released from jail, Juan Vilar died—appropriately enough on May Day 1915.[50] In some ways, Vilar's death spelled the symbolic demise of radical education in Puerto Rico. While a resurgence in anarchist-led labor radicalism in Cuba in the 1920s would lead to a new wave of rationalist education and workers schools, no such radicalism reemerged in Puerto Rico to do the same.[51]

More broadly, the treatment of anarchists, among them Vilar, began to have rippling effects among many leftists whose early faith in American progress and democratic rule continued to slip away. The example of Vilar's lawyer, Rafael López Landrón is a case in point. An early supporter of Americanization like many progressives associated with the island's labor movement, López Landrón supported the various strands of "socialism" found on the island in the early 1900s, including at times a belief in stateless socialism, that is, anarchism. Despite this, he used his talent in the U.S. judicial system on the island to defend people ranging from Vilar in 1911 to Santiago Iglesias and Luis Muñoz Rivera over a decade earlier. But after a decade of U.S. rule, López Landrón and many others began to question their early support of Americanization, and by the 1910s would be calling for Puerto Rican independence—another issue that would divide the Puerto Rican Left, as we see in the coming chapters.[52] In the meantime, though, it is important to remember that the anarchist-led educational initiatives reflected anarchist willingness to be true to the Spanish-based ideals of Francisco Ferrer y Guardia as well as to be realistic and align with groups that shared certain political goals—a transnational fusion of international ideals to fit local reality. The schools and the CESs illustrate how anarchists joined with other leftist elements in the FLT to found and run the experiments. It also illustrates the interesting cross-class alliances of anarchists with middle-class, professional freethinkers who shared a love for free speech and a hatred for religious education. This tentative alliance between the freethinkers and the anarchists expanded beyond education. At the same time that progressives aligned to support rationalist education, they also joined forces against another common adversary. Anarchists would work with freethinkers and followers of *espiritismo* in an anticlerical campaign against one of the most embedded authoritarian legacies of Spanish colonialism—the Roman Catholic Church.

4. Anarchists, Freethinkers, and Spiritists

The Progressive Alliance against the Catholic Church, 1909–1912

For almost two years, Belén de Sárraga had been traveling the hemisphere, speaking on freedom, freedom of speech, the need for women's freedom for society to progress, and, above all, on the antihuman horrors perpetrated by the Roman Catholic Church. Cuba had been the latest stop on her triumphant anticlerical, free-thought speaking tour of the Americas. Now, in April 1912, she left Havana for Puerto Rico, where leftists were engaged in a continuous struggle against the church. Sárraga's speeches were the talk of San Juan as word spread and interest grew. On Sunday, May 5, the crowds grew larger to hear her condemn the historic role of the Catholic Church in its acquisition of monopolies and "industrial riches" in Europe, warning the audience about the Puerto Rican church's desire to dominate the island's riches and its families. The audience went wild with applause. Exhilarated by her words, the crowd followed Sárraga to her hotel, chanting for her to make another appearance. When Sárraga stepped onto the hotel balcony, the crowd again cheered. A group of young men unfurled the flag of Spanish republicans and gave her a bouquet of flowers. She told the audience how much she appreciated their affections, urging Spaniards and Puerto Ricans to work together for progress and the future. With the triumphant talks, her promoters announced that Belén de Sárraga would immediately embark on an islandwide tour.[1]

Whether in unions or with socialists and freethinkers in educational experiments, political alliances were a fact of life and survival as anarchists fought back against the Puerto Rican and U.S. governments as well as capitalist penetration. Anarchists also engaged in cross-sectarian alliances against that third leg on the authoritarian stool: the Catholic Church. Juan Vilar, Luisa

Capetillo, and others worked with the growing freethinkers movement on the island—a movement that welcomed Sárraga and organized her nearly two-month-long speaking tour in 1912. However, freethinkers in Puerto Rico, as elsewhere, often linked their cause to the rational religious movement of *espiritismo* that rejected both Catholicism and pure materialism. Anarchists had a mixed relationship with the spiritists that reflected the dilemmas anarchists encountered when they linked their causes with the island's nonanarchists.

Anticlericalism and Antireligion on the Labor Left

During four hundred years of Spanish colonial rule, the Catholic Church planted deep roots but also generated profound hatred. The emergence of freethinking organizations on the island built off a deep-seated anticlericalism within the Puerto Rican Left. Ramón Romero Rosa exemplified this hostility toward organized religion in general and Catholicism in particular. Writing under his nom de plume R. del Romeral, he early and frequently led organized labor's attack against the Catholic Church. For instance, in June 1899 he published a fictional "conversation" between himself and a priest, laying forth the standard socialist attack against religion: "if there were no religions, then surely the poor would live happily." Throughout the dialogue, del Romeral verbally assaults the priest. He charges that religions "were invented by the satisfied in order to lead the minds of the unhappy into submission, obedience, and meekness" by believing in an afterlife. As a result, "the poor never rebel against the 'fat ones' who commit great injustices and live by exploiting us." The church had forsaken Jesus, who was a true rebel, he continues, and Jesus had been crucified for fighting the exploiters of his day. Such claims prompt the priest to accuse del Romeral of sacrilege, saying that if he had said such things during Spanish rule he would have found himself bound and gagged. Del Romeral concludes, "I wish that Puerto Rican humanity, like humanity everywhere, would be happy and fortunate. That everything that has been a hindrance to our progress would be burned and destroyed. That there would be no religion other than the religion of work. That the parasites and the holy processions would disappear. That there would be no other churches than the workshop and the factory."[2]

Until his death in 1907, Romero Rosa continued his anticlerical assaults, including a full-scale attack in his 1904 *La cuestión social y Puerto Rico*. Most leftists throughout Latin America believed that the Catholic Church remained not just a legacy of Spanish colonialism but also a backward, authoritarian institution that blocked scientific and democratic progress. For Romero Rosa, religion was one of the "lies" upon which capitalism rested and thus which

had to be refuted for social progress. As he explained, the church "constantly lies to the poor, telling those ignorant and unhappy victims of the exploitative regime that it is essential that each one accept their privations and shortcomings because there had always been poverty on the land." Poor, ignorant workers had to be approached and introduced to a new "modern socialism" that would promote in their minds "rebellion, a beautiful concept forged in the slave's mind, with a dose of reason that facilitates intelligence" in a new "modern worker." Only then would the working masses be able to escape the religious institutions that "always oppose all intellectual evolutions" and that help keep the rich and powerful both rich and powerful.[3]

In 1909, a strident anticlerical voice emerged in Puerto Rico with the founding of the freethinking *La Conciencia Libre*. In its first two years, the Ponce-based newspaper promoted anticlericalism and alternative education. It also served as a link between progressive professionals on the island and Puerto Rico's labor left. In this vein, the editors of *La Conciencia Libre*, while by no means anarchist in their politics, nevertheless illustrated how a number of doctors, dentists, lawyers, and other professionals shared a hatred for traditional education and organized religion, which they believed held back humanity's progress. This professional-Left relationship emerged in the first months of the newspaper's existence when the editors attacked the 1909 arrest of Julio Aybar, editor of the FLT's Mayagüez-based *Unión Obrera*. Authorities charged him with violating postal laws for sending the paper through the mail without proper certification. The freethinkers rallied to Aybar's defense, urging readers in Ponce and around the island to send money to pay Aybar's fine.[4]

Freedom of speech was first and foremost on the freethinker agenda. While the labor left saw a confluence of government, capitalism, and the church as the source for societal ills, the professionals were in agreement with the Left that the Catholic Church was certainly a leading institution retarding the individual and educational growth of Puerto Ricans. In citing the "obligations of a freethinker," the newspaper listed the following: "no religious marriages; no baptism of children; not accepting god parentage for weddings, baptisms or confirmations; not confessing to the Church nor letting one's children receive its education; not giving money to the Church; not associating or honoring, directly or indirectly, any religious ceremony; keeping the so-called ministers of the Lord far from one's home and family."[5]

Throughout 1910, the pages of *La Conciencia Libre* were filled with anticlerical tracts and reports of Church abuses around the island. For instance, in February in Bayamón, priests reportedly threatened to expel from the congregation any young girl who attended a dance at the Colonia Española.

To enforce this prohibition, priests took notes on who attended the dance. But why, asked one writer to the newspaper, was it OK for good Catholic girls to be crowned carnival queen and yet not attend a dance? Just as important, why were boys not equally banned from the dance? It is likely that the dance was the least of the Bayamón priests' concerns. In that same month of February 1910, freethinkers founded the first Bayamón organization, Grupos de Amigos (Friends' Groups).[6] The church now found itself assaulted by radical professionals, anarchist sympathizers, and naughty girls.

Freethinkers also invoked the U.S. Constitution's First Amendment protection of speech and peaceful assembly to attack Catholicism. In June 1910, the entire front page of the newspaper was converted into a bilingual attack on the church and its public events. The editors described scenes of priests converting public spaces into an extension of the church for religious services, rallies, and other events. To the editors, this practice violated everyone else's First Amendment rights. If the church could hijack public space exclusively for itself, then anyone else seeking to use the space—anyone else merely wanting to walk through it—became subject to the church's proselytizing. To the freethinkers, this was nothing short of the church infringing upon innocent people and imposing itself on nonbelievers. To counter the Catholic Church, the freethinkers called on the government to extend First Amendment protections to keep Puerto Rico from becoming a "fiefdom of Rome" and instead become a progressive, modern, prosperous island.[7]

Ironically, invoking a person's First Amendment rights could haunt the freethinkers as they discovered following the April 1910 visit to the island by the U.S. politician William Jennings Bryan. Bryan had become famous over a decade earlier as a U.S. presidential candidate for the Populist and Democratic Parties. By 1908, he remained a leading critic of banks and monopolies. On that front, the Left thought they had a kindred spirit in their midst. On April 5, Bryan spoke at San Juan's Teatro Municipal. Leftists and freethinkers—while understanding that Bryan represented particular U.S. political interests—anxiously awaited his talk. Santiago Iglesias and other leaders publicly lauded Bryan. Iglesias praised him on behalf of his work for the "dispossessed" and against the interests of "the trusts." "Receive, honorable citizen, our sincere greetings of well-being," Iglesias concluded, handing Bryan an embossed document with a red, white, and blue bow.[8]

Despite the initial praise from Iglesias, freethinkers in the audience were profoundly disappointed by what they heard from the Great Commoner. Bryan—a future secretary of state under President Woodrow Wilson from 1913 to 1916 and prosecutor of Darwinian theory in the Scopes Monkey Trial in 1925—turned his speech into a sermon about the divinity of Jesus.[9] Free-

thinkers and the Left had a long love-hate relationship with Jesus. They frequently saw Jesus as the pinnacle of humanity who had been martyred by religious and political fanatics, only to be turned into the revered symbol of a new wave of religious fanatics. These progressives generally condemned such exploitation of Jesus for religious purposes.[10] Upon hearing Bryan, the antireligious in the audience were bewildered, even more so when he rejected scientific inquiry and the scientific fields of astronomy, geology, and physics in favor of the Book of Genesis.[11] Partly in response to Bryan, the newspaper began advertising its Red and Yellow Libraries—a bookstore in Ponce that sold the works of Darwin, Engels, the anarchist geographer Élisée Reclus, and the anarchist geographer and revolutionary Peter Kropotkin, including Kropotkin's *The Conquest of Bread* and *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*.[12]

Espiritismo, Freethinking, and Anarchism

While 1911 marked the end of anarchist-led rationalist experiments on the island, that year also saw a growing break between the labor left and the freethinkers who published *La Conciencia Libre*. Besides not offering public or financial support to the anarchist school initiatives, the paper did not even cover the habeas corpus or free-speech court cases of Juan Vilar—one of the newspaper's frequent contributors. Part of the explanation lies in the gradual shift in the newspaper's focus to pay more attention to the "rational religion" of *espiritismo* while focusing less on free speech.

La Conciencia Libre increasingly became a supporter of European-style spiritism based on the writings of the Frenchman Allan Kardec. Spiritism posited that the universe was populated by spirits who were constantly being reincarnated. A person's innate knowledge resulted from the knowledge acquired from one's past lives. Meanwhile, organized religions might have abused their powers and denigrated the physical world, but solely materialistic explanations for existence ignored the importance of the spiritual world. Kardec and his followers strove to create a unified belief system, but not one based on blind faith. Rather, faith had to rest on reason and free thought. Thus, for Kardec and the spiritists, truth emerged where natural laws (discovered through free inquiry) and the invisible world met. In addition, far from being a rejection of Christian belief, Kardec and his supporters hoped to liberate Jesus from the confines of Catholic Church dogma and frequently claimed that Catholicism was not Christianity.

Espiritismo grew in popularity among educated middle- and upper-class sectors throughout Latin America during the late 1800s and early 1900s. In Cuba and Puerto Rico, spiritists were one of many progressive forces aligned

with freemasons, republicans, and labor organizers who challenged Spanish colonial rule and the influence of the church on the society and politics of the islands.[13] Before the first spiritist centers were founded in Mayagüez in the 1870s and 1880s, many of Puerto Rico's literary elite were spiritists who saw the church as an "institutional enemy" whose "backward" ways of thinking denied "the rights of modern citizenship, most notably the individual's freedoms of thought and expressions," as Reinaldo Román describes it.[14] Following the end of Spanish rule in Puerto Rico, spiritists, theosophists, and freethinkers often combined their work with other progressives in support of Americanization, whose liberal, secularized separation between church and state appealed to their sense of a modernizing Puerto Rico. In 1903, the Federación de Espiritistas was founded in Mayagüez. From 1900 to 1920, spiritist societies emerged in most towns and cities across the island.[15]

In Puerto Rico, some anarchists sympathized with this struggle to link the natural and scientific with a broader spiritist sense of the invisible. In her 1907 *Ensayos libertarios* (Libertarian essays), Luisa Capetillo praised the spiritist approach. "Many who call themselves spiritists would wish to be like the true anarchists, those most just, fair, humane, loyal friends, and trustworthy compañeros."[16] While some spiritists might have wanted to be like anarchists (and could get this way by reading Kropotkin), Capetillo urged anarchists and workers in general to avoid religion and instead to study Kardecian spiritism "in order to help free themselves from egoism and pride." As spiritists, both anarchists and workers would better appreciate themselves as part of an interconnected humanity. From this spiritist-anarchist link, Capetillo believed that workers could improve both their material and spiritual elements. Once dead, the improved spirit would be reborn into the next generation, and thus humanity could continue its march toward progress.[17] The spiritist dimension of Capetillo's anarchism rested not solely with Kardec, but could be found as well in her favorite writer, the anarcho-Christian author Leo Tolstoy.[18]

Despite the interests that some anarchists, for example, Capetillo, showed in spiritism, few anarchists actually published in *La Conciencia Libre*. The most notable was Juan Vilar. Vilar, too, was a proponent of the freethinking cause and also attracted to the spiritist—almost metaphysical—wing of anarchist thought. He contrasted what he called mental and material slavery. The former derived from people who thought that they were thinking, but merely were parroting some preordained dogma rather than considering the wealth of new ideas that constantly arose. For example, while Catholics, say, thought that they were freely practicing their ideas and beliefs, they were actually just mental slaves to the authoritarian structures of the church.[19]

As the leading proponent of rationalist education in Puerto Rico, Vilar promoted an educational theory that he imbued with spiritist dimensions. Actually, spiritists were on record supporting a version of rationalist education, having adopted a resolution at the third Spiritist Federation assembly in 1905 to "'convert the spiritist centers into schools that followed rationalist and lay principles.'"[20] For several months from late 1910 through early 1911, Vilar's columns rambled about the links between one's essence, nature, scientific inquiry, and people's ability to comprehend. On the surface, he made no specific mention of anarchism in these columns, but in his writings one detects the same sort of linkage posited by Capetillo a few years earlier.[21] Throughout the second half of 1911, while facing his legal troubles, Vilar submitted regular columns titled La Educación (Education) to the newspaper. These columns reinforced the rationalist education theories of Ferrer y Guardia. But they also emphasized the role of "Nature," with its physical as well as spiritual components, that made up "natural laws" that would guide students toward progress.[22]

As with Kardec's and Tolstoy's salvation of Jesus from the grasp of organized Christianity, several leading anarchist writers were drawn to the ethereal world of anarchism where naturally observable laws of nature were discussed with seemingly religious conviction. This was particularly seen in works from and influenced by Kropotkin that stressed theories of mutual aid, not natural selection, as the key engine driving evolution. Kropotkin and his disciples viewed nature in reverential terms, sometimes being accused by their detractors as substituting one "god" for another. Nature was egalitarian. Human laws and institutions had arisen to "unmake natural man." Consequently, the anarchist social revolution would overthrow these antinatural institutions to resurrect a true state of freedom and equality rooted in the purity of a nature uncorrupted by authoritarian institutions such as the church and state. Thus, this linkage between the spiritual and physical was a very real component of much anarchist writing, and so for some, like Vilar or Capetillo, it made perfect sense to analyze their present and project a future that combined the two forces.

Spiritism and anarchism overlapped in other areas. Besides the sympathetic approaches to secular, rationalist education and the joint anticlericalism, both movements cooperated in antialcohol campaigns; both were strongly opposed to the death penalty; both promoted the importance of female leadership and women's "revolutionary" roles beyond the traditions of *marianismo*; and spiritists could join anarchists to support proworker initiatives. The last point found expression in the work of spiritist Francisco Pelati, who linked the work of spiritists with anarchists when he wrote that

spiritism had "three terrible enemies that had to be conquered": Catholicism and Protestantism, capitalism and the state—the anarchist unholy trinity.[23]

Still, the anarchist-spiritist relationship had its limits in Puerto Rico, as elsewhere.[24] In the early issues of *La Conciencia Libre*, the professional freethinkers and the labor left shared much in common. Then, in 1911, coverage of labor issues in the newspaper began to disappear. Around the same time, spiritists began advocating a peaceful approach to labor struggles, urging labor and capital to work in peace to find harmony that respected each other's interests.[25] In essence, the spiritists were coming out against class warfare and for class conciliation. Sensing a change in direction in the paper and a concern that the new spiritist focus of *La Conciencia Libre* was becoming too accommodating with business concerns, labor leaders with rare exception stopped writing to the paper. The growing spiritist focus of the paper appealed to fewer and fewer workers, and many on the labor left rejected the notion that they could be loyal to their ideals while also practicing a "religion."

In fact, this sentiment that *espiritismo* was just another religion that would divert workers from their class mission began to appear in the labor press as early as July 1910. Julio Aybar, socialist editor of *Unión Obrera* and a man whom the freethinkers had supported in his legal battles in 1909, attacked spiritism because it "conflicts with the positivist" ideas of the FLT "that are about human redemption without leaving the earth in search of help from spirits, angels, or the devil." While rejecting the "spiritual" focus, Aybar went further. "One cannot be a Catholic, Protestant pastor, 'enlightened spiritist,' and a revolutionary, sociological propagandist; one cannot be all of those things at the same time. Catholics and spiritists are all the same with different rites. Trade union socialists and anarchists strive for the same goal with different rites. But it is impossible to unite these [socialist and anarchist goals] with those [religious goals]."[26] Soon after, Aybar followed up with a front-page article on the state of German Socialists where he buried a quick jab at Puerto Rican socialists near the end of the piece. In it he lamented that "socialists in Puerto Rico are for the most part republican socialists, union socialists and capitalist socialists; furthermore they are Catholics, spiritists, and in sum, nothing!"[27]

The 1912 Freethinking Tour of Belén de Sárraga

In early 1912, freethinkers, anarchists, socialists, spiritists, and anyone else opposed to the Catholic Church in the Spanish-speaking Caribbean received word of an upcoming tour by the world renowned freethinker Belén de Sárraga, who would visit Cuba and Puerto Rico from January to May. Sárraga

was born in Spain to a Spanish colonial official but grew up in Puerto Rico. She became politically conscious and sympathetic to radical causes. Over time, her activism centered on free thought, promoting free speech, free inquiry, and especially freedom from Catholic dogma. In 1911 and 1912, Sárraga launched a multicountry speaking tour for the Liga Internacional del Librepensamiento de Europa (International Free Thought League of Europe), seeking to organize a Federación del Librepensamiento Internacional en América (International Free Thought Federation in America). The tour also provided her with information that she then used to write her 1915 book *El clericalismo en América a través de un continente* (Clericalism across the American continent).

Sárraga's arrival and talks in Cuba sparked a surge in anarchist and freethinking activity on that island. In June, the Caribbean's most widely known anarchist literary figure, Adrián del Valle, helped to launch Cuba's first freethinking journal *El Audaz* (The audacious) proclaiming Sárraga's visit as the true inspiration for the magazine.[28] But before that, Sárraga's Cuban visit had a particular impact on female anarchists inspired by her talks on women's liberation and anticlericalism. With news of her impending arrival, one Cuba-based female anarchist, Emilia Rodríguez de Lipiz, wrote to *La Conciencia Libre*. Her column attacked the arrival in the Cuban city of Matanzas of the bishop of Havana. When Rodríguez asked another woman why she thought the bishop was in town, this woman replied that "he came to purify the souls of the sinners," to which Rodríguez told the woman that while doing so he was purifying his own stomach with "rich dishes and fine wines that we and our brothers have produced." Rodríguez concluded that this shameful religious woman was blinded to reality. Just over the horizon and coming our way is "a grand, radiant figure of brilliant beauty like the rays of the sun that shouts to us: Stop, barbarians! I am Anarchy that comes to destroy religions for the stupid, money for the pernicious, armed force because it symbolizes crime, unnecessary governments that hinder progress, borders because they represent imbecility, and to bring a new era of peace and harmony to all of humanity."[29] Rodríguez's January 1912 column was the first article in *La Conciencia Libre* to actually promote anarchism as well as being the first column by a Cuban anarchist to be published in the newspaper.

Sárraga's visit to Cuba found great resonance among female anarchists. Encouraged and empowered by the antiauthoritarian and prowoman speeches, Rodríguez and other female anarchists helped to launch Cuba's first workers conference in the central Cuban town of Cruces in February. Without these women's efforts, the conference might not have occurred. Anarchists—especially these women's husbands—had been planning the conference for

months, but in late 1911 many of the men were rounded up by Cuban authorities and deported to Spain. Inspired by Sárraga, the women took charge and the conference took place as planned.[30]

Other anarchist women in Cuba took comfort and inspiration from Sárraga's Cuba talks. Ana Rodríguez de García was inspired by Sárraga's visit. Following Sárraga's lead, Rodríguez de García wrote that "the primary factor of progress is in the feminine sex; as long as women do not go openly united with men, fighting for emancipation of humanity, there will be no complete regeneration."[31] At this same time, the anarchist Blanca de Moncaleano was in the process of taking over key roles in the Havana-based rationalist school movement. She and her husband Juan operated the school in the Havana suburb of Cerro until he left the island to join the Mexican Revolution. After he left Cuba in mid-1912, Blanca ran the school alone. Reflecting on her growing presence in the Havana anarchist scene, Blanca had written in support of Sárraga while the latter was in Havana, seeing her as a kindred spirit and one of a growing number of "advanced women."[32]

Following her talks in Cuba, Sárraga headed to Puerto Rico. A month and a half before her arrival, the free-thought movement was on the rise, reflected in a new publication from Arecibo ironically named *La Sotana* (The cassock).[33] While April mainstream press coverage in Puerto Rico centered on the tragedy of the *Titanic* sinking in the North Atlantic, freethinkers and their allies were laying the groundwork for over a month's worth of speeches and celebrations around the island. Sárraga took her time before arriving in San Juan. She spoke to large audiences first in the western cities of Aguadilla and Yauco on the debilitating influences of religion and the situation of women in modern society before heading to Ponce—the center of the free-thought movement.[34] That talk and her gradual advance up the central highway toward San Juan prompted one observer to caution Sárraga. Abelardo Díaz from Caguas claimed that there was no need for a free-thought movement on the island since there was no shortage of conflicting opinions: anarchists, socialists, workers for and against unions, various political camps, Catholicism, and Protestantism. "I'm sorry, doña Belén, to speak so frankly, but you've arrived too late. That bird [free thought] has left its cage." But Díaz made a larger point that the Catholic opposition would soon echo: those on the island who campaigned for free thought only wanted to hear their ideas while attacking ideas of their opponents, especially those of the church. What Puerto Rico needed, he concluded, was "more *liberation* than *free thinking*."[35]

On May 2, Sárraga gave her first lecture in San Juan, fondly recalling her youth on the island before tackling the Catholic Church head on. In a seventy-five-minute talk attended by people from all socioeconomic classes in the

capital, she critiqued the rise and evolution of religion but from a "religious" viewpoint. She scolded the Catholic Church for what she saw as antiscience teachings. As one commentator put it, Sárraga was not an atheist but rather someone with deep religious feeling who told an appreciative audience that "Catholicism is not Christianity; that the doctrine of the prophet of Galilee had been bastardized by the ministers of that cult with the goal of perpetuating their own religious domination."[36] The next evening she spoke for an hour on the theme that had garnered so much interest among female anarchists in Cuba: women in society. She again condemned the church for its historic role of instilling mysticism in women's minds, thus making women throughout the Latin world woefully unprepared for the surge in new radical ideas. Yet, there was hope. Women seemed to be on the verge of liberation from centuries of domination conditioned by religious exclusion and prejudice, she claimed. As a sympathetic reporter put it, "the reign of women has begun with the dawn of this new centurion." Women were beginning to make inroads throughout society to the extent that before long, if Sárraga was correct, "Eve will demonstrate triumphantly with all of her moral and intellectual power, guiding the world's destiny toward its most noble ends."[37]

Part of this liberation had to take place in the schools, she announced on May 12. Families had to push for the eradication of all religious instruction. This would be a difficult task, as she informed the audience of the long struggles to eliminate religious influences in the schools in England and France. But she reminded them of the efforts of Francisco Ferrer y Guardia in Spain, assuring the audience that wherever Ferrer's ideas took hold that "future generations of men who govern will be republicans, free of religious biases." While anarchists in the audience might not have appreciated this promotion of republican government, all understood the more important message: once religion was purged from educational institutions, men, women, and children would be freer to govern themselves.[38]

While freethinkers of all political persuasions were heartened by her lectures and especially the positive public reception of her talks about women, religion, and free thought, there were detractors. The Catholic Church was probably the least amused by her presence. Leading the Catholic response was the Ponce-based *El Ideal Católico* (The Catholic ideal). This Catholic newspaper's attacks against freethinkers and spiritists was nothing new, having engaged in a war of words with the spiritist *Iris de Paz* as early as 1900 over issues of anticlericalism and women's appropriate roles in society.[39] *El Ideal Católico* now urged readers not to attend the so-called freethinking talks—which were essentially anti-Catholic, they claimed—because to do so would only add numbers to the crowd and so encourage Sárraga and

her ilk. The editors urged Catholics to challenge anti-Catholic attitudes so that freethinkers respected the rights of Catholics to think, act, and believe what they wanted, and that freethinking fathers and husbands allow their Catholic children and wives to do so as well. As the paper put it, when freethinkers denied Catholics this right, they countered their very own ideals of freedom and instead became tyrants.[40] Other writers charged that every daily newspaper in Puerto Rico was sympathetic to the free thought cause and thus were complicit in celebrating Sárraga's talks and this new form of anti-Catholic "tyranny."[41]

The church and its allies clearly saw themselves under attack. Sárraga's speeches against Catholicism were just the latest freethinker assaults in what Catholic leaders saw as a war against the church waged by a united front of spiritists, freemasons, republicans, socialists, and anarchists that had been building for several years. That movement had gained strength in late 1910 after Father Matías Usero Torrente had very publicly renounced his vows and left the church. That Torrente was a priest in Ponce—the same city where *El Ideal Católico* was published—meant that the prochurch writers knew well the renegade priest and his regular columns published in Ponce's *La Conciencia Libre* attacking Catholicism and promoting spiritism.[42] First "came the apostate Torrente to give the final mortal blow to Catholicism;" now comes Sárraga. Catholics needed to regroup: "Today more than ever Catholics need to summon the forces to confront our adversaries' attacks. Today each Catholic home should be a practical Catholic school. Today each Catholic temple should unite all true Catholics where they will receive their instructions to go out onto the battlefield. Today the Catholic press has to be the sword for the true soldier of Christ. Today the majority of Puerto Rican Catholics has to completely bring forth Catholic public leaders or learned thinkers who respect our beliefs and our rituals."[43] The holy war to defend the faith had to be met head-on, or anarchists, freethinkers, spiritists, and other potential defrauders of the youth would drive Puerto Rico straight into the hands of the devil.

Sárraga gave her final talk in the capital on Sunday, May 19, as part of a larger spiritist assembly in San Juan's Municipal Theater. For those in the church who feared the growing chorus of attacks from leftists and progressives, and who had witnessed anarchist and other radical gatherings, this celebration merely confirmed the worst. A chorus of young girls dressed in white took the stage and sang "La Marsellesa." *Espiritistas* and freethinkers then staged a play, followed by a young girl speaking on the virtues of progress and freedom. All led to the main event: Belén de Sárraga's forty-five-minute presentation, "El Espiritismo y el Catolicismo" (spiritism and Catholicism),

decrying the Catholic Church as a power-mad institution that had forgotten Jesus' teachings in its quest to dominate the world and thus the lives of all people. While the readers of *El Ideal Católico* claimed that the freethinkers wanted to deny Catholics their freedom to believe what they wanted, Sárraga's talk and the gathering as a whole proclaimed—in a spirit that anarchists had been making for decades—that such "freedom" came at the expense of everyone else's freedom and progress. The freedom of the authoritarians to exert their will deprives everyone else of their freedoms. As at all of her previous talks—and others in Carolina and Naguabo after leaving the capital—the audience erupted in sustained applause.[44]

The few years between 1909 and 1912 would shape the direction of anarchism in Puerto Rico for the coming decade. Anarchists increasingly found themselves on trial, especially in cases revolving around issues of free speech and press. Anarchist free-speech fights in Puerto Rico had outcomes opposite of the IWW free-speech campaigns across the United States at the same time. The Wobblies won their cases, but anarchists in Puerto Rico—lacking a constitutional protection—lost theirs. On another front, anarchists had joined freethinking professionals in free-speech fights and in attacking the authoritarianism of the Catholic Church. Yet, initial alliances with the freethinkers were troubled, in part because of the growing spiritism of the freethinkers, which some leftists saw as a new form of religious delusion. Still, anarchists, among them Luisa Capetillo and Juan Vilar, maintained links with the freethinkers and spiritists, even accepting many or all of the tenets of the latter, and rejoicing in the islandwide propaganda tour of Belén de Sárraga—a frequent friend of international anarchists. There can be little doubt that had Juan Vilar not been six months into his yearlong jail sentence, and Luisa Capetillo had not been in the United States, they would have been among the biggest supporters at her talks. However, the tenuous relationship between anarchists, spiritists, and freethinkers was reflected in the 1911 trials and tribulations surrounding Vilar. While he had contributed articles on education to *La Conciencia Libre* throughout the year, the newspaper never addressed his legal issues, which were rooted in part in freedom of the press concerns. Not until 1912, when Sárraga launched her Caribbean tour, did freethinkers and spiritists linked to *Iris de Paz* join to raise money for Vilar's family while he was in jail.

