



VOLS. XX-XXI - ENERO 2000-JULIO 2001 - N^{os}. 59-60-61-62

**BOLETÍN DE LA
ACADEMIA PUERTORRIQUEÑA
DE LA HISTORIA**

**FRAY ÍÑIGO ABBAD Y LASIERRA, PRIMER
HISTORIADOR DE PUERTO RICO**

¿POR QUÉ LA TRAGEDIA GRIEGA?

**LA ENSEÑANZA DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES E HISTORIA,
EN EL SISTEMA DE EDUCACIÓN PÚBLICA DE PUERTO RICO
(1781-1998)**

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, ESTUDIANTE EN PONCE

UNA CARTA INÉDITA DE JUAN ALEJO DE ARIZMENDI

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AS ITS PRINCIPAL NAVAL STRATEGY OF WORLD WAR I?**

ALICE GOULD Y PUERTO RICO

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DOCUMENTOS: *Memoirs of William H. Hunt*

SAN JUAN DE PUERTO RICO, 2000-2001

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Notas Editoriales

El *Boletín de la Academia* que aquí presentamos es un número doble que corresponde al año 2000. A pesar de los esfuerzos por poner la publicación al día, aún tenemos un atraso de cuatro años. Confiamos poder culminar este esfuerzo en los próximos dos años, en la medida en que los recursos nos lo permitan. De no ser esto posible consideraríamos la alternativa de comenzar una nueva serie.

El presente Boletín incorpora una serie de trabajos de nuestros Académicos Numerarios y Correspondientes y de algunos colaboradores.

El Académico Correspondiente D. Itsván Szászdi León Borja hace un recuento de la distinguida hispanista Alice Gould, recientemente fallecida, y quien estuvo vinculada a Puerto Rico en los inicios del pasado Siglo XX.

D. Jorge Crespo, miembro destacado de la Sociedad Numismática de Puerto Rico, utilizando documentos provenientes del Archivo General Militar de Madrid, traza la visión del "Estamento Militar" en torno al canje de la moneda macuquina en la Isla.

El Dr. Pedro E. Badillo, Académico de Número, plantea en un interesante artículo la vigencia de la tragedia griega en el mundo contemporáneo.

D. Luis J. Torres Oliver nos brinda una mirada del autor de nuestra primera Historia General, Fray Íñigo Abbad y Lasierra, que incorpora datos de la más reciente historiografía en torno a tan señalada personalidad.

FRAY ÍÑIGO ABBAD Y LASIERRA, PRIMER HISTORIADOR DE PUERTO RICO

Dr. Luis J. Torres Oliver

Nació Fray Íñigo Abbad y Lasierra en la villa aragonesa de Estadilla, España, el 19 de abril de 1745, aunque otros autores como D. Eduardo Newmann Gandía en su libro **Benefactores y Hombres Notables de Puerto Rico** da la fecha de nacimiento como la de 1737. Viene Fray Íñigo de una ilustre familia aragonesa. Tiene un hermano que fue también monje benedictino, Don Manuel, que ocupó puestos importantes dentro de su Orden Benedictina como prior del Monasterio de Meyá, Obispo de Ibiza, Inquisidor General de España y Arzobispo de Selimbria. Fue destituido de Inquisidor General por recomendar cambios liberales en los procedimientos de la Inquisición. Fue miembro de la Real Academia de la Historia de España. Tuvo otro hermano, Agustín, que también llegó a ser obispo y por sus ideas liberales fue encausado por el Santo Oficio.

Recibe Fray Íñigo una educación esmerada y muy liberal para la época, que luego se refleja en sus escritos, principalmente cuando escribió la primera historia de Puerto Rico en 1783. Estudió filosofía en la Universidad de Zaragoza y luego entró en la Orden Benedictina en el Monasterio de Santa Mónica la Real en Nájera. Después de ordenado sacerdote vuelve a sus estudios en el colegio de San Juan del

Los otros cargos formulados a Fray Íñigo, de “seductor y perturbador de la paz pública”, fueron también desestimados.

Todos estos cargos hechos por el Gobernador Dufresne contra Fray Íñigo no le perjudicaron en nada al fraile en su vida religiosa ni en su carrera eclesiástica en España, que fue brillante, ya que alcanzó altos y distinguidos puestos durante su vida. (4)

En esos años era rey de España, el ex-rey de Nápoles, Carlos III, que ocupó el trono de España al morir su hermano Fernando IV sin herederos. Abdicó la corona de Nápoles y llegó a España y fue coronado el 11 de septiembre de 1759. Carlos III fue un rey que absorbió las ideas liberales de la época, esparcidas por toda Europa y América por las sociedades secretas llamadas la Masonería. Muchos de sus ministros como el Conde de Floridablanca, su primer ministro, el peruano Olavide, el Marqués de Roda y el Conde de Aranda, eran seguidores de los enciclopedistas franceses, que iniciaron las logias masónicas y no eran muy amigos de la Iglesia. El Conde de Aranda fue el ministro que expulsó a los jesuitas de todo el territorio español de Europa y América, orden que debía cumplirse el 2 de abril de 1767 y que fue un secreto para el pueblo hasta el mismo día de la expulsión. Carlos III siguió una política ilógica y contradictoria con relación a la Iglesia. Para esta época ocurrió la rebelión de las 13 colonias en América contra Inglaterra, de la que España fue su aliada junto a Francia para liberarse de Inglaterra. (5) (6)

Asimismo procedió el Gobernador Dufresne contra Fray Íñigo al formularle cargos infundados y desterrarlo a España, y contra el obispo Fray Manuel Jiménez Pérez cuando se incautó del Hospital de la Concepción, fabricado por el obispo para los pobres a costa de grandes sacrificios, y que estos no pudieran disfrutarlo. (9)

Más tarde en su vida, Fray Íñigo desempeñó altos cargos de confianza como calificador del Santo Oficio, posición que solamente desempeñaban personas muy prestigiosas.

miembro de la Junta de Directores del “Banco Nacional de Ahorro y Préstamos” de Venezuela, consiguió que esta institución costeara la publicación de dicho manuscrito tal como el original de puño y letra del autor, y que el Sr. Arcaya tuvo a bien obsequiarme una copia. Este libro ha sido consultado en disputas fronterizas entre Venezuela y sus vecinos la Guayana Francesa, la Guayana Inglesa y la Holandesa. (1)

De este manuscrito consiguió Don Pedro Tomás de Córdova una copia, que después de corregida, el autor, Fray Íñigo, autorizó que se usara como el primer volumen de su famoso libro **Memorias de la Isla de Puerto Rico**, en seis tomos. Don Pedro Tomás de Córdova había sido secretario de los gobernadores Don Salvador Meléndez Bruna en 1818, y en 1821 de Don Gonzalo Arostegui, y en 1824 de Don Miguel de la Torre, a quien le dedica su libro publicado en 1831.

La publicación de la Historia de Puerto Rico, escrita por Fray Íñigo, la entregó al Conde de Floridablanca, primer ministro de Carlos III y figura principal en el reinado de Carlos III, que se conoce como el “Despotismo Ilustrado”, forma de gobierno que culminó la política europea del siglo XVIII, llamado también el “Siglo de las Luces”. Pero aparentemente la obra se extravió. (6) Seis años después Don Antonio Valladares y Sotomayor, la encontró y la editó. Incluyo copias de las páginas de esta edición de 1831.

Muchos años estuvo esta obra casi olvidada, hasta que en 1866, Don José Julián Acosta hizo una tercera edición, anotada por él, y sus anotaciones son tan explícitas y documentadas que podrían considerarse otra historia de Puerto Rico. Esta edición fue muy bien recibida en la isla; para aquella época la juventud del país se envolvía más y más en los problemas y en la política de Puerto Rico, y el libro de Fray Íñigo vino a ilustrar más los problemas del país como colonia de la España decadente del siglo XIX. Poseo una copia de una edición reciente anotada por el profesor Gervasio García, publicada en 1984 y muy bien ilustrada.

Su obra, aunque tenga grandes lagunas en ciertos temas, o copió datos erróneos de sus fuentes históricas, será siempre punto de referencia de nuestra historia patria.

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**HISTORIA
GEOGRAFICA,
CIVIL Y POLITICA**

DE LA ISLA
DE SAN JUAN BAUTISTA
DE PUERTO-RICO.