Belén de Sárraga reaped her own rewards from the islandwide tour. In 1915, she published her seminal *El clericalismo en América*. The state of the church in Puerto Rico and those resisting its influences received special attention. She acknowledged that the Catholic Church was meeting resistance throughout the island. For instance, she described a colonial situation in

which "the Catholic Church, supported by the North American authorities and hardcore believers, still tried to influence education. Religious schools are abundant. But the majority of the country, coming from deeply held independent convictions and philosophical ideals, resists the work of the catechists and found, independently of the government, schools and secular high schools."[45] Yet, it was more than Catholicism on the island that concerned Sárraga. She also condemned the spread of Protestant churches with the arrival of U.S. control, but praised how islanders were keeping alive the rationalist ideal "between two catechisms" of Catholicism and Protestantism.[46] Still, there was work to be done because the Catholic Church continued to exert itself in public affairs, pressing the government to include religious instruction in public schools, and using its influence in the island's power structures to deny freethinkers permits for public gatherings. Nevertheless, progressive ideas were on the march and the Puerto Rican Church felt their effects perhaps more than in any other place in the Americas.

Within this context, anarchism in Puerto Rico evolved in two ways. First, following the break-up of the Caguas CES, the anarchist nucleus on the island began to shift from San Juan and Caguas to Bayamón. The founding of a CES there, coupled with the rise of radicalism within the growing tobacco industry of the city, spearheaded a small anarchist organization that would become the center of Boricua anarchism by 1920 with the founding of what would prove to be the most successful anarchist newspaper, *El Comunista*. Second, and just as important, the period from 1909 to 1912 illustrated that anarchists could reach those beyond sectarian lines. In part because their numbers were small—certainly compared to the anarchist community in Havana or New York City—the anarchists were realists. While remaining dedicated to their cause, they had continued to work within more mainstream labor organizations. Torres, Vilar, Negrín, Vega Santos, Capetillo, and others continued their roles as functionaries within FLT locals, speaking at FLT gatherings, and writing for FLT publications. While working with the unions, anarchists cooperated with other leftists and progressives. They helped found freethinking organizations such as one in Bayamón; some published work and cooperated with the decidedly non-working-class freethinking professionals in Ponce and their newspaper *La Conciencia Libre*; others, among them Vilar and Capetillo, allied themselves to varying degrees with the spiritists; and, finally, they worked side by side with members of the Left to found, fund, and run CESs and rationalist schools. Such cross-sectarian activism continued into the second decade of the twentieth century as anarchists tested their evolving relationship with the Partido Socialista that would be founded in 1915.

5. Radicalism Imagined

Leftist Culture, Gender, and Revolutionary Violence, 1900–1920

By the 1910s, Santiago Iglesias and the FLT leadership had flirted off and on with formal electoral politics. At the 1910 FLT congress, delegates had voted to abandon this course of action after disastrous electoral results—and not a little internal criticism from anarchists within the FLT. As a result, the union recommitted itself to the economic struggle. From late 1913 through early 1915, large strikes rippled through the tobacco and sugar industries. Two thousand cigar makers in Caguas struck in October 1913. In February 1914, some 1,500 tobacco workers throughout the island went on strike. Agricultural workers, especially in the sugar fields, struck in the early months of 1915, torching fields and destroying plantation property. In response, colonial authorities turned the striking areas over to the insular police, which applied violence and intimidation against strikers. When the FLT and the AFL appealed to the U.S. Congress to provide protective labor legislation for the island in 1916, no such bill or amendment garnered enough support to be sent to the president for signing.[1] Thus, while labor actions and strikes were on the rise, there were only scattered material benefits from these actions.

By 1915, the FLT leadership had begun to reconsider its abandonment of electoral politics as a strategy to improve conditions for Puerto Rico's working masses. First, there was growing recognition that labor actions could produce only limited results against the agribusiness elite who now controlled much of the island. A report by the U.S. Department of War, which oversaw the island, concluded in 1915 that conditions in Puerto Rico were deteriorating for workers; unemployment was growing at unimagined rates; daily costs of living were increasing faster than wages; and child labor was on the rise.[2] Second, local labor parties—unaffiliated to any other party or the FLT—had

surprising electoral successes in 1912 and 1914 in Arecibo. There, in 1914, the Partido Obrero Insular (Island Workers Party), which supported trade unionism and Americanization (the same goals as Iglesias)—won control of the municipal government.[3]

Discouraged by the limited results of the FLT's economic strategy but inspired by the electoral victories in Arecibo, some FLT members, among them Iglesias, increasingly believed that the labor movement had to return full force to the electoral struggle to gain legal protections. Thus, the FLT leadership began formulating its next move. At its March 1915 convention, FLT delegates formed the Partido Socialista (PS) to engage the colonial-bourgeois forces at the ballot box. The PS and the FLT remained administratively separate entities but with considerable overlap. For instance, while the PS dealt with electoral issues and the FLT with economic concerns, one had to be a member of the FLT in order to be a member of the PS. However, the reverse was not true, so anarchists could still be union members without having to become party members too.

Besides sharing rank-and-file membership, both organizations shared leaders. Santiago Iglesias was president of both. The leadership also emerged from shared experiences in labor struggles and in worker education. For instance, Prudencio Rivera Martínez was a key PS leader, having emerged from the labor struggles in Caguas where he had worked side by side with Juan Vilar and other anarchists at the city's CES. Rivera Martínez and Iglesias represented the upper echelons of the PS and FLT hierarchies and thus the least radical part of the labor movement. Meanwhile, the party's lower-level leadership emerged from the artisans, teachers, and tobacco workers.[4] These groups had been less willing to accept bread-and-butter trade union negotiations and wanted more radical solutions. While rarely comfortable with PS electoral politics, many anarchists from these ranks continued their earlier roles as agitators and upholders of radical consciousness in the FLT.

Throughout the 1910s, Puerto Rico's anarchists continued to work on their own, within the FLT, and to some extent with the PS. One of their most important areas of activism was in cultural and literary productions. Between 1910 and 1920, anarchists produced more pamphlets, booklets, plays, and newspapers than at any other time. The rise in anarchist cultural productions published in Puerto Rico during the decade not only encouraged anarchists but also continued to influence the more radical elements in the PS. From 1915, anarchist ideas found their way into the PS and party culture when authors who were party members continued to incorporate anarchist themes into their own writings and, despite the party's official rejection of anarchism, praised their anarchist comrades.

Anarchist and Socialist Culture in Puerto Rico

Between 1910 and 1915, organized labor began to see the positive effects of the Cruzada del Ideal cultural propaganda, especially in the tobacco industry. Between 1906 and 1910, tobacco workers had mustered only five strikes. The number of strikes soon soared, though. Between 1911 and 1913 alone, tobacco workers walked out seventeen times, though with few material successes. In 1914, employees at every shop and factory of the Porto Rico American Tobacco Company struck for four months. In 1915, the growing radicalism in the tobacco trades began to spread when over 17,000 sugar workers on twenty-four plantations across the island went on strike. The two-month-long sugar workers strike that year led to a 20 percent increase in wages—one of only a few success stories from the surge in labor militancy.[5] This growth in labor activism did not appear at random. Rather, it resulted from a rise in worker consciousness, attributable in large part to the cultural activism of the Cruzada.

Anarchists played their own role in creating a radical worker culture during these years by way of both their activism on the ground as well as through their writings. Four anarchists and their works stand out in particular: Luisa Capetillo's *La humanidad en el futuro* (1910, Humanity in the future) and *Mi opinión. Sobre las libertades, derechos y deberes de la mujer, como compañera, madre y ser independiente* (1911, My opinion: On freedoms, rights, and obligations of woman as a comrade, mother, and independent being), Juan José López's *Voces libertarias* (1910, Libertarian voices), Juan Vilar's *Páginas libres* (1914, Free pages), and Ángel María Dieppa's *El porvenir de la sociedad humana* (1915, The future of human society). In addition, several leftist writers incorporated anarchist images and ideas into their writings. For example, José Elías Levis Bernard, Juan S. Marcano, and Enrique Plaza—all members of the PS—utilized anarchist symbolism and characters in their works, reflecting the fact that anarchists and socialists were not only friends and comrades but also influenced each other. In fact, in the writings discussed below, these Socialist authors always expressed sympathy for anarchist causes—a fact mirrored in Ramón Romero Rosa's literary work over a decade earlier.

While none of these books can be seen as literary classics, they reflect—in prose and poetry, fiction and nonfiction—libertarian critiques of modern capitalist society in general and Puerto Rico in particular. As Juan Ángel Silén concludes, while intellectual elites portrayed workers as poor, passive victims, the emerging worker culture portrayed "the worker as a producer, as an exploited individual, as a class that rebels against the structures of power that exploit them. Always present in the worker idealism of the age was a

faith in the transformation not only of society but also of the individual."[6] In these works, "labor" was only one issue addressed. Many writers focused on women and women's issues in society and work. In fact, through their focus on gender and women, writers explored interrelated themes that included not only critiques of society but also specific ideas of how a future liberated Puerto Rico would emerge and operate. Authors also dealt with tactics. In some works, the role and imagery of violence in bringing forth a new radical dawn takes center stage. What also becomes clear is that while anarchists in Puerto Rico struggled within their local and national environments, they also incorporated larger international anarchist projects and causes, "Boricuaizing" them in the process and in turn seeing them incorporated by broad elements of the Puerto Rican Left.

Women, Gender, and Revolutionary Freedom in Puerto Rican Leftist Literature

By the beginning of the twentieth century, as the historic artisanal nature of cigar production became increasingly proletarianized, women began to leave traditional work responsibilities around the home or in small-scale agriculture and started to work in tobacco factories. Cigar factories in Cuba, Florida, and Puerto Rico employed women primarily as *despalilladoras* (women who destemmed tobacco leaves). In Puerto Rico, not only did employers hire an increasing number of female workers but also these women represented an ever-growing percentage of the tobacco workforce. For instance, while only 60 women were officially employed in tobacco in 1899 (1.6 percent of the total tobacco workforce), by 1910 over 3,000 women (27.8 percent) worked in the industry. These numbers continued to grow so that in 1920, nearly 8,800 women worked in some phase of the tobacco industry, representing 52.9 percent of the industry workforce.[7]

The emergence of women in the formal workforce before 1910 was only slowly reflected in the working-class press, including those with strong anarchist input. Women's issues were largely ignored until the 1910s, when women played ever-larger roles in the factories and the writings and speeches of the anarcho-feminist Luisa Capetillo began to make inroads. While the anarchist press was small and haphazard in the first decades after Spanish rule ended—and thus women's issues were little discussed—the press grew in importance by 1920 with the publication of *El Comunista*. Still, even then—with women occupying over half of the tobacco industry workforce on the island—women's issues would be discussed only in passing and lacking much detail.

Nevertheless, a few libertarian women did immerse themselves in radical politics from 1898 onward. One of the first to emerge publicly was Dominica González, who spoke in early 1898 at a labor meeting organized by the *Ensayo Obrero* group. González urged those in attendance not to forget about the women: "[T]he worker has to educate his compañeras. . . . Woman serves more than just in the kitchen and household duties; redemption [of society] is impossible when woman, the mother, continues to be enslaved."[8] By 1905, other women emerged on the radical scene. Paca Escabí in Mayagüez was attacking U.S. colonialism on the island, speaking at meetings and writing on labor issues. She not only reached out to her fellow Puerto Ricans with these critiques but also became one of the first Puerto Rican–based anarchists to communicate with Havana's *¡Tierra!*[9] At the same time, Juan Vilar was launching *Voz Humana* in Caguas, with an unnamed female comrade with whom he was involved in a free union as an aide. Years later, Vilar acknowledged that he could not have run the CES and the rationalist school in Caguas without the help of this compañera, who was a fellow teacher.[10] In addition, Francisca Barrios, whose husband, Ramón, was a longtime anarchist from Bayamón, wrote for the labor and anarchist press both in Puerto Rico and New York around 1912.[11] Finally, even though far removed from his anarchist days, Santiago Iglesias and his compañera Justa Bocanegra personalized the leftist struggle in the naming of their children, something that leftists—especially anarchists—were famous for doing. In this vein, they named their eight daughters Libertad (Freedom), Fraternidad (Fraternity), Igualdad (Equality), Justicia (Justice), Victoria (Victory), América, Paz (Peace), and Luz (Light).[12]

The best-known female anarchist writer and activist was Luisa Capetillo from Arecibo. Born in 1879, Capetillo was the twenty-five-year-old mother of two children when she launched her anarchist literary career by collaborating on workers newspapers in Arecibo in 1904. Two years later, she was a reader in the city's tobacco factories, an unusual position for a woman. At this time, illiteracy for men and women remained high. The 1910 U.S. Census reports that two-thirds (66.5 percent) of the population ten years and older remained illiterate. Women's illiteracy was higher than men's: 70.7 percent compared to 62.3 percent.[13] These experiences as a female worker involved with radical literature placed Capetillo in a unique position not only as a female anarchist leader but also as someone who used her skills to constantly agitate for the cause whether she was in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Tampa, or New York. As one Puerto Rican observer noted, "'when she left the city for the countryside, she spent her days reading newspapers and books to rural workers and gave talks wherever she found herself.'"[14] In New York, Puerto Rican labor activist Bernardo Vega recalled how Capetillo ran a boarding house for workers and

activists where ideas were freely exchanged and nobody left hungry, even if they could not pay.[15] As other contemporaries noted, no matter where she was, she always acted motherly with whomever she encountered.

Capetillo published her first book *Ensayos libertarios* in 1907, "dedicated to workers of both sexes." By 1910, Capetillo was editing the newspaper *La Mujer* (Woman) and a year later published her classic work on women and feminism, *Mi opinión*. In her book and in later talks along the transnational anarchist network, Capetillo described the debilitating effects of society's treatment not only on women but just as importantly on society itself. "The current social system, with all its errors, is sustained through the ignorance and enslavement of women," she proclaimed. Capetillo rejected the classic idealized gender roles represented by machismo and *marianismo*, in which men were to dominate the public and women the private spheres. As for marriage, when not done for love it enslaved women. In addition, failure to teach women more than domestic arts threatened not only women's independence (especially if she found herself suddenly without a husband) but also made little sense because the woman's role in society was to teach and instruct the children. She argued that girls and women had to be instructed in the same subjects as boys and men. However, it was only in a communist society of true equality where one could expect to find this and where a family rooted in equal respect and individual freedom could escape enslavement of traditional gender roles.[16]

Capetillo continued to emphasize and refine these ideas when she left Puerto Rico to travel to the United States in 1912. Whether in New York or Tampa, she wrote to anarchist journals on issues of anarcho-feminism. From New York in 1912, Capetillo wrote on the "enslavement" of modern women, which began by what she saw as a preference to educate boys. By not educating girls on a par with boys, one merely continued to treat females as "a simple object of pleasure, or baby-making machine, or domestic slave." In such a scenario, where a girls-only "education" occurs in the pews when she goes to church services, the young girl "will lose her body and soul, but not her enslavement." Most of this is due to men, because "there is an immense majority of men who are little czars in the interiors of their houses," and because the Latin woman is mostly uneducated and taught to be submissive by her religion. Thus, "she cannot be an enlightened mother, cannot educate future men and women."[17]

While Capetillo urged Latinas to free themselves from Catholic dogma as a necessary step toward female emancipation, she also cautiously promoted another anarchist concept regarding female liberation: free love and free unions. Anarchists generally viewed free love and unions as expressions of

male-female liberty that allowed them to enter into and leave relationships freely and on equal bases without the interference of anarchist-despised legal and religious institutions. As Rubén Dávila Santiago writes, "Free love is the alternative to both types of unequal relationships [marriage and prostitution]. This is the pure, mutual submission without binding preconceptions, without established laws that lock a couple into conventionalities. Love is truest when it is free."[18] These concepts often drew the scorn of traditionalists, who saw them as undermining legally and religiously consecrated marriage, thus also undermining societal institutions.

In fact, free love and free unions were already widespread in Puerto Rico. It is just that officials called it something else: "consensually married." By 1910, 31 percent of men and women who the government considered "married" lived together outside formal civil or religious marriage. Thus, when anarchists spoke of free love and free unions in Puerto Rico, they were not just speaking to their ideal relationship between men and women. They were in many ways acknowledging what was already in wide practice.

Table 2. Marital Condition of the Puerto Rican Population, 1910

Total Population	1,118,012
Single Males and Females	740,451
Married Males and Females	228,249
Consensually Married Males and Females	101,187

Source: *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910*, 1197.

One of Capetillo's clearest expressions of the free union ideal occurred in her two-act play, "En el campo, amor libre" (Free love in the countryside), published in her 1916 collection *Influencias de las ideas modernas* (Influences of modern ideas). The young worker Victor is immediately smitten by the young peasant girl Aurora. The two quickly fall in love and agree to plan a life together living off of the land in a free union. The confident Aurora declares that she has no desire to be subservient or inferior to any man in a relationship where she "would be unable or lack the chance to use her intelligence or that stunted her physical and moral faculties." Victor agrees, offering "my help so that we can mutually love one another" and agreeing "to not meddle" in her own free desires. "You are completely free to do whatever pleases you."[19]

A few anarchists and their leftist allies in Puerto Rico were notable advocates for this radical brand of sexual politics. Venancio Cruz was one of the first to advocate free love in 1906, noting its complete compliance with anarchist notions of individualism, free will, and volunteerism: "Free love, genuine

expression of the sentiment of solidarity. . . . Free love, voluntary expression of all beings, sublime and generous soul of all humanity. . . . For two people to live under one roof, they do not need to go before any priest, nor any judge; they love one another, thus freely join together; . . . they have been born free and as such ought to demonstrate this; to do otherwise is to commit the gravest violation of human rights. It is to commit, more properly speaking, a true crime."[20] In 1907, Eugenio Sánchez, a FLT officer, presided over Puerto Rico's "official" first free-union ceremony when two Ponce union organizers joined together. In Vilar's Caguas CES, signs advocating free unions hung on the walls. The socialist Julio Aybar and the long-time anarchist Emiliano Ramos were known proponents of free love and free union.[21] Capetillo, while supporting such measures, nevertheless urged women to be cautious. After all, if most Latinas were still uneducated, those who entered into such free unions ran the risk of being sexually exploited by men whose intentions were less noble than anarchists would have hoped.[22]

Sexuality obviously played a key role in these discussions since traditional idealized gender roles suggested that men were naturally sexual and women were not. This belief, if not giving permission, at least could be used to excuse men who had extramarital affairs. For a woman to do so would have brought shame upon the family. Capetillo—and anarchists in general—rejected these notions. In *Mi opinión*, Capetillo quotes a long passage from the Barcelona anarcho-naturist newspaper *Salud y Fuerza* (Health and strength). The article notes that women's sexual desires are every bit as natural and strong as men's, though society tends to deny or ignore this. As a result, boys and girls, men and women need to satisfy a healthy sexual appetite. Otherwise, teen girls could suffer hysteria or chlorosis (a supposed malady possibly caused by unrequited love) while teen boys and young men could suffer from spermatorrhoea (an involuntary loss of semen without stimulating the penis). To treat these, boys and girls needed to perform "'the healthy and sufficient exercise of the sexual organs.'" However, often these sexual urges resulted in masturbation, which anarchists and their fellow medical consultants frequently viewed as unnatural and unhealthy. Capetillo's medical adviser suggested that excessive masturbation could lead to physical or mental ailments. Prostitution could solve the problem. Thus, whatever its causes and effects on people who performed it, prostitution could have health benefits for young men and women to engage in healthy, natural sexual release. While there would be many who opposed prostitution of all sorts, the good doctor suggested that society had to overcome such false notions of frail, weak girls and allow them the opportunities that men had to pay for sexual services to maintain physical and psychological health.[23]

Other Puerto Rican anarchists discussed prostitution, but less as a means to avoid the supposed debilitating consequences of frequent self-stimulation and more in terms of the sexual exploitation of young women. The exploitation of women could occur not only in the brothel but also in the workplace, where the factory was not so different from the whorehouse. As women increasingly joined the workforce in the 1910s, the Cruzada literature of Capetillo, Juan Vilar, and Ángel M. Dieppa discussed these themes. In her short play "Como se prostituyen las pobres" (Prostituting the poor), Capetillo relates a discussion between a prostitute and one of her young clients who has just paid her. He asks if this line of work agrees with her. She says no, but what choice was there? When he tells her that she could get a job in a factory, she rejects the notion first because she lacks a skill but then complains about factory conditions. "You're advising me to earn a miserable wage, breathe impure air, and have to hear the insults from some rude foreman." Ultimately, one trade was no worse than the other—the prostitute had to put up with abusive, drunk customers; the factory worker with other forms of abuse and illnesses.[24]

In his 1914 work *Páginas libres*—published just a year before his death—Vilar included the short story "La Ramera" (The whore). The story is a cautionary tale about the sexual exploitation of young girls entering the workforce in ever-growing numbers. An unnamed fifteen-year-old girl begins to toil in a workshop. Soon, however, the shop foreman approaches the beautiful girl and proposes to find her a better job: "he offers to change her situation in exchange for her impure love, and the innocent dove fell into the satyr's embraces. That will produce the seed of prostitution in her blood." Soon the girl becomes pregnant with the foreman's child, and she is dismissed from her job. Meanwhile, her coworkers know about the situation, and some want to protest her treatment. However, they also know that to do so would put them in a precarious position of possibly losing their jobs, so they do nothing. As for the girl—she retains her beauty, even after childbirth. But, in order to survive, she sells that beauty and begins to work as a prostitute.[25]

Dieppa offered another explanation for the increase in prostitution, linking it to larger social factors and problems related to marriage. Dieppa located prostitution's origins in education and poverty. Educationally, children heard about adult improprieties. As girls got older they began to imitate older women by wearing rings and lipstick and having the knowledge that they could acquire things by making a living from their bodies—not necessarily via prostitution but by flirtation to get men to buy them what they desired. "And the economic principle unites with the educational principle, resulting in the driving factors behind prostitution." Girls ultimately became married, but adultery was bound to arise and prostitution could soon follow.[26]

Thus, anarchists approached prostitution and female sexual exploitation from different angles. Capetillo saw it arising from lack of women's education, the crippling dogmas of the Catholic Church, and the bourgeois values of idealized gender roles. Yet, she also could see prostitution as a means for men and women to gain sexual release and physical pleasure. Vilar rooted this in the larger socioeconomic conditions of capitalist society that forced girls into factories to help their families survive. He saw young women being taken advantage of by unscrupulous employers who exploited their power over their female employees, forcing them ultimately to fend for themselves on the streets to support a family. He also recognized that young women might choose to be prostitutes to make money in working conditions that were no worse than those of factories. Dieppa, though, blamed not just society as a whole but women, too, for accepting what they saw and mimicking the generations before them. After all, individuals had to accept some level of responsibility for their own demise.

While anarchists frequently theorized on why women were exploited in contemporary society, they also suggested how women's conditions would look after the social revolution. Dieppa recognized that women were exploited both at work and home. Such situations undermined the family because the woman who was thus doubly exploited "is not the loving compañera, the idolized friend, but rather the slave, the irreconcilable enemy." One wonders if Dieppa was expressing a common sentiment he heard from male colleagues after seeing their wives and partners laboring in factories most of the day for half the pay of men. Yet, this rather paternalistic view of women—a view common throughout most male anarchist writings about women throughout the Caribbean and beyond—became even more paternalistic when he described women's conditions after the revolution. Future women would work, but "the women of the future will work in jobs appropriate to their sex." He offered no examples. More paternalistic—but again common—was his view that women were first and foremost mothers, so when they became pregnant it was time for them to stop working. Women "during the nine months of pregnancy and during the 14 or 20 months of nursing and the 4 or 6 years of caring for the child will not work, dedicating instead all of this time exclusively to the child's care in order that this generation will not degenerate and so that it will be able to grow stronger, healthier, and morally, intellectually, and fiscally vigorous."[27] Thus, Dieppa's revolutionary mothers would be crucial for bringing forth a radical new dawn and then populating that new era while their children's fathers continued to work in the fields and factories.

As one may suspect, Capetillo—a real-life revolutionary mother who did not stay at home with her children—took a different view of women's condi-

tion after the revolution. In her short utopian fiction, Capetillo held to her views that women's conditions could only improve in a communistic, egalitarian society. In her novella *La humanidad en el futuro*, the author implies that when a general strike breaks out and leads to the social revolution, the resulting society is rooted in class and gender equality.[28] Elsewhere, she offered a more concrete notion of future relations between the sexes. For instance, in her three-act play "Influencias de las ideas modernas," class conflict is reconciled with true love. Angelina is the daughter of a progressive merchant. She is an avid reader of Tolstoy, Kropotkin, and other anarchist thinkers. Carlos Santana is a worker leading a strike against numerous factories. Over the course of the strike, Angelina's father acquiesces to the strikers' demands, while Carlos and Angelina strike up a relationship. By the play's end, the strikers have won and the two young lovers embark on a "free union." Before the curtain falls, Angelina turns to the female members of the audience and proclaims: "Beautiful girls who have been listening, if you want to be mothers of conscientious generations and to be free, don't make contracts at the civil registry, nor in temples, because that is a sale and the sale is prostitution. Love ought to be free, like the air you breathe, like the flowers that open to receive the fertile pollen and offer their perfumes into the air. Thus is how you ought to offer your love and prepare to make children for love."[29] Angelina has become transformed from a single girl thinking about an egalitarian anarchist future to an activist—not unlike Capetillo's own transformation to a female revolutionary.

Capetillo's character of Angelina was not unique among Puerto Rican leftist authors of the day. To represent growing class and gender consciousness, writers frequently drew their protagonists as teenage girls. Not all of these authors were anarchists; however, their female characters clearly sympathize with anarchist notions of class and gender warfare, particularly targeting traditional notions of marriage that had long been staples of anarchist fiction. One of the earliest of these authors was the socialist José Elías Levis Bernard. In his 1910 novel *Vida nueva* (New life), published in the radical enclave of Bayamón, Levis Bernard portrays two young women (Laura Durand and Lisí Archeval) who talk tough about their male-dominated society. The wealthy Lisí is the most strident, claiming that she is not one of the suffragists ("They irritate me"). Rather, she declares herself a revolutionary, seeking a day when enslaving concepts of marriage will end and when "every human institution will be put in women's hands." "With women running the world, the steel from swords and bayonets will be melted down and converted into farm implements, plowshares, trains destined to all parts of the land, lands without frontiers."[30] But Lisí does not stop there. When confronted by a wealthy

woman about her ideas, Lisí notes that "politics, medicine, journalism, all that there is on earth would be better in women's hands. I am an outrageous revolutionary and I consider myself an anarchist, like Louise Michel from the aristocracy."[31]

In his 1920 novella *Futuro!* (Future!), PS member Enrique Plaza adopted the now-common pattern of a teenage girl from the upper class becoming not only sympathetic to radical projects but also falling in love with a labor organizer. Plaza's short novel includes a curious Prologue that situates the author's political past in the context of his revolutionary leanings. Originally written in 1911 in Caguas, Plaza describes his role helping Juan Vilar and others with the CES and the police repression of the movement following the assassinations by Grillo. In the ensuing repression, the original version of *Futuro!* was damaged, but over the years he reworked the themes. The prologue also recounts how a young girl named Rosa Álvarez spent time at the CES as a teacher. Rosa was the inspiration for the character "Rosa" in *Futuro!* She is the revolutionarily enlightened daughter of the "rich bourgeois" Don Pepe. As the story opens, like so many have before, workers have gone on strike. Rosa has fallen in love with the strike leader, Jorge, but cannot understand why he doesn't practice the same types of romantic things she's learned to expect in her class position. At the same time, she becomes confused at the wealth she enjoys while noticing how others suffer. This consciousness leads her to declare, "Thus, I, a woman from the present who belongs to the future, will struggle above all eventualities until reaching the summit of justice." Her growing resentment toward her father's wealth is compounded when she discovers that she is to be subjected to an arranged marriage, something she describes as "a legal prostitution where love is counted and sold." Meanwhile, her true love Jorge has been jailed, victim of a deception perpetrated by her father. When Jorge is released, he confronts Don Pepe, exposing Rosa's father for the deception and an earlier trumped-up case of thievery against Jorge's father. Jorge promises not to reveal the treacheries if Don Pepe agrees to update his factories in new, hygienic ways and to build schools for workers. Blackmail works! The suddenly regenerated father then allows his daughter to escape the arranged marriage and asks Jorge to take Rosa as his compañera without the trappings of tradition and marriage.[32]

Although by the time they wrote their books both Levis Bernard and Plaza were followers of parliamentary socialist politics, both drew upon anarchist ideas, characters, and past relationships with anarchists to construct these young, female protagonists. The characters were not new and in fact had been a hallmark of Caribbean anarchist culture since del Valle's 1898 play *Fin de fiesta*. The Caguas-based anarchist Jesús Santiago would link these

socialist and anarchist traditions with his two seventeen-year-old characters "María" and "Elisa" in his short play "El ideal triunfante" (The triumphant ideal). Speaking in rhyme, María tells her friend how she has just read a book by Émile Zola, causing her to lament the state of inequality on the planet, the lack of fraternity, and the realization that "freedom is a myth" in this world. When Elisa says she wants a paradise, too, but that's impossible, her idealistic girlfriend responds,

> Man is the one who can do everything
> And that exploitation without a name
> That makes him a pariah, oppressed
> Only he can put an end to it one day/
> Establishing anarchy
> That is what we will fight for.[33]

Scared, Elisa replies, "Anarchy? Jesus! What horror! Isn't that criminal, María?" María tells her anarchy is about love and equality, not what the bourgeoisie says it is. Elisa then asks, "Then that leads to Socialism?" "Yes," replies María,

> here a dualism doesn't exist
> Nor is there a real difference
> In its radical form
> It is the same, anarchism![34]

Thus, a central story line in radical leftist fiction from 1910 to 1920 revolved around girls—generally from the upper class—discovering class consciousness and radical, even anarchist, goals. Likewise, most of the teenage girls come to these realizations through reading on their own, not via rationalist schools or labor propaganda, which, of course, they would not have been exposed to as privileged children. As in anarchist fiction in Cuba and elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking world, female characters became the muses that would help audiences and readers awaken to their misery, understand the origins of those problems, and rise up to bring forth a social revolution centered on freedom and equality, especially between the sexes and without church- or state-sanctioned marriage.[35] Antiauthoritarianism in the private sphere would join antiauthoritarianism in the public sphere.