DADA A LUZ
*Don Antonio Valladares de Soto
Mayor.*

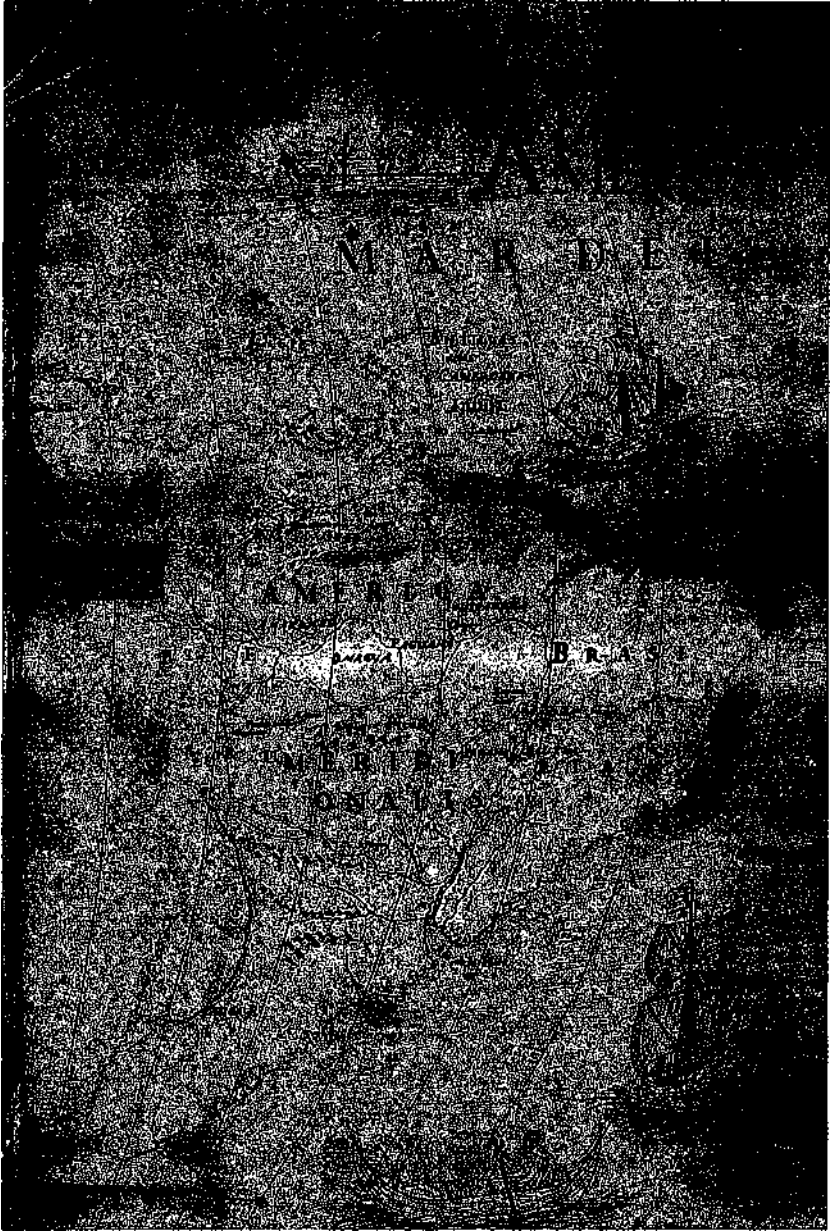


IMPRESA EN MADRID: AÑO DE M.DCC.LXXXVIII.

PUERTO-RICO: AÑO 1831.

REVISADA EN LA OFICINA DEL GOBIERNO A CARGO DE
DON VALERIANO DE SANMILLAN.

Subsiguiente página donde no aparece autor, sino una explicación "dada a la luz" por Don Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor.



Mapa de la obra **Viage a la América**



Edición del libro anotado por la
Dra. Isabel Gutiérrez del Arroyo, 1966.

go quebrada, y cuando
 las barrancas, y ondonadas, alas tres leguas
 se empiezan à creanar algunas es-
 tandas, y haciendas de café, cana, y Algodon,
 aunque la tierra por esta parte
 no es de la mejor calidad: à las once del
 dia llegamos ala villa, situada en una
 loma baja rodeada de barrancas, y el
 Rio Guánica que desemboca à distancia de
 dos leguas en el Puerto de su nombre que y
 capaz, tiene su entrada muy angosta, y
 por todas sus circunstancias el mejor q.
 hay en la Isla. La villa tiene la misma
 formacion, y construccion de Casas que los
 Pueblos antecedentes aunque asienden
 à quatro de esta, y once distribuidas en
 quatro filas que forman la Plaza,
 deya en el centro la Iglesia Parroquial
 y una buena capilla en el costado hay
 un Hospitalito sumamente pobre, y un
 hospicio de Padres Dominicos, con tres Reli-
 giosos que ayudan al vicario ala admi-
 nistracion de los S.^{tos} Sacramentos de los
 vecinos que asenden à mil ciento seten-
 ta y seis, con siete mil novecientos cin-
 cuenta y ocho Almas.

La mala parte de las
 tierras de esta villa, son pobres, y de po-
 co

¿POR QUÉ LA TRAGEDIA GRIEGA?

Dr. Pedro E. Badillo

Nos encontramos en los umbrales del siglo XXI, más preocupados por la cantidad de lo que producirá la nueva centuria que por la calidad. Lo que importa para ganar unas elecciones es tener más votos. Lo que interesa a un programa de televisión es disponer de mayor audiencia. Lo que anhelan los editores y no pocos escritores, es que su libro venda más ejemplares. Lo que busca el compositor, el director de cine, el autor de teatro es que su disco se compre más, su película congregue más espectadores o su comedia llene el patio de butacas. Las posibilidades de la información, de saber lo que pasa, de vivirlo en imágenes, gracias a la revolución audiovisual ha ido mucho más lejos de lo que pudieran sospechar los grandes anticipadores del futuro. Y, sin embargo, hoy estamos más desconectados y distanciados que antes de lo que ocurre en el mundo. La información audiovisual, transeúnte, llamativa, pero superficial, nos hace ver la historia como ficción, distanciándonos de ella mediante el ocultamiento de las causas, los contextos y los desarrollos de esos sucesos que nos presenta, y nos condena a esa pasiva receptividad en que suelen situarnos las ficciones cuyo único propósito es entretener. Además, la limitación de tiempo y el altísimo costo de su producción coartan la libertad de que dispone. Esta es una realidad no premeditada, pero determinante, y hace que la búsqueda del éxito inmediato no sea una ambición, sino el requisito sin el cual no se puede hacer una producción.

bre pudo soñar, ha sido pervertido por la crudeza, la violencia y el cinismo. El campo de la existencia humana, aquel que trata de cada uno de nosotros, del entendernos a nosotros mismos y de entendernos con los demás y con cuanto existe, ese campo ha sido dejado en gran medida fuera, y en cambio, se trata de proponer, con todos los recursos de la técnica, una imagen del hombre como cosa, como mero organismo sin exigencias internas, ni otro horizonte que el de su mera extinción física. Podemos sospechar en esto un propósito, pero creo que hay también mucha ignorancia. Una ignorancia que antes era inimaginable fuera de aquellos que no habían tenido acceso a la instrucción, pero que hoy llega, en cambio, a los universitarios, sin excluir a escritores y comunicadores, y también, y este es otro hecho notable en la sociedad actual, que dicha ignorancia se manifiesta con una falta total de vergüenza por exhibirla.

La violencia colectiva que hoy crece de manera dramática en todo el mundo, yo pienso que tiene que ver también, en buena medida, con la universalización de las comunicaciones. Es incontestable que desde que el mercado mundial dejó de ser una aspiración y se ha convertido en una realidad, fabrica cada año menos ganadores y más perdedores, y no sólo en el tercer mundo o el segundo, sino también en los altos centros del capitalismo. Allá son países y hasta continentes enteros, los que se ven abandonados y excluidos de los intercambios internacionales; aquí son sectores cada vez más grandes de la población. Y cada día, cada hora, las comunicaciones le hacen saber a los pobres del mundo todo aquello de lo que están privados y que otros disfrutan, lo cual crea una impaciencia, un desasosiego y una frustración, que muchos activistas saben aprovechar como caldo de cultivo para sus propuestas demagógicas.

Creo firmemente que la mayor parte de los grandes males que ha padecido el hombre han tenido, como origen, un error intelectual. También, que todos los avances se han apoyado en la formulación correcta de los términos de los

con rigor, hondura y creatividad, y la voluntad de arraigar ese conocimiento acumulativo en un coeficiente de vitalidad capaz de fecundar, hacer crecer y formar al que los recibe, estimulándolo a encontrar en él los principios que luego se instalarán hondamente en su autenticidad para constituir su persona.

Actualmente, también está de moda cometer un desacierto que he llamado "miopía histórica". Hemos dado en mirar el pasado con ojos de criminalistas, acusando a nuestros predecesores de un imperdonable subdesarrollo político, económico, humanitario y psíquico. Según los que asumen esta actitud, sesenta generaciones vivieron en la noche de la ignorancia, hasta que comenzó a clarear gracias a Voltaire y Rousseau y fue saliendo el sol con Marx y Freud. La base de esta actitud hay que buscarla en una visión de la historia según la cual nosotros y nuestra generación estamos situados en el nivel más alto del desarrollo y cualquier estado pasado debe apreciarse o despreciarse en la medida en que ha preparado o impedido la consecución de ese supuesto desarrollo actual. Ortega dijo en una ocasión que "*... toda realidad que se ignora prepara su venganza*", y a tono con esta afirmación cabe aventurar que muchos de los males que hoy nos afligen se deben a importantes olvidos, omisiones y recuerdos parciales o exagerados, que conducen a falsificaciones y errores muy difíciles de superar. Hubo épocas que actualmente consideramos con desdén en las que se crearon ideales y normas de conducta, de costumbres y tratos, que nos parecen ridículos. Y, sin embargo, los que se han esforzado por conocerlas descubren en ellas, sorprendidos, que en su fondo latía la aspiración a una vida decente y respetable y la convicción de que el hombre es perfectible y que por medio de la educación puede elevarse sobre el nivel de sus impulsos y tendencias.

Hoy las grandes fuentes de entretenimiento van por un camino y la alta cultura corre el riesgo de quedar encerrada en un circuito aparte. Pero ha habido momentos en la histo-

postuladora de lo absoluto y engendra el afán de querer ser eso que no se es, de participar de esa otra realidad superior y procurar que colabore con su nativa impotencia.

Desde Homero hasta los grandes trágicos, el espíritu griego manifiesta el esfuerzo constante por acuñar una forma que correspondiera a la figura ideal del hombre. En su anhelo, la idea del modelo domina. No buscaban un esquema, sino una criatura que moviera a la imitación, con toda la vivacidad y el calor de lo individual y con toda la amplitud y elevación de lo universal. Respondiendo a este empeño sus artistas concretan una idea de la persona humana como debiera ser universalmente según las exigencias de su propia naturaleza. Por esa suerte de transformación artística, logran plasmar ante el contemplador asombrado las formas bellísimas de su escultórica y el vigoroso trazo de las figuras sobrecogedoras de la tragedia. A este sentido artístico viene a sumarse una gran seriedad y energía intelectuales, lo cual hace que su visión de la vida, más sombría que la nuestra, se vea atravesada continuamente por rayos de belleza.

En el título de esta presentación me preguntaba: ¿por qué la tragedia griega? La tragedia griega forma parte de mi mundo particular, y yo tengo la convicción de que mi "mundo" particular y privado, el que me rodea más de cerca, el que he buscado, es superior al conjunto circundante. Por eso no es una contestación válida a la pregunta, porque no explica la razón de mi fervor por ella. Insisto, por tanto, en preguntarme, ¿por qué la he hecho parte de ese mundo?

El ser humano es libre cuando puede elegir entre lo excelso, lo mediocre y lo simplemente vil, y sobre todo, cuando al hacer tal elección lo hace guiado por el aprendizaje previo que ha tenido acerca de lo que es el cultivo del gusto o del sentido del valor estético. Ser libre significa, por tanto, conocer, poseer y saber disponer de una elevación de preferencias. Mi generación, la que empezó a alimentarse culturalmente en los años cuarenta, se vio precisada a superar en lo posible, por sus propios medios, las deficiencias de la épo-

las que se conservan, sus textos conducen a todos los problemas vitales del hombre por caminos llenos de precisión y de belleza. Y la belleza sutil y gratuita es uno de los milagros más dignos de agradecimiento de este mundo.

LA ENSEÑANZA DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES E HISTORIA, EN EL SISTEMA DE EDUCACIÓN PÚBLICA DE PUERTO RICO (1781-1998)

Dr. Juan E. Hernández Cruz

En esta ponencia nos proponemos analizar la enseñanza de los estudios sociales y la historia, en el sistema de educación pública de Puerto Rico, desde sus orígenes hasta el presente. En la primera parte de la ponencia hacemos un recuento de los cuatrocientos años de dominación española, durante los cuales la filosofía implícita en el sistema educativo era, hacer a los puertorriqueños fieles súbditos de la Corona española y obedientes hijos de la Iglesia. Aunque la educación se concebía, en la práctica, como un privilegio de las clases pudientes y no como derecho de cada súbdito español. En esta época el énfasis en la enseñanza de historia sería la Historia Universal y la Historia de España, dentro de un currículo que enfatizaba la memorización y repetición.

En la segunda parte del trabajo analizamos la implantación del nuevo sistema de educación bajo la soberanía de los Estados Unidos, orientado a crear un ciudadano bilingüe, fiel a los principios democráticos y leal a los Estados Unidos. Destacamos los graves problemas que habrían de

I. La educación durante el régimen colonial español

Osuna relata que por Decreto Real, en 1781, se establece la educación popular en Puerto Rico, sufragada por los padres pudientes o subvencionada por el gobierno en el caso de los menesterosos.¹ Más tarde, en 1805, el entonces gobernador de Puerto Rico, don Toribio Montes subraya en su Decreto sobre el Fomento de la Instrucción en Puerto Rico, las bases para una política de instrucción popular.

Dicho documento merece ser analizado en este trabajo, por sus dotes de ilustración, fundamentales para el establecimiento de una instrucción popular. En la primera parte se subraya la necesidad de la educación desde sus aspectos sociales y culturales para el desarrollo de una sociedad estable y próspera; más adelante enumera las responsabilidades del gobierno mediante la necesidad del establecimiento de una escuela y un maestro en cada uno de los partidos o pueblos de la isla. También hace hincapié en la obligación del padre de familia, de velar por la asistencia a clases de sus hijos, y la obligación del maestro y del Teniente de Guerra (Alcalde militar de los partidos) de persuadir a los padres que no olvidaran esa responsabilidad. Lo más importante del documento en cuestión, es que decreta el reclutamiento del personal docente por parte del estado, al igual que el sufragio de sus gastos. (Ver Apéndice I)

No obstante, las cédulas y decretos reales disponiendo y fomentando la educación popular, la realidad era muy distinta del utopismo de los monarcas españoles, los cuales también se preocuparon por la educación cívica y espiritual de los indios primeramente, y más tarde de los africanos impor-

1. Juan José Osuna, *A History of Education in Puerto Rico* (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, 1949), pág. 15.

dísticas, debemos considerar que había muchos estudiantes, sobre todo señoritas, que estudiaban con tutores por exigencias características de su condición de clase en la cultura hispánica. También debemos tomar en consideración que siendo Puerto Rico, para esa época, una sociedad de tipo agraria, muchos niños y jóvenes de edad escolar se cultivaban intelectualmente mediante tutores familiares, por encontrarse limitados geográficamente. Cabe señalar también que al finalizar la dominación española encontramos una o más escuelas en cada partido o pueblo de la isla, lo cual demuestra que, aunque pudo haber mejores condiciones de estudio, las exigencias no eran del todo deplorables para la época.

Es importante destacar el dato de que la instrucción estaba tan arraigada en nuestro medio ambiente, que ya para el 1770 se hace la solicitud para el establecimiento de una universidad en Puerto Rico. Esa primera solicitud la hacen los doctores Miguel de Mena y Francisco Manuel de Acosta, y más tarde, en 1795, la repitió el Ayuntamiento de la Capital, cuando ocurre la cesión de la parte española de Haití a Francia por el Tratado de Basilea, y se desea que la Universidad de Santo Domingo se traslade a San Juan.⁷

Más tarde en 1809 el Consejo Municipal de San Juan y los de las otras cuatro regiones de la isla dan instrucciones a don Ramón Power, Representante de las Cortes Españolas para que gestione el establecimiento de una universidad en Puerto Rico.⁸ Los esfuerzos de lograr una universidad para Puerto Rico se intensifican durante esa década hasta que cumpliendo una petición del Gobernador, la Corona aprueba clases de Medicina en el Hospital Militar en el año 1816, aunque se ofrecían desde el 1814. En 1840 la enseñanza de

7. Manuel Elzaburu, *La institución de enseñanza superior de Puerto Rico*. Puerto Rico, 1888, p. 18. Tomado de Cayetano Coll y Toste, *La instrucción pública en Puerto Rico, hasta el 1898* (*Boletín Mercantil*, 1910), pp. 41, 42.

8. Thomas E. Benner, *Five Years of Foundation Building* (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, 1965), p. 1.

En 1890 se autoriza el establecimiento de una Escuela Normal que comienza sus clases en 1891. La *Gaceta de Puerto Rico* del 31 de marzo de 1897 informa del enriquecimiento del currículo con cursos del idioma inglés.

Aparte de todos los intentos para la creación de una universidad local, ya desde 1792 se fundaba en Granada un Colegio de Nobles Americanos, donde se extendía una beca para un puertorriqueño.¹¹

Aunque propiamente no se llegó a establecer una estructura universitaria hasta el año 1903, no nos cabe la menor duda de que en Puerto Rico había una gran efervescencia educativa e intelectual y que los cimientos curriculares se habían fraguado a lo largo de los años.

Dos de las principales razones que causan el lento desarrollo de nuestro sistema educativo en la época colonial española, son los frecuentes ciclones que devastaban nuestra economía y el cambio constante de Gobernadores que efectaba España como reflejo de sus vaivenes políticos.

Un dato curioso y digno de mención es la estancia en el gobierno del General Laureano Sanz, quien se vuelve contra las Juntas locales de Educación y contra el magisterio criollo, a causa del movimiento de liberación que conocemos como Grito de Lares.¹² Sanz muestra su desconfianza públicamente contra los maestros criollos los miembros de las Juntas locales de Instrucción y hasta de algunos alcaldes, y va más lejos aún al destituir al maestro José Jacinto Dávila en las postrimerías del 1870, *—por su dudosa fidelidad a España; quedándole prohibido el ejercicio del profesorado en esta Isla hasta que mejorase su conducta y dé pruebas inequívocas de adhesión, respeto y consideración al Gobierno de España y a sus autoridades en esta isla—*.¹³

11. Cayetano Coll y Toste, **La instrucción pública en Puerto Rico hasta 1898.** (*Boletín Mercantil*, 1910), p. 42.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

Así, cerramos esta sección de la educación durante el régimen colonial español y marcamos el primer ciclo de nuestro desarrollo educacional, el cual podemos resumir que llevaba como política fundamental la formación de ciudadanos leales a la Corona española y fieles a la fe católica. Cabe destacar que la enseñanza de historia se circunscribía a la Historia universal y la Historia de España.

II. Implantación de un nuevo sistema de educación bajo la soberanía de los Estados Unidos

El 6 de agosto de 1897, España concede la autonomía a Puerto Rico, y mediante el Real Decreto del 25 de noviembre de 1897 se establece un régimen que al correr del tiempo resultaría más liberal en materia de gobierno propio que las primeras leyes orgánicas aprobadas bajo el dominio norteamericano.¹⁵

El logro de la Carta Autonómica se debe a un largo proceso político que envuelve a amplios sectores sociales e intelectuales y que hubiese podido resultar eventualmente en una independencia de la metrópoli, aunque también se ha entendido que ésta respondía más a los intereses metropolitanos de retener a Cuba. Entre las concesiones entendidas en el decreto autonómico se pueden señalar el sufragio universal, representación en las Cortes, facultades para ratificar tratados comerciales y para fijar aranceles, disposiciones garantizando la consulta a la colonia en todos aquellos casos en resultase afectada la legislación de la metrópoli y cuerpos electivos en el ámbito insular.¹⁶

15. Manuel Maldonado Denis, **Puerto Rico: una interpretación histórico-social** (México: Editorial Siglo XXI, 1960).

16. Manuel Fraga Iribarne, **Las Constituciones de Puerto Rico** (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica), tomado de **Puerto Rico: una interpretación histórico-social**, p. 46.

Esa política expansionista se pretende legalizar en el 1900 con la aprobación de la Ley Foraker, primera ley orgánica para los puertorriqueños bajo la bandera norteamericana, y la cual considera el investigador Layman J. Gould como “la decisión formal de adoptar el colonialismo”¹⁹ por parte de los Estados Unidos.

Ante esa situación real, que se puede entender más claramente en la perspectiva histórica actual, es de esperar que el sistema educativo cambiaría esta vez para fomentar la creación de un ciudadano fiel y leal a la República de los Estados Unidos. Se estableció la separación de Iglesia y Estado y se creó un sistema de educación pública totalmente laico y sufragado por el gobierno.