Violence and a New Dawn in Anarchist and Leftist Literature

Throughout history, the opponents of global anarchism did their best to portray these left-wing radicals as godless purveyors of destruction. They were

loners out to unmake civilization by destroying religious institutions, killing prominent businessmen, and blowing up symbols of the state—symbols in both marble and flesh. The portrayal has been effective through today, as popular perception still imagines the anarchist as a rather dastardly comic figure with his dark overcoat and little black bombs. The image emphasizes the anarchist use of physical violence and destruction above the anarchist cultural and educational tactics to achieve their political goals of liberation and a new egalitarian society. Those seeking a more favorable view of anarchism often go to the opposite extreme in describing anarchists. Students and followers of anarchism have generally downplayed anarchist uses of physical violence. Instead, they focus on more peaceful, though still confrontational, paths of anarchist work in unions and cultural endeavors designed to prepare the working class as a whole to be mentally, physically, and politically fit for a future social revolution. This revolution would usher in a new dawn of equality and freedom without the physical or structural violence of the state, industrial capital, or organized religion. In this alternative portrayal, anarchist violence is marginalized or ignored entirely.

However, violence and violent symbolism at times were central to anarchist tactics and messages about the destruction of corrupt societies and the creation of new ones. In Puerto Rico, violent symbolism was actually shared across the Left. For instance, the symbol of the PS was the *jacho* (torch). The same symbol of the lit *antorcha* (torch) was common in the global anarchist movement as well. On the island, though, the *jacho* was not just a symbol of the Left; it had real-life revolutionary utility by striking workers, who used it to burn sugar plantations in the strikes of the 1910s.[36] In Puerto Rico, examples of revolutionary violence emerged in the fiction and poetry of leftists Romero Rosa, Juan José López, Capetillo, and others. Guided by their larger goals of educating followers to be prepared for the dreamed-for social revolution, these writers took to the pen and page to write about violence and societal transformation. Romero Rosa's early work presaged the Bolshevik call for unity between workers and those people who served the state's repression apparatus. López's poetry urged Puerto Ricans to rise up against nationalism and the state to create a new anarchist society. Capetillo praised the symbolism of the bonfire in destroying the vestiges of the past to create a future humanity.

The desire to initiate revolutionary change in society and thus cleanse the world of an unjust past often brought anarchists and their sympathizers into contact with the forces of state repression—spies, police, and soldiers in particular. Romero Rosa's *La emancipación del obrero; Drama alegórico en un acto* (Emancipation of the worker: Allegorical drama in one act) portrays such alliances between rebels and enforcers of the state to bring about

revolutionary change. Romero Rosa's belief in revolutionary change in society without violence rested on his idealized view that workers and those sent to repress them needed to unite to avoid violence. The play focuses on Juan (symbolizing the workers), Pedro (representing workers who live in ignorant servitude to the bourgeoisie) and Extranjero (representing the arrival of working-class ideals to Puerto Rico). While much of the play focuses on Juan attempting to spread Extranjero's ideals so that his fellow workers will transform themselves, a less-noted transformation occurs with the police. While the police in scene 2 attack Pedro for spreading his "pernicious teaching" and Extranjero in scene 3 for stirring things up on the island, by the seventh and final scene the police are having second thoughts about the repression they levy. As two policemen attempt to arrest Extranjero, he exhorts them to consider their actions: "Stop and listen!," he calls in the familiar, *vosotros* voice. "You, who come from the same working people, are also workers dressed in uniforms; you are instruments of oppression that the stupid bourgeoisie values for destroying our freedoms. . . . Come, then, with us so that as the workers who you truly are you can serve your true cause!" Upon quick reflection, one officer says, "What you say is true! . . . I've never taken a rich man to prison! All have been poor . . . I now know that I've served a bad cause! I surrender to your eloquence and I know now that this [holding up his pistol] no longer belongs to me." He throws the gun to the ground, his colleague does the same, and they join forces with the workers.[37]

The proposed unity between working-class radicals and workers who serviced the state was not shared by all radicals. In the years before the Bolsheviks preached worker-soldier solidarity, Ángel María Dieppa condemned all soldiers in his *El porvenir de la sociedad humana*. Writing in 1915, as the Great War intensified in Europe, Dieppa blamed workers-who-became-soldiers for much of society's ills. "The soldier is not a man; he is a eunuch, or even less than this. . . . You [soldiers] are the lowest slaves, the most wretched servants, the most treacherous humans." What will you do, he asked them, when your limbs are shot off? Or, what will you do if you keep your limbs when you leave the service? You will still be a worker, just as exploited as ever by the "state, capitalism and religion."[38] While condemning soldiers, Dieppa's words were also an attempt to awaken working-class consciousness among soldiers. Thus, in the end, maybe soldiers and workers could unite to create a revolutionary society, but soldiers would first have to become aware of their actions as the state's enforcers.

Whether it was the poetry of anarchists like Juan José López or the futuristic revolutionary society in Luisa Capetillo's fiction, the symbol of the bonfire played prominently in violently cleansing society of its decadent, unjust

past. In *Voces libertarias* (Libertarian voices), López published a selection of his tracts critical of both Puerto Rican politics and concepts of patriotic nationalism. In "Subamos" (We're rising up), he critiques how recent agricultural strikes and strike leaders had been repressed and persecuted by authorities, how Washington had failed to do anything to help the plight of laborers, and how all of this was little more than a cruel joke waged by "the grand republic" of the United States and its island lackeys to keep the masses down. Criminally, he argues, the same thing had been happening elsewhere under U.S. eyes and with U.S. complicity: the trials and state executions of Chicago's Haymarket anarchists in the nineteenth century, the harassment of the U.S.-based Mexican anarchist brothers Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón by U.S. authorities, and a recent lynching of tobacco workers in Tampa, Florida. Inspired by the Mexican Revolution just then gaining momentum, López urged workers in "Subamos" to ignore patriotism and the flag and "come with us, the anarchists. . . . We're rising up!"[39] Such a call to arms ended a book that had begun with López's poem "Lucha Roja" (Red struggle), where he writes that rational beings cannot defend a national flag, should ignore socialism, choose anarchism, and unite in an armed uprising. In the final stanza, López writes:

> Decent people should unite around her [anarchy]
> Together with all that is good and benevolent
> To fall in with the so-called RED STRUGGLE
> She invites you to the triumph of love
> She incites you to kill the rulers
> We will ignite the bonfire in her name.[40]

The bonfire can symbolize both the violence that initiates a revolution as well as the violence that cleanses the remnants of the past from the new dawning age. This latter usage of revolutionary bonfires emerges at the end of Capetillo's *La humanidad en el futuro*. In Capetillo's romantic telling, the workers in an unnamed place rise up in a general strike. The strike's intensity, longevity, and breadth lead to a revolutionary overhaul of society. The strike committee has become the vanguard to lead this reform, and they call on their followers to collect everything in society that is useless or has caused harm. A cart is pulled around the community, collecting such items from offices, courtrooms, museums, and churches. Then, they are deposited onto an ever-growing mound in the central plaza. When priests complain, they are reprimanded, told their properties will now become schools, and are forced to remove their cassocks and add them to the pile of useless objects to be burned—a contrast, notes the strike leader, to how priests in the past burned

people. Then, when all such objects have been collected and deposited in the plaza, the mound of refuse is set alight. The pyre burns for hours. The ashes are then gathered and sent to the countryside as fertilizer for the newly reorganized agricultural enterprises.[41] Thus, the flames of revolution burn the old items to ashes, which will help give birth to a new era.

Besides the common use of young women as muses to project a radical socialist-anarchist agenda or the symbolism of violence portrayed in different literary forms, the commonality of usage reflects something larger at work in the labor left in Puerto Rico during these years. PS members and antipolitics anarchists often disagreed on means to realize the same idealized ends. This was true throughout the Americas. But the arrival of socialist politics in Puerto Rico, and the eventual creation of the PS that would win numerous governmental seats (a topic to be discussed in the next chapter), meant that anarchists had a particularly difficult time convincing potential followers to abandon all electoral political strategies. Since the end of Spanish colonialism, anarchists had either joined the socialist movement or worked closely with socialists in the FLT. In radical enclaves such as Caguas and Bayamón, socialists and anarchists were friends, coworkers, and fellow activists. Often, the affinity was stronger than the ideological discord. This affinity could be seen in similar approaches to radical culture during the 1910s, especially in how both understood gender, how they described contemporary women, and how they portrayed women in a revolutionary future. One cannot ignore the fact that socialist authors on the island tapped into anarchist images and messages for their story lines. The Socialists acknowledged debts to their anarchist brethren, whose origins in Puerto Rico were older and whose influence continued to be seen in unions, strikes, CESs, and literary productions.

The literary world of the Puerto Rican Left might have provided avenues of shared inspiration, but relations between anarchists and the Socialists continued to unfold in uneasy association in other arenas after the founding of the PS in 1915. Tensions intensified as anarchists and Socialists differed on tactics to pursue after the United States granted U.S. citizenship to islanders in 1917, on the U.S. war effort in Europe from 1917 to 1918, and on the value of PS electoral victories versus the revolutionary example offered to the world by the Bolshevik Revolution. In Bayamón, anarchists would lead the way in the rejection of Socialist Americanization and reformist politics.

6. Politics of the Bayamón Bloc and the Partido Socialista

Anarchism and Socialism in the 1910s

In early February 1916, workers belonging to the Bayamón FLT were celebrating at an assembly inside their hall. Strikes were disrupting the island, and the union saw this as a time to rejoice and strategize for the future. Speakers rose to offer congratulations to fellow radicals across the island and across the aisle in the hall. Shouts for victory pierced the air and one round of applause after another filled the union hall with camaraderie and cheer. At some point in the festivities, someone in the hall looked out a window and gave a shout. At that moment, twenty armed police were surrounding the union hall. The FLT had heard that authorities across the island were ruthlessly suppressing the strikes. In Río Grande, Juana Díaz, and elsewhere, strikebreakers and police marched against demonstrators. With legal authority on their side, they attacked striking workers with guns and machetes, wounding unknown scores of men and women. But now many were caught off guard, surrounded by armed police during a time of celebration.

Then, with no warning, windows shattered, plaster chunks ricocheted across the room, and splinters from the door and window frames flew through the air. The police had opened fire with their revolvers and rifles. With the union members scrambling for cover, the police ceased firing and charged the building. When they tried to barge their way in, union members—now fully aware of what was happening—fought off the police as best they could before succumbing to overwhelming force. In the melee, Alfredo Negrín was severely wounded by gun fire.[1]

Strikes, workers running for office, and CESs had only limited effect in mobilizing workers in the first decade after Spanish colonialism ended. But in the second decade, things had begun to change. The Cruzada del Ideal

was awakening workers. The PS was reigniting ideas about the possibility of significant working-class improvement through electoral politics. Growing working-class consciousness and the possibility of success electorally emboldened workers in the sugar fields, tobacco trades, and elsewhere to use direct action and the strike to push for better conditions.

Once again, the island's authorities were outraged. They seemed to have focused specific attention on the radical bloc in Bayamón. For over a decade, the city had seen an increase in radical activity, led by anarchists, among them Negrín. Negrín had been in hand-to-hand fights with bosses. He and others were central in founding the city's CES during the violence of 1911. Plus, he and other progressives were involved in founding the city's first freethinkers group that so riled the city's church hierarchy. The Bayamón anarchists would continue their agitation throughout the 1910s, sometimes working with Socialists but also becoming less conciliatory and more rigid in their quest for an anarchist social revolution. Thus, in the height of antilabor violence and the surge in worker-based radicalism at middecade, Negrín and the Bayamón radicals rose to the top of authorities' hit list. Bayamón came under fire—literally—from the police.

Anarchism's Continued Influence within Puerto Rican Socialism

The fiction, poetry, and plays produced by Capetillo, Dieppa, López, Vilar, Santiago, Levis Bernard, and Plaza generated an embryonic collective workers culture in Puerto Rico. This culture reflected the larger ideology of the FLT and the PS that blended the ideas of Marx and Bakunin.[2] Within the FLT and the larger labor left in Puerto Rico, socialists and anarchists created a "hybrid discourse," as Arturo Bird Carmona puts it.[3] Thus, anarchists and socialists joined cultural forces, a merger that resulted in Juan Marcano, Magdaleno González and other socialists continuing to praise their anarchist comrades past and present in their works. Coupled with labor newspapers, meetings, Labor and May Day events, and theater groups, these writings were central to the educational and propaganda work of the Left during the 1910s.

This need for a unified worker culture rested as much with the fickleness of Puerto Rican workers as with the power of the dominant classes. With strikes spreading throughout the island in 1914, and leftists increasingly moving toward creation of a political party, Manuel F. Rojas published his history of the island, *Cuatro siglos de ignorancia y servidumbre en Puerto Rico* (Four centuries of ignorance and servitude in Puerto Rico). A constant theme of the book is how Puerto Ricans had a long history of accepting and

even cooperating with the forces of repression on the island. As Rojas saw it, workers accepted their exploitation while creating wealth for a few, consumed products they could not afford while also creating wealth for a handful, and voted for political parties whose only interests were those of the dominant class.[4] Even if Puerto Ricans were to fight for true independence, "our independent government would be the government of foreign capitalists." People needed to reject calls for patriotism and other divisions that would dilute the power of workers and "assure the power of small groups. . . . [W]e, the radical elements, want the people to unite under only one flag to combat and topple tyranny." This one flag had to unite not only Puerto Ricans generally, but specifically the island's radicals who it would represent. As Rojas put it, "[w]e are affiliated with the ideas of international socialist labor unionism," but all revolutionary and reformist tendencies had to come together. "On one side, the revolutionary socialists; on the other, the parliamentary socialists; here, the trade unionists; there, the cooperativists; further along, the syndicalists, and ultimately the anarchists, sustaining the sum of the emancipatory and reformist ideas of the social world."[5]

By 1918, Rojas was himself supporting a radical socialist agenda less in line with PS leader Santiago Iglesias and more in line with a new, sizeable group of anarchists emerging on the island. As an important voice in the PS, he began to praise the Bolshevik Revolution. He especially liked the Bolshevik land reforms, and saw this as a clear sign that the capitalist system was collapsing thanks to "the revolutionary push" and that "the true regime of social democracy" would arise everywhere like in Russia.[6] Not everyone in the PS or the FLT shared Rojas's fondness for the Bolsheviks. The aging Iglesias detested them. Likewise, the official FLT line and that of all unions affiliated with the AFL condemned the Bolsheviks. Rojas's sentiments clearly fell to the far left end of the radical spectrum where anarchists remained, and those sentiments—as we will see—mirrored Boricua anarchist positions on the Bolshevik Revolution. The fact that Rojas's book was published by the FLT press also suggests that, despite Iglesias's leadership and the official FLT stance, there continued to be sympathy within the union for more radical ideas.

A year later in 1919, Juan Marcano published his *Páginas rojas* (Red pages). Marcano was no anarchist. Under the book's title, he included the quote: "Socialism will triumph with the weapon of suffrage. It is just . . . and it is inevitable!" Marcano's Caguas-based friend and comrade Magdaleno González wrote the book's prologue. While both had become members of the PS, they nevertheless praised anarchism. In the prologue, González proclaimed "Socialism and anarchism, beautiful principles, sublime ideals!"[7] But it was Marcano who retained one of the strongest sympathies for anarchism within

both the FLT and PS. Marcano had been publishing his writings since at least 1915. In September that year, he published front-page articles in *Unión Obrera* that read like anarchist tracts while talking about "the modern ideas of Socialism." In this way, he reflected a common give-and-take, back-and-forth relationship between socialism and anarchism on the island. This first became clear in one front-page column titled "We Are Socialists, But without Bosses!!" Marcano agreed with the broad socialist critique of capitalism, religion, and the state, and was suggesting that his concept of socialism not only would do away with bosses but also not include any party or government after socialism triumphed—clearly an anarchist notion that rejected a dictatorship of the proletariat.[8] *Páginas rojas* illustrated how key PS activists were still grounded in the Puerto Rican Left's anarchist roots.

By the end of the decade, Socialists were winning seats in local and island-wide races. For instance, the party participated in elections for the first time in 1917. While winning only 14 percent of the total vote, Socialist candidates won races in six of the island's seventy-seven municipalities. The party expanded its successes in 1920 by garnering 23.7 percent of the vote and winning in eight municipalities.[9] For many on the Left, it made increasing sense that members should support a peaceful, democratic conquest of power by the vote. However, this did not stop Marcano from praising internationally famous anarchists when he claimed in 1919 "[w]e want that freedom for which Francisco Ferrer y Guardia, Práxedis G. Guerrero, Pedro Goris [Gori], Juan Juarés, and other men gave their lives."[10] With the exception of Juarés, all were anarchists from Europe or Mexico. Besides this tribute to international anarchism, Marcano gave homage to Puerto Rican anarchists. Though four years had passed since Juan Vilar's death, the time had not diminished Vilar's influence on Marcano. In his chapter titled "Noble Apostol! Sobre la tumba del inolvidable filósofo Juan Vilar" (Noble apostle! On the tomb of the unforgettable philosopher Juan Vilar), Marcano praised Vilar's memory. While acknowledging that Vilar's anarchist ideas had yet to triumph, Marcano thanked him for showing the way forward through "your noble counsel, and your friendship that unites us." Marcano noted how he placed a red poppy on Vilar's grave—"red like your thoughts and your sublime ideas of human liberation, red like your rebellious human heart and lover of justice, red, yes, like your Flag of combat . . . and red like your precious blood that you would have spilled on the altar of human happiness and joy for mankind."[11] No other Puerto Rican leftist received anywhere near this kind of praise from Marcano. In fact, throughout the book, Marcano mentioned and praised more anarchists by name than followers of any other political doctrine.

Anarchists, Socialists, and the Emergence of the Bayamón Bloc

The departure of Ángel María Dieppa, Luisa Capetillo and other anarchists to the United States in 1911 and 1912, coupled with Vilar's yearlong imprisonment at the same time had contributed to weakening of the anarchist presence in Puerto Rico. Equally important, anarchists in Puerto Rico had long utilized the Havana-based *¡Tierra!* to publish news and critiques. The Cuban paper was disseminated in Puerto Rico so readers could be exposed to both the words of Puerto Rican anarchists as well as news from around the Caribbean, Spain, Mexico, and New York. *¡Tierra!* was a crucial journalistic and organizational tool for Puerto Rican anarchists. However, Cuban government repression forced the paper to fold in January 1915.[12]

For a brief spell, the Puerto Rican Left denounced the repression against Cuban anarchists. In February 1915, the FLT's San Juan–based newspaper *Justicia* (Justice) condemned the "Cuban tyrants" for the expulsions of "Spanish workers" in Cuba, principally the anarchists Vicente Lipiz, Abelardo Saavedra, and Juan Tenorio, as well as the incarcerations of numerous Cuban activists. The paper charged that the anarchists from Spain were deported as a way for Cuban leaders to portray themselves as "patriots" protecting the island from dangerous outsiders, when in reality the deportations were designed to protect the high price of sugar on the international market by eliminating disrupting radicals.

A month later, on the eve of the founding of the PS, Severo Cirino wrote from Havana on the current climate. Cirino had been a longtime anarchist in Puerto Rico, dating to his involvement in the early FLT in 1900. His credentials included multiple arrests by authorities and editorship of the anarchist newspaper *El Centinela* in 1909. In March 1915, Cirino was in Cuba and reported back to his labor colleagues in an open letter to Santiago Iglesias. He claimed that the anarchists were deported primarily for helping rural sugar cane cutters to press for higher wages. The Cuban protest and repression was especially relevant for the Puerto Rican labor leaders who at the moment were embroiled in their own islandwide agricultural strike where even the AFL's Gompers was calling attention to the need for better living conditions, housing, and wages for rural workers.[13] Thus, just as the FLT met to create the PS, they found themselves witnessing parallel labor strife in Cuba, where the radical left was jailed and deported and their press was shut down. Perhaps a legal means to capture electoral victory was a truly safer—and maybe more effective—option for Puerto Rican labor.

Few of Puerto Rico's anarchists folded easily into the growing electoral options pursued by the new PS. While some Puerto Rican Socialists may have looked broadly at creating alliances with their more radical anarchist colleagues and people like Marcano continued to praise their anarchist friends and comrades, anarchists did not necessarily reciprocate the sentimentality. In fact, in 1915 the Bayamón anarchists began a six-year stint as the vanguard of anarchism in Puerto Rico that increasingly rejected the Socialists' electoral strategies and intensified their calls for direct action and revolutionary struggle. By 1910, Bayamón had become one of the most important tobacco cities in the Caribbean. The ATC's two largest factories were in Puerta de Tierra on the outskirts of San Juan and Bayamón, with 35 percent of the island's tobacco work force laboring in one of these two factories.[14] While Bayamón's importance for tobacco grew, so too did its importance to the island's anarchist cause. There, a small group of tobacco workers kept the anarchist message alive. These men and women did not emerge overnight. Alfredo Negrín and others had been active in the city since at least 1906.[15]

In 1910, a tobacco workers strike in Tampa, Florida became a point of transnational concern for the Bayamón anarchists. The Tampa strike was a long affair involving 12,000 men and women who left the shop floors in demand of higher wages and a closed shop. In response, factory owners imported strikebreakers from Havana. Tampa's Anglo-led Citizen's Committee launched rounds of vigilante violence against strikers, just as they had done in a 1901 strike that resulted in the collapse of the Tampa anarchist union La Resistencia.[16] In Puerto Rico, the labor press virtually ignored the strike of their fellow cigar workers in Tampa. Fed up with the lack of interest and coverage, anarchists in Bayamón came to the aid of their Tampa comrades. By August, Negrín and other anarchists had organized a committee to raise funds for the strike.[17] The Bayamón group hoped that their efforts—published in Mayagüez's *Unión Obrera*—would spur the rest of Puerto Rico's Left into action. It did not. In a letter from Tampa in October, the writer noted that the only aid coming from Puerto Rico was from the small Bayamón effort. The letter apparently shamed the paper into action, as it soon after began appealing to its readers to donate for a strike fund.[18] Finally, in November, the paper began to cover the Tampa strike in earnest. The paper helped the Puerto Rican readership understand the larger Tampa context by reminding them of the repression of the 1901 Tampa strike, the earlier use of Anglo vigilante violence against workers, and the destruction of the city's anarchist labor union La Resistencia. Interestingly, the paper reminisced about Tampa's 1901 anarchist union, not the rival AFL-linked CMIU local that had conspired to destroy La Resistencia in that earlier strike. In fact, in November the editors

published a front-page letter from Tampa urging the AFL and its affiliates to not stand by in silence as they had a decade earlier.[19] The paper's stance also suggested that elements within the FLT clearly were siding with anarchist elements in the union by shaming the AFL's record and slowness to react. Thus, again, one sees that the FLT was by no means a bloc that walked in step with Gompers's union, and in fact that anarchist-led initiatives (this time the Bayamón group's fund-raising efforts) could pull the FLT further to the left than its AFL benefactors might have been comfortable with.

To keep the anarchist agenda alive in Bayamón, the city's anarchists turned to international anarchist newspapers in New York and Havana. Beginning in 1911, Francisca Barrios, Rafael Pérez, Alfredo Negrín, Miguel Cedeno, Basilio Marcial, Juan M. Alicea, and other anarchists collected small sums of money in Bayamón to purchase copies of *Cultura Obrera* from New York. On occasion, these same activists published columns in *Cultura Obrera* that critiqued Puerto Rican economic, political, and social reality.[20] In October 1912, seven anarchists from the city sent money to the New York–based *Brazo y Cerebro*.[21] Over the years, these same anarchists were joined by other comrades in Bayamón who pooled their money to purchase copies of Havana's *El Dependiente* (The shop assistant) and *La Voz del Dependiente* (Voice of the shop assistant).

By mid-1915, Dieppa and Capetillo had returned to the island from New York and Havana, respectively, to find the CES experiments collapsed, Juan Vilar dead, and anarchists with little support or initiative. The limited size of the movement over the next few years undermined all efforts to create an anarchist periodical that could organize workers. By the spring of 1915, the falling number of anarchists again turned to the pages of *Cultura Obrera*, building upon the connections created by Capetillo's and Dieppa's time working with the newspaper and sending ever larger sums of money to New York.[22] At the same time, islanders continued to have a friendly link in New York and with *Cultura Obrera*: Juan M. Alicea, based in Bayamón, maintained regular contact with his brother José, who traveled back and forth to New York.

Meanwhile, as Pablo Vega Santos and other older anarchists abandoned anarchism and joined the PS, remaining anarchists grew frustrated with old comrades and began calling them sell-outs. Take the personal assaults levied by Dieppa against Vega Santos in 1916. While living in New York, Dieppa had begun criticizing the tactics of the AFL in the pages of *Cultura Obrera*. In February, Vega Santos wrote to the anarcho-syndicalist *El Dependiente* in Havana personally attacking Dieppa for this criticism, calling Dieppa a "traitor" and a "sell-out for bourgeois gold." The twenty-four-year-old Dieppa responded by claiming that he had been true to his anarchist principles for

eight years, and that during this time he had known Vega Santos also to be a true anarchist himself. Then, Dieppa went on the attack. He claimed that Vega Santos had become the real traitor when he decided to work for the Partido Unión, then earned fifteen dollars a week working for the *republicanos*, and now called himself a parliamentary socialist.

> So, who is the true traitor? Me, who has worked 8 years for the anarchist ideal without wavering, having been the victim of a five year boycott by the Puerto Rican bourgeoisie because I did not sell out like Vega Santos, having been in jail in New York and blacklisted by all of the factory owners in that city, forcing me to leave so that I now live in the worst possible conditions; or, the lecherous Vega Santos, who not only was a traitor to the anarchists but also seduced a young girl into believing he had money and then abandoned her with two children?[23]

Politics on the Left could get quite nasty, indeed.

Despite his attacks on Vega Santos and parliamentary socialism, Dieppa understood the appeal of a socialist party engaged in electoral politics. During the 1910s, he traveled between Puerto Rico and the United States, becoming a regular contributor to anarchist and labor newspapers in both. In 1915, the same year of the PS's founding, Dieppa published *El porvenir de la sociedad humana*. Responding to the new party and its goal of taking democratic power through the ballot box, Dieppa conceded that a "Republican Socialist regime" would certainly be better than the current bourgeois troika of state-capital-church; however, he questioned just how much better. For Dieppa, a Socialist government would attack prostitution, build hospitals and schools, treat diseases, and more—issues central to improving the quality of life for the laboring masses on the island. However, he cautioned that such approaches would not abolish capitalism, or government, or even religion. Rather, a Socialist government voted into power would merely treat the problems of society, not find and eliminate the causes of those problems. Plus, wouldn't a Socialist government be all about laws, and, by extension, authoritarianism and coercion as well? Besides this, Dieppa asked his readers about capitalism. The reality, he reminded them, is that the capitalist system would still predominate, even if a reform-oriented Socialist government came to power. So, what would happen when the capitalist class wanted to expand its activities? Would a Socialist government be able to control the capitalists, or merely soften capitalism's hardest edges?[24]

Possibly influenced by his years with internationally renowned anarchist Pedro Esteve in New York and circulating within a larger, more established, multiethnic anarchist community there, Dieppa refused to compromise.

While many of his leftist colleagues in the FLT began to organize the PS, Dieppa urged Puerto Ricans in the opposite direction and toward anarcho-syndicalism—the position held by New York's *Cultura Obrera* at this time while it functioned as an official organ of the IWW under Esteve. Dieppa urged Puerto Ricans to "abandon the church, the love of country, respect for the state, and to grow accustomed to not living among the stupefying poverty, to dress decently and to create revolutionary syndicalist unions employing solidarity and Direct Action in the class struggle."[25]

The growing importance of the New York paper for Puerto Rican anarchists went beyond being just a vehicle for rabble-rousing columns. Increasingly, Bayamón's anarchists were becoming regular financial backers of the paper. Between August 1916 and March 1917, for instance, contributions to *Cultura Obrera* from Bayamón accounted for between three and five percent of the paper's weekly collections from throughout the United States, the Caribbean, and ship workers plying the Atlantic seaboard and Caribbean ports. The small contributions came from between twenty-six and forty-four workers in Bayamón alone.[26] What makes this group even more intriguing is that no other money was collected and sent to this leading international anarchist newspaper from any other part of the island. Rather, in Bayamón, an increasingly radicalized population began to forsake interest in the PS and chose to devote portions of their small wages to finance anarchist propaganda. Yet, now instead of doing so through columns in the island's FLT press, they looked transnationally toward New York.

U.S. Citizenship, PS Electoral Wins, and the Military Draft, 1917–1919

While every year seemed to be ever more difficult for anarchists, 1917 was tougher than most in terms of anarchists finding themselves lost in a sea of events beyond their influence, let alone their control. Three events and issues in particular vexed anarchists: the granting of U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans, the PS fielding its first candidates in islandwide elections, and the imposition of obligatory military service with the declaration of war that brought the United States into the Great War in Europe.

In March 1917, Puerto Ricans became U.S. citizens with the passage in Washington of the Jones Act. Throughout the 1910s, some political elements, among them the Unionists, had been stepping up the campaign for the island's complete independence. Iglesias, the PS, and the FLT leadership, on the other hand, supported U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans. Since its earliest issues in 1914, the FLT's *Justicia* had promoted citizenship, claiming

that since 1898, "Puerto Ricans have been unanimously soliciting American citizenship up until the past few years when various discontented elements organized themselves on the Island to counteract the tendency to Americanize the country." The newspaper called on Washington to grant citizenship, and told islanders that the only people in the United States who opposed citizenship were those who maintained that Puerto Ricans were inferior. Thus, to oppose citizenship would be to allow the bigots to win.[27] While anarchists had long opposed notions of Puerto Rican independence, none had advocated becoming U.S. citizens, either. Anarchists did not have a horse in this race. They opposed straightforward political independence, but, as "citizens of the world" the arrival of "U.S. citizenship" meant nothing—at least from an ideological point of view. Thus, anarchists in Puerto Rico were ultimately confounded as to how to respond to the Jones Act. So, they didn't.

The second event that challenged anarchist sensibilities was just as potentially controversial. As noted earlier, in July 1917, PS candidates won 14 percent of the vote in islandwide elections, winning six of seventy-seven municipal contests.[28] In addition, Santiago Iglesias—that constant thorn in the side of island anarchists—ran for the Puerto Rican Senate on the PS ticket and won one of the nineteen seats.[29] *Justicia* proclaimed this a "NEW PHASE" in which "the capitalist system with the resources and power at its disposal, in Puerto Rico, has been unable to prevent the entrance of a Senator or a Representative to the insular Parliament from the ranks of organized Labor, and this is an unequivocal sign of progress realized during these past twenty years of American domination on the island." Herein lay the long debate between socialists and anarchists. While both deplored the exploitative industrial capitalism that swept the island after the Spanish era, the anarchists maintained their opposition equally to politics and the government. Socialists, now emboldened by electoral successes, were as convinced as ever that the only real way to defeat capitalist exploitation—and to do it peacefully—was through a two-pronged struggle via unionization and the ballot box. As *Justicia* concluded in its celebratory editorial, the first phase had passed with 25,000 citizens voicing their support for the Socialists and "capitalism has been unable to halt this advance."[30]

Third, once Puerto Ricans became U.S. citizens on March 2, 1917, they found themselves caught up in the newest U.S. foreign policy enterprise when the United States declared war on Germany on April 6. The next day, the Puerto Rican House of Delegates unanimously supported the declaration. The island government then embarked on a full-scale war effort that mirrored what was transpiring on the mainland: dedicating certain foodstuffs for the war effort; placing price controls on rice, flour, condensed milk, and meat;

and, selling war bonds. But two war initiatives met with less-than-unanimous support from organized labor and the anarchists: the new military draft, and governmental efforts to ban strikes during the war.[31]

In Washington, some politicians saw obligatory military service as a means to "Americanize" the diverse immigrant population on the mainland. However, the War Department was divided on whether to impose the law on Puerto Rico. The army saw no need. Yet, insular authorities saw many potential benefits, including absorbing the island's unemployed into the ranks of the military and improving the overall physical conditioning of the work force for after the war. In addition, those not drafted because of age or health restrictions could go to the mainland to help alleviate the worker shortage. Puerto Rico's commissioner to Washington, Luis Muñoz Rivera, lobbied Congress to extend the new Selective Service system to Puerto Rico. General Enoch Crowder, head of the Selective Service, sided with insular authorities and Muñoz Rivera, creating an island-run draft system that would conscript over 230,000 men in 1917 and 1918.[32]

The island's labor movement was divided on Selective Service. Economically, the FLT supported a draft that exempted workers in key sectors and allowed other workers to migrate to the mainland for jobs. Plus, many politicized workers saw militarization as a necessary step to crush Prussian aggression at a time when, as Socialist Manuel F. Rojas noted, the world was to be either democratic or autocratic.[33] Meanwhile, the global anarchist movement was divided on the war, pitting strict antimilitarists against those who also called on the world to halt Prussian expansionism, such as Peter Kropotkin. In addition, the military draft was a source of concern for radicals in the United States and Cuba, where anarchists had actively worked against its implementation in both. In Puerto Rico, anarchists joined nationalists and proindependence forces opposing the draft law. In November 1917, several men were charged with violating wartime laws in separate instances. In one, Florencio Romero spoke out against the draft on a street corner in Caguas on November 11. According to a report, Romero claimed "that the United States had no right to compel Porto Ricans to fight for it as they were not Americans and it was an injustice to compel them to go to war," so Puerto Ricans "should resist the law." Unimpressed, U.S. officials charged him with violating the Espionage Act.[34]

Of the thousands of Puerto Ricans required to register with Selective Service, a tiny fraction refused. Only 333 men were charged with violating either section 5 (failure to register) or section 6 (refusal to take a physical exam). Even such small numbers irritated officials. In November, Federal district attorney Miles M. Martin promised to bring a number of cases against the

draft dodgers. A week after Romero's arrest, police issued arrest warrants for seven men, charging them with failure to register. One of those caught up in this new dragnet was the anarchist José M. Alicea.[35] Authorities made Alicea a special case. On the mainland, only 540 men served jail time for refusing draft requirements.[36] Yet, in Puerto Rico, in comparison, a whopping 230 men served jail time for draft law violations. Some served only a few hours. The largest number (forty-seven) served five days. But only a dozen served more than thirty days, and Alicea was one of these, serving more than a month in a San Juan jail for refusing to register.[37] There was little doubt that the government was making the anarchist a poster boy for what happened when you broke the draft law.

Initially, U.S. officials were pleased with the number of islanders registering for the draft. Puerto Rican governor Yager portrayed this as "a great compliment to the people of Porto Rico that they should have met this situation so patriotically."[38] However, throughout 1918, U.S. officials grew concerned about a conspiracy stretching throughout Spanish-speaking communities on the mainland and in Puerto Rico whereby draft-eligible men were devising ways to evade registration. John Haas, a Department of Justice (DOJ) official based in San Juan, reported "that Spanish residents on this Island have been carrying on propaganda against the obligatory military service, and making statements derogatory to the President of the United States." Part of this campaign involved the reading of an anti-U.S. and antimilitary service proclamation by a *lector* in the Colectiva cigar factory in Puerta de Tierra. DOJ official H. S. Hubbard in San Juan named three "Spaniards" in Puerta de Tierra who "are supposed to be pro-German, and to have talked against the draft and the U.S."[39] By November 1918, Washington was increasingly concerned that this was not an isolated incident but part of a larger transnational network of Spanish-speaking radicals aiding and abetting Puerto Ricans to avoid conscription, and possibly in league with the mainland-based IWW, which was very publicly opposed to the draft. Officials claimed that Spanish ships were docking in San Juan, with young Puerto Rican men disembarking and in possession of Spanish passports. Authorities believed that these men had left the island without permission and obtained the passports "usually given to them by Spanish Consuls at Central and South American Countries."[40]

While anarchists and other working-class Puerto Ricans tried to evade military service, the official line of the AFL-FLT was just the opposite. Gompers saw U.S. involvement as an opportunity for workers: if organized labor supported the war, the government would be more inclined to support union concerns.[41] In June 1917, Iglesias published the bilingual column "Samuel Gompers Defines the Attitude of Labor Toward the Obligatory Military

Service Law" on the front page of *Justicia*. Gompers noted that labor and the government would have to create a plan to prevent the drafting of men vital to wartime production. Just as important was insuring that owners did not use the draft as a means to fire workers involved in the labor movement so that they would then be drafted. Ultimately, concluded Gompers, "[t]he spirit of labor in the nation's emergency has been generous and patriotic. They are willing to do their part and to give that which is part of their very lives. They must be met in the same spirit of fairness and cooperation by both the government and employers in order that the ideals of our republic may be maintained in the contest in which we are now engaged."[42] In short, from the AFL's perspective, Big Labor was squarely behind the war effort and the draft, as long as certain provisions were made for labor leaders and skilled labor necessary for weapons production. That would not leave much room for the rank-and-file tobacco worker or unskilled sugar laborer in Puerto Rico. If anarchists protested this oversight, the FLT press in Puerto Rico did not publish such protests.

Meanwhile, Socialists in the United States opposed the war, seeing it as a colossal human disaster. In April 1917, the U.S. Socialist Party held an emergency convention to protest Washington's declaration of war and urged Socialists to ramp up their defense of working-class economic and civil rights.[43] But Puerto Rican Socialists took a different route. While the island's PS was divided on its stance toward the war, the head of the party, Santiago Iglesias, aligned himself with Gompers and the AFL. His close friendship with Gompers was coupled by the fact that Iglesias still led the FLT, which remained linked to the AFL. Thus, through his historic connections with the United States—running for a seat in the colonial senate and his personal as well as organizational relationship with Gompers and the AFL—Iglesias put the PS effectively in support of the war, the opposite position of its mainland counterpart.

Iglesias played his own controversial role in the war effort. In 1918, President Wilson appointed Gompers to sit on the National War Labor Board (NWLB). The board was designed to arbitrate labor-management disputes during the war in order to mitigate labor radicalism while ensuring a reliable, productive labor force. At Gompers's urging, Governor Yager appointed Iglesias to serve on the General Board of Exemptions for Puerto Rico. This board decided which Puerto Ricans would not have to register for Selective Service. While Yager did not object, he nevertheless told the head of the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) who oversaw Puerto Rican political developments that Iglesias "would probably use the position selfishly for personal and political ends."[44]

By May 1918, some officials believed that Iglesias was abusing Gompers's trust. Frank McIntyre, formerly at the BIA but now with the War Department, claimed Iglesias was "continually abusing freedom of the press and freedom of speech" on the island by "a constant provocation of chaos." Through his continued prolabor activities and his PS membership, McIntyre claimed that Iglesias, if left unchecked, "would have converted the island into one of the most turbulent sites under the American flag."[45] Gompers came to Iglesias's defense in a scathing letter to the NWLB chairman, former U.S. president William Howard Taft. If Iglesias and organized labor was growing agitated on the island, it was because the NWLB was not doing its job in reconciling labor disputes fairly. "The industrial and economic conditions existing in the Island of Porto Rico and the policies and efforts of constituted authorities attempting to deny the workers opportunity to redress grievances," Gompers charged, "have resulted in precipitating conditions which have well-nigh forced the workers into revolutionary methods." If workers were growing agitated and pursuing what some viewed as "revolutionary methods" of strikes or sabotage, it was not their fault. "The workers of Porto Rico have been called upon to do their part in the war and they have responded heartily, but it is difficult to reconcile their minds (and the minds of all lovers of freedom) to industrial conditions prevailing upon that Island" and to the ineffectiveness of the NWLB in settling working-class concerns, Gompers concluded.[46]

Gompers's defense of his longtime ally Iglesias was tempered by Gompers's own belief that workers should have avoided strikes during the war so as not to undermine the war effort. The AFL never sanctioned the wave of strikes that erupted across the island during the war as workers—while voicing support for the war—refused to let that support be an excuse for capitalists to extract concessions. As the FLT and others saw it, the war was quite profitable for corporations, so workers should share in that bounty. If strikes were necessary to achieve a share of the war profits, then strikes there would be—a reasonable approach to get better wages to fight the rise in inflationary war-time prices on the island.[47] In fact, strikes erupted among numerous labor sectors and throughout the island during the war, reflecting a similar rise in labor militancy on the mainland. In 1918 alone, printers in Ponce, tobacco strippers and ironing ladies in Puerta de Tierra, cigar rollers in Cayey and Juana Díaz, street car conductors in San Juan, and sugar and tobacco workers throughout Puerto Rico walked off the job.[48]

Strikers and radical activists were met by new legal measures and increased police repression. Part of the repression included new speech laws that took a broad interpretation of "libelous speech." Government censors increased their vigilance, monitoring public talks at workers meetings and on street corners as well as scrutinizing columns in *Unión Obrera* and *Justicia*. Con-

frontation was bound to occur. In 1917, the anarchist Ángel María Dieppa appeared before an audience. He condemned authorities and publicly defended the PS of Río Grande, east of San Juan. Police arrested Dieppa for defamation—a case that Dieppa won in November.[49] Still, radicals had to be careful, as the sedition laws being enacted in Washington were now being employed on the island.

Such sedition laws passed in the United States also made the IWW a public enemy of the U.S. government as the Wobblies waged a vociferous campaign against all aspects of the war effort. In September 1917, federal authorities raided IWW chapter headquarters across the United States.[50] As Puerto Rican workers migrated to the mainland, they were increasingly exposed to IWW propaganda. Such exposure to anarcho-syndicalist ideas could land a worker returning to the island in hot water. Such was the case for Pedro Calleja. When Calleja returned to San Juan, authorities detained him upon finding that he and some of his comrades possessed IWW membership cards.[51] In the months after the war, authorities remained concerned about the impact of mainland-based radicals on Puerto Ricans. For instance, Puerto Rican IWW members in Philadelphia and New York came under surveillance and arrest for their activities in those cities at the beginning of 1919.[52]

New draconian measures followed the wave of strikes and economic warfare waged by the unions. Governor Yager, unable to control the growing industrial violence, declared martial law, authorized the banning of public speeches and flying or displaying the red flag of socialism. Within this anti-leftist context, physical repression of labor activists escalated. Luisa Capetillo found herself a victim of the violence. While working with strikers in Cayey in March 1918, police stormed a meeting where she was speaking. They arrested Capetillo and took her to jail. In a joint telegram, Epifanio Fiz Jiménez (a Socialist) and Ramón Barrios (an anarchist) reported that Capetillo was roughed up during her arrest, leaving her with numerous bruises over her body while suffering verbal insults from the arresting officers.[53] If workers in certain strike zones hoped for any judicial sympathy because of the physically abusive repression waged by the police, Barrios and Fiz Jiménez offered a word of caution. They noted that, in Fajardo, for instance, arrested and abused strikers were finding no sympathetic ear in the judiciary since the local magistrate was linked through marriage to the owners of the local sugar plantation.[54]

The Bayamón Bloc Surges Anew

Discouraged, but still refusing to acquiesce and join the growing PS juggernaut, the Bayamón anarchists increased their visibility and activism during and immediately after the war. Unlike San Juan or Caguas, a critical mass of

anarchists in Bayamón remained active, working in the tobacco industry and finding enough supporters to form new groups and eventually launch a newspaper. In April 1918, they formed Grupo Souvarine (Souvarine Group) and created a new CES. The group had contacts throughout the island, including the towns of Barceloneta on the northern coast, Aibonito in the southeast, Naguabo in the east, and Puerta de Tierra in the northeast.[55]

Some contacts in Puerta de Tierra and Bayamón functioned as the Central Committee of a January 1919 strike against the Tobacco Trust.[56] By April, this new anarchist bloc caused concern among both Cuba- and Florida-based intelligence agencies. That month, Tampa DOJ official Byrd Douglas began reporting on a Spanish anarchist named José Martínez Gil. A tailor by training, Martínez Gil migrated to Cuba and then the United States in 1901 and became a cigar maker. By 1919, Gil professed IWW tendencies by seeking to create "one big union out of the three smaller cigar maker's unions" in the Tampa region. According to authorities, he was working with Puerto Rican anarchists Ramón Barrios and Alfredo Negrín from Bayamón. The two Puerto Rican radicals had recently traveled to Cuba to help organize workers and strengthen relations between anarchists on both islands. However, they were quickly arrested by Cuban authorities in Havana. Authorities found in their possession anarchist and strike propaganda as well as letters to Gil. Officials believed that Barrios and Negrín were working with Cuban and Florida anarchist cigar makers to launch a simultaneous general strike in all three locations before Cuban authorities stumbled upon them and deported them back to Puerto Rico.[57]

The arrests and deportations made headlines a couple of weeks later when the PS held its convention in San Juan on May Day. During the convention, one delegate after another offered support for nonparliamentary socialist issues and activists. For instance, Caguas PS member Juan Marcano wrote to the delegation, noting that "we wish to be illuminated by the bright torch of our libertarian ideas." One delegate in attendance praised the Bolshevik Revolution: "If we would have had the power that the Russian soviets have, we would find ourselves in conditions to bring about the happiness of our people, like those valiant fighters are doing there." Finally, a delegate rose and urged fellow convention goers to keep "our dear comrades Ramón Barrios and Alfredo Negrín" in their thoughts. They "were detained and kept incommunicado by Cuban authorities; by the authorities of a Republic where the representatives of capitalism lack all liberal democratic principles; they jailed two peaceful citizens without permitting them to use the right of self-defense." The two were then forcefully, and illegally (the delegate claimed) kicked out of Cuba. But the speaker had a warning for the PS delegates. For

those who think this was just a "Cuban" tyrannous act initiated by the Cuban President Mario Menocal, they had to remember that the Puerto Ricans had their own "MENOCALISTAS" who would do the same thing if they were ever elected.[58]

By November 1919, the Bayamón anarchists were continuing their agitation, daring authorities, and increasing their international radicalism. Antonio Palau, Juan M. Alicea, and Emiliano Ramos—the latter an anarchist who had been active on the island since the 1890s—renamed the Bayamón group El Grupo Soviet de Bayamón (the Soviet Group of Bayamón). The postwar era witnessed a spike in labor actions throughout the mainland United States. In fact, throughout 1919, some four million workers (about 25 percent of all U.S. wage earners) went on strike across the United States.[59] Puerto Rican anarchists praised such direct action. In a manifesto, the Grupo Soviet de Bayamón offered their support to a transport workers strike in the United States and Puerto Rico, urging island workers to side with their mainland allies in a show of strength. The manifesto was a direct attempt by the anarchists to show that there was another voice on the island speaking for the working class besides just the FLT and the PS.[60] In the heady days of global revolution—now two years into the Bolshevik regime in Moscow—the Bayamón anarchists refused to play it safe, calling for more labor militancy and adopting the "soviet" image as part of their identity.

Throughout the 1910s, anarchists refused to be silenced on the Puerto Rican Left. They maintained positions within the FLT and published books, plays, and pamphlets to keep the message alive. The creation of the PS in 1915 had numerous effects. Some anarchists joined the party, forsaking direct action for parliamentary politics. Others joined the party and combined electoral campaigning with continued direct action. Meanwhile, some nonanarchist leftists who joined the party reached out to their anarchist comrades. These socialists on the left wing of the PS continued to identify with the larger social goals of anarchism and waxed nostalgic about their associations in the unions, the CESs, and the educational efforts from earlier in the decade. Nevertheless, the most dedicated anarchists refused to give up their antipolitics position, and remained a thorn of consciousness and critique on the Left until the end of the decade.

Ironically, while always condemning U.S. colonialism, as well as the FLT's domination by the U.S.-based AFL, Puerto Rico's link to the mainland had allowed the island's anarchists easy access to fellow radicals, especially in New York City. Thus, during the 1910s, anarchists mainly based in Bayamón kept the Ideal alive in part through their transnational contacts with Spanish-

speaking anarchists in New York, Philadelphia, Tampa, and to a lesser extent in Havana. These contacts enabled anarchists to survive and begin to grow again by late 1919 and early 1920. In May 1920, the Bayamón anarchists launched the first anarchist newspaper on the island in over a decade, *El Comunista*. With the newspaper that ran for twenty-nine issues, this group became the strongest independent anarchist organization in Puerto Rican history, riding the wave of interest in the Bolsheviks. Puerto Rican anarchists, like their comrades around the world, would have to decide how to respond to the Russian Revolution of 1917. Unlike Cuba, where anarcho-syndicalists supported the Bolshevik Revolution while anarcho-communists were more skeptical, in Puerto Rico the anarcho-communists increasingly moved toward an alliance with U.S. communists to support the Bolsheviks. The newspaper also provided a new forum for anarchists in dealing not only with labor and socialist issues in Puerto Rico but also the growing debate about the role of the United States in Latin America and related issues of Puerto Rican national identity and independence. This surge in radicalism did not go unnoticed by officials. Anarchists would become targets of ever greater antiradical policies emanating from Washington as the Red Scare arrived on the island.

7. *El Comunista*

Radical Journalism and Transnational Anarchism, 1920–1921

The Bolshevik Revolution played havoc with the world's leftist movements. Anarchists, socialists, and communists from various ideological tendencies looked with wonder at events unfolding in Russia in late 1917 and afterward. As Schmidt and van der Walt note, the Bolsheviks "seemed far to the left of the old Labour and Socialist International, raised slogans that seemed quite libertarian, and sought to draw the syndicalist unions into a special wing of the COMINTERN: the Red International of Labour Unions." Inspired by the fact that the original soviets were decentralized, democratic, and self-managing, anarchists and syndicalists around the world helped to launch the first non-Russian communist parties, "often on an openly libertarian and anti-statist platform."[1] However, the Bolsheviks turned on the anarchists in Russia, with Lenin viewing them as "'direct and permanent adversaries'" and as "'bourgeois movements which are in irreconcilable contradiction to Socialism, Proletarian Dictatorship, and Communism,'" as the Russian anarchist Gregory Petrovich Maximoff remembered Lenin's description.[2] From April 1918 to early 1921, Lenin broke the back of Russian anarchism, culminating in the destruction of the Ukrainian movement where the anarchist cause was strongest.[3]

In the Caribbean, leftist feelings of joy, support, and optimism frequently gave way to or confronted other leftist feelings of disappointment, derision, and dread as the Soviet State came to repress, exile, or kill leftists who did not go along with the dictates emerging from a centralized, authoritarian government. Generally, though, disappointment and hostility toward the Bolsheviks did not emerge until the early- to mid-1920s. Rather, in Cuba and South Florida, the labor left (especially the anarchists) generally supported

the revolution in its early years. This was no less true in Puerto Rico, where the Bayamón anarchists had no problem advocating anarchism while calling themselves "communists" and supporting the Russian Revolution into 1921 on the eve of the crackdown against the Ukrainian anarchists. When more mainstream members of the FLT and the PS—Santiago Iglesias in particular—followed the Gompers-AFL line rejecting communism and the Bolsheviks, the Bayamón bloc felt even more justified in their defiance of the official union and party hierarchies.

On May Day 1920, the Bayamón anarchists took their support of the Bolsheviks and radical trajectory for the island beyond public statements and speeches when they launched *El Comunista*, turning the newspaper into perhaps the most strident voice advocating revolutionary transformation that Puerto Rico had ever seen. The timing for such radicalism seemed to be perfect. In 1920, FLT membership had grown to 28,000, up from 8,000 a decade earlier. Throughout that year, over 160 strikes sprang up across the island. The surge in militancy even prompted the island government again to try and outlaw the flying of the red flag during strikes and demonstrations.[4] Meanwhile, through their newspaper, the Bayamón anarchists capitalized on this militancy and urged Puerto Ricans to move even further to the left politically.

But now, as the Bayamón bloc promoted their radical agenda, they encountered new challenges from groups advocating Puerto Rican nationalism and promoting independence. The anarchists largely rejected political independence but could be seen offering tacit support to a form of independence that was "revolutionary" and not "bourgeois" in orientation. In addition, as Washington embarked on a wave of foreign policy initiatives throughout the Caribbean Basin, anarchists attacked U.S. interventionism and escalated their unquestioning support for and praise of the Bolsheviks. But the newspaper served a larger function than just radicalizing Puerto Rican workers against nationalism or U.S. imperialism. During its ten-month life, it turned Bayamón into a new hub in the network that linked the Caribbean, Florida, and New York. As such, *El Comunista* became the latest anarchist transnational newspaper as it circulated beyond the island to Cuba and coast-to-coast across the United States.

Anarchists Continue Their Attacks on Reformists

The Bayamón bloc wasted no time continuing their attacks against reform-minded counterparts in the labor movement. While anarchists had participated in key roles as well as on the fringes of the FLT since the beginning of the century, the Bayamón anarchists felt no such compulsion. They regularly

attacked the AFL, FLT, and the CMIU not only in Puerto Rico but also throughout the region. The paper's first issue drew attention to transnational labor migration and workplace restrictions imposed by the CMIU. As had happened a decade earlier, the Bayamón anarchists rose to defend radical workers in Florida and became the island's biggest backer of strikers who were defying the CMIU.

In April and May 1920, a strike in the Florida tobacco factories resulted in massive layoffs, and some workers tried to return to or go to Cuba to find jobs. Amelio Morazín reported that the cigar makers unions in Havana and Pinar del Río, Cuba were denying Florida-based workers access to Cuban factories if the Florida workers were not members of the CMIU in Florida. In response to the CMIU's restrictions, two thousand tobacco workers in Tampa and Key West organized a new resistance society, the Sociedad de Torcedores de Tampa (Cigar Rollers Society of Tampa). They wanted to show the CMIU that they were in fact a legitimate union, but more than that, they argued that workers should be free to gain employment on either side of the Florida Straits. National political boundaries should play no role in dividing the global proletariat. However, the CMIU-affiliated Federation of Cigar Rollers in Havana refused to recognize the new union. So, Morazín asked rhetorically, why not just join the CMIU? Because, he answered himself, it is simply wrong for the International to deny working people the right to make a living in preference for being a dues-paying member of an authoritarian body. Furthermore, the CMIU should not have the right to persecute workers who belong to a different union. "Comrades from Tampa want to organize themselves in order to struggle against the boss, not in order to pay for a membership card as some would have them do." Speaking on May 1, Morazín urged Puerto Ricans to remember the underlying tenet of May Day—international labor solidarity—and support all Florida workers, not just those belonging to the International. After all, he noted, when Puerto Ricans go on strike, they get money from workers in Florida regardless if they are CMIU members or not.[5] The *El Comunista* group then further defied their AFL-linked colleagues by independently raising funds for striking workers in Florida. Between the end of May and mid-July 1920, the group collected over $200 from Puerto Rican workers and sent the money to Key West and Tampa, continuing a long history of independent Bayamón anarchist support for Florida labor actions.[6]

The Florida strikes were the Bayamón anarchists' opening salvos against the AFL and its affiliates in the extended Caribbean Basin. As the months went by, attacks on the dominant union grew more vicious and more personal. Venancio Cruz, an occasional newspaper publisher and longtime anarchist

agitator within the FLT, used the Florida fund-raising campaign for revenge by attacking the FLT leadership and the International. He accused union leaders of having regularly stained his reputation by portraying him as a strikebreaker and a working-class traitor. The latter rested, he said, on the fact that he was an independent thinker, refusing to march lockstep with Iglesias. When in 1905 he had criticized the International's *cuota de iniciación* that required all union members no matter if they worked in New York or the fields of Puerto Rico to pay the same membership fee, union leaders had denounced him. He believed that the fee was an exceptionally hard burden for the island's poor workers and should be waived for them. But being called a strikebreaker by the union was the lowest of cheap shots and insults. Also, union leaders later charged that he accepted money from factory owners to be a scab during the tumultuous 1911 strikes. Again in 1914 the union labeled him a strikebreaker simply because he led a group of thirty workers down the highway between Ponce and Coamo in an effort to encourage striking workers to join the anarchist cause. The march exemplified the kind of voluntary direct action praised by anarchists but decried by the FLT since it occurred without official sanction from the union. For his individual efforts to improve lives of workers, the authoritarian union labeled him a strikebreaker in cahoots with the Tobacco Trust.[7]

By late summer 1920, anarchist attacks on FLT leaders grew more personal, calling out people by name. Obviously, this would have been unthinkable in the pages of the union's leading publications *Unión Obrera* and *Justicia*. Instead, *El Comunista* gave anarchists an autonomous venue to express criticisms that they had long muffled (though never completely repressed) without an independent newspaper of their own. They focused on two FLT leaders in particular: Pablo Vega Santos and Santiago Iglesias, both former anarchists. At the beginning of the century, Vega Santos was one of the leading international voices of Puerto Rican anarchism. After Iglesias moved the FLT into alliance with the AFL, Vega Santos remained an anarchist activist within the union. Much of what we know of anarchist actions and the anarchist critique of Puerto Rico in the first decade of U.S. rule came from his regular columns to Havana's *¡Tierra!* However, by 1915 Vega Santos had joined the PS's reformist wing. In September and October that year, he wrote a seven-part series for *Unión Obrera* celebrating the PS and justifying its necessity. For Vega Santos, the PS was necessary to destroy capitalist monopolies such as the Tobacco Trust, redistribute wealth, and "put everything that is of public utility in the state's hands."[8] In addition, following the party line, he argued that the PS was the only way that workers could break the monopoly of the two-party political system that sought working-class votes while ignoring the

needs of workers.[9] By 1920, anarchists had heard enough. *El Comunista* described Vega Santos as an enemy of anarchism, who as a Socialist spokesman and an FLT officer had grown accustomed to traveling freely and living well on contributions from workers—charges not unlike FLT accusations levied against Juan Vilar earlier in the decade. As one anarchist put it, Pablo Vega Santos had become a "'Radical Disorganizer' of Puerto Rican workers."[10]

Certainly, though, it was FLT head and Socialist Senator Iglesias who suffered the bulk of anarchist criticism. In early 1920, Juan Ocasio returned to the island after a nine-year absence, during which he had mainly been working and agitating in New York. He was disturbed that, in all of that time, nothing seemed to have improved for the working class in Puerto Rico. One of the few things that had changed, though, was the character and caliber of the union leaders: "The worker who in that earlier time was rebellious, today: it is shameful to say it! Has become submissive; here now the men who have the courage to speak the truth [the anarchists] are scorned by both those at the top and those at the bottom."[11]

For Ocasio and other anarchists, the blame could have been laid at the feet of workers for being submissive or with the government and capitalist class for utilizing all manner of tools to keep wages and working conditions below standards elsewhere in the United States. However, one had to consider the role of the FLT and the PS in this equation as well. And if the union and party should share some of the blame, then the face of both—Santiago Iglesias—was the logical target. However, Iglesias did not sit back and ignore such challenges. In August 1920, Iglesias and the anarchists took to the pages of their newspapers to wage a very public political and personal feud. To be sure, such a feud was nothing new in the historical confrontations between socialists and anarchists in the Americas. Certainly, the era of the Russian Revolution witnessed no shortage of leftists trying to compete for who was the truest representative of the working and revolutionary classes. In Puerto Rico specifically, anarchists and Iglesias had done their fair share of personal sparring in the labor movement press over the years. However, now in Puerto Rico, the vitriol rose to new heights.