No obstante, graves problemas habrían de surgir al intentarse la implantación de una política educativa asimilista, ya que Puerto Rico era una nación formada dentro de la hispanidad, con unas normas de vida claras y definidas. Otro factor que obstaculizaba el proceso de asimilación lo fue el desconocimiento sobre Puerto Rico que se evidenciaba en los círculos gubernamentales de Estados Unidos. Esta situación la expone Gordon Lewis en su libro **Puerto Rico: libertad y poder en el Caribe**:

Al pasar en 1898 el pueblo de Puerto Rico a la soberanía de los Estados Unidos de América, se confrontó con la casi completa ignorancia de sus nuevos amos respecto al territorio de la isla y su historia. El franco desdén que destilaba la observancia hecha por Mr. Dooley, de que ningún americano jamás había oído hablar de la isla a menos que un amigo hubiese ido allí a desempeñar un empleo...²⁰

El desconocimiento de las realidades del país, junto a las actitudes de superioridad y visión redentora de algunos

19. Layman J. Gould, **La Ley Foraker: raíces de la política colonial de los Estados Unidos** (Río Piedras, PR: Editorial Universitaria, 1969), pág. 11.

20. Gordon Lewis, **Puerto Rico: libertad y poder en el Caribe** (San Juan, PR: Editorial Edil, 1969), pág. 11.

blema tendremos una política educativa que oscilará desde el intento radical de enseñar totalmente en inglés, al intento de enseñar en inglés gradualmente y que terminará al lograrse un sistema de gobierno con autonomía local.

Inmediatamente después de la invasión y la toma del Gobierno por parte del ejército norteamericano, Puerto Rico tiene varios Gobernadores militares hasta el 19 de abril de 1900 que se establece el Gobierno Civil. Ese primer Gobierno Civil consistía de un Gobernador y un Consejo Ejecutivo compuesto de once miembros nombrados por el Presidente de Estados Unidos por términos de cuatro años.²² También se constituía el cargo de Comisionado de Educación, que aunque nombrado por el Presidente de Estados Unidos por el término de cuatro años a disposición del Presidente, la mayoría de su poder procedía de la Legislación Insular.

Doce días después de la invasión del ejército norteamericano a Puerto Rico, el 30 de octubre de 1898, se reúnen algunos intelectuales destacados de nuestra sociedad y algunos líderes cívicos y tienen una asamblea pública en el teatro de la capital. Allí se toman algunas resoluciones de importancia para la población, una de las cuales se incluye a continuación, y cuyo contenido expone el profundo sentido educativo de la comunidad puertorriqueña.

Respecto a la educación pública, la mejor forma de acelerarla será creando Kindergartens y Escuelas Normales como se hace en Estados Unidos. Nuestra escuela elemental y secundaria debe ser transformada e implantarse el sistema de grados de acuerdo con los métodos pedagógicos modernos. La educación secundaria debe ser una continuación de la primaria y una preparación para la educación superior universitaria. La educación universal debe ser introducida de acuerdo a los mejores modelos de los Estados Unidos. Deben establecerse escuelas para adultos, escuelas dominicales, escuelas de Arte y Comercio, bibliotecas, museos, academias de bellas artes y clubes literarios.

22. Carmen Ramos de Santiago, **Gobierno de Puerto Rico** (Río Piedras. PR: Editorial Universitaria, 1965), p. 49.

niños de seis a dieciocho años, limitando el año escolar a nueve meses y estableciendo el sistema de escuelas por grados. Se proveía también para la determinación de las cualificaciones de los maestros y para proveer las certificaciones.²⁴

La isla es dividida en seis distritos escolares compuesto de los pueblos de San Juan, Fajardo, Arroyo, Mayagüez, Ponce y Arecibo, y se nombran representantes de cada uno de esos pueblos. El sistema tiende a centralizarse más para lograr un mejor control. Para comienzos de 1900 la isla tiene un cuadro de 24,391 alumnos (15,440 niños y 8,951 niñas) y de éstos, aproximadamente 3,000 recibían toda su instrucción de maestros norteamericanos, mientras que una tercera parte de la población escolar recibían alguna instrucción de inglés con maestros norteamericanos. Cerca de 15,000 niños entraban a los primeros grados y se habían reclutado 287 maestros para el área rural y 295 para el área urbana.²⁵

El sistema educativo establecido tendía a ser uno de índole centralizada y para ello contaba con la dirección de un Comisionado de Instrucción. Las funciones de éste eran supervisar la educación general del país, nombrar los supervisores y los superintendentes de escuela que estarían bajo su supervisión inmediata; promulgar los cursos de estudios o currículo, certificar los nuevos maestros, escoger y comprar los textos escolares y el material educativo necesario para el funcionamiento del sistema; aprobar todas las nuevas construcciones a erigirse por el sistema y recolectar toda la data necesaria para poder promulgar reglamentos y leyes para el sistema.²⁶

24. Ángel M. Mergal, **Education in the United States: Historical Development and Outlook** (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1969), p. 1065.

25. 56th. Cong. S.D. 363, p. 39. Tomado de Osuna, *Op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.

26. **Informe de los Comisionados de Instrucción de Puerto Rico** (Ley Escolar de Puerto Rico, 9 de abril de 1901), p. 164.

El Dr. Martín Grove Brumbaugh comienza el desarrollo de su política educativa quitándole el poder a las Juntas locales y centralizándolo bajo su mando, a la vez que creaba la estructura del Departamento de Instrucción que comienza a trabajar como oficina central, con el Comisionado, el Asistente al Comisionado, un oficial de presupuesto, una secretaria, tenedores de libros, mensajeros y otros funcionarios.

En el orden administrativo, el Comisionado Brumbaugh comienza el desarrollo del sistema que rige hoy nuestra educación. En el orden curricular va a ser el primero de los oficiales educativos norteamericanos en comprender la necesidad de utilizar el español como vehículo de enseñanza. Viendo los resultados desastrosos que traía la total enseñanza en inglés y comenzando a percibir las críticas de los educadores conscientes, que comenzaban a entender la atrocidad que se trataba de implantar, abogará por una enseñanza de tipo bilingüe.

Su política de bilingüismo consistía en la preservación del idioma español y la adquisición del idioma inglés, ambos al mismo nivel, para lograr la suficiente maestría en su uso. Para lograr sus propósitos introdujo el inglés como asignatura en los grados primarios, pero ofreciendo la enseñanza en español, y el inglés como el vehículo de enseñanza en la escuela secundaria. Esta política se instauró también en las áreas rurales donde se empleó a maestros norteamericanos que iban de escuela en escuela efectuando la enseñanza en inglés.²⁸

La política de Brumbaugh dura escasamente dos años y el remanente de otro año, en lo que se instaura una nueva política que comienza a elaborar su sucesor, el profesor Samuel McCune Lindsay. Dicha política disponía el uso del inglés como vehículo de enseñanza, tan pronto como se lograran los suficientes maestros norteamericanos como para

28. Osuna, *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

mal.³¹

La política educativa lingüística del Dr. Miller va a ser una vuelta a la política Brumbaugh de bilingüismo, estableciendo el español como vehículo de enseñanza en los primeros cuatro grados de escuela elemental, a la vez que se enseñaba inglés como asignatura. Igualmente se continuaría la enseñanza total en inglés a partir del quinto grado hasta el octavo, enseñando el español como asignatura especial.

Aunque el Dr. Juan José Osuna y otros educadores aducen este cambio de política a los estudios, de entre otros el Dr. José Padín, que arrojaban datos positivos del fracaso de la enseñanza total en inglés, la realidad era que había una gran presión política en la isla exigiendo ese cambio. También se había desarrollado una amplia consciencia del problema entre los maestros norteamericanos que habían sido reclutados para enseñar en inglés.

Basado en los estudios antes citados del Dr. José Padín, y que atribuían el fracaso de la enseñanza en inglés a las tres siguientes causas: "primero, a la pobreza de al enseñanza; segundo, al factor que el método empleado era psicológicamente erróneo; y tercero, a los métodos impuestos que intentaban enseñar inglés a los niños de Puerto Rico como se le enseña al niño norteamericano",³² se irá a desarrollar la nueva política Miller-Huyke.

Con la nueva visión del problema lingüístico, la nueva política va a dar margen a una innovación, que será la de desarrollar manuales y textos bilingües, basados en los hallazgos de la experiencia local.

Esa misma política lingüística educativa va a ser seguida por el Profesor Juan B. Huyke, primer puertorriqueño que desempeña el cargo de Comisionado de Educación a partir del 1925 hasta 1930.

En 1930, el Dr. José Padín es nombrado Comisionado

31. Osuna, *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

32. Osuna, *Op. cit.*, p. 349. Traducción nuestra.

dad de Dartmouth, el Dr. Ernest Hopkins, quien fuera amigo del Presidente Roosevelt y emisario de éste para supervisar nuestro sistema educativo. Y al momento político que vivía Puerto Rico, el cual hacía a las autoridades de Washington medir sus pasos con gran cautela.

No obstante la certeza de su política lingüística, la cual se basaba en consideraciones pedagógicas exclusivamente, la presión política sobre el Comisionado Padín fue tan fuerte que lo obligaron a renunciar en 1936. Al renunciar el Dr. Padín, la posición respecto al idioma vino a ser el factor dominante en la selección del nuevo Comisionado.

Sobre esas bases se eligió al Dr. José M. Gallardo, natural de San Germán, doctorado en la Universidad de Nueva Carolina y profesor de lenguas modernas en el Colegio de Charleston de Carolina del Sur. Vendría a ser el tercer puertorriqueño nombrado para ese cargo, aunque desafortunadamente venía con el compromiso de restablecer la antigua política lingüística de enseñanza en inglés en la escuela elemental.