Iglesias published articles in *Justicia* and *Unión Obrera* attacking the Bayamón anarchists as *comunistas incipientes* (upstart communists). He took the anarchists to task for calling workers backward and slaves to their lowest passions whenever workers did not heed anarchist calls. Iglesias argued that such negative descriptions mirrored capitalist depictions of workers as slovenly. He particularly challenged *El Comunista* for its stance on the Tampa strike, suggesting that criticizing the International in a published manifesto was tantamount to acting like a strikebreaker. Iglesias took personal umbrage

when anarchists attacked him and the FLT leadership for living well from the contributions of workers. He acknowledged that the leadership did this and did not work in factories or fields; however, he noted, this was no different than what the Bayamón anarchists' heroes Lenin and Trotsky were doing. Ultimately, Iglesias's response to the anarchists raised the level of rancor, but he concluded that never in the history of Puerto Rican labor organizations had the island's working-class leaders been so assaulted and defamed—an odd sentiment considering the number of times government officials had arrested him twenty years earlier, accusing him of anarchist activities.[12]

Anarchists and Iglesias extended their war of words to their views on the IWW. In 1919 and early 1920, the IWW had made limited, unsuccessful attempts to organize in Puerto Rico.[13] One important Puerto Rico–IWW connection was the Puerto Rican–born Domason Núñez, who in early 1919 operated out of Philadelphia. By early 1919, Núñez had taken over the Philadelphia-based Grupo Pro-Prensa (Pro-Press Group) after the group's leader J. Armengal left to tour Europe to raise money. Philadelphia-based anarchists from Puerto Rico, Spain, and Cuba used the same offices as the IWW-affiliated Marine Transport Workers Union and were implicated with the New York–based anarchist group El Corsario (the Corsair) in an assassination plot against President Wilson in early 1919.[14] The IWW remained a vibrant, though increasingly persecuted, entity in the United States as the Red Scare unfolded after the Great War.

Just as the U.S. government began to repress the Wobblies on the mainland, Iglesias joined the fray and attacked them as well. The Socialist Senator condemned the IWW for its criticisms of the AFL, Gompers, and what the IWW referred to as the AFL's "business unionism" and lack of radicalism. Meanwhile, *El Comunista* noted that their group generally agreed with IWW tactics—tactics that the anarchists believed would be more successful than the AFL with "its bourgeois capitalist morals and principles." Beyond that, though, the anarchists could not understand why Iglesias would take such a virulent line against the IWW. In response to Iglesias's attack on the Wobblies, *El Comunista* reprinted a long article by one of the IWW's greatest spokesmen, "Big Bill" Haywood. He recounted one heroic action after another waged by the FLT in Puerto Rico and the abuses, deaths, and jail sentences that FLT-affiliated members had suffered. In fact, the IWW had immense respect for the FLT, if not necessarily its leadership.[15]

Venancio Cruz chimed in at this point. He recounted how he had attended a recent labor meeting in Caguas. When his friend Alfonso Torres "expressed his disgust at the Federation's organizing methods and pleaded that the methods of the IWW were quicker and more economical," the union

president rose from his seat and called Torres "inexperienced" and "suffering from hallucinations." The president then called the Wobblies "traitors and strikebreakers and enemies of the civic good and tranquility."[16] Ultimately, *El Comunista* writers denigrated Iglesias and others who attacked the IWW and anarchists. For these writers, the FLT had evolved into a union that sustained the capitalist system while the PS leadership helped to sustain the state. Until Puerto Ricans joined the worldwide revolutionary movement, workers on the island would gain nothing while politicians and the trusts retained power and profit.[17]

Such declarations did not halt the feud. Iglesias claimed that the FLT was more than a bread-and-butter organization but in fact was idealistic in its ultimate goals, arguing that the FLT "'is idealistic like Jesus and Lenin, like Reclús, Jaurés, Kropotkin, and Gompers.'" This was too much for *El Comunista*. The editors ridiculed the comparison of Gompers with revolutionaries such as Kropotkin, telling readers that Gompers had even been denied credentials to a European labor congress in 1914. How much of a revolutionary and "old fighter" was Gompers really, they asked.[18] If Gompers was viewed this way internationally, then could Iglesias—Gompers's right-hand man in Puerto Rico—be seen any differently? Of course not. And this point was pushed further by the paper. As one anonymous columnist—probably the older anarchist Emiliano Ramos—noted, he knew Iglesias very well. He recalled how Iglesias used to be a strident defender of anarchist ideas in the pages of *Ensayo Obrero* and *El Porvenir Social* at the turn of the century. "Then, he was a disciple of Bakunin, today he is one of Samuel Gompers's hacks," using that violent style against anarchists that he used so well against the bourgeoisie in earlier times.[19]

One final point arose in this confrontation, and it involved the position of the PS, the FLT, and Iglesias around the Great War. After 1918, internal divisions within the PS between reformers and radicals increased. One camp spoke of using the party to work on immediate issues to improve the working class, but to do so by continuing the spirit of Americanization, especially now that the island's residents were U.S. citizens. This was the Iglesias wing. The other camp saw the party as a tool to radically transform the island.[20] In many ways, this latter wing—which included Marcano, Rojas, and Plaza, who still empathized with anarchist positions—was frustrated by certain positions that Iglesias took during the war as well as in the debate with *El Comunista*.

This tension had bubbled to the surface in the 1919 PS convention. During one debate, Julio Aybar, the longtime editor of *Unión Obrera*, asked Iglesias what he thought of Socialists who had supported the war or of a Socialist supporting compulsory military service. Contradicting the party's stance on

the war, Iglesias said he actually disapproved of Socialist support for the Great War but acknowledged that as a senator he had supported military service.[21] During the Iglesias–*El Comunista* debate, Iglesias had singled out one of the newspaper's editors, Antonio Palau. He accused Palau of having used his FLT connections to secure an exemption from military service when FLT lawyer Abraham Peña was on his local draft board. In fact, Peña was one of only five members of the Comisión Inscripción Militar (Military Registration Commission) that oversaw the draft boards and functioning of the Selective Service islandwide. Palau denied that he had exploited these connections. But he acknowledged that at least in one instance Iglesias was right: he (Palau) "did not want to be a soldier and left Pto. Rico before the exemptions had been revised." Then, Palau countercharged Iglesias. He remembered how Iglesias not only had publicly supported military service but also put the union in the service of prowar advocates. During the war, PS and FLT leaders stood on stages and at movie theaters, "in order to speak four minutes in favor of the war and the Red Cross." The reference was to the wave of four-minute, prowar speeches that war supporters—including the AFL—gave around the United States and Puerto Rico to drum up support for the troops and to sell war bonds. As Palau concluded, "he unconditionally refused to put himself on the side of the government and the interests of Wall Street that were one and the same during the war," but Iglesias sided with militarism in order to please "his president and daddy Samuel Gompers."[22]

By the end of August 1920, moderating voices were rising to quell the animosity. *El Comunista* stopped its harsh attacks on Iglesias. Meanwhile, Manuel F. Rojas took to the pages of *Unión Obrera* to offer a conciliatory nod to the anarchists. He said that he, for one, would never stand in the way of the anarchist propaganda initiatives, and refused to say that anarchist statements and actions made the anarchists somehow "allies" of capital. Yet, he urged the anarchists to be a bit more reflective on FLT-PS efforts on the island. Rojas argued that *El Comunista* critics did not do the party justice. The FLT and the PS were equals in the fight against the capitalist system and the governing regime that supported it. "The Socialist Party in this country is not conservative, nor reactionary; it is revolutionary, because it has brought to the human mind new ideas, new orientations, new methods, new means, and all of this has produced a latent revolutionary state that grows larger, that progresses, that expands, and makes the bourgeoisie and its servants tremble."[23]

In essence, Rojas's analysis was probably the most judicious. Both the FLT leadership and *El Comunista* were talking past one another, each claiming to be the true representative of the workers, while accusing the other of launching attacks that divided workers and thus helped the dominant class on the

island. But *El Comunista* activists clearly laid out that a new, more radical voice had emerged on the island. Workers and readers now had a choice and a new advocate on the Puerto Rican Left. Increasingly, they used this voice not only to attack their perceived ideological enemies within the Puerto Rican labor movement but also to critique a growing nationalist movement in Puerto Rico.

Anarchism and Puerto Rican Independence

By the late 1910s, the debate over the island's political status continued to divide political parties in Puerto Rico, with the Unionists remaining the principal proponent of autonomy leading to independence for the island. Since its founding and Iglesias's move toward the AFL at the beginning of the century, the FLT officially had rejected independence for Puerto Rico and instead promoted the island's special relationship with Washington while facilitating the process of Americanization. Meanwhile, anarchists maintained that simple political independence was delusional, seeing it—as we will see—as a bourgeois scam that would leave the same capitalists in power and have no tangible benefit for the working masses. However, anarchists also were never comfortable with the Americanization approach advocated by Iglesias. In truth, the anarchist position on Puerto Rico's political status was neither unified nor clear.

Over the years, socialists and some anarchists had joined in the call against Puerto Rican independence. For Ángel Dieppa and his friends in New York and on the island, the core of the argument was that political independence would not solve the social question. Even if they were politically independent, capitalists would still devise a system whereby they ran the government and restricted the working masses. As Dieppa put it in 1915, "If Puerto Rico would have its own government composed of natives of the country, what injustices and crimes would be committed!" Protestors would be jailed and slavery would return "because especially here capitalists have that dominating spirit of inquisitorial and monkish Spain." Yet, while Dieppa concluded that U.S. colonialism was abhorrent and that political independence would be fruitless for the Puerto Rican masses, he nevertheless applauded the U.S. democratic system, which he thought was the best government people had yet encountered. With its extension to Puerto Rico, there was at least some hope to improve situations for workers. From his point of view, the United States was not tsarist Russia, or the Spain of Alfonso XIII, or Sodom and Gomorrah, for that matter. Rather, the U.S. system actually allowed space for socialist ideas to advance against capitalism.[24] That someone like the anarchist

Dieppa would subscribe to this—especially after so many years working in the New York City area with international anarchists and the IWW who were regular targets of repression—is stunning. While advocating neither continued colonialism nor political independence, he seemed comfortable with certain aspects of Americanization.

From 1919 to 1920, the issue of independence and the island's political status continued to reflect division within the Left. At the PS's 1919 convention, Alfonso Torres pushed the issue. A longtime anarchist now making a play for a leadership role within the PS, Torres started to move away from a long-standing anarchist objection to political independence. In some ways Torres reflected the rationale that had led anarchists in Spain, Cuba, and the United States to side with independence fighters in Cuba in the 1890s: the fight for freedom has to oppose oppression not only against individuals but also against collective peoples. In other words, how could you fight for freedom and not fight against colonial rule? Wasn't collective (even "national") liberty as important as individual liberty? In resolution 14 before the convention, Torres argued that the struggle should be done not for bourgeois political independence but as part of a larger struggle, "agitating for the idea of utilizing it [the independence struggle] to advance the cause of the working classes." In this sense, independence propaganda would be used to "create an environment of civic valor, power, and domination of the working class over the capitalist class." Ultimately, Torres claimed, "the final aspiration of the Political Status of Puerto Rico will be resolved by the Industrial Socialist Republic in the same country."[25]

The committee charged with putting the issue before the convention largely refused to go along with Torres's resolution, seeking to avoid any discussion of the status question in the party proceedings. However, Torres had his backers. Manuel Rojas urged the committee to consider the issue. "It is quite extraordinary that we declare ourselves in opposition to making the clearest and most radical definition on the Political Status at a time when all peoples are demonstrating in support of independence." Buttressed by Rojas's support, Torres kept trying to call for a formal vote on the issue, but Iglesias refused to let the matter come to the floor, claiming that "we [the PS] do not need to define the Political Status in order to implement our ideal system."[26]

While the PS leadership thwarted Torres, his anarchist comrades at *El Comunista* were no more helpful as they largely rejected independence. However, another up-and-coming Socialist leader soon engaged in a spirited debate with *El Comunista*. Luis Muñoz Marín—a twenty-two-year-old aspiring political figure on the Left, and the man who would become the first popularly elected governor of Puerto Rico in 1948—challenged *El Co-*

munista's editor Ventura Mijón to reconsider the paper's fervent editorial opposition to independence. Muñoz Marín agreed with the anarchists that it would be impossible to completely destroy the bourgeoisie from within their own house, that is, electing workers to political office would not destroy capitalism. But while he agreed with the purity of that thought, "we must be realistic; we have to abandon for the moment the camp of pure ideas and come to the camp of local reality, excessively colonial reality, wretched reality. We vegetate, Compañero Mijón, in a colonial country subjugated to another."

Muñoz Marín offered a critique of the island's subjugation that few in the PS leadership—especially those loyal to Iglesias—dared to raise. The FLT and the PS opposed Puerto Rican independence, preferring their associations with the United States in terms of labor law protections, free movement back and forth between the island and the mainland, and more. For many on the PS's left wing, this increasingly became problematic. For Muñoz Marín, the colonial situation had not made Puerto Rico more prosperous; rather, colonialism was largely responsible for the island's underdevelopment, including the state of the "ignorant proletariat, superstitious proletariat, proletariat open to all of the enchantments and swindles that flourish in capitalist lands. . . . Our *jíbaros* are children, completely children." Because of this backward state of the island, Muñoz Marín argued that for a communist society to come about in Puerto Rico, it would first have to emerge in Europe, then spread to the United States. It would be virtually impossible to jump-start a revolution in a country as poor and backward as Puerto Rico.

Yet, he agreed with the anarchists on a key point: purely political independence as expressed by moderates, including the Unionists, would not improve the island or aid in its march toward communism. Rather, if the United States granted independence, it would hand over power to a creole bourgeois party that would govern the island from the political right, likely limiting the speech and assembly of the workers while promoting continued capitalist development and protections for business. In such a scenario, Muñoz Marín continued, even someone like a politically moderate Santiago Iglesias probably would be deported for his socialist politics.

But then Muñoz Marín asked the anarchists to consider a slightly different scenario: what if under such an independent government, radicals were not deported and instead allowed to proceed as they were currently doing? In that case, those like the anarchists who sought radical change would face a choice: either stop agitating or violate the law through extralegal actions. What then would be the consequences if they broke the law? Muñoz Marín offered this suggestion, based on U.S. actions in Cuba and the Dominican Republic over the previous two decades: one could imagine that if the

United States granted Puerto Rico independence, such independence would come with conditions similar to those of the Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution, which allowed the United States to intervene militarily in Cuba whenever Washington believed instability threatened the country. If in an "independent" Puerto Rico Washington saw radicals violating the laws, threatening social order, or creating economic chaos via strikes and direct action, the United States would intervene as it had done in Cuba in 1906, 1912, and 1917. Puerto Ricans could then find themselves living under "a military dictatorship of the style under which Santo Domingo suffers today," a reference to the ongoing U.S. occupation of the neighboring Dominican Republic that had begun in 1916.

In such a no-win scenario, in which workers were not ready for a communist revolution, nor would workers benefit from a quasi-independent government, the island's Left had really one option: continue to oppose the colonial situation while working to improve the lives of people in the here and now, even doing this through electoral politics. The Left needed

> to work persistently to better the economic, physical, and mental condition of our agricultural proletariat, (1) building schools (although they may be bourgeois), (2) organizing agricultural villages where one has access to hygienic sanitation for the home, a salon for meetings (that we ought to occupy ourselves) and, above all, an association and opinions from their brothers, and (3) whenever possible, increasing wages through strikes that at the same time will serve them [workers] as "military exercises" for the future revolution.[27]

After all was said and done, Muñoz Marín complemented the island's anarchists. He appreciated their work over the decades, claiming that "I would like to think that PS compañeros understand it as well." After all, he argued, "while the Official Party is working for reform . . . the radical groups can be preparing the proletariat in the factories and workshops, and if possible, in the countryside for the great enterprise. . . . (I) believe that the communist groups can lend a great service to the cause in Puerto Rico." In short, the future revolution could only come about with the short-term actions of the reformists in the PS and the long-term consciousness-raising and direct actions of the anarchists. To show his lasting respect for the anarchist tradition in Puerto Rico, Muñoz Marín concluded that "[f]or twenty years, being a federationist (member of the FLT) in Puerto Rico was the same as being a militant anarchist in other countries."[28]

Such a conciliatory response from the PS's left wing illustrated both how much influence they feared the anarchists could have as well as how much respect that wing of the party maintained for longtime friends and fellow activists. However, the newspaper's editor Ventura Mijón was less conciliatory

in his response to Muñoz Marín. True to form, he firmly rejected the idea that leftist causes could be advanced if some worked within the system while others worked outside it. Running for office, serving in the government, and cooperating with the bourgeoisie were "counterproductive" and bordered on "abandoning one's principles." Too often around the world, when leftists were elected to office, "their energies are wasted by applying them to machinery created by the bourgeoisie and for the bourgeoisie," Mijón argued.[29]

Then Mijón approached the real issue at hand: how anarchists would address the emergence of a proindependence movement on the island. Muñoz Marín had suggested that an independent Puerto Rico led by the creole capitalist class would still deport someone like Iglesias. Mijón was incredulous: "Santiago Iglesias did not constitute a danger and a threat to the great American governmental and capitalistic interests. Santiago Iglesias has been useful to the Americanization of Puerto Rico." Thus, if the island were independent—even with a Platt Amendment–like addition to the constitution—Iglesias would likely be a comfort to a creole government who would want to maintain peace, harmony, and Americanized attributes. In other words, Santiago Iglesias would be a bourgeois tool to control workers. Meanwhile, when Muñoz Marín called Puerto Rico a subjugated colony, Mijón agreed. But that was nothing exceptional. What the Left had to do was not so much look to independence or to become political lackeys within the U.S. colonial system. Mijón wrote that creating schools, hygienic homes, and even strikes in order to gain better wages was too slow and gradualist. The island's dispossessed had to take advantage of the global moment and radicalize, join in alliance with Russia, and "make common cause with the American Communist Party" while siding with the Third International in Moscow.[30] The time was ripe for revolution, and only through revolution could "true" independence emerge.

Across Puerto Rico, debate on the island's future was growing, with supporters of independence challenging those who wanted to maintain formal linkage with the United States. Anarchists had been critiquing the Unionists' proindependence position since *El Comunista* was founded, but despite Mijón's stance, a consistent anarchist line on independence did not emerge. In June, Amelio Morazín seemed to support the concept of independence, not unlike Alfonso Torres. In light of the growing anti-Soviet opinion in the West, he applauded Russia's independent streak to strike out in a new direction by itself. "All countries," wrote Morazín, "have the right to self-determination, including P. R."[31]

Anarchists, though, were quick to denounce the concept of independence if issues of class were not involved. One writer describes a conversation he overheard between proponents of the three main political parties on the

subject. The Unionist called for political independence, asserting that U.S. control was holding back Puerto Rico. The Republican called for statehood under U.S. tutelage. The Socialist called for independence for everyone, but only after workers gained control of the government via election—essentially Muñoz Marín's position. A young boy approached the writer and said that while he understood little about politics, all three seemed to have one thing in common: "taking power." As the columnist concludes, "everywhere that the people have the *freedom* to elect their own rulers, they have never seen any changes . . . continuing everything as before electing their new bosses."[32]

Anarchist Sandalio Marcial saw the independence movement in terms of patriotism—a concept that most anarchists despised. Like Mijón, Marcial challenged the bourgeois orientation of the Unionists, claiming they would never do anything for the rural or urban poor once U.S. vigilance was removed. Once the U.S. flag was lowered, they would not give the order to end exploitation, be humane toward workers, make sure that money did not leave the island, or wealth was distributed evenly. "If this is not your ideal for independence, then we would say to you that you are deceiving the people; but we know that this is precisely what you desire to do to this poor country." The problem was that while the Unionists claimed to be for independence, they would owe their power (and their economic livelihoods via trade relations) to the United States. "You want independence," Marcial wrote to the Unionist leaders, "but you can never forget your obligations to Yanquilandia [Yankeeland]; that is, you will always be disposed to giving life and all that you (don't) have for the existence and glory of the great nation to the North." But who would be the ones called upon to sacrifice the most? The workers, he answered, who "you are disposed to sacrifice in the holocaust of honor and life to both capitalisms, that on the other side of the sea and that in this miserable island."[33]

Ultimately, anarchists did not speak with one voice on the increasingly contentious issue of Puerto Rican independence. Ángel M. Dieppa despised U.S. colonial rule over the island, but believed that in historical terms U.S.-style republican democracy and free speech protections were an improvement over the Spanish system. Alfonso Torres tried to get the PS—an official promoter of Americanization—to advocate for Puerto Rican independence but linked to workers liberation as anarchists had advocated when they threw their support behind the Cuban independence fighters two decades earlier. *El Comunista* writer Amelio Morazín declared that every country had the right to self-determination, using the example of Russia to suggest that independence and a workers revolution in a non-advanced capitalist society was possible. But, the editors of the Bayamón newspaper largely remained

unconvinced, skeptical about any independence movement. As Marcial and Mijón suggested, even if Washington granted independence to Puerto Rico—and under U.S. law it would have to be the United States to do so—then it would be a bourgeois independence where the so-called defenders of the workers, such as Santiago Iglesias, would be mere puppets of a creole and Yankee bourgeoisie to keep workers subservient for the interests of capitalists both on the island and abroad.

The most hard-line anarchists were inspired by the Bolsheviks and were only satisfied with an overly optimistic proletarian revolution that would free the island from the clutches of both creole and U.S. capitalists. In the 1890s, anarchists in the region had given their support to the independence cause in Cuba, mistakenly expecting a social revolution to emerge in a postcolonial Cuba where anarchists saw little more than a U.S. neocolonial relationship develop. Anarchists were not going to be fooled again. By the late 1910s and early 1920s, most of the Bayamón anarchists saw a Puerto Rican independence movement as bourgeois and misguided. Those who supported political independence were deceiving islanders because independent or not, capitalists would run the island, and their future always would be linked to pleasing Yanquilandia and solidifying the ever-expanding U.S. presence in the "American Mediterranean."

Anarchists Confront Militarism and U.S. Expansionism in the Caribbean

When Washington declared war on Spain in April 1898, it is questionable that many people could have foreseen the extent to which the United States would use its newfound imperial self-worth to expand throughout the Caribbean Basin. U.S. political, economic, and military ventures throughout the region expanded in the name of making the region safe for democracy, keeping Europeans out of the hemisphere, and advancing the interests of U.S. trade that followed the flag. By 1920, Puerto Rico increasingly played a role in U.S. military and economic designs in the region. The opening of the Panama Canal under U.S. authority in 1914 meant that the Mona Passage between Puerto Rico and Hispaniola became a key access route from the Atlantic Ocean to the canal. As U.S. citizens since 1917, islanders were eligible to be drafted into the U.S. armed forces to protect the canal or take part in any other U.S. military excursion. Puerto Rican units in fact guarded the canal during the Great War.[34] The militarization of the canal and its access routes coincided with U.S. military expansion and occupation elsewhere in the Caribbean. The United States purchased the Danish Virgin Islands in

1917. That same year, the United States deployed troops to Cuba, where they stayed until 1922. Finally, the United States invaded Hispaniola, militarily occupying Haiti from 1915 to 1934 and the Dominican Republic from 1916 to 1924. All of this was in addition to U.S. military contingents that were in Nicaragua from 1912 to 1933 and the U.S. military interventions into Mexico in 1914 and 1917. Increasing U.S. militarization of the Caribbean Basin led anarchists to attack what they perceived to be the teaching of militarism in Puerto Rican schools, the creation of the Puerto Rican National Guard, and the growing use of U.S. military force in the Caribbean.

Following the arrival of U.S. rule in Cuba and Puerto Rico after the War of 1898, U.S. officials revamped the schools on both islands. They created new public education systems that taught citizenship, reading, writing, English, and trade skills. Yet, anarchists on both islands had long been wary of public education, believing that state-run schools would create loyal servants to the state. Such thinking fostered anarchist goals of creating nondenominational, nonpublic, coeducational rationalist schools. Sandalio Marcial, a regular contributor to *El Comunista*, was the opening speaker at the May Day 1920 rally in Bayamón that launched the newspaper. During his talk, he connected the dots between public education, the state, and militarism. Speaking before two hundred people in the Plaza de Hostos, Marcial condemned the state of public education on the island. He told workers that while they might have thought that they were sending their children to school to receive useful instruction, what the children received "is mostly a military education. A child who obtains his Eighth Grade Diploma knows better how to kill a person than to solve an economic problem."[35]

The following week, Antonio Álvarez echoed this sentiment, and tied it to the emergence of the Puerto Rican National Guard. While Puerto Rican military units had existed on the island from the earliest days of the U.S. presence, the formal creation of a National Guard in Puerto Rico had sputtered along without much to show. In March 1917, a National Guard infantry unit was formed, but not activated. The postwar National Defense Law of 1919 finally authorized the creation and activation of National Guard units across the island.[36] For the conspiratorially oriented, a public-school education that provided loyal, obedient, skilled recruits for the guard made perfect sense. The public-education system—financed by and so supposedly serving the state—taught loyalty to the government as well as skills and desires in youths that would lead them to kill in the name of the state. Álvarez urged students to read their U.S. history "president by president, war by war" and then study the other side of history about scientists, strike leaders, and other nonstate figures, uniting then "in a single family in order to establish what we rightly

call the true FREEDOM and SOCIAL DEMOCRACY."[37] Otherwise, he feared, students would merely become Boricua servants of Yankee militarism.

Álvarez additionally cautioned his readers. He knew why the guard existed: to help the police repress striking workers and agitators for freedom.[38] Manuel García agreed. He had been watching the creation of a guard unit in Bayamón. Most disconcerting to him was how it was workers who made up the unit. "Workers of Bayamón and around the Island, you must frankly refuse to form this overpraised 'National Guard' that will become one more means that the creole bourgeoisie will have to defend themselves by machine-gunning and subjugating the people," he wrote. García urged Puerto Ricans to carefully consider his words; after all, he said, from his travels on the mainland he had seen firsthand how the National Guard was used against striking workers to protect mines and banks.[39]

But it was not just growing militarization on the island that anarchists increasingly feared. They likewise focused on the growing U.S. military presence throughout the Caribbean Basin. Manuel García and Amelio Morazín expressed this frustration and fear while drawing attention to what they saw as an inherent hypocrisy in Wilsonian foreign policy. While the United States had supposedly fought the Great War to protect and expand democracy, U.S. troops were at that moment undermining democracy in the Caribbean. García conjured the image of Wilson as a bloodsucker: You wanted "to spread freedom and democracy in the world, and now you are like a bloodthirsty hyena sucking from Santo Domingo, Honduras, Costa Rica, Puerto Rico, and Mexico."[40] But Morazín wondered if hypocrisy was actually too kind of a description. Perhaps U.S. actions in the region revealed a deeper fault in the U.S. political character. He was not convinced that the upcoming 1920 U.S. presidential elections would change anything, and reiterated the calamity that had befallen Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic. The United States "talks to us about 'small countries' having the right to self-determination and yet such unfortunate countries planted right under the giant cry out" because they are under U.S. domination. And Puerto Rico? She too suffered under the giant like an "unfortunate and miserable American Sicily, a kind of Cinderella of the Atlantic," that is unjustly despised and ill-treated.[41]

Antimilitarism was always a signature issue of global anarchism. The rejection of the state became even more intense when that state used its military force to coerce a population and to invade others. Anarchists in Puerto Rico had been severely punished for their outright refusal to sign up with Selective Service during the Great War. After the war, Bayamón anarchists continued to attack U.S. militarism both on the island and around the region, linking militarism to education, the new National Guard, and the

surge of U.S. military interventions and occupations throughout the Caribbean. While the PS continued to court Washington and "Americanization," the Bayamón bloc's antimilitarism was a targeted attack on the power and tools of U.S. colonialism.

El Comunista and Anarchist Transnational Journalism

From the 1890s to the 1910s, the anarchist movement in Cuba regularly functioned as the hub of a Caribbean anarchist network that linked Cuba, Panama, South Florida, and Puerto Rico, as well as the hub through which anarchists in parts of the Caribbean passed through as they traveled north along the Atlantic seaboard of the United States. At times, especially during Cuba's war for independence, Tampa took over that role. The hub was defined as the locale where the largest single number of anarchists lived, and where different anarchist experiments in health care or education occurred. As important as these factors were, the hub was perhaps most distinguished by where the most significant anarchist press for the region was located. This was usually Havana. However, in 1920, the anarchist press throughout the region was moribund, even in Cuba. Into this regional void stepped *El Comunista*. In the midst of the Red Scare, *El Comunista* became for a short time not only the voice of Puerto Rican anarchism but also an important voice in the anarchist network that stretched from San Juan to New York and beyond. The paper circulated across the island, into Cuba, and throughout the United States. Thus, just as anarchists encountered and criticized U.S. expansionism, Puerto Rican anarchists countered that spread with their own anarchist expansionism into Yanquilandia itself.