Para cumplir con el compromiso contraído con el Presidente Roosevelt, el Dr. Gallardo vino a implantar una política lingüística complicadísima, que tal vez pretendía servir de agente mediador entre ambas corrientes en litigio. Dicha política consistía en enseñar a nivel de primero y segundo grados enteramente en español; en el tercer y cuarto grados, dos terceras partes del tiempo en español y una tercera en inglés; en el quinto y sexto grados dividir el período de enseñanza por tiempos iguales en español e inglés. Posteriormente, en el séptimo y octavo grados se ofrecían tres alternativas: (1) una tercera parte del tiempo dedicada a la enseñanza en español; (2) toda la instrucción en inglés, con 90 a 100 minutos diarios dedicados al español; (3) lunes, miércoles y viernes enseñando totalmente en inglés, martes y jueves enseñando totalmente en español.³⁵

35. *Ibid.*, p. 1076.

ria, lo cual le va a servir para tener una visión clara del proceso educativo total, Además va a mantener estrecha relación con la Asociación de Maestros, la cual comenzaba a mostrar gran malestar, como reflejo de los cambios precipitados que estaba sufriendo Puerto Rico en esa época.³⁷

Una de las aportaciones básicas del Secretario Villaronga fue el propulsar un segundo estudio exhaustivo de nuestra situación educativa. Ese estudio va a ser efectuado por el "Teachers College" de la Universidad de Columbia (publicado en 1950) y va a ser fundamental en el desarrollo de la política educativa del Sr. Villaronga.³⁸

Partiendo de ese estudio el Secretario Villaronga va a dar uno de los pasos fundamentales de nuestra historia educativa al proclamar mediante carta circular, que el español sería el vehículo de instrucción en la escuela superior, culminando así la acción tomada por el Dr. Padín en la escuela primaria (1934-1935).³⁹

Como podemos notar, la mayoría de estos cambios respondían a la filosofía política del partido en el poder, el Partido Popular Democrático, y al Estado Libre Asociado, rasgos generales que han venido a ser de gran beneficio para el desarrollo socio-cultural del país. Debemos considerar también que la incumbencia del Sr. Mariano Villaronga como Secretario de Instrucción, conlleva la implementación de la escuela pública verdaderamente puertorriqueña, basada en las necesidades y aspiraciones del pueblo puertorriqueño.

Estos objetivos no han cambiado en administraciones posteriores, ni aún las pro-estadidad, que han gobernado bajo la fórmula de Estado Libre Asociado. Si es cierto que la enseñanza del inglés ha sido intensificada en algunos momentos y que se han fortalecido aspectos curriculares que puedan reforzar la enseñanza de historia de Estados Unidos, por

37. Mergal, *Op. cit.*, p. 1077.

38. Consejo Superior de Enseñanza, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

39. Véase Apéndice XI.

A. La escuela elemental

El énfasis curricular en las escuelas elementales e intermedias en Puerto Rico, bajo la hegemonía de los Estados Unidos, se iniciaría en la materia de Geografía y más tarde los Estudios Sociales. Por eso se desarrollará un Programa de Geografía que se complementaría con la enseñanza de historia en la Escuela Superior. Ese programa se extendería a lo largo de los grados 4° hasta el 8° complementado con Ciencias Sociales y Ciudadanía o Civismo. Esta innovación resultaba de las recomendaciones de la Comisión de la Legislatura de Puerto Rico, en 1925, que encomendó al Instituto Internacional del Teachers College de la Universidad de Columbia un estudio exhaustivo de la educación en Puerto Rico. En dicho estudio se reconocía que el currículo anterior no estaba preparando a los educandos para participar efectivamente dentro de la realidad social puertorriqueña.

En la programación de ese currículo sirvieron de modelo los de Connecticut, Illinois, Nebraska y California. Estos modelos, empero, fueron adaptados a las realidades de Puerto Rico por un grupo de maestros experimentados. No debe sorprender que la casi totalidad de los textos eran en el idioma inglés y los cursos se ofrecían en un período de tiempo de 40 a 50 minutos diarios. (Ver Apéndice III)

Los "Objetivos Generales" en la enseñanza de materia giraban alrededor del medio ambiente natural y la modificación que el hombre ha hecho de éste; la comprensión de otros pueblos; el conocimiento de cómo las comunidades se aprovechan del intercambio de ideas y productos; las destrezas en el uso y lectura de mapas; despertar el interés por conocer otros pueblos, productos y aspectos físicos de otras regiones; reconocer los principios y leyes de la naturaleza geográfica, temperatura, humedad y distribución de vida; y comenzar estudiando la geografía de la zona inmediata a la

do que el sistema había sido reorganizado en 1941 cuando se establece la escuela elemental de seis años, la intermedia de tres y la superior de tres años también (modelo 6-3-3).

Entre los temas de estudio se encontraban: en séptimo grado, "Nuestro país: su historia y geografía"; en octavo grado, "Puerto Rico actual"; y en el noveno, "El mundo en que vivimos". Este nuevo currículo coincidía con los logros del Estado Libre Asociado, que inauguraría la nueva Constitución de Puerto Rico en 1952.

A partir del 1959-60, los estudiantes de las escuelas elementales volvieron a tomar estudios sociales como asignatura independiente, basado en un estudio anterior (fechado en 1958), realizado por encomienda de la Cámara de Representantes del Estado Libre Asociado. Unas guías programáticas bajo el título "Esbozo preliminar de un Programa de Estudios Sociales para las Escuelas Elementales", oficializa esta política.

En los años 1969, 1973, 1978 y 1986 se hacen cambios y revisiones de los conceptos básicos del Programa, de los cuales se deriva la información necesaria que provee los contornos y la materia prima para el desarrollo de las nuevas experiencias educativas en los diferentes niveles. Una revisión en proceso actualmente toma nota de que el propósito fundamental de los estudios sociales es ayudar a los jóvenes educandos a desarrollar la habilidad de tomar decisiones informadas y razonadas para el bienestar público, como ciudadanos culturalmente diversos en una sociedad democrática en un mundo interdependiente.

B. La Escuela Superior

En Puerto Rico se usa el término Escuela Superior para referirnos a la escuela secundaria. El término viene del inglés "High School": alta escuela o escuela superior. Ésta se define plenamente a partir del año escolar 1941-42, como

Gobierno civil I y II.

En apariencia parecería que los estudiantes del sistema de enseñanza pública de Puerto Rico están ampliamente expuestos a la historia del país. Eso es así por tomar cursos de Historia de Puerto Rico en el 5to., 7mo. y 10mo. grados. En la práctica resulta todo lo contrario, dado el caso de que en el salón de clases repetidamente enfatiza la historia de los aborígenes de Puerto Rico y apenas cubre el siglo XIX y menos aún el siglo XX.

Bajo la administración del gobierno actual, que aunque es un Estado Libre Asociado se enfoca ideológicamente hacia la Estadidad, se ha creado el nuevo concepto de escuelas de la comunidad, se ha enfatizado la enseñanza de inglés y se revisa el currículo de Historia y Estudios Sociales. Esto no es nuevo en los vaivenes de la política local, lo que sí representa un nuevo elemento es la discusión del posible plebiscito para Puerto Rico, en el Congreso de los estados Unidos, y la enmienda Burton, que se mencionó antes.

IV. Conclusiones

Hemos delineado un apretado marco histórico que nos permita entender la evolución de la enseñanza de los estudios sociales y la historia de Puerto Rico, especialmente durante los últimos cien años. En la transición de un sistema a otro, se ve la necesidad imperante de modernizar una sociedad, vía la educación para desarrollar una mayor productividad, esta vez de tipo industrial. De ahí el énfasis en la perspectiva cognoscitiva-humana en que los estudios sociales (incluido la historia) se orientan hacia desarrollar la habilidad de tomar decisiones informadas y razonadas para el bienestar público. Por eso no es de extrañar que el punto de partida en el enfoque de los estudios sociales es el asunto económico-político, visto en el trasfondo republicano y democrático, razón del énfasis en la historia de Europa y de los Estados Unidos.

taciones documentales y el conocimiento de las corrientes predominantes de la historiografía universal. En gran medida también tienden hacia el desarrollo del pensamiento crítico.

Más recientemente se han publicado **Puerto Rico: cinco siglos de historia**, de Francisco A. Scarano (1993), que se usa a nivel universitario principalmente, y la **Historia y Geografía de Puerto Rico**, de Julio Muriente Pérez, Pedro San Miguel, et al. (1995), que incorporan la crítica de la nueva historiografía puertorriqueña: desenfatar el rol del héroe o procerato en la historia y dar atención a los procesos más que a los hechos o medidas aisladas, como fuerzas transformadoras de la sociedad. Ejemplo de lo anterior es la Cédula de Gracias de 1815, considerada por los historiadores tradicionales como causantes del despegue económico experimentado en Puerto Rico en las décadas siguientes (Scarano, 1993, p. 395).

Como nota final debemos destacar que la Universidad de Puerto Rico estableció en 1963 un Programa Graduado de Maestría en Historia, y en 1897 estableció uno doctoral, graduando hasta el presente 134 estudiantes de maestría y 15 de doctorado. Entre las razones principales para el establecimiento de estos programas se mencionan “para responder a la necesidad de formar historiadores profesionales que se dedicaran a la investigación y enseñanza de la historia de Puerto Rico” (**Manual del Estudiante Graduado, U.P.R.**, 1997). El Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe es otra institución de carácter privado, que en consorcio con universidades españolas, también ofrece estudios superiores en historia.

obligación del Maestro avisar de los descuidos de los Padres que no hagan asistir a sus hijos, a fin de que los Tenientes a Guerra los persuadan con suavidad, y prudencia a llenar esos deberes.

Cada uno de los Tenientes a Guerra me propondrá para Maestro de Escuela un sujeto de toda probidad, buena conducta, arreglada vida, y costumbre, y que sepa leer, escribir, y contar bien con la instrucción necesaria en la doctrina cristiana debiendo presentarse para el examen de ella al Yllmo. Diocesano, por cuyo atestado y conocimiento de q. concurren las demas circunstancias referidas se les expedirá el Título correspondiente este Gobierno despues del examen que consideran conveniente.

En los pueblos de Arecivo, Coamo, Aguada y Sn. German, será del cuidado de los Cabildos este establecimiento y arreglo, segun los aviso por separado.

Oír tanto ordeno, y mando a los Tenientes a Guerra de los Partidos que se citan al margen, que con el mayor zelo y eficacia lleven a efecto cuanto queda prevenido, dandome inmediatamente parte de las resultas; y les encargo muy particularmente que con la mayor actividad persuasiva y suavidad inclinen a todos los vecinos a la contribución asignada, y haciendoles conocer y comprender el beneficio que en general deben prometerse, dedicandose al mismo tiempo a evitar y cortar todo genero de discordias, competencias o dificultades que puedan ofrecerse contra tan util establecimiento; en la inteligencia de que el Teniente a Guerra mas pronto y mejor de cumplimiento a esta orden tendrá distinguido lugar en mi concepto y contraerá un merito de mi particular aprecio, sirviendole de recomendación de sus solicitudes.