On the island, the editors counted on associates scattered around eastern Puerto Rico to sell the newspaper. Activists in Cayey, San Juan, Ponce, Cataño, and Bayamón raised money selling *El Comunista*. While the largest readership was based in San Juan and Bayamón, anarchists led by Venancio Cruz in Ponce rivaled their brethren in September 1920, collecting nearly 9 percent of the paper's revenue. In fact, at the end of September, over a quarter of the newspaper's islandwide sales came from outside the Bayamón–San Juan hub as anarchist sympathizers bought copies of the newspaper and contributed funds from Cayey, Ponce, Utuado, Salinas, Río Piedras, Caguas, Toa Alta, and Manatí—in short, across the island.[42]

Throughout 1920 and early 1921, the paper was distributed in Cuba and throughout the United States, increasingly taking on a transnational relevance. The paper's international readership within Spanish-speaking anar-

chist movements made the paper unique in the brief history of the island's anarchist press. The paper's distribution in the United States was not limited to the East Coast, as the Bayamón bloc could count on readers farther west, as well. For instance, one of the hot spots for IWW agitation in the 1910s was southern Arizona. As part of their anti-Wobbly campaign during the Red Scare, the U.S. government intensified its efforts against the Spanish-speaking IWW local in Globe, Arizona. In July 1920, authorities raided the post office box of activist Julio Blanco, aka J. B. Rodríguez. In Blanco's mailbox, they found three issues of *El Comunista*.[43]

Not only was distribution increasingly international in orientation, but also international financing of *El Comunista* grew. In September, supporters outside Puerto Rico provided over 25 percent of the newspaper's revenues. Most of this came from anarchists based in New Jersey like José R. Fernández, Detroit (Grupo Los Tres), Philadelphia (Ptolomero Sotero), Boston (Manuel Román), and Santiago de Cuba (José Acosta). In New York City, José Alicea received copies of the newspaper, mailed to him by his brother Juan in Bayamón. José sold *El Comunista* on the streets, at meetings, and through the offices of Spanish-language anarchist newspapers of the city. He then sent the money back to his brother to finance future issues. He kept some of the sales money for living expenses that enabled him to stay in the city, continue to receive and distribute the newspaper, and make connections with anarchists, Wobblies, and Communists in New York.[44] At times, one of Alicea's Puerto Rican anarchist colleagues Herminio Colón collected money around New York and sent it home. Meanwhile, as the Tampa tobacco workers strike discussed above raged on, very little money came from that city.[45] That would soon change, though. After the resolution of the Tampa strike, anarchists in the city and in Key West began to collect ever-larger sums of money for *El Comunista*. In December 1920, slightly more money came to the Puerto Rican paper from Tampa than from Bayamón: $8.41 from Bayamón and $8.45 from Tampa.[46] The rise in monetary contributions from Tampa reflected the increasing economic importance of anarchist groups mainly throughout the United States financing the newspaper, as illustrated in table 3.

By late 1920, money had begun to arrive from San Diego, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Key West, and Boston. Most of the money from outside Puerto Rico, though, came from the New York–New Jersey metropolitan area and Florida. For instance, the newspaper's last issue in February 1921 recorded that forty-one workers in Key West and Tampa sent over twenty dollars to the newspaper—fully one fifth of the paper's revenues for its final issue. Two of the Florida anarchists collecting for the paper were

Table 3. Island and International Financing of *El Comunista*, 1920–21

	Money from Sales and Subscriptions Inside Puerto Rico	Money from Sales and Subscriptions Outside Puerto Rico	Percentage of Total Income from Outside Puerto Rico
May 29, 1920	$102.90	$0.00	0.0%
June 5	50.16	0.00	0.0
June 19	57.50	11.10	16.2
July 3	55.40	14.43	20.7
July 17	26.11	17.45	40.1
July 31	29.92	0.00	0.0
Aug. 14	66.57	7.25	9.8
Aug. 28	42.91	12.20	22.1
Sept. 18	124.53	23.50	15.9
Dec. 11	64.01	40.70	38.9
Dec. 18	30.45	3.85	11.2
Feb. 19, 1921	34.69	55.51	61.5

Source: *El Comunista* from the above dates. Figures can be found on either page 2 or 5, depending on the issue. Not all issues published financial information.

old anarchist stalwarts well-known along the Caribbean anarchist circuit since the turn of the century: R. Colomé and Luis Barcia, both of whom had long anarchist credentials in Cuba and Florida.[47] What we begin to see is that the paper was both a Puerto Rican and a "transnational" anarchist newspaper as *El Comunista*'s readership and financial backing spread throughout Spanish-speaking anarchist groups across the United States.

La Guagua Ácrata: Anarchist Migration to New York City and Its Impact in Bayamón

Puerto Rican mass migration to New York would not surge until the 1940s and 1950s. However, by the 1910s, Ángel Dieppa, Alfonso Torres, Luisa Capetillo, José Alicea and other labor leaders joined with other increasingly militant elements from the island when they moved to New York City. Ventura Mijón, one of *El Comunista*'s editors, worked with anarchists in New York as early as March 1910 before returning to the island.[48] These anarchists, coupled with other leftists, among them Puerto Rican labor activist Bernardo Vega, became a small, committed radical cell in the slowly growing Puerto Rican working-class community of the city. While engaging each other, working with other Spanish-speaking radicals, and attempting to cooperate with or-

ganizations such as the IWW and the American Communist Party (ACP), the New York–based Puerto Rican anarchists maintained relations with their island comrades.

Beginning in the 1910s, Vega worked side by side with most island leftists who arrived in New York. His memoir of those years reads like a Who's Who of Puerto Rican anarchists who had journeyed to the city before returning to the island or who engaged in a circular anarchist migration between Puerto Rico and New York. For instance, in 1912, Emiliano Ramos spoke to Spanish-speaking cigar rollers, urged them to form a union, and even promoted the often-maligned CMIU.[49] In 1916, as sugar workers struck across the island, Mijón, Herminio Colón, and Ángel Dieppa spoke at a solidarity rally in New York.[50] In 1916 and 1917, Vega met and worked alongside anarchists Alfonso Torres, Alicea, and Rafael Acosta.[51] Mijón and Acosta worked with Spanish and Cuban anarchists in the city to publish *El Corsario* in 1919, and Dieppa and Acosta were Puerto Rican delegates on a strike committee for New York City cigar makers in May that year.[52] When Mijón, Torres, and Dieppa worked in New York during these years, they gained considerable organizational skills that they would take with them to Puerto Rico. Mijón's work on *El Corsario* also was excellent preparation for his work helping to launch and manage *El Comunista* the following year.

By 1920, and seen above regarding the sale of *El Comunista* in New York, one of the key linkages between the island and the city fell squarely on the shoulders of the Alicea brothers—Juan in Bayamón and José in New York. While Juan worked with the Bayamón bloc, José Alicea had been both a ranking anarchist on the island and in New York, working closely with *Cultura Obrera* and Spanish-speaking anarchists in metropolitan New York. The Brothers Alicea became keys to not only raising money for anarchist newspapers but also keeping Puerto Ricans informed of the larger international anarchist and communist movements. José Alicea was an important link between Bayamón and the mainland radical Left. He connected Spanish-speaking anarchists in New York and Bayamón with supporters of the Bolshevik Revolution and the ACP. In fact, in December 1920, following a column from Alicea on the front page of *El Comunista*, the newspaper uncritically published the manifesto of the ACP.[53] The newspaper also raised money in Puerto Rico for the Russian Revolution, collecting funds specifically to fight off the U.S.-led international war against it. Even Luis Muñoz Marín—the future governor of Puerto Rico—contributed one dollar to *El Comunista*'s pro–Russian Revolution campaign.[54] The publication of the ACP manifesto, the pro-Bolshevik fund-raising efforts, and the growing presence of *El Comunista* across the United States raised more than a few

eyebrows among federal authorities. As a result, the increasingly audacious Boricua anarchists were about to become targets of the Red Scare.

The Red Scare Takes Its Toll

The Russian Revolution captured the imaginations of radicals throughout the Americas. Long before knowledge of the structural violence and persecutions that the Bolsheviks would unleash against their people—anarchists included—Reds of all shades found inspiration in the overthrow of monarchy, the destruction of feudalism, and the abandonment of capitalism. Of course, governments throughout the Americas were just as frightened as the Left was encouraged. In the postwar era as the Bolsheviks began to consolidate their hold in Russia, anarchists and other radicals faced renewed repression from the U.S. government. In an effort to root out potential Bolsheviks and their sympathizers, Washington unleashed a wave of laws while encouraging a revitalized sense of patriotic nationalism. This new antiradical movement extended to Puerto Rico as *El Comunista* and the Bayamón anarchists came to the attention of U.S. authorities.

In its September 18, 1920, edition, the paper reported to its readers that the U.S. Postal Service had denied second-class status to *El Comunista*. In June 1917, the United States had passed the Espionage Act. The act originally aimed to prevent any antiwar material from being mailed during wartime, but the government continued to enforce the act after the armistice. The law became a key tool in the concerted U.S. government effort to prevent socialist and anarchist groups from cheaply using the U.S. mail as a means of disseminating their propaganda, especially after the Russian Revolution. According to *El Comunista*, the postal service ruled that the newspaper violated the law and now the federal government was going to enforce its consequences.

The Red Scare had been mainly a Washington-led effort to coopt nativist and right-wing support to root out anarchist and communist agitators across the country. Yet, the Left did not always just turn the other cheek. The government clampdown on *El Comunista* occurred at the exact same time as elements on the Left began to fight back. On September 16, 1920—just two days before *El Comunista* announced the new postal ruling—anarchists detonated a bomb on Wall Street. The attack, conducted by a wing of Italian anarchists, killed thirty-eight people and shocked the nation, coming nineteen months after a supposed anarchist plot to assassinate President Wilson and almost exactly nineteen years after the assassination of President McKinley. Thus, from Washington and New York's perspective, Reds had brought war

to the homeland, and they considered *El Comunista* to be on the front lines of that global campaign.

As a result of the new postal regulation denying the use of the U.S. mail, the editors appealed to readers for more financial contributions to sustain the newspaper. The effect was twofold. First, contrary to what one would expect, distribution throughout the United States actually increased after the mail prohibition, as seen in the expansion of money for subscriptions in table 3. After the mail prohibition, copies were carried from city to city by hand, surreptitiously mailed inside packages, and secreted away inside the luggage of migrating anarchists. Second, unlike most anarchist newspapers, *El Comunista* ran a financial surplus. Such a surplus resulted not only from savings on postage but also growing support from the island and beyond. Continuous contributions from around Puerto Rico, Cuba, New Jersey, New York, and Florida meant that the paper's budget surplus—hovering at $100 when the post office made its decision—continued to be just over $100 in February 1921.

However, these surpluses would not be enough to save the newspaper. That February, the paper's exposure to the whims of capitalist caprice became evident. The Tobacco Trust initiated a series of forced lay-offs throughout the island. The lay-offs meant a decline in financial contributions that, coupled with the postal service's actions, undermined the paper.[55] While the postal service and the Tobacco Trust played roles in *El Comunista*'s demise, it is doubtful that the newspaper and the group would have lasted much longer than early 1921 because in December 1920, the U.S. Bureau of Investigation opened a case into the Bayamón group. For two months, bureau agents investigated Puerto Rican radicalism, including the island's independence movement, the PS, the FLT, and the Bayamón anarchists. The investigation was part of a growing fear among U.S. authorities about the nature of labor politics on the island in the wake of the Russian Revolution.

This fear actually led to outlandish portrayals of fairly conservative labor leaders. For instance, in October 1920, Santiago Iglesias published a column in San Juan's *La Democracia* on the meaning of the red flag. An official with the Bureau of Insular Affairs in San Juan translated the piece to make Iglesias seem like nothing short of a tropical Lenin. The translation for the official's bosses in Washington had Iglesias calling himself "a partisan of the great and noble anarchist Bakounine [*sic*], rather of Marx." Iglesias supposedly went on to state that the Soviet system, "is the most liberal and most just." Then to completely mischaracterize Iglesias, the translation stated that Iglesias believed that revolution in Puerto Rico was near, an event that "will turn every

system in this island upside-down and, as a consequence there, all of us, islanders and Americans, are moving towards the establishment of the communist platform of internationalism."[56] Anyone knowledgeable about island labor politics would have recognized the error, but in the politically charged context of the Red Scare, red baiting was all the rage, even likely encouraged.

On January 31, 1921, Bureau of Investigation Special Agent Hubbard submitted a report that continued this Red Scare profile, now focusing on the Bayamón bloc. Probably knowing that his superiors would be most intrigued if he filled his report with anarchist violence, Hubbard repeatedly noted the group's call for violent revolution and its desire to form "a Soviet government controlled by the laborers." Though "as yet their membership is not large, and the movement is of comparitvly [*sic*] small importance, they have already created considerable trouble and disorder."[57]

While not spelling out any of this supposed "trouble and disorder," Hubbard did offer his superiors a taste of what could happen if the anarchists were not subdued. Identifying seventy-one editors, writers, and members, Hubbard suggested that the group could take advantage of growing labor strife to agitate among the workers. "Among the population such as we have in Porto Rico, where approximately 75% are illiterates, about 70% being negros [*sic*], or having negro blood in them, a great majority being of the ignorant laboring or 'peon' class, propaganda such as these people are turning out, is bound to obtain converts and cause trouble in the end; There are many thousands of unemployed laborers in Porto Rico." Reflecting the class and racial attitudes of his day, Hubbard clearly thought that the "ignorant" and especially the "negro" underemployed workers were particularly susceptible to radical mobilization. But, in case his superiors thought that this was merely another movement to organize a union, Hubbard concluded his report by again stressing the potential for anarchist violence: "It is evident that the purpose of the propaganda published in this paper, is to educate and incite the working classes of Porto Rico to revolution, and to the use of violence in the overthrow and destruction of all existing forms of government, and society." He then selected quotes to support this, including that the group "is an outspoken adherent of the Third International of Moscow."[58]

Hubbard's investigation was spotty at best. As so many in the intelligence communities of the Americas did, they confused anarchists, communists, and Bolsheviks. Hubbard was no different. He confused the Bayamón anarchists, calling them "the Communist Party of Porto Rico." In addition, the only real issue that concerned Hubbard was the call for violent revolution. Nowhere did he address the anarchist concerns with the PS or their qualified rejection of Puerto Rican independence. The report was, in many ways, simple

red-baiting that highlighted the most extreme words of the newspaper's articles as fodder to send to the U.S. Attorney's office in San Juan. Certainly, governments historically had practiced such selective surveillance against radicals, as E. P. Thompson illustrated nearly fifty years ago in his history of the English working class: "In a sense, the Government *needed* conspirators, to justify the continuation of repressive legislation which prevented nationwide popular organization." As Thompson suggested—and which seems to hold true across much of the Red Scare hyperbole in the United States—"it is impossible to know how far they [authorities] were themselves deluded by conspiracies which their own informers engendered" with potentially "fabricated information."[59]

Nevertheless, perhaps Hubbard was not entirely wrong—if a bit overzealous—in his characterizations of the Bayamón bloc. After all, anarchists had expressed support for communism and Bolshevism. They also had expressed strong opposition to militarism and U.S. imperialism, while calling for alliance with the ACP to support a revolutionary movement. They were not reformers, and as Mijón had noted in his debate with Luis Muñoz Marín, the anarchists were urging a nonconciliatory awakening in Puerto Rican workers that would lead them to a Bolshevik-style uprising. Hubbard probably had good cause to be concerned, though he certainly oversold the Bayamón anarchists' potential for an armed uprising. His investigation, coupled with a growing clampdown by the postal service and the economic warfare unleashed by the Tobacco Trust, ultimately led to the closing of *El Comunista* in early 1921 and with it the fall of the Bayamón bloc.

At the end of the Great War, when politicians, concerned citizens, and others believed that the Bolshevik Revolution threatened every nook and cranny of the United States, Washington unleashed its own internal war against "communist subversion." While the history of that war on the U.S. mainland is well-known, the extension of this war on dissent into U.S. tropical possessions is less so. In Puerto Rico, various political forces were surging forward by 1920. A reenergized independence movement was arising and the PS—just five years old—was winning more seats with each election. Meanwhile, anarchists, encouraged by the success of the Russian Revolution, ramped up their long-time Bayamón-based agitation and published the longest-running, most widely distributed and read anarchist newspaper in the island's history. All of these political forces came under U.S. surveillance.

The Bayamón bloc—a cell of anarchists working within the FLT and beyond since at least 1906—took inspiration from the Russian Revolution, named themselves after the revolution's adoption of a "soviet" system, and

published *El Comunista*. Through its pages, anarchists intensified their attacks on FLT and PS reformists, launching into a new personal war of words with Santiago Iglesias Pantín. They also challenged Socialists such as Luis Muñoz Marín and Unionists for their stances on political independence. In doing so, the anarchists tapped into a long tradition of international anarchism that looked skeptically upon such nationalistic movements. They remembered how anarchist support for the Cuban independence war a quarter century earlier had been betrayed by the bourgeois forces that came to dominate postcolonial Cuba and then turned it over to U.S. neocolonialism. Most were unwilling to adopt that position again. While this was the majority line, some anarchists and Socialists with strong former anarchist credentials were more responsive to independence. Alfonso Torres unsuccessfully pushed for a proindependence plank in the Socialist platform during a PS convention in 1919 and at least one anarchist friendly to the Bayamón bloc reminded readers that the Bolsheviks were essentially engaged in a war to determine Russia's independent destiny.

It obviously was not the anarchist critique of independence that caused the Justice Department concern, though. Rather, it was public advocacy for the Bolsheviks, the open hostility toward U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean Basin, and the widespread distribution of the Puerto Rican newspaper throughout the United States that brought *El Comunista* and its supporters under scrutiny. The Justice Department became increasingly concerned that these anti-U.S., pro-Russia messages were not just limited to public screeds on a soap box in some small town plaza or labor hall. They were beginning to reach larger segments of Puerto Rican and U.S. society. At first officials tried to limit the newspaper's influence by restricting its distribution through the mail. However, defying the odds, the paper continued to be bought, read, and financed from anarchist supporters across the United States. Nevertheless, a combination of surveillance, repression, and growing financial problems brought the paper to halt in early 1921, and the anarchist surge on the island began to unravel . . . though, as we will see, not completely disappear.

Conclusion and Epilogue

Anarchist Antiauthoritarianism in a U.S. Colony, 1898–2011

Global anarchism was in the throes of demise in much of the world by 1921, falling under the onslaught of authoritarian repression across the globe. The Bolsheviks clamped down on anarchists throughout Russia and Ukraine, paralleling the Red Scare repression unleashed in the United States and Puerto Rico on anarchists at the same time. Leading global anarchist figures fell in the early 1920s. The elder statesman of anarchism, Peter Kropotkin, died in 1921 and within a year the best-known Puerto Rican anarchist, Luisa Capetillo, was also dead.

The fall of anarchism in Puerto Rico brought to an end more than twenty years of male and female anarchists refusing to accept the Americanization project promoted by diverse elements from Washington to San Juan that included U.S. and island politicians, capitalists, and mainstream labor unions. While anarchists could be dogmatic, they were just as often flexible by freely associating with nonanarchists in strikes, alternative education efforts, and publishing endeavors. Anarchists joined with these leftist allies not only in a rejection of colonialism but also with an equally strident attack against the Roman Catholic Church—a holdover from another era of colonialism—and the emergence of corporate capitalism. After 1915, some of these anarchists opted to join the Partido Socialista and fight for change through the ballot box rather than direct action and social revolution. However, the more fervent anarchists continued to reject the reformist platforms that dominated the PS. As the United States began to stretch its imperial reach from Puerto Rico and Cuba to other countries around the Caribbean Basin in the 1910s, anarchists became some of the most vocal island critics of this wave of U.S. militarist expansionism. Finally, throughout all of these years, as certain elements in

Puerto Rican society began to agitate for Puerto Rican independence from the United States, anarchists remained cautious and even cantankerous, refusing to follow blindly a nationalist platform that would merely trade one type of capitalist and political domination for another while gaining few if any real material advantages and freedoms for the island's masses.

The anarchist experience in Puerto Rico was unique in the Americas. Whereas early-twentieth-century anarchist movements in the hemisphere fought against national governments and within postcolonial contexts for various economic and social reforms, anarchists in Puerto Rico operated in a colonial environment, even if the island was not officially called a "colony." The impact of U.S.-based colonial rule shaped the island's anarchists in specific ways. They found themselves battling the influence of U.S.-based unions. In addition, they found themselves battling not just a local or national government but also political and legal rule emanating from Washington. Thus, Puerto Rican anarchist antipolitics and antiauthoritarianism frequently embodied a distinct anti-Americanism and anti-imperialism.

This anti-U.S. message actually fit well into a larger spirit of anticolonial slogans and agendas that had deep roots on the island. For centuries, Puerto Ricans had resisted colonial rule first from Madrid and then Washington. Political, economic, and cultural resistance helped to shape four centuries of identity on the island that is reflected in the concept of *Boricua*. By the late nineteenth century, this spirit of resistance could be found among the tobacco workers who regularly tapped into the spirit of *parejería* to challenge authority in the workplace and seek to retain a spirit of freedom, autonomy, and self-determination. Because so many anarchist leaders and figures emerged from the tobacco trade, *parejería* merged with anarchist politics and agendas, helping to give anarchism on the island a hybrid dimension whereby global anarchism's messages were filtered through Puerto Rican reality.

U.S. colonial rule over Puerto Rico shaped the island's anarchist experiences in another unique way. For the first decade of the twentieth century, Puerto Rico's anarchists maintained transnational relationships with anarchists abroad, but especially Cuba. Money, communications, propaganda, and migrants regularly traveled between the two islands. But in 1915, Cuban authorities closed Havana's anarchist newspaper *¡Tierra!* and deported anarchist migrants in a wave of repression against labor radicalism. As Havana's importance declined for Puerto Rico's anarchists, they found themselves increasingly linked to anarchist cells in the United States as they traveled to the mainland or published in U.S.-based Spanish-language anarchist newspapers. Because most of the leading anarchist migrants from Puerto Rico were

tobacco workers, they could find employment in tobacco factories stretching from Tampa to New York City. In the United States, they joined with other anarchists from Cuba and Spain and in the process developed broad Latin anarchist networks. Then in 1917, Washington granted U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans while maintaining the island as a political no-man's-land: neither state nor country. But U.S. citizenship gave Puerto Ricans unrivaled access to the United States and facilitated a growing circular migration of people, money, and communications. Thus, the colonial power became the primary destination for anarchist migrants, correspondence between anarchists in Puerto Rico and the United States increased, and as these connections spiked during the postwar Red Scare, the U.S. government increased its surveillance of Boricua anarchists. In short, anarchists maintained an active campaign of antiauthoritarianism in Puerto Rico from the 1890s to the 1920s, and used the island's "colonial" connections with the United States to develop transnational networks between the island and the mainland.

Through their critical posts within the FLT, their efforts to create CESs and rationalist schools, their literary projects, their fund-raising campaigns on behalf of radical causes, their newspapers, their connections to anarchist centers in Havana and New York, their migration back and forth between the island and the mainland, and their ever-ready criticism of U.S. foreign policy both in Puerto Rico and around the Caribbean, anarchists were often at the forefront of efforts to sustain a countermovement to those who either wanted an independent country or wanted to link themselves ever closer to the United States. In the first decades after independence from Spanish rule and the birth of a new colonial era, anarchists struggled to shape the island's destiny from their own particular viewpoint that championed equality and freedom before all other causes.

However, unlike in Cuba where a widespread, long-term anarchist movement developed, no such "movement" can be said to have existed in Puerto Rico. Rather, anarchists on the island were never strong enough in terms of numbers or financial health to sustain anything like what could be described as a mass social movement. There were times of heightened momentum to be sure: the early anarchist influences in the first labor organizations during the 1890s, the wave of CESs and educational experiments from 1909 to 1911 in the wake of Francisco Ferrer y Guardia's execution in Spain, and the rise of the Bayamón bloc throughout the second decade of the twentieth century. However, these few surges in anarchist activity equally reflect the dearth of anarchism on the island in other years. As a result, individual anarchists and small cells of anarchists found themselves being realists while promoting

their idealism. Central to this realistic approach on the island was their need to enter into cross-sectarian alliances with progressive forces, especially the freethinkers, the PS, and the FLT.

Throughout Latin America, anarchists and freethinkers often joined forces to attack the Catholic Church and resist state attempts to restrict free speech. In Puerto Rico, Juan Vilar and Luisa Capetillo spearheaded the anarchist relationship with the island's freethinking organizations dominated by middle-class professionals such as doctors and lawyers. Two areas were especially ripe for overlap: rationalist education and *espiritismo*—both linked to fervent anticlericalism. Freethinkers in the Americas had long focused their educational ideas on eliminating religious instruction from public education generally and ending religious education outright. Both the freethinkers and anarchists condemned religious influences in education, seeing them as promoting an antiscientific, obedient, and backward agenda in youth. By late 1909, just following Ferrer y Guardia's death, anarchists and freethinkers actively promoted rationalist education. However, freethinkers never seem to have put up the money to back such initiatives. Instead, anarchists in San Juan, Caguas, and Bayamón joined with other leftists in these communities to develop and lead short-term rationalist education experiments within their respective CESs. These efforts focused on developing working-class consciousness among workers, especially in the tobacco industries that were important in these cities. They also held classes for children and cultural events designed to educate women and children into a culture of resistance that promoted a free and egalitarian Puerto Rican future. Such initiatives collapsed after only a couple of years due to a combination of political repression and economic dislocations.

Following the creation of the PS in 1915 and its islandwide electoral victories in 1917 and 1920, anarchists encountered a new dilemma: how to deal with friends and former allies in economic and educational struggles of the past who had decided to reject direct action in favor of electoral politics. By and large, anarchists continued to reject the PS, retaining their antipolitics agenda. When anarchists like Pablo Vega Santos became functionaries in the party, remaining anarchists were quick to turn on them. Yet, despite this open criticism and even hostility against the PS, Alfonso Torres, Ramón Barrios, and other anarchists could be found working in various levels of the party while retaining their anarchist credentials. While anarchists, especially those linked to the Bayamón bloc, generally refused to accept anything good about the party and its tactics, the reverse was not true. Reformist and conservative PS members exemplified by Santiago Iglesias continued to decry anarchist criticism and what they saw as tedious antiauthoritarian critiques. However,

the more leftist members of the PS—among them Juan Marcano, Enrique Plaza, and Epifanio Fiz Jiménez, who had worked closely with their anarchist comrades in Caguas and Bayamón—remained devoted to the memory of those struggles and the loyal camaraderie of anarchists such as Juan Vilar. Such fondness emerged in their support of anarchists against Socialist attacks and their remembrances of activism with anarchists in various campaigns. Perhaps the strongest anarchist link to the Socialists emerges in the writings of Marcano, Plaza, and others when they infused their literature with anarchist themes and characters from earlier years.

The longest-running alliance that anarchists engaged in involved their work with the FLT. Since its founding in 1899, the union had endeavored to bring workers of all ideological persuasions under one umbrella. Since the FLT was the largest labor organization on the island, anarchists believed that they had to be a part of the union in order to keep from being completely marginalized. From the beginning, anarchists held leadership roles in FLT locals around the island. They published newspapers at FLT-run presses. They regularly criticized FLT tactics at labor meetings and islandwide conferences, especially whenever FLT leaders thought that they could form political parties and take the economic struggle to the formal electoral sphere. Luisa Capetillo and other anarchists worked in FLT propaganda tours and wrote columns for the local and international press, celebrating FLT efforts and raising funds for union causes.

While anarchists remained a minority within Puerto Rican leftist politics, this did not stop them from engaging in a larger international anarchist struggle. Anarchists throughout the world have always considered their local actions as part of a larger global struggle against the unholy trinity of organized religion, capitalism, and the state. As illustrated throughout this book, while anarchists struggled to shape labor, political, social, and cultural issues across Puerto Rico, they also engaged with the wider global anarchist community, especially in Havana, Tampa, and New York.

These transnational connections began early in the post-Spanish era, when Juan Vilar, Pablo Vega Santos, and other anarchists wrote regular columns to Havana's anarchist weekly *¡Tierra!* From 1902 to 1915, *¡Tierra!* was the most widely read anarchist newspaper in the Caribbean. Its circulation dominated Cuba and Tampa, and it was sent far and wide: to Spain, New York, Los Angeles, Central and South America, and Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican columns helped a global anarchist community to understand the conditions in this new colonial setting, promoting in the process another part of the internationalist understanding of the world and the role of the Caribbean in a growing U.S. imperial orbit. When Vilar, Vega Santos, Capetillo, and

others sent columns to *¡Tierra!*—or to any international anarchist newspaper such as *Cultura Obrera* in New York—they often sent money collected from Puerto Rican workers. The money helped to finance various political causes supported by the newspapers as well as to pay for subscriptions of the newspapers. These papers were then mailed back to Puerto Rico for distribution around the island and to be read by *lectores* in the tobacco factories or made available in cafés, CESs, and wherever workers gathered. As a result, Puerto Ricans became internationally aware of anarchist issues in Cuba and New York. In addition, they read and heard Vilar's and other anarchists' critiques of Puerto Rican economic and political life. This latter component was especially important in those years when the island's anarchists lacked their own newspapers and could not always publish antiauthoritarian tracts in official FLT publications. Thus, first the Cuban and then the New York anarchist press often served as the Puerto Rican anarchist press.

Puerto Rican anarchists also joined in the international anarchist movement with their bodies, not just their words. Mass migration from the island to the mainland did not begin until the late 1940s and 1950s, as the increasing availability of air transportation made such travel—especially to New York—more feasible. This *guagua aérea* (air bus) became a central iconic image in the Puerto Rican migration story. Of course, small numbers of Puerto Ricans moved from the island to the mainland long before then. In the 1910s, anarchists joined these early working and activist migrants, forming a sort of *guagua ácrata* (anarchist bus) in which anarchists rode the migration routes and made contacts with other anarchists in Havana, Tampa, Philadelphia, and especially New York City. They then used these contacts to raise money for *El Comunista* and issues important to anarchists both on the island and the mainland in 1920 and 1921.

Numerous anarchists made these journeys. As noted earlier, Luisa Capetillo coursed through the anarchist network, living, working, and agitating in New York, Tampa, and Havana from 1912 to 1915. Alfonso Torres and Ángel María Dieppa traveled back and forth between San Juan and New York in the same years. Dieppa and Ventura Mijón had worked with Spanish and Cuban anarchists in Tampa as early as 1912, helping to found the city's first branch of the IWW. Alfredo Negrín and Ramón Barrios became personas non grata in Cuba when they were detained by Cuban police and sent back to Puerto Rico. José María Alicea first left the island sometime in the 1910s and went to New York City and Philadelphia. In the City of Brotherly Love, he was detained by authorities as part of a supposed international anarchist conspiracy to assassinate President Wilson in 1919. Lacking evidence, he was freed and became a writer, fund-raiser, and U.S.-based link for the Bayamón

bloc. He raised money for the bloc and helped to forge a relationship between the bloc and the American Communist Party by 1920. Key to this Puerto Rico–U.S. connection was the fact that his brother Juan was a leading force among the Bayamón anarchists; thus, the Brothers Alicea were important in the growing radicalism of the bloc and the growing transnational relationship between anarchists in Borinquen and Yanquilandia.