Parrafo: 8

A cada Maestro de Escuela se le dará anualmente la cantidad de cien pesos, cuyo pago será de cuenta del Teniente a Guerra recaudandolo a prorrato del Vecindario, y se satisfará por medios años.

Circulará en la forma acostumbrada en Puerto Rico 17 de Septiembre de 1805.

Toribio Montes.⁸

8. Tomado de Gerardo Sellés Solá, **Lecturas Históricas de la Educación en Puerto Rico** (Río Piedras: Editorial Universitaria, 1943), pp. 47 y 48.

APÉNDICE III

APÉNDICE II

INSTITUCIÓN

DE

ENSEÑANZA SUPERIOR.

PLAZA DE ALFONSO XII N. 60.

TERCER AÑO DE SU FUNDACIÓN (1890-1891-1892).

EL CURSO SE ABRIRÁ EL DÍA 1.º DE OCTUBRE DE 1890.

ADMINISTRACIÓN.

JUNTA DIRECTIVA.

1. MANUEL ELIZABURO, Presidente.—D. ENRIQUE ALVAREZ PEREZ, Vicepresidente.—VOCALES: D. FRANCISCO DE P. AGÜERA.—D. ALBERTO REGULEZ Y SANZ DEL RÍO.—D. MANUEL FERNANDEZ JUNCO.—D. GABRIEL FERREZ.—D. FRANCISCO DEL VALLE ATILES Y D. JUAN B. RODRIGUEZ.—ENCARGADO.—D. JOSÉ Z. LARREA.—SECRETARIO.—D. JOSÉ GEIGEL Y ZENON.—ASISTENTE.—D. MANUEL F. BOBBY Y D. JOSE A. AUBOR.

ENSEÑANZA.

CUERPO DE PROFESORES.

FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS.

PROF. D. MANUEL VINES LOPEZ, *Metafísica y Estética.*
 PROF. D. JOSÉ JULIAN DE ALDASO Y CALVO, *Historia Eclesiástica.*
 PROF. D. ENRIQUE ALVAREZ PEREZ, *Historia General.*
 PROF. D. ALBERTO REGULEZ Y SANZ DEL RÍO, *Historia Universal.*
 PROF. D. FELIPE LORENZO, *Historia del Arte y de las Ciencias.*

DERECHO.

PROF. D. JOSÉ MARIA VIGUERAS, *Derecho Civil.*
 PROF. D. JUAN BERRAZA VAREZ LOPEZ, *Derecho Penal.*
 PROF. D. MANUEL ELIZABURO, *Derecho Administrativo.*
 PROF. D. MANUEL F. BOBBY, *Derecho Internacional.*

MEDICINA.

PROF. D. JOSE CELSO BARBOSA, *Medicina Práctica.*
 PROF. D. JOSE DE JESUS TIJOL, *Medicina Legal.*
 PROF. D. GABRIEL FERREZ, *Medicina Teórica.*
 PROF. D. P. NICHOLSON DEL VALLE, *Medicina y Cirugía.*
 PROF. D. ESTEBAN GARCÍA FERRER, *Medicina.*
 PROF. D. JOSÉ MARIA BARRA, *Medicina.*

CIENCIAS FÍSICAS.

D. JOSÉ A. CENALES, *Química Inorgánica.*
 LEONARDO DE J. CALLE TOMAS, *Química Orgánica y Farmacología.*
 D. JUAN J. PROBYN, *Química Orgánica y Física.*
 D. JAVIER ASSNET, *Física y Matemáticas.*
 LEONARDO DE J. CALLE TOMAS, *Física y Matemáticas.*
 PROF. D. JOSÉ DE JESUS TIJOL, *Química y Farmacología.*

PEDRO ALBIZU CAMPOS, ESTUDIANTE EN PONCE (Nuevas revelaciones)

Dr. Carmelo Rosario Natal

I. El estudiante líder, escritor y debatiente

En su edición del lunes 6 de noviembre de 1911, el diario bilingüe ponceño, *El Águila de Puerto Rico*, publica en espacio amplio y prominente en su página dos un extenso escrito titulado “*A nuestra amada discípula Mercedes Castaing*”. El texto completo es el siguiente:

Cuando el alma está dominada por el sentimiento, las ideas no tienen cabida en la mente; el dolor, cuando es efecto de un amor inmenso, domina nuestro ser; la palabra no es suficiente para expresar lo que sentimos. En estos momentos de inmensa tristeza, nuestros llamados sentidos parecen paralizar sus energías; el hombre ni ve ni siente con lo material, sus ojos vagan en la inmensidad buscando un objeto deseado y nada halla; el oído examina el más débil sonido para ver si entre sus sonoras ondas, hay una que nos dé una idea de lo incógnito, de lo incomprensible; todo lo que tocamos nos parece envolver un misterio, algo tan elevado y grandioso que el humano genio se pierde en investigarlo. Sin embargo, aunque todo eso está fuera del alcance de nuestro material conocimiento, en algún sitio de nuestro ser existe algo que percibe más que nuestras pupilas, que analiza mejor las ondas sonoras que se le transmiten [sic], que

la tierra, siempre tenías en tu preciosa boca? ¿Es acaso que ahora sonríes para los Ángeles y no para los humanos? ¿Por qué con un rayo luminoso de tus ojos no desapareces la terrible oscuridad en la cual estamos unidos en estos momentos de tan profunda tristeza?

Vive pues al lado del Divino Padre, estás lejos, muy lejos en la infinita existencia, pero todavía resides en dos hogares, la Divina mansión y el corazón de tus condiscípulos.¹

Firma esta profundamente sentida elegía en prosa, que podría servir de pista a quienes estudian la génesis y evolución de su pensamiento religioso, "*Pedro A. Campos, Ponce High School*". Pedro Campos, el muy conocido líder estudiantil de la prestigiosa institución educativa –candidato a graduación en junio de 1912– había sido seleccionado por sus condiscípulos para expresar ante la comunidad ponceña el dolor por la pérdida de la compañera de estudios, hija de una distinguida familia de la localidad. El joven expresaba el duelo en la prensa a nombre de la juventud estudiantil, mientras que la despedida formal acostumbrada estuvo a cargo de la figura nacional que lo era el Licenciado Nemesio Canales, el jayuyano que era prácticamente hijo adoptivo de Ponce. Pedro Campos y sus compañeros siguieron a Mercedes hasta su última morada en el cementerio del Barrio Canas. En la corona de flores que le dedicaron figuraba el nombre del autor de la elegía. ***Hasta donde sabemos, este escrito que aquí se reproduce es la más antigua pieza literaria que se conoce hasta este momento, proveniente de la pluma de Pedro Albizu Campos. No figura en ninguno de los trabajos biográficos o de cualquier otra índole publicados al presente.*** [Énfasis mío]

Obsérvese que el autor es "Pedro A. Campos". Sabemos que la "A" se refiere al primer apellido de su padre, Alejan-

1. *El Águila de Puerto Rico*, 6 de noviembre de 1911. En lo sucesivo esta fuente se citará como EAPR.

Me inclino a pensar que al momento de lo que parece haber sido su primera publicación en la prensa de Ponce en noviembre de 1911, el joven Albizu Campos comenzaba a reciprocarse, aunque tímidamente todavía, el reconocimiento público *de facto* que don Alejandro Albizu y Romero había hecho de su responsabilidad paterna desde por lo menos el año de 1909, si no antes. En la segunda edición revisada y aumentada de la obra de Marisa Rosado, **Pedro Albizu Campos: las llamas de la aurora** (San Juan, 2001), se recoge reveladora información que apunta hacia lo que sugerimos. Pedrito Campos se gradúa en 1909 de octavo grado con altos honores y en calidad de Presidente de la clase. Al ingresar a la Ponce High School en septiembre de 1909, un documento del expediente que se reproduce fotográficamente indica que el padre encargado ("Parent") era don Alejandro Albizu, entonces Colector de Aduanas en Ponce. Lo cual, según señala Marisa Rosado, *"echa a pique la versión de que Don Alejandro lo reconoce y lo trata cuando Albizu sobresale en sus estudios en Harvard"*,⁴ concretamente en un acto legal formal efectuado el 10 de septiembre de 1914 en Ponce. Parece claro que el padre de Albizu había comenzado a interesarse en el muchacho, y a figurar como responsable por él, al menos para los efectos de cumplimentar la documentación requerida para proseguir estudios de Escuela Superior, y tal vez desde antes, desde que se percató de su talento y promesa como estudiante y líder, puesto que Pedrito se destacó desde bien temprano en su carrera escolar.

Sobre sus inicios como estudiante sabemos muy poco. Por un lado, se ha afirmado que el joven *"termina su educación del primero al octavo grado en cuatro años y medio"*.⁵ Ni el propio Albizu, cuando solicitaba una beca para llevar a

4. Rosado, 19,24.

5. Rosado, 24. La autora se basa en una entrevista que se le hizo a Albizu Campos en el periódico *La Voz del Pueblo*, 30 de marzo de 1919. Se reproduce en Ruth Vasallo y José A. Torres Martínó (eds.). **Pedro Albizu Campos: reflexiones sobre su vida y su obra**. San Juan, Ed. Marión, 1991, 68. Esta fuente se citará en lo sucesivo como "Entrevista de 1919."

Lástima que en esa misma ocasión no precisara cuántos años estudió allí y la fecha en que comenzó a hacerlo. Sabemos que para 1907 la Ponce Grammar School ofrecía los grados quinto, sexto, séptimo y octavo. Para 1909 ofrecía sexto, séptimo y octavo. Hacia 1912 ofrecía séptimo y octavo.¹⁰ Habiéndose graduado de octavo grado de la Ponce Grammar, puesto que ésta era la única escuela en la ciudad que emitía dicho diploma, Pedro Campos debió haber hecho los grados sexto, séptimo y octavo en dicha institución, ubicada, como se sabe, en los predios de la Ponce High School y que hoy se llama Manuel Ruiz Gandía. Sabemos que se graduó de la Ponce High en junio de 1912. Si sus estudios no fueron interrumpidos, cosa muy poco probable en vista de su alta calidad académica, parece sugerirse la siguiente progresión:

5 años en la escuela rural Mc Kinley
 3 años en la Ponce Grammar School
 3 años en la Ponce High School

El cálculo supone la precisión del recuerdo de doña Lucía Arginbau, según recogido por el Lic. Ayoroa Santaliz en su entrevista de 1970. Si la graduación de la Escuela Superior ocurrió en 1912 y si los estudios nunca se interrumpieron, la secuencia de éstos debió ser:

año escolar	grado	escuela
1901-1902	1°	William Mc Kinley rural
1902-1903	2°	"
1903-1904	3°	"
1904-1905	4°	"
1905-1906	5°	"
1906-1907	6°	Ponce Grammar School
1907-1908	7°	"

10. EAPR, 30 de septiembre de 1907 y 22 de enero de 1909; Neumann Gandía, 147.

de febrero de 1909 la Respetable Logia Aurora No. 7 le había comunicado a la Junta Escolar de Ponce *“los deseos de los miembros de esa institución de coadyuvar al éxito de los estudios en las escuelas de Ponce [acordando] iniciar dos premios anuales, los que serán adjudicados a la niña y el niño estudiantes del octavo grado que en los exámenes obtuvieron las notas más altas en todas las asignaturas [y] que hayan observado un comportamiento ejemplar durante el año y asistido a la escuela con puntualidad”*.¹³ Nunca se había revelado que Albizu fue el primer estudiante varón que accedía a esta premiación local en su edición inicial, ni que hubiese obtenido el premio más alto de todo Puerto Rico entre los graduandos de octavo grado en 1909, según él mismo señala. A juzgar por lo contenido en un artículo basado en una entrevista que le hizo en 1919 un admirador que alega que lo conoció desde su niñez, Albizu habría obtenido un promedio de graduación de 98 por ciento.¹⁴

Culminaba con un extraordinario éxito en sus estudios, en junio de 1909, el “zahorí” del Bucaná. Muy arduas debieron ser las muchas horas de preparación para los exámenes finales conducentes a la obtención del diploma de octavo grado, sobre los que sabemos que se efectuaron entre el 21 y el 24 de junio y que cubrían las materias de Castellano, Inglés, Geografía, Fisiología, Historia y Aritmética.¹⁵

No han aparecido detalles suficientes relativos a los estudios de Albizu en la Ponce High. Hemos podido constatar personalmente, a través de una visita y las preguntas pertinentes, que no se ha podido localizar copia de su expediente escolar, el que presumiblemente se perdió durante un fuego que afectó la escuela en 1983. En el único periódico que se reseña el suceso se informa que el 1 de abril de 1983, Viernes Santo, *“un violento incendio destruyó en su totalidad la*

13. AHMP. Actas de la Junta Local de Instrucción Pública de Ponce, sesión del 10 de febrero de 1909. Caja S-211.

14. Entrevista de 1919.

15. EAPR, 20 de mayo y 14 de junio de 1909.

Pedro Campos, Ángel Matos, Mario Cordero, Pedro Rodríguez Serra, Pedro Juan Carreras y Antonio Román. Ángel Matos había obtenido un galardón en un certamen literario del Club Hostos de San Juan.¹⁸ El día de "*Arbor Day*", 1 de diciembre de 1911, durante el desfile de escolares por diversos puntos de la ciudad, le tocó a Pedro Campos la distinción de leer para el público las cartas que para conmemorar la ocasión enviaron el Gobernador de Puerto Rico y el Comisionado de Instrucción.¹⁹

Durante estos años la Junta Escolar de Ponce solía ofrecer a unos pocos alumnos sobresalientes de escasos recursos la oportunidad de ganar algún dinero. Era una especie de pequeña beca que consistía en asignarles trabajo como asistentes de bibliotecarios en la biblioteca de la Grammar School. En la sesión de septiembre de 1911 de la Junta Escolar se consigna que a Pedro Campos se la habían asignado \$20.00 "*por sueldo como bibliotecario de la Grammar School durante los meses de julio y agosto*".²⁰ En la sesión de la Junta del 9 de octubre se informa que continuaba como bibliotecario en la misma escuela desde septiembre y se le confirmaba para octubre.²¹ (Ver Apéndices) Haber sido bibliotecario de la Grammar School, por cierto, es de por sí evidencia adicional de que sería en esa institución donde estudiaría hasta obtener el diploma de octavo grado. Es evidente que al talentoso joven se le asociaba con el amor a los libros, por lo cual llega a ser uno de los pocos privilegiados por la Junta. Eventualmente, como consecuencia de las actividades políticas revolucionarias que lo llevarían a la prisión federal de Atlanta, Georgia (1937-1943), también serviría en capacidad de bibliotecario en dicha institución penal, dada su gran

18. EAPR, 4 de marzo de 1912.

19. EAPR, 4 de diciembre de 1911.

20. AHMP. Acuerdos de la Junta Escolar de Ponce, 6 de septiembre de 1911. Caja 211-S.

21. *Ibid.*

al trabajo, en lugar de exterminar vidas, que solo Dios había dado”²⁴

Continuaban las instancias en que Pedro Campos se destacaba durante el año de su cercana graduación. En la primera semana de marzo había formado parte de una comisión compuesta además por Mario Cordero y Ángel Matos, para persuadir al famoso visitante, César Luis, Conde de Montalbán, para que ofreciera una conferencia en el “Assembly Hall” de la escuela. El Conde de Montalbán era un connotado viajero, aventurero y alpinista internacional, una de las muchas figuras importantes que visitaban el país y que necesariamente tenían que ir y presentarse en Ponce, escenario cultural insoslayable. El encargado de hacer la presentación del Conde al momento de su disertación en torno al origen de la escritura, la civilización greco-romana y los adelantos de los Incas, lo fue Pedro Campos. A fines del mismo mes de marzo se le incluyó en una comisión de tres estudiantes, junto a Carlos J. Aguayo y Frank Cintrón Jr., para girar una visita a la famosa conferenciante internacional Belén de Sárraga, quien había llegado de Cuba a Ponce para disertar sobre el Librepensamiento. El propósito de la visita que le hacían a la conocida librepensadora, Belén de Sárraga, era darle las gracias por haber complacido la petición del grupo, al obsequiarles veinte entradas para cada conferencia a los estudiantes de la Ponce High. Se informa en la prensa que Pedro Campos le preguntó a la visitante: “¿Qué opina usted sobre el materialismo y el espiritualismo?”, a lo que ella contestó que eran dos ciencias que marchaban paralelas, pero que no tardaría mucho tiempo en que ambas habrían de unirse. Y añadía que le parecía observar que el Librepensamiento había tomado una base fuerte en Ponce. Ciertamente, la ilustre visitante sabía lo que decía, puesto que el 19 de julio de 1909 se había constituido en la ciudad el Club de Librepensadores de Ponce, en el que se destacaban

24. EAPR, 6 y 23 de marzo de 1912.

era uno de lo más importantes líderes de estos grupos literarios de la Ponce High, desde por lo menos 1910. Durante la primera semana de diciembre de ese año los estudiantes fundaron un Club Cívico-Literario, antecesor de la Sociedad de Escritores de 1912, cuya directiva estuvo compuesta por Emilio J. Pasarell (Presidente); Pedro Campos (Vice-Presidente); Rafael del Valle (Secretario); Antonio M. Arias (Tesorero); José Castro, Antonio Gandía y Carlos J. Arias (Vocales).²⁷

Tanto interés público suscitó este grupo de escritores en ciernes, que motivó al diario *El Águila de Puerto Rico* a ofrecerles un espacio titulado "Sección Escolar", que comenzó a aparecer periódicamente desde el lunes 15 de abril.²⁸ Para el investigador de la historia literaria de Ponce no dejan de tener alguna pertinencia estos trabajos que formaban parte de la atmósfera culta y sofisticada del ambiente escolar de entonces. Aparecen en esta columna pensamientos, ensayos y prosa lírica. Aunque no se publicó ningún trabajo de Pedro Campos en esta ocasión, en uno de ellos se nos dan otras noticias sobre su notorio liderato en ese año crucial de su vida. El lunes 29 de abril Ángel Matos publicó un ensayo titulado "*Hermoso año*", en el que repasaba las experiencias escolares más significativas de su grupo. Destaca el joven los debates en español bajo la dirección de la Profesora Rafaela Capó y los debates en inglés bajo la tutela del Profesor Mr. Harrington. Confirma los que ya mencionamos en torno a la pena de muerte y el derecho al voto de la mujer, y añade otros sobre temas que desconocíamos, como el divorcio y "*La espada y la pluma*". Nos enteramos además de que los líderes de la clase habían recién fundado una Liga Protectora de Animales, de la cual "*el muy inteligente y aprovechado joven Pedro Campos es el digno Presidente*". Rafael del Valle era el Vice-Presidente y Miguel Rodríguez el Secretario. Se

27. EAPR, 5 de diciembre de 1910.

28. EAPR, 15 de abril de 1912.

ria de la clase; Milagros Bosch dirige un mensaje a la clase, al igual que Josefina Scott; Luis A. Yordán tiene a su cargo la profecía del grupo; Leopoldo Delucca lee el testamento de la clase; luego sigue el poema a la clase, por José A. Lanauze; Mario Cordero dirige un mensaje a la facultad; Julio Mercado hace la presentación y, finalmente, Pedro Rodríguez dirige la despedida a la escuela.