Until 1909, San Juan and Caguas had been the centers of anarchist activity, and these centers found supporters dotted around the island. Anarchists agitated, raised money, and published newspapers in both cities. Since at least 1906, anarchists also had been working in Bayamón and through its FLT local. By 1909, Bayamón was becoming an important center as reflected in the transfer of the anarchist newspaper *El Eco de Torcedor* from Caguas to Bayamón that year. Alfredo Negrín seemed to always be in the thick of things, whether it was forming an independent union and getting into fistfights with a factory foreman in 1906, helping to launch a pro-strike newspaper in 1911, being shot by police who tried to storm the Bayamón FLT offices in 1916, being detained in Cuba in 1919, or working with *El Comunista* by 1920.

Anarchists in Bayamón increasingly became focused on international issues, including the status of the island, U.S. foreign policy and Puerto Rico's role in it, and the Russian Revolution. Negrín, Basilio and Sandalio Marcial, Juan María Alicea, and a host of other activists in Bayamón and around the island turned *El Comunista* into the most successful anarchist publication in the island's history. Coming in the heady years following the Bolshevik Revolution, the paper declared its support for the Bolsheviks, raised money for victims of the U.S.-led attack on Russia, and formally linked itself to the U.S. communist movement while retaining its anarchist principles. Such a radical stance, combined with its criticisms of U.S. foreign policy in the Caribbean and the creation of the Puerto Rican National Guard, as well as the newspaper's increasing visibility among Spanish-speaking anarchists in the United States, forced the Red Scare–motivated U.S. government to put an end to the publication.

The Legacy of Anarchism in Puerto Rico

Unfortunately for the Aliceas, Morazín, the Marcials, Mijón, Barrios, Ramos, Negrín, and the rest, the demise of *El Comunista* in early 1921 spelled not only the end of anarchist publication on the island for years to come but also the beginning of the end for the anarchist cause as a whole. The collapse of *El Comunista*, the death of Capetillo in 1922, and the symbolic transition of longtime anarchist Alfonso Torres to a leadership role as general secretary of

the PS by 1922, spelled the true collapse of Puerto Rican anarchism and the break of one link in the network that connected anarchists along the Atlantic Coast from Puerto Rico to Cuba, Tampa, New York, and beyond. By 1923, numerous people who had flirted with anarchism to varying degrees in previous decades had become leading PS functionaries on the island, including Torres, Prudencio Rivera Martínez, José Ferrer y Ferrer, Epifanio Fiz Jiménez, and Pablo Vega Santos. As the party solidified its dominance on the Left, these former radicals turned away from internationalism. For instance, the leadership rejected a request from Socialist Workers Party secretary Juan Arévalo in Cuba to support the reforms of President Calles in Mexico, claiming it was not right for the PS to "intervene in the internal politics of a foreign country." When Gompers made his historic first trip to Panama and the Canal Zone at the end of 1923, no one from Puerto Rico accompanied him, though Puerto Rican delegates certainly could have if they had been so inclined. Meanwhile, as the Cuban government of Gerardo Machado unleashed a brutal wave of repression against the Left beginning in 1925, the Puerto Rican PS's executive committee remained silent.[1]

Despite this, during the 1920s and early 1930s, longtime anarchists continued to make contact with the international movement, writing occasional columns to *Cultura Obrera* and the Spanish-language IWW newspaper *Cultura Proletaria* in the United States. Emiliano Ramos and Ángel Dieppa covered Puerto Rican labor actions, the PS, and Iglesias. Between 1927 and 1931, Ramos moved around the island. His contacts led to the occasional financial contribution to *Cultura Proletaria* in 1927 while his later columns documented the transformation of Puerto Rico and the impact of the Depression in places such as Cayey and Bayamón. By 1927 and 1928, Ramón Barrios had joined the PS, attending a PS executive committee meeting in March and the seventh convention of the PS in Guarabo in June 1928, where he publicly condemned other Socialists for supporting monopolies on the island. Between 1928 and 1930, Dieppa increasingly traveled between Puerto Rico and Tampa—a circuit that he had made almost two decades earlier when he worked with anarchists in South Florida—writing about labor initiatives in both locations and helping to keep the anarchist message alive. In 1933, the last anarchist column from the island to the IWW's *Cultura Proletaria* arrived from J. R. Pérez in Arecibo. Occasionally these anarchist contributors reminisced about *El Comunista* or offered standard anarchist polemical tracts on gender, the AFL and, by the late 1920s, fascism in Europe and the Caribbean. At times, they also did what they could to maintain a semblance of anarchist internationalism. For instance, in the 1920s, Emiliano Ramos—that elder statesman of the island's anarchist cause whose activities dated to the Spanish colonial era—sent money not only

to New York but also to Havana's *Nueva Luz* (New light). Meanwhile, José M. Alicea continued to live in New York in the early 1920s, affiliating himself with that city's famous Ferrer School.[2]

While anarchist groups and publications disappeared throughout the 1920s and 1930s, remnants of the anarchist spirit could on occasion continue to be seen and heard. In the late 1920s, Dieppa and Sandalio Marcial worked with other leftists in New York to publish *Vida Obrera* (Workers' life), a newspaper of the Liga Anti-Imperialista Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Anti-Imperialist League) that organized a Hispanic branch of the Amalgamated Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers Union.[3] In 1934, radicals from fourteen communities across the island met in Ponce and founded the Puerto Rican Communist Party. Among the signers of the official communiqué emerging from the meeting was Ventura Mijón, one of the Bayamón anarchists central to the creation of *El Comunista* over a decade earlier.[4]

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936 saw a limited response from the Puerto Rican Left. Two pro–Spanish Republic publications saw brief light in 1937 and 1939: *Chispa* (Spark) from the Partido Comunista Independiente (Independent Communist Party) and *Alerta: Por la libertad y la democracia* (Alert: For freedom and democracy) published by a popular front organization including dissident Socialists. Neither of these publications was anarchist, in the strict meaning of the word. *Alerta* was dedicated to supporting the Spanish Republican forces, attacking fascism in all its guises, and emphasizing the leftist message of anticlericalism. *Chispa*, on the other hand, was a publication whose writers linked themselves to Trotsky's Fourth International that attacked the idea of socialism-in-one-country and the Stalinist Soviet Union. The writers disparaged the increasingly bureaucratic PS and its political gamesmanship at the expense of working-class interests. When it came to the civil war in Spain, *Chispa* was clear: Stalinists and their allies had done little to halt (and maybe even encouraged) the counterrevolutionary forces of bourgeois democracy on one hand and fascism on the other. Such lack of militancy became even more obvious during the anarchist uprising in Catalonia in 1937. The paper praised the joint efforts of anarchists, Trotskyists, and POUMistas (members of Spain's Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista, or Workers' Party of Marxist Unification) to continue their militancy against a bourgeois capitalist regime that Stalinists and socialists had supported through their calls for Catalonian workers to disarm. "The anarchist insurrection in Barcelona has been a desperate defensive act by the workers, who the bourgeoisie want to disarm in order to later destroy them and oblige them to live under fascism. Such is the reality of the Spanish situation, of Stalinism, and of the traitorous Popular Front!"[5]

However, not all Puerto Rican Communists were sympathetic with anarchists and opposed to Stalinists. In New York City, Jesús Colón was the most prominent Puerto Rican member of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). He worked long and tirelessly for the CPUSA, and like most public spokesmen for the party during the 1930s, was a staunch supporter of the Soviet Union. This is particularly clear in his eleven-page manuscript "Anarquismo o socialismo" (Anarchism or socialism), in which Colón uncritically summarizes a series of articles written by Stalin years before the Russian Revolution. In the articles, Stalin condemns anarchism and anarchist critics. Colón's summary denounces anarchism as focused primarily on "freedom of the individual, the theme is: everything for the individual." In addition, Colón argued that "the anarchists who deny the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat are, like all opportunists, the vehicles that transmit bourgeois influence over the workers movement."[6]

Decades passed with little if any anarchist or anarchistic antiauthoritarianism emerging in Puerto Rico. Radical politics had been taken over by the Nationalists led by the followers of Pedro Albizu Campos. Into the late 1960s and 1970s, radical groups based around ethnic politics emerged in the Puerto Rican communities of the United States. One of them, the Young Lords, promoted decentralized efforts to mobilize the Puerto Rican masses while providing services to the poor that city leaders did not. The Young Lords did not have much success on the island, in large part because most had very little experience in Puerto Rico and many did not speak Spanish or speak it well. Still, the efforts at localized direct action to improve average people's lives spoke to a lingering anarchist spirit that did not rely on the interventionism of the state, the promises of a glorious afterlife from organized religion, or the nonexistent investments and jobs from U.S. corporations.

While the Young Lords promoted their organization and activities in urban North America, the Unión de Socialistas Libertarios (USL, Union of Libertarian Socialists) emerged briefly on the island in 1972. At a time when new expressions of anarchism battled with a variety of ethnic, racial, gender, and communist-of-every-variety movements in the West, the USL arose around the Universidad de Puerto Rico in Río Piedras. The group's central work mirrored their Black Flag Boricua ancestors from over a half century earlier. They held a May Day celebration in the Plaza de Río Piedras in 1972. They published the newsletter *Bandera Negra* (Black flag). Finally, recalling the importance of grassroots education to raise political consciousness, the USL conducted classes on anarchism.[7]

The more peaceful grassroots, decentralized leftist experiments of the early 1970s gave way to new expressions of Puerto Rican nationalism and indepen-

dence by the late 1970s and 1980s. An alphabet soup of new parties emerged, but one of the oldest—the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP, Puerto Rican Proindependence Party)—continued to advocate a proworker, proindependence platform in the early 1970s. Left Libertarians (anarchists) made up part of this social democratic party.[8] Others in the independence movement resurrected the armed struggle that had made headlines in the 1950s with attacks on the U.S. Capitol in Washington. The Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN, Armed Forces for National Liberation) and its successor the Ejército Popular Boricua (EPB, Boricua Popular Army) emerged with a wave of violent direct action aimed at ending decades of political subservience to Washington and seeking complete independence. Through a campaign of bombings and armed robberies, the Macheteros (Machete Wielders), as they were popularly known, soon landed on the FBI's Most-Wanted List. Machetero violence declined after the 1980s. Then, in September 2005, Machetero leader and FBI fugitive Filiberto Ojeda Ríos was cornered and killed in an FBI operation in the western Puerto Rican town of Hormigueros.

The death of Ojeda Ríos might have been an FBI victory, but for large segments of Puerto Ricans, the violence he and the Macheteros waged paled in comparison to the structural violence that remained endemic on the island. For those on the far left of the political spectrum, the end of the Cold War (except against North Korea and Cuba) was only a half-victory. Anarchists toasted the failure of Stalinism and state communism but recognized that the victor—state capitalism operating under the guise of neoliberalism—had its own severe problems that had to be confronted. As the forces of neoliberal capitalism—bolstered by corporate linkages deep within state institutions—began to spread in the post–Cold War era, anarchist groups around the world emerged to offer a healthy corrective to those who proclaimed "the end of history" with communism's demise. Anarchist groups that were increasingly part of a global anticapitalism movement burst into the world's consciousness with anti–World Trade Organization protests in Seattle in November 1999.

Nine years later, the global capitalist economy collapsed into the worst economic recession since the Great Global Depression of the 1930s. Economic collapse in the major industrialized countries resulted in sharp declines in tax revenues, massive state deficit spending to try to "jump-start" economies, and governments seeking to cut spending on social programs without raising tax revenues. These fiscal policies spread to Puerto Rico. By the time of the Great Recession, Puerto Rican social statistics still saw the island coming in below even the lowest-ranked U.S. state across most social categories. Yet, the introduction of a sales tax in late 2006 and the decline in social services

and government belt-tightening following the global economic collapse in 2008 began to cause greater hardship. Added to this, the island government decided to impose sharply higher fees on students in the Universidad de Puerto Rico system, resulting in a wave of student protests in 2010 and 2011 that sometimes became violent—violence waged mostly but not exclusively by the police and security forces.

The latest round of anarchist mobilization in Puerto Rico arose in the midst of these protests. In 2010 and 2011, small cells of anarchists often affiliated in some way with the Universidad de Puerto Rico or other universities emerged to offer a distinct interpretation and voice within the cacophony of university students opposing the new fees and what many believed was the new governor Luis Fortuño's goal of privatizing the public university system. Grupo Puerto Rico Libertario (Libertarian Puerto Rico Group) first came to the fore in June 2009 but remained on the margins.[9] Meanwhile, Grupo La Acción Libertaria (Libertarian Action Group) and Grupo Semillas Libertarias (Libertarian Seeds Group) based in San Juan operated in unison by creating anarchist information sheets, an internet blog, and a Web site with downloadable files on anarchist theory and history. The anarchists also held classes on anarchism, and revived anarchist theater—which had been absent from the island for almost a century.

Besides proclaiming traditional anarchist antistate, antiauthoritarian, and anticapitalism goals, Semillas Libertarias stresses its international vision: the group would be an "encounter point for libertarians in Puerto Rico and in the Caribbean (along with the rest of the world)."[10] La Acción Libertaria proclaims that "our main mission is the destruction of the State and every structure that maintains the exploitation of the least advantaged, the division of classes, the insistence on the permanence of authority (command—obedience) and economic and social inequality." La Acción Libertaria advocates anarchist communism that emphasizes the joint goals of individual freedom and human collectivity, meaningful participatory democracy, and redistribution of wealth. Building on anarchist forms of direct action witnessed elsewhere in the Americas, especially the horizontalism movement in Argentina during the first decade of the twenty-first century, the new Boricua anarchists promote the creation of a decentralized federation of self-management and horizontalism where people across society work in a cooperative manner rather than focus their fight upward against the powers that be with the hope of taking power.[11]

Part of this new wave of direct action and self-management involved not just working among university students but also helping people in Puerto Rico fight the seizures of their land. As the island government began look-

ing for new development projects to promote tourism, small communities across the island have come under threat of having their lands seized by the government. Such state takeovers via eminent domain laws had occurred throughout Puerto Rico since the 1980s. Some residents fought back, even taking over the Capitol building in San Juan in 1982 before the government relinquished and gave land to some residents. New state efforts to take lands have led anarchists affiliated with La Acción Libertaria and others to document the seizures and help communities to publicize what they describe as unwarranted intrusion by the state into their lives.[12]

This latest crisis in the spread of global capitalism and the actions of its allies in government led to a new wave of antiauthoritarian resistance and anarchism in Puerto Rico. Activists involved in the student strikes and opposition to state land grabs were building on a little-known history of anarchist agitation dating to the years just before the end of Spanish colonial rule and lasting into the decade after Puerto Ricans officially became U.S. citizens. In the post–Cold War world, there was no end to history, and the Black Flag Boricuas have returned to fight another day.

Notes

Introduction

1. See Bantman, "Militant Go-between."

2. Figures derived from examination of the published financial statements of *¡Tierra!* on page 4. The average weekly contribution took the sum of the weekly averages (893) and divided it by 137 issues.

3. See Hirsch and van der Walt, eds., *Anarchism and Syndicalism.* Quote on lxvii.

4. See Hirsch, "Peruvian Anarcho-Syndicalism," and Toledo and Biondi, "Constructing Syndicalism and Anarchism Globally."

5. *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910*, 1181 and 1198–99.

6. The most famous of these is Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels*.

7. See Gómez Muller, *Anarquismo y anarcosindicalismo en América Latina*; Cappelletti, *Hechos y figuras del anarquismo hispanoamericano*; Viñas, *Anarquistas en América Latina*; Rama and Cappelletti, *El anarquismo en América Latina*.

8. See Woodcock, *Anarchism*; Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*; Butterworth, *The World That Never Was*; Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame.*

9. See Avrich, *Anarchist Voices* and *Sacco and Vanzetti*; Morris, *Kropotkin*; Leier, *Bakunin*; Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*; Levy, *Rooted Cosmopolitan*; Falk, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman*; Candace Falk and Barry Pateman, eds., *Emma Goldman*.

10. For select biographies, see Corral, *El pensamiento cautivo de Rafael Barrett*; Albro, *Always a Rebel* and *To Die on Your Feet*; Ward, *Anarquía inmanentista de Manuel González Prada*; Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo*.

11. Countless examples abound. In fact, this national focus dominates the historiography of anarchism around the world and often is couched in terms of a "national" anarchism, that is, "French," "Spanish," "Italian," "Argentine," "Chinese," or "Indian" anarchism.

12. See Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain*; Marsh, *Anarchist Women, 1870–1920*; Molyneux, "No God, No Boss, No Husband"; Barrancos, "Anarquismo y sexualidad";

Fernández Cordero, "Queremos emanciparos"; Shaffer, "Radical Muse"; Sonn, "'Your Body Is Yours.'"

13. Avrich, *Modern School Movement*; Cappelletti, *Francisco Ferrer y la pedagogía libertaria*; Shaffer, "Freedom Teaching"; Craib, "Students, Anarchists, and Categories of Persecution in Chile, 1920"; Gorman, "Anarchists and Education"; Khuri-Makdisi, *Eastern Mediterranean*.

14. Halperin, *Felix Fénéon*; Hutton, *Neo-Impressionism*; Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism*; Sonn, *Anarchism and Cultural Politics*; Barrancos, *La escena iluminada*; Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*; Litvak, *La mirada roja* and *Musa libertaria*; Masjuan, *La ecología humana en el anarquismo ibérico*.

15. See for instance Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*; Barrancos, *Anarquismo, educación, y costumbres*; Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*.

16. For Asia, see for instance Ramnath, *Decolonizing Anarchism*; Konishi, "Reopening the 'Opening of Japan'"; Lai, "Anarchism, Communism, and China's National Revolution"; Dirlik, *Anarchism and the Chinese Revolution*; Hwang, "Korean Anarchism before 1945." For Africa, see van der Walt, "Anarchism and Syndicalism in South Africa"; Gorman, "'Diverse in Race, Religion and Nationality.'" For Latin America, see the following very selective recent works in addition to those previously cited: Moya, *Cousins and Strangers* and "Positive Side of Stereotypes"; Suriano, *Anarquistas*; Hirsch, "Peruvian Anarcho-Syndicalism"; de Laforcade, "Straddling the Nation and the Working World."

17. *Battle in Seattle.*

18. Anderson, *Under Three Flags*; Bantman, "Militant Go-between"; Levy, "Rooted Cosmopolitan"; Turcato, "Making Sense of Anarchism" and "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement."

19. See these authors' works cited above and Zimmer's chapter on San Francisco in "'The Whole World Is Our Country.'"

20. On the Caribbean, see Shaffer, "Havana Hub" and "Contesting Internationalists." On the southern cone, see de Laforcade, "Federative Futures"; and Toledo and Biondi, "Constructing Syndicalism and Anarchism Globally." For the Andes, see Hirsch, "Peruvian Anarcho-Syndicalism"; and Migueláñez Martínez, "Anarquistas en red."

21. See Khuri-Makdisi, *Eastern Mediterranean*; Shaffer, "By Dynamite"; Ribera Carbó, "Ferrer Guardia en la revolución mexicana"; Siguan Boehmer, *Literatura popular libertaria*.

22. For a transnational perspective, see Rosenthal, "Radical Border Crossers"; Caulfield, "Wobblies and Mexican Workers in Mining and Petroleum." For U.S.-focused studies, see among others Cole, *Wobblies on the Waterfront*; Renshaw, *Wobblies*; Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*; Salerno, *Red November, Black November*. For anarchists in Chile, see DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile*. For Canada, see Leier, *Where the Fraser River Flows*. For Australia, see Cain, *Wobblies at War*.

23. Poyo, "Anarchist Challenge"; Daniel, "Rolling for the Revolution"; Casanovas Codina, *Bread, or Bullets!*; Shaffer, "Cuba para todos."

24. On Flores Magón and Guerrero, see Albro, *Always a Rebel* and *To Die on Your Feet*. See also Esparza Valdivia, *El fenómeno magonista*; Gómez-Quiñones, *Sembradores*; Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class*; Hernández Padilla, *El magonismo*;

Martínez Núñez, *Perfiles revolucionarios*; Raat, *Revoltosos*; Sandos, *Rebellion in the Borderlands*.

25. See Lai, "Anarchism, Communism, and China's National Revolution"; and Dirlik, *Anarchism and the Chinese Revolution*. Much attention has been paid to Ukraine, where Nestor Makhno and his comrades organized the region along anarchist principles until the Bolsheviks crushed the Makhnovists. See in particular Shubin, "Makhnovist Movement and the National Question."

26. See Casanovas Codina, *Bread, or Bullets!*; Sánchez Cobos, *Sembrando ideales*; Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*; Daniel, "Rolling for the Revolution"; and Condron, "Sindicato General de Obreros de la Industria Fabril."

27. See Shaffer, "Tropical Libertarians" and "Contesting Internationalists."

28. See the following works that treat labor resistance, the PS, and anarchism in Puerto Rico: Alberty Monroig, "Control y resistencia"; Bird Carmona, *A lima y machete* and *Parejeros y desafiantes* (esp. 112–20 and 229); Dávila Santiago, "El pensamiento social obrero"; García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*; Maldonado, "Contract Labor and the Origins of Puerto Rican Communities"; Méndez, "La literatura proletaria"; Ojeda Reyes, "¿Colonialismo sindical o solidaridad internacional?"; Quintero Rivera, "El Partido Socialista" and "Socialist and Cigarmaker"; Silén, *Apuntes*; Silvestrini de Pacheco, *Los trabajadores puertorriqueños*; Baldrich, *Sembraron la no siembra*.

29. See Dávila Santiago, *El derribo de las murallas*, "El pensamiento social obrero," and *Teatro obrero en Puerto Rico*. Also see Centeno Añeses, *Modernidad y resistencia*.

30. For central works on Iglesias, Romero Rosa, and Capetillo, see Capetillo, *Amor y anarquía*; Córdova, *Santiago Iglesias*; Tirado Avilés, "Ramón Romero Rosa"; Centeno Añeses, *Modernidad y resistencia*; and Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo*.

31. Bakunin, "On Nationality, the State, and Federalism."

32. García Passalacqua, *Afirmación nacional*, 15–22, quote on 15.

33. García Passalacqua, *Afirmación nacional*, 57.

34. Guérin, *Anarchism*, 69. The best work on Bakunin's life and work is Leier, *Bakunin*.

Chapter 1. The Roots of Anarchism and Radical Labor Politics in Puerto Rico, 1870s-1899

1. For studies on the *lector* in the Caribbean Basin, see L. Pérez, "Reminiscences of a 'Lector,'" and Tinajero, *El lector*.

2. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 36.

3. López Ruyol, *El abc del movimiento obrero*, 87–90; García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 15.

4. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 21–22.

5. Ibid., 19–20.

6. Ibid., 20; Milagros González and Quintero Rivera, *La otra cara*, 84–86.

7. Dávila Santiago, *El derribo de las murallas*, 14.

8. Ibid., 4–8.

9. Ibid., 15–16; Dávila Santiago, "El pensamiento social obrero," 160–61; Iglesias

Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 44 and 54; Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 32.

10. Dávila Santiago, *El derribo de las murallas*, 12.

11. Bergad, "Coffee and Rural Proletarianization in Puerto Rico," 84–95.

12. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 33, 60, 90–93; Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery*, 8–9.

13. Quintero Rivera, "Socialist and Cigarmaker," 21–24.

14. Ibid., 28. See also Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo*, 34–36.

15. Quintero Rivera, "Socialist and Cigarmaker," 31–33; Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 74–75; Silén, *Apuntes*, 50.

16. Dávila Santiago, "El pensamiento social obrero," 165.

17. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 17.

18. Ibid., 17–19. See also Silén, *Apuntes*, 47–79 on the anarchist environment in Spain in which Iglesias came to adulthood.

19. Casanovas Codina, *Bread, or Bullets!*, 179–227.

20. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 31.

21. Ibid., 31–33; Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 22.

22. *El Eco Proletario*, February 14, 1892, 3.

23. Ibid., March 6, 1892, 1. Emphasis in original.

24. Silén, *Apuntes*, 22 and 46. Silén is quoting the unpublished writings of César Andreu Iglesias.

25. Quintero Rivera, *Workers' Struggle in Puerto Rico*, 18.

26. Milagros González and Quintero Rivera, *La otra cara*, 82.

27. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 44 and 54; Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 32; *Ensayo Obrero*, March 6, 1898, 4.

28. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 61–62.

29. *Ensayo Obrero*, March 6, 1898, 1.

30. Ibid., March 6, 1898, 1; ibid., March 20, 1898, 1; ibid., March 27, 1898, 1; Trías Monge, *Puerto Rico*, 25; Dávila Santiago, "El pensamiento social obrero," 155–56.

31. *Ensayo Obrero*, March 20, 1898, 4. Ellipses in original.

32. *Ensayo Obrero*, April 10, 1898, 1–2.

33. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 63–65.

34. Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 52–53.

35. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 32; Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 42–48; Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 65–80.

36. *El Despertar*, November 15, 1898, 3.

37. *El Porvenir Social*, October 27, 1898, 1.

38. Ibid., 2.

39. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 96.

40. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 33.

41. *El Porvenir Social*, March 28, 1899, 1.

42. Ibid., April 11, 1899, 2; E. Pérez, "May Day 1899 in Puerto Rico," 679.

43. *El Porvenir Social*, May 4, 1899, 1–2; ibid., May 6, 1899, 1; E. Pérez, "May Day 1899 in Puerto Rico," 683.

44. Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, 159–65; Cantor, *Divided Left*, 17–22.

45. *El Porvenir Social*, June 22, 1899, 1.

46. Ibid., April 8, 1899, 2–3; ibid., May 25, 1899, 2–3; ibid., June 22, 1899, 1; ibid., July 18, 1899, 1 (quote).

47. *El Porvenir Social*, July 18, 1899, 2.

48. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 113.

49. "Federación Regional de Trabajadores de Pto-Rico Departamento del Oeste," flyer from April 23, 1899. Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín, folder FLT 1899, Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín.

50. *El Porvenir Social*, August 1, 1899, 1; ibid., August 5, 1899, 1; ibid., September 7, 1899, 1.

51. *El Porvenir Social*, July 20, 1899, 1–2.

52. Ibid., September 14, 1899, 2.

53. Ibid., October 30, 1898, 3–4.

54. *El Porvenir Social*, October 30, 1898, 3–4; ibid., March 18, 1899, 1; ibid., November 12, 1899, 2; ibid., September 10, 1899, 1–2; ibid., September 14, 1899, 1.

55. *El Porvenir Social*, September 7, 1899, 1.

56. *El Porvenir Social*, March 28, 1899, 1; ibid., May 27, 1899, 3; ibid., September 7, 1899, 2.

57. *El Porvenir Social*, March 9, 1899, 1.

58. Ibid., March 30, 1899, 1.

59. Ibid., March 16, 1899, 1; Casanovas Codina, *Bread, or Bullets!*, 205–6 and 227–28.

60. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 118.

61. *El Porvenir Social*, May 31, 1899, 1.

62. Ibid., May 31, 1899, 2.

63. Ibid., June 10, 1899, 1.

64. Ibid., June 24, 1899, 2.

65. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 120–34.

66. *El Porvenir Social*, July 8, 1899, 2, 3.

67. de Lidia, *Fin de fiesta*, 15–16.

68. *El Porvenir Social*, October 27, 1898, 4.

69. Ibid., December 7, 1899, 2.

70. Ibid., May 20, 1899, 1–3.

71. Ibid., December 12, 1899, 2.

72. Dávila Santiago, "El pensamiento social obrero," 164–66.

Chapter 2. Radicals and Reformers

1. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 196–97.

2. Ibid., 198.

3. Ibid., 199–202; García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 35–39; Galvin, "Early Development of the Organized Labor Movement," 21–22.

4. *La Miseria*, February 22, 1901.

5. See anarchist criticisms of carnival in Cuba in Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*, 204–6.

6. *La Miseria*, February 23, 24, 25, 26, 1901.

7. Ibid., March 5, 1901.

8. United States Department of Labor, "Labor Conditions," 399–411.

9. Ibid., 412–13.

10. Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín, folder Boletín Mercantil (1898–1901), Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín.

11. *La Miseria*, March 6, 1901.

12. Ibid., April 9, 1901.

13. Ibid., March 1, April 9, April 11, April 25, 1901.

14. Ibid., May 11, 1901.

15. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 216–18.

16. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 39–47; Galvin, "Early Development of the Organized Labor Movement," 24–26.

17. Cruz, "Introducción" in *Fragmentos*, 8.

18. Cruz, "Santiago Iglesias" and "A mi querido camarada J. Ferrer y Ferrer" in *Fragmentos*, 12–14.

19. Cruz, "Época insana" in *Fragmentos*, 20–23.

20. Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 128.

21. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 219–20.

22. Ibid., 294–95.

23. Argudo y Picart, "Las turbas," 132–35.

24. Matías, *La anarquía en Puerto-Rico*, 32–33.

25. Ibid., 59.

26. Dávila Santiago, "El pensamiento social obrero," 164.

27. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 256–57.

28. Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 199, 291.

29. Ibid., 186, 288; Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 290.

30. Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 380–83.

31. Silén, *Apuntes*, 48.

32. Shaffer, "Tropical Libertarians," 291.

33. Galvin, "Early Development of the Organized Labor Movement," 27–28. Labor Day became an official holiday in Puerto Rico in September 1902. Some leftists celebrated both dates in the 1910s, acknowledging two dates for workers—only one of which in September included a day off from work.

34. Galvin, "Early Development of the Organized Labor Movement," 28–30.

35. Balsac and Valle, *Revolución*, 12–14.

36. Cubano-Iguina, "Political Culture and Male Mass-Party Formation," 631–35.

37. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 52–53; Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 331; Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 333–35.

38. Romero Rosa, *La cuestión social y Puerto Rico*, 13–15.

39. Ibid., 21, 26.

40. *Unión Obrera*, January 29, 1905, 2–3.

41. Ibid., 2.

42. Ibid., November 2, 1906, 2.

43. Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, 161–66.
44. Romero Rosa, *Catecismo socialista*, 22–24.
45. Ibid., 1–2, 9.
46. Ibid., 24.
47. Shaffer, "By Dynamite," 13.
48. Romero Rosa, *Entre broma y vera*, 33–39.
49. Balsac, *Apuntes históricos*, 57–59.
50. Centeno Añeses, *Modernidad y resistencia*, 179.
51. *¡Tierra!*, June 24, 1905, 3, and *Cultura Obrera*, May 22, 1915.
52. *¡Tierra!*, May 20, 1905, 2–3.
53. Torres, *¡Solidaridad!*, 8, 14–16, 19, 20.
54. Centeno Añeses, *Modernidad y resistencia*, 178.
55. Cruz, *Hacia el porvenir*, 11.
56. Ibid., 33.
57. *¡Tierra!*, September 2, 1905, 2.
58. Ibid., October 7, 1905, 2.
59. Ibid., August 4, 1906, 2.
60. *Voz Humana*, October 22, 1906, 1.
61. *¡Tierra!*, November 25, 1905, 2.
62. Ibid., June 2, 1906, 3–4, and July 21, 1906, 4. Emphasis in original.
63. *Voz Humana*, September 2, 1906, 2–3. Rabachol or Ravachol was Ferrer y Ferrer's nom de plume for several years. See Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 146.
64. *Voz Humana*, September 2, 1906, 4, and September 30, 1906, 3.
65. Ibid., October 22, 1906, 4.
66. *¡Tierra!*, August 4, 1906, 2.
67. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 54–58.
68. *Voz Humana*, October 23, 1906, 4.
69. *El Eco de Torcedor*, January 1, 1909, 2–3.
70. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 57–58; *Procedimientos del Sexto Congreso Obrero*.
71. Bedford, "Samuel Gompers and the Caribbean," 19–20.
72. Torres, *¡Solidaridad!*, 28–30.
73. Governor Hunt quoted in Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 283.
74. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 97–100.
75. Ibid., 97.
76. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 68 and 210.
77. Ibid., 219.
78. *Voz Humana*, October 22, 1903, 3.
79. *¡Tierra!*, June 12, 1907, 3.
80. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 229.
81. *¡Tierra!*, April 14, 1909, 2.
82. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 59.
83. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 115.
84. Capetillo, *Amor y anarquía*, 75–78.

85. Iglesias de Pagán, *El obrerismo en Puerto Rico*, 327–33.

86. Iglesias Pantín, *Luchas emancipadoras*, 376; García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 49.

87. United States Department of Labor, "Labor Conditions," 410.

88. *¡Tierra!*, March 4, 1905, 3–4, and March 28, 1905, 1.

89. Ibid., March 9, 1906, 3.

90. Ibid., April 8, 1905, 2, and June 13, 1908, 3.

91. See Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*.

92. *El Eco de Torcedor*, January 19, 1909, 2.

93. Ibid., November 7, 1908, 2–3.

94. Ibid., January 9, 1909, 1.

95. *Luz y Vida*, August 30, 1909, 2 and 4; ibid., September 15, 1909, 2; ibid., December 15, 1909, 1–3.

96. *El Centinela*, November 28, 1909, 1–3.

97. *El Eco de Torcedor*, November 7, 1908, 3.

98. *Nuevo Horizonte*, July 31, 1909, 3–4.

Chapter 3. Anarchist Alliances, Government Repression

1. See Ferrer y Guardia, *La Escuela Moderna*; Cappelletti, *Francisco Ferrer y la pedagogía libertaria*; Shaffer, "Freedom Teaching."

2. *La Voz del Dependiente*, May 20, 1909, 1–2.

3. *Luz y Vida*, December 15, 1909, 1–3.

4. *El Eco de Torcedor*, November 7, 1908, 2.

5. *Procedimientos del Sexto Congreso Obrero*, 54 and 68.

6. Ibid., 62.

7. Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People*, 126–37; Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*, 167–68.

8. *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910*, 1,200; Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People*, 137–39.

9. American Missionary Association, *Religious Conditions*, no page numbers.

10. *La Conciencia Libre*, January 2, 1910, 8–9; ibid., August 7, 1910, 5. Quote from January 2.

11. *Unión Obrera*, January 28, 1910, 1; ibid., March 5, 1910, 1.

12. Ibid., February 10, 1910, 3; ibid., March 1, 1910, 1.

13. "Untitled Manuscript," March 1912, Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter cited as CDOSIP), folder 1912, FLT, Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter Fondo SIP). Writing in 1960, Fiz Jiménez remembered the murder occurring in 1908. See Fiz Jiménez, *Bayamón y su gente*, 127–28.

14. Fiz Jiménez, *Bayamón y su gente*, 127–28.

15. *Unión Obrera*, September 3, 1910, 1.

16. Ibid., September 9, 1910, 2.

17. Ibid., October 15, 1910, 1; ibid., October 12, 1911, 1.

18. *Unión Obrera*, June 2, 1910, 2.

19. Ibid., July 28, 1910, 1.
20. Plaza, *Futuro!*, 3.
21. *Unión Obrera*, June 1, 1910, 2; ibid. June 7, 1910, 2. Quote from June 7.
22. *Unión Obrera*, June 1, 1910, 2.
23. Ibid., June 9, 1910, 2.
24. Ibid., June 24, 1910, 2.
25. Ibid., July 7, 1910, 1–2.
26. Ibid., July 18, 1910, 1.
27. *Cigar Makers Official Journal*, January 15, 1910, 11.
28. *¡La Huelga¡*, February 9, 1911, CDOSIP, folder FLT, folio 9, May 7, 1910, Fondo SIP.
29. *New York Times*, April 18, 1911, 8.
30. *La Democracia*, March 10, 1911, 1; *New York Times*, April 18, 1911, 8.
31. *La Democracia*, March 11, 1911, 3.
32. "Untitled Manuscript," March 1912. While the folder is labeled "1912," it covers March 1911. CDOSIP, Folder 1912. FLT. Fondo SIP.
33. *La Democracia*, March 23, 1911, 1; *Porto Rico Progress*, March 30, 1911, 3, CDOSIP, folder FLT 1911, Fondo SIP.
34. *La Democracia*, March 23, 1911, 2; ibid., March 24, 1911, 1; ibid., March 25, 1911, 2.
35. *El Dependiente*, November 23, 1911, 5—this description is from Pablo Vega Santos, who in late 1911 was recapping events of that year; *La Democracia*, April 8, 1911, 1; *La Democracia*, April 29, 1911, 1; *Unión Obrera*, August 8, 1911, 1.
36. *La Democracia*, May 1, 1911, 1; ibid., May 11, 1911, 1; ibid., May 19, 1911, 1; and ibid., May 22, 1911, 4.
37. *Unión Obrera*, July 17, 1911, 1–2.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid., July 17, 1911, 1–2.
40. Ibid., July 17, 1911, 1–2.
41. Ibid., July 26, 1911, 3.
42. Ibid., August 8, 1911, 1–2.
43. *La Democracia*, June 12, 1911, 1; ibid., October 20, 1911, 1.
44. *La Democracia*, October 31, 1911, 8; *Unión Obrera*, November 3, 1911, 1.
45. *Unión Obrera*, November 3, 1911, 1.
46. *El Dependiente*, November 22, 1911, 1.
47. Fiz Jiménez, *Bayamón y su gente*, 128–29; Fiz Jiménez, *El racket del capitolio*, n.p.; "El racket del capitolio," CDOSIP, folder Biografía Epifanio Fiz, 1911, Fondo SIP. Fiz Jiménez was president of the Bayamón CES, joined the FLT in 1913, became first vice president of the PS, and served in the island House of Delegates and Senate from 1920 to 1940.
48. *Unión Obrera*, October 27, 1911, 3; ibid., November 29, 1911, 2; ibid., December 4, 1911, 1; and ibid., December 8, 1911, 2; *El Dependiente*, November 22, 1911, 1; *La Democracia*, October 29, 1911, 3.
49. Letters from Juan Obrer and Ramón Negrón Flores, *Iris de Paz*, January 13, 1912, 2–3, CDOSIP, folder 1912—Iris de Paz, Fondo SIP.

50. *Cultura Obrera*, May 22, 1915, 2. The obituary was written by his longtime friend and radical cultural activist Enrique Plaza.

51. See Shaffer, "Freedom Teaching," for a discussion of these two waves of *racionalismo* in Cuba and their relationship to anarchist-led labor organizations in the 1920s.

52. See Cancel, *Anti-figuraciones*, 120–50.

Chapter 4. Anarchists, Freethinkers, and Spiritists

1. *El Tiempo*, May 5, 1912, 3; *La Democracia*, May 6, 1912, 1; *La Democracia*, May 7, 1912, 1; *La Democracia*, May 11, 1912, 4; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, May 5, 1912, 1.

2. *El Porvenir Social*, June 3, 1899, 3.

3. Romero Rosa, *La cuestión social y Puerto Rico*, 7–11; Centeno Añeses, *Modernidad y resistencia*, 185–88.

4. *La Conciencia Libre*, December 12, 1909, 5.

5. Ibid., December 12, 1909, 1.

6. Ibid., February 20, 1910, 5.

7. Ibid., June 26, 1910, 1.

8. "Visita de William J. Bryan," Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter cited as CDOSIP), folder 1910, William Jennings Bryan, Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter Fondo SIP). It seems that Bryan left the island without Iglesias's bow and document since they are in the CDOSIP archive.

9. *La Conciencia Libre*, April 24, 1910, 4.

10. See for example, ibid., March 25, 1910, 1.

11. *La Conciencia Libre*, April 24, 1910, 5.

12. Ibid., November 2, 1910, 8; ibid., November 20, 1910, 8.

13. On Cuba, see Casanovas Codina, *Bread, or Bullets!*, 114–15, and Díaz Quiñones, "Fernando Ortiz y Allan Kardec," 175–92. On Puerto Rico, see Cruz Monclova, *Historia de Puerto Rico (siglo XIX)*, and Herzig Shannon, *El Iris de Paz*, 17.

14. Román, "Spiritists vs. Spirit-mongers," 28 and 44.

15. Herzig Shannon, *El Iris de Paz*, 41–42, 54–55, 60–63.

16. Capetillo, *Ensayos libertarios*, 19; Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo*, 20–21.

17. Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo*, 57.

18. Ibid., 62.

19. Vilar, *Páginas libres*, 91–93.

20. Quoted in Herzig Shannon, *El Iris de Paz*, 56–57.

21. *La Conciencia Libre*, October 9, 1910, 6–7; ibid., October 16, 1910, 6–7; ibid., March 5, 1911, 4–5.

22. *La Conciencia Libre*, July 23, 1911, 5; ibid., July 30, 1911, 5; ibid., August 13, 1911, 2; ibid., September 3, 1911, 4–5; ibid., November 12, 1911, 4–5; and ibid., December 3, 1911, 2.

23. Herzig Shannon, *El Iris de Paz*, 69.

24. The link between spiritists and anarchists in Puerto Rico was not unique. Anarchists throughout Latin America had a delicate relationship with spiritism. In Cuba, see, for instance, Leante's cautionary approach to spiritism in *Vertiendo ideas*, 94–96. In

Chile, some leading anarchists were also spiritists, but at times abandoned anarchism for the latter. See, for instance, the cases of Luis Ponce and Valentín Cangas in Grez Toso, *Los anarquistas y el movimiento obrero*, 213–21.

25. Herzig Shannon, *El Iris de Paz*, 70.

26. *Unión Obrera*, July 2, 1910, 1.

27. Ibid., August 17, 1910, 1. This is one of the few mentions of Protestantism made by the Labor Left. By 1912, there were 208 Protestant churches on the island with approximately 12,000 congregants. See American Missionary Association, *Religious Conditions*.

28. *El Audaz*, July 5, 1912, 1.

29. *La Conciencia Libre*, January 14, 1912, 2.

30. Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*, 54.

31. *¡Tierra!*, February 24, 1912, 3.

32. Ibid., February 24, 1912, 2–3; Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*, 183; Shaffer, "Tropical Libertarians," 308–9.

33. *La Sotana*, March 17 and March 31, 1912.

34. *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, April 13, 1912, 1; ibid., April 18, 1912, 2; ibid., April 25, 1912, 1.

35. *El Tiempo*, April 24, 1912, 5, 6, and 8.

36. *El Tiempo*, May 3, 1912, 1 and 12; *La Democracia*, May 3, 1912, 1 and 8; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, May 3, 1912, 1.

37. *El Tiempo*, May 4, 1912, 1; *La Democracia*, May 4, 1912, 1 and 8.

38. *El Tiempo*, May 13, 1912, 1.

39. Herzig Shannon, *El Iris de Paz*, 89–93.

40. *El Ideal Católico*, May 11, 1912, 174–76.

41. Ibid., May 11, 1912, 175; ibid., May 18, 1912, 188.

42. See, for instance, *La Conciencia Libre*, October 16, 1910, 1; *La Conciencia Libre*, October 16 and 23, 1910, multiple pages; and the photo of the newspaper staff, including Torrente, August 27, 1911.

43. *El Ideal Católico*, May 18, 1912, 188.

44. *La Democracia*, May 20, 1912, 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, May 21, 1912, 3; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, May 30, 1912, 5.

45. Sárraga, *El clericalismo*, 83.

46. Ibid., 288–89.

Chapter 5. Radicalism Imagined

1. Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People*, 242–43.

2. Ibid., 247.

3. Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico*, 183; Quintero Rivera, "El Partido Socialista y la lucha política triangular," 71.

4. Silvestrini de Pacheco, *Los trabajadores puertorriqueños*, 22–24; Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People*, 243–44.

5. García and Quinero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 60.

6. Silén, *Apuntes*, 38.

7. García and Quintero Rivera, *Desafío y solidaridad*, 76.

8. *Ensayo Obrero*, February 6, 1898, 2–3.

9. *¡Tierra!*, October 7, 1905, 2.

10. *Unión Obrera*, June 1, 1910, 2; ibid., June 7, 1910, 2.

11. See, for instance, *Cultura Obrera* (published for this issue as *Labor Culture*), May 25, 1912, 3.

12. Milagros González and Quintero Rivera, *La otra cara*, 155.

13. *Thirteenth Census of the United States 1910*, 590–93.

14. Quoted in Capetillo, *Amor y anarquía*, 32.

15. *Memoirs of Bernardo Vega*, 106–7.

16. Capetillo, *Mi opinión*, viii; Capetillo, *Luisa Capetillo, obra completa*, 26–27.

17. *Brazo y Cerebro*, October 22, 1912, 26.

18. Dávila Santiago, *Teatro obrero en Puerto Rico*, 217.

19. Capetillo, *Influencias de las ideas modernas*, 181–85.

20. Cruz, *Hacia el porvenir*, 55–57. For a broader discussion of Cruz on the issue, see Centeno Añeses, *Modernidad y resistencia*, 174–76.

21. Findley, *Imposing Decency*, 151–52.

22. *Fuerza y Consciente*, November 15, 1913, 13.

23. Capetillo, *Mi opinión*, 70–74.

24. Capetillo, *Influencias de las ideas modernas*, 178–80. Also see a brief discussion of the play in Tinajero, *El lector*, 148.

25. Vilar, *Páginas libres*, 75.

26. Dieppa, *El porvenir de la sociedad humana*, 30–31.

27. Ibid., 47.

28. Capetillo, *La humanidad en el futuro*. See also, Valle Ferrer, *Luisa Capetillo, obra completa*, 28 on this utopian society's sexual equality.

29. Capetillo, *Influencias de las ideas modernas*. Quote from page 50.

30. Levis Bernard, *Vida nueva*, 115–16.

31. Ibid., 91. Michel was born in 1830 to a maid and her wealthy employer. She was raised by her well-off grandparents with a liberal, anticlerical education in which she read broadly. During the Paris Commune uprising in 1871, she served as a rebel nurse and soldier.

32. Plaza, *Futuro!*, 8, 14, and 24.

33. Santiago, "El ideal triunfante," in *Flores y dardos*, 26–31. Quotes from page 28.

34. Ibid., 26–31. Quotes from pages 28 and 29.

35. See Shaffer, "Prostitutes, Bad Seeds, and Revolutionary Mothers," 1–17.

36. Milagros González and Quintero Rivera, *La otra cara*, 147.

37. Romera Rosa, *La emancipación del obrero*, 30–31.

38. Dieppa, *El porvenir de la sociedad humana*, 34–35.

39. López, *Voces libertarias*, 32.

40. Ibid., 7.

41. Capetillo, *La humanidad en el futuro*, 17–18.

Chapter 6. Politics of the Bayamón Bloc and the Partido Socialista

1. *El Dependiente*, February 29, 1916, 2.

2. Silén, *Apuntes*, 47.

3. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 129–32.

4. Rojas, *Cuatro siglos*, 80–81.

5. Ibid. Quotes from 62, 63, 67, and 68.

6. Rojas, *Estudios sociales o frutos del sistema*, 34.

7. Marcano, *Páginas rojas*, 4.

8. *Unión Obrera*, September 1, 1915, 1; ibid., September 9, 1915, 1.

9. Quintero Rivera, "El Partido Socialista y la lucha política triangular," 76.

10. Marcano, *Páginas rojas*, 44. Silén notes that Marcano copied entire passages from the Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón's writings. See Silén, *Apuntes*, 34.

11. Marcano, *Páginas rojas*, 51–52.

12. See Shaffer, "Havana Hub."

13. *Justicia*, March 6, 1915, 2.

14. Bird Carmona, *Parejeros y desafiantes*, 99.

15. *Voz Humana*, October 22, 1906, 4.

16. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker*, 136.

17. *Unión Obrera*, August 22, 1910, 2.

18. Ibid., October 8, 1910, 2; ibid., October 10, 1910, 2.

19. Ibid., November 9, 1910, 1.

20. See articles in *Cultura Obrera*, January 6, 1912, 2; May 25, 1912, 3; and, March 18, 1912, 2. On February 24, 1912, Dieppa—still based in San Juan—published his Sueños de Rebelde column on the Flores Magón brothers. This was his last Puerto Rico–based column before he boarded ship for New York City.

21. *Brazo y Cerebro*, October 22, 1912, 33.

22. *Cultura Obrera*, February 13, 1915, 2, and March 13, 1915, 23–24.

23. *El Dependiente*, May 15, 1916, 2.

24. Dieppa, *El porvenir de la sociedad humana*, 7–10.

25. Ibid., 23–24.

26. *Cultura Obrera*, August 5, 1916, 4; ibid., September 30, 1916, 4; ibid., October 14, 1916, 4; and ibid., March 31, 1917, 4.

27. *Justicia*, November 8, 1914, 1.

28. Quintero Rivera, "La dominación imperialista," 1124.

29. Morales Carrión, *Puerto Rico*, 185; *Unión Obrera*, August 30, 1917, 2.

30. *Justicia*, September 22, 1917, 3.

31. Marín Román, *¡Llegó la gringada!*, 488–96.

32. Ibid., 515–22; Paralitici, *No quiero mi cuerpo pa' tambor*, 49.

33. Alberty Monroig, "Control y resistencia," 81–82.

34. "U.S. vs. Florencio M. Romero, Violation of Section 3, Title 1 Espionage Act," November 13, 1917, Department of Justice, Old German Files (hereafter cited as DOJ-OG) 98083, U.S. National Archives, College Park, Md.

35. "United States vs. Jose Alicea, et al. Viol. Sec. 5, Act May 18, 1917," November 18, 1917, DOJ-OG 92908; Paralitici, *No quiero mi cuerpo pa' tambor*, 136.

36. Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor*, 376.

37. Paralitici, *No quiero mi cuerpo pa' tambor*, 396.

38. Governor Yager to Major General Frank McIntyre, Chief, Bureau of Insular Affairs, letter July 10, 1917, Erick Pérez Collection (hereafter cited as EPC), box 1, folder 13, "Correspondencias. Arthur Yager. Gobernador de P.R.," International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam.

39. "Informants," January 16, 1918, "In Re: Alleged Propaganda Against Military Service, etc.," February 9, 1918, and "En re Vio. Espionage Act," September 26, 1918, DOJ-OG 8000-16638.

40. "Navy Department, Office of Naval Intelligence: Evasion of the Selective Service Act," November 29, 1918, DOJ-OG 16638; Paralitici, *No quiero mi cuerpo pa' tambor*, 118.

41. Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor*, 357–58.

42. *Justicia*, June 16, 1917, 1–2.

43. Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor*, 358, 371–72.

44. Yager to McIntyre.

45. "Memorandum para el secretario de la guerra," May 15, 1918, EPC, box 1, folder 1, "Santiago Iglesias Collection," IISG.

46. Gompers to W. H. Taft, Chairman, War Labor Board, letter June 27, 1918, EPC, box 1, folder 1, "Santiago Iglesias Collection," IISG.

47. Alberty Monroig, "Control y resistencia," 71–84.

48. Montgomery, *Fall of the House of Labor*, 370–71; Alberty Monroig, "Control y resistencia," 140–44.

49. Alberty Monroig, "Control y resistencia," 153–54.

50. Kimeldorf, *Battling for American Labor*, 52.

51. Alberty Monroig, "Control y resistencia," 180–81.

52. See for instance, "Recent Revolutionary Developments in Philadelphia," January 25, 1919, U.S. Military Intelligence Reports: Surveillance of Radicals in the United States, 1917–1941 (hereafter cited as MIR), 10110-992-28, Radical Activities in Phil. Pa, 1919. Microfilm collection, U.S. National Archives.

53. "Al país y a las autoridades de Washington," April 14, 1918, Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter cited as CDOSIP), 14 abril 1918, folder 10, Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter Fondo SIP).

54. Telegrams from Fajardo. March 21, March 27, and April 4, 1918, CDOSIP, 31 enero 1918, folder 13, Fondo SIP.

55. *Yo Acuso*, April 20, 1918, 4.

56. Ibid., April 20, 1918, 4; "La Huelga del Trust del Tobaco; Manifiesto de Información," January 22, 1919, in *Movimiento Obrero Puertorriqueño hojas sueltas 1898–1937*, Microfilm Periódicos Obreros Puertorriqueños, Colección Puertorriqueña, Universidad de Puerto Rico–Río Piedras (hereafter cited as MPOP).

57. "Jose Martinez Gil—Alleged Anarchist and Bolsheviki propagandists among the Latin American element in Ybor City, Florida," April 22, 1919, DOJ-OG 366867.

58. "Actuaciones de la Cuarta Convención del Partido Socialista." San Juan, May 1, 1919, EPC, box 2, folder 6, "Pamfletos," IISG.

59. Kimeldorf, *Battling for American Labor*, 15.

60. "Manifiesto a los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico," November 5, 1919, MPOP.

Chapter 7. El Comunista

1. Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, 101–2.

2. Vladimir Lenin, quoted in Maximoff, *Guillotine at Work*, 37.

3. Ibid., 38; Schmidt and van der Walt, *Black Flame*, 254–55; Guérin, *Anarchism*, 82–97; Shubin, "Makhnovist Movement and the National Question," 147–91.

4. Silén, *Apuntes*, 82–83.

5. *El Comunista*, May 1, 1920, 2–3.

6. Ibid., June 12, 1920, 3; ibid., July 3, 1920, 2; ibid., July 31, 1920, 2.

7. *El Comunista*, June 19, 1920, 4.

8. *Unión Obrera*, September 22, 1915, 1.

9. Ibid., September 23, 1915, 1. Recall the controversy and name-calling between Dieppa and Vega Santos in 1916 discussed in the previous chapter.

10. *El Comunista*, July 10, 1920, 2.

11. Ibid., August 7, 1920, 2.

12. *Unión Obrera*, August 7, 1920, 2.

13. Report on IWW Organizing Attempt in Puerto Rico, January 16, 1920. Record Group 65 Records of the F.B.I., 65.2.2 Investigative Records, Old German Files (hereafter cited as FBI-OG) 208369, U.S. National Archives, College Park, Md.; *El Comunista*, August 21, 1920, 3.

14. "Recent Revolutionary Developments in Philadelphia," January 25, 1919, U.S. Military Intelligence Reports: Surveillance of Radicals in the United States, 1917–1941 (hereafter cited as MIR), 10110-992-28, Radical Activities in Phil. Pa, 1919, microfilm collection, U.S. National Archives.

15. *El Comunista*, August 14, 1920, 1 and 4.

16. Ibid., August 14, 1920, 3.

17. Ibid., August 21, 1920, 1.

18. Ibid., August 14, 1920, 1.

19. Ibid., August 14, 1920, 4.

20. "Fourth Annual Convention of the Socialist Party (1919)," 87.

21. Ibid., 103.

22. *El Comunista*, August 21, 1920, 1; Marín Román, *¡Llegó la Gringada!*, 504, 521, 537.

23. *Unión Obrera*, August 27, 1920, 3.

24. *Justicia*, March 13, 1915, 2.

25. Programa Constitución Territorial y Actuaciones del Partido Socialista, 1919, 45–46, Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter cited as CDOSIP), folder Programa del Partido Socialista, 1919, Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter Fondo SIP).

26. Ibid., 47–49.

27. *El Comunista*, August 21, 1920, 2.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid., August 28, 1920, 1.

30. Ibid., August 28, 1920, 1 and 4.

31. Ibid., June 26, 1920, 6.

32. Ibid., July 31, 1920, 1.

33. Ibid., July 17, 1920, 2 and 4.

34. Marín Román, *¡Llegó la Gringada!*, 442–57.

35. *El Comunista*, May 8, 1920, 4.

36. Marín Román, *¡Llegó la Gringada!*, 585–86.

37. *El Comunista*, May 15, 1920, 3.
38. Ibid., May 15, 1920, 3.
39. Ibid., July 10, 1920, 2.
40. Ibid., May 8, 1920, 4.
41. Ibid., July 31, 1920, 2.
42. Ibid., July 17, 1920, 3; ibid., September 18, 1920, 3.
43. "Julio Blanco, alias J. B. Rodriguez Globe, Arizona, Spanish Anarchist," July 30, 1920, FBI-OG 59706.
44. *El Comunista*, June 19, 1920, 5; ibid., July 3, 1920, 3.
45. *El Comunista*, September 18, 1920, 3.
46. Ibid., December 11, 1920, 4.
47. Ibid., December 11, 1920, 4; ibid., February 19, 1921, 4.
48. *¡Tierra!*, March 5, 1910, 4.
49. *Memoirs of Bernardo Vega*, 97.
50. Ibid., 25.
51. Ibid., 28 and 32.
52. Ibid., 113–14.
53. *El Comunista*, December 18, 1920, 1–2.
54. Ibid., June 19, 1920, 2.
55. Ibid., September 18, 1920, 4; ibid., December 11, 1920, 4; February 2, 1921, 4.
56. B.I.A. translation of Santiago Iglesias article, CDOSIP, 1920, folder La Democracia, Fondo SIP.
57. Special Agent Hubbard, "Information for General Intelligence Bulletin: The Communist Party of Porto Rico," January 31, 1921, FBI-OG 202600-40.
58. Ibid.
59. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*, 485. Emphasis in original.

Conclusion and Epilogue

1. Partido Socialista, Comité Ejecutivo Territorial, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Actas desde Julio de 1923 hasta Diciembre de 1926. See 161 and 174, for instance. Universidad de Puerto Rico–Humacao, Centro de Documentación Obrera Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter cited as CDOSIP), Fondo Santiago Iglesias Pantín (hereafter Fondo SIP).
2. "J.M. Alicea, New York—Alleged Spanish Anarchist," February 28, 1921, RG 65, Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation Bureau Section Files, 20600-1034, U.S. National Archives, College Park, Md. The occasional columns from Ramos, Dieppa, and other Puerto Rican anarchists are scattered throughout issues of *Cultura Obrera* from August 1924 to May 1927. From that point, the columns and sporadic financial contributions can be found in *Cultura Proletaria* from July 1927 to October 1933. Both newspapers were published in New York City. For Barrios, see *Partido Socialista. Comité Ejecutivo Territorial, San Juan, Puerto Rico. Actas de 1927 a 1928*, 1, 68, and 119, CDOSIP, Fondo SIP.
3. *Memoirs of Bernardo Vega*, 156.
4. Silén, *Apuntes*, 98.
5. See *Alerta*, various issues between 1937 and 1939; *Chispa*, June 15, 1937, 5–6.

6. Jesús Colón, "Anarquismo o socialismo," Jesús Colón Papers, Writings, box 1, folder 6, Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, New York.

7. *Bandera Negra. Boletín Unión de Socialistas Libertarios*, 1972, n.p.

8. Silén, *Apuntes*, 200.

9. Puerto Rico Libertario, http://puertoricolibertario.blogspot.com/, accessed October 9, 2012.

10. Semillas Libertarias, http://semillaslibertarias.blogspot.com/, accessed October 9, 2012.

11. La Acción Libertaria, http://la-accion-libertaria.blogspot.com/, accessed October 9, 2012.

12. "Lucha que no tiene fin," August 24, 2009, http://www.primerahora.com/luchaquenotienefin-325901.html, accessed October 9, 2012; "Aumentan desalojos en las comunidades pobres," October 20, 2010, 80grados.net, http://www.80grados.net/aumentan-desalojos-en-las-comunidades-pobres/, accessed October 9, 2012. A word of thanks to Yamil Corvalán for this information. The new face of anarchism on the island also sponsored and coordinated the Third Annual North American Anarchist Studies Association conference in San Juan in January 2012.

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  RG 65. Records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
  US Military Intelligence Reports, Surveillance of Radicals in the United States, 1917–1941
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El Centinela (San Juan) 1909
Chispa (San Juan) 1937
Cigar Makers Official Journal (Chicago) 1910
El Combate (Arecibo) 1910–11
El Comunista (Bayamón) 1920–21
La Conciencia Libre (Ponce) 1909–12
La Correpondencia de Puerto Rico (San Juan) 1912
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Cultura Proletaria (New York City) 1927–30
La Democracia (San Juan) 1911–12
El Dependiente (Havana) 1911–17
El Despertar (New York City) 1891–1902
El Eco de Torcedor (Bayamón) 1909
El Eco Proletario (San Juan) 1892
Ensayo Obrero (San Juan) 1897–98
La Federación Libre (San Juan) 1899
La Huelga (Bayamón) 1911
El Ideal Católico (Ponce) 1912
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El Tiempo (San Juan) 1912
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