El jueves 20 de junio se efectuó el Programa de Graduación propiamente. Los actos ocurrieron en el orden siguiente: Los alumnos desfilan desde la Ponce High y entran al Teatro La Perla, cuya fachada está engalanada con flores de flamboyán. Asistió una numerosa concurrencia "a pesar del mal tiempo que reinaba". "Cocolía" y su Orquesta (también le decían "Cocó") amenizan el desfile. Sigue el discurso "*Terminamos para empezar*", de Carmen Ana Amadeo, "*Salutatory*" (Segundo Premio). A continuación Pedro Campos, "*Essay*" (Tercer Premio), emite su discurso "*Porto Rico Through Transition*". Después de otro interludio musical, el Lic. José Tous Soto pronuncia un discurso, el que aprovecha para, entre otras cosas, plantear "*la posibilidad de que algún día nuestra estrella solitaria podría formar parte de la gran constelación de la nación americana*". A continuación Augusto R. Soltero, de Sabana Grande, "*Valedictory*" (Primer Premio), emite su mensaje titulado "*Beauty in its Three Phases*". Por cierto, se ha documentado que la diferencia en promedio acumulado de graduación entre el primer y tercer premio de los graduandos, fue mínima. Desconocemos cuál fue exactamente el promedio del Segundo Premio ("*Salutatory*", Carmen Ana Amadeo), aunque es obvio que debió ser una cifra en el medio de las dos que se apuntan a continuación. El del Primer Premio ("*Valedictory*", Augusto R. Soltero) fue de 96%, mientras que el del Tercer Premio ("*Essay*", Pedro Campos) fue de 95.93%.³¹

31. Rosado, 23.

Programa Comercial

<i>Luis Costas Alvarado</i>	<i>Ramón Pedraja Lugo</i>
<i>Guillermo Garratón Subirá</i>	<i>Pedro Alicea Lugo</i>
<i>Salvador Bou Bondet</i>	<i>Ramona A. Vivas Salazar</i>
<i>Ermelindo Díaz Pereira</i>	<i>Philip Christensen</i>
<i>Eloisa Vélez Draya</i>	<i>Mercedes Rodríguez</i>
<i>Carola Valdivieso Rosaly</i>	<i>Manuel Valdejulli López</i>
<i>J. Sandalio Pagán</i>	<i>Juan N. Mirabal</i>
<i>Belén Santiago Amaro</i>	<i>Arturo Figueroa</i>
<i>Carmelo López Román</i>	<i>Rafael Raldiris</i>

Existe una fotografía inédita en la colección de documentos y fotografías donada al Archivo Histórico de Ponce por la familia Morales de Pou, en la que aparecen solamente los varones de la clase graduanda. Pedro Campos figura en la hilera de los que están de pie, hacia el extremo derecho. Los jóvenes que están en cuclillas han formado la cifra “1912” con sus diplomas en números romanos en la parte del suelo que les queda inmediatamente al frente. Según el testimonio de 1973 de uno de los graduandos, Miguel R. Rosich Pérez, solamente siete alumnos estaban cursando estudios para recibir sus diplomas en tres años en lugar de los cuatro acostumbrados después del octavo grado. Rosich menciona seis y se refiere a “otro que no recuerdo”.³² De los que se mencionan y en efecto se graduaron, según consta en el programa oficial, están el propio Rosich, Pedro Campos, Carmen Ana Amadeo y Marina Pietri. Dos de los mencionados, Veitía [sic] y Jorge Tristani no aparecen en la lista de los graduandos, lo cual constituye un evidente y comprensible fallo de la memoria de Rosich. El record acumulativo de Pedro Campos indica que el joven era brillante en todas las materias, obteniendo consistentemente calificaciones de noventas bien al

32. Rosado, 22-23.

la altura de 1912, cuando se acercaba a su cumpleaños número veintiuno.

No conocemos las razones precisas que le indujeron a solicitar una beca para llevar a cabo estudios conducentes al grado de ingeniero agrónomo en la Universidad de Vermont en los Estados Unidos. Podría sugerirse que, a tenor con lo poco que sabemos sobre sus años de formación en Tenerías y su historial de estudiante brillante, el mundo de la pobreza que era su medio natural haya despertado en él un temprano interés por la comprensión de la sociedad que explicaba su condición. El Puerto Rico agrario que había sido convertido en una gran colonia moderna de explotación azucarera por parte del gran latifundismo ausentista estadounidense principalmente, afectaba a Ponce y la región suroeste de maneras particularmente dramáticas. La ciudad y las áreas aledañas habían sido, después de todo, los núcleos principales en el desarrollo de la historia de la caña de azúcar. El pueblo de los tiempos de la niñez y primera juventud de Pedro Campos estaba rodeado, como lo estaría por décadas posteriormente, de cañaverales. Los oficios y profesiones especializados relacionados con la industria azucarera tenían mucha demanda. No es de extrañar que mientras crecía y adquiría conciencia de la historia social que le servía de trasfondo, el joven se fuera interesando en los procesos de desarrollo de su entorno y que comenzara a pensar en las maneras en que él personalmente podría insertarse y actuar en el mismo. Después de todo, una excondiscípula señalaba que había estudiado cinco años en la *Mc Kinley Agricultural School*, [énfasis mío], información que bien podría ser clave para comprender su preferencia vocacional posterior, al momento de solicitar la beca para estudios universitarios. Aunque las breves referencias a su discurso de graduación a las que hemos aludido no ofrecen detalles, el tema mismo, Puerto Rico en la transición del régimen español al estadounidense en su relación comparativa, es un indicio claro de su interés en el asunto. Por otra parte, el lector deberá tener en

morirán si vosotros, dignos representantes de mi querido pueblo, no prestáis la benévola ayuda a este humilde joven que quiere levantarse.

Según he sabido vosotros podéis conceder becas para facilitar que los alumnos de las escuelas de Ponce puedan terminar sus estudios en los Estados Unidos después de haber terminado su curso de cuarto año en la Alta Escuela.

Al saber esto una esperanza que vosotros espero no borraréis, renació en mí. Apelo pues a vuestro altruismo y también a la justicia. Os suplico que me consideréis como aspirante a una de esas becas para facilitar-me el estudio de la carrera de ingeniero agrónomo.

Ciertos datos escolares me parecen serán oportunos. Como alumno de octavo grado obtuve la calificación más alta de Puerto Rico, por la cual la Respetable Logia Aurora No. 7 me hizo el honor de premiar mis humildes esfuerzos con una hermosa enciclopedia y un diploma de honor en el cual se tomó en cuenta mi conducta intachable y mi regular asistencia. Después como alumno de High School podéis leer la certificación aquí incluida, ella representa la nota oficial de la Facultad de la Alta Escuela firmada por nuestro Principal, Mr. E. N. Gerrish.

Esperando que mi humilde petición tenga vuestra acogida quedo de vosotros,

Respetuosamente S.S.S. [Pedro Campos: en firma autográfica]

La certificación que acompaña la solicitud está escrita de puño y letra de quien era evidentemente su principal asesor y protector:

March 15, 1912

To Whom It May Concern:

This is to certify that Pedro Campos is a member of the senior class of this school and will graduate in

que se le conceda una pensión para el estudio de la carrera de Ingeniero Agrónomo, el Concejo la tomó en consideración y acordó pasarla con recomendación á la Comisión que en su oportunidad ha de entender en la formación del próximo presupuesto.

Y para su expediente, expido la presente en Ponce á 4 de abril de 1912.

T. A. Céspedes, Secretario Municipal

“La Comisión” de referencia a la que el Concejo Municipal de Ponce acordó pasar la solicitud con su recomendación, era un cuerpo especial establecido por ley al nivel del gobierno central, cuya función era decidir quiénes serían los becarios de entre los alumnos meritorios solicitantes para estudiar en la Escuela Normal de la Universidad de Puerto Rico y en universidades de los Estados Unidos. En la carta que sigue se informa quiénes componían lo que era el Comité de Becas del gobierno de Puerto Rico, al que el Ayuntamiento de Ponce remitía la solicitud de Pedro Campos, en vista de que este organismo no podía satisfacer, por evidentes limitaciones económicas, la petición del interesado:

El Secretario del Municipio de Ponce que suscribe

CERTIFICA: Que el Concejo Municipal de esta Ciudad, en sesión ordinaria prorrogada celebrada el día veinte y ocho de junio de mil novecientos doce, trató y acordó, entre otros, el siguiente particular:

NÚMERO 18. A moción de los Sres. Porrata Doria, Presidente y Concepción acordó el Concejo por unanimidad recomendar con toda eficacia á la Comisión que según la Ley sobre envío de estudiantes á los Estados Unidos, enmendada en marzo 12 de 1906, debe escoger éstos, al joven Pedro Campos alumno de la High School de esta Ciudad, que ha terminado el 4° año y de

grato proponer y recomendar la solicitud de dicho estudiante, al reunirse el Comité de becas.

*Suyo afmo.,
[firmado] José de Diego*

Es en este contexto que se reactiva la gestión favorable concurrente que venía haciendo la Logia Aurora No. 7 a favor del solicitante. Al enterarse la institución de que el Comité de Becas del gobierno se reuniría el 6 de agosto para deliberar y tomar sus decisiones, se reiteró la decisión, según consta en el acta de la sesión del día 2 del mismo mes, de “gestionar” la concesión de la beca en vista de los méritos ya señalados y conocidos del caso, “y en tal virtud la gestión que se recomienda si la Gran Logia por medio de alguno de sus influyentes miembros, es más susceptible de obtener éxito que otra alguna”³⁷ [sic] Aunque ambigua, la expresión lo que sugiere es que el miembro más influyente posible de la Logia hiciera los acercamientos pertinentes al Comité de Becas a favor del brillante estudiante pobre que ya había premiado a raíz de su graduación de octavo grado. Aunque no podemos documentarlo, parece muy probable que, a tenor con su consistente trayectoria a favor de Pedro Campos, la Logia Aurora No. 7 haya logrado allegar su “miembro influyente” al seno del Comité de Becas en el momento preciso. Ciertamente, la Logia no fue la institución que concedió la beca, pero su presencia e insistente intervención debió ser un factor de peso en el éxito final que se obtuvo.

A comienzos de agosto el Concejo Municipal de Ponce, presidido por Luis de Porrata Doria, toma conocimiento oficial del resultado de sus gestiones:

El que suscribe Secretario del Municipio de Ponce

Certifica: Que el Concejo Municipal de esta Ciudad, en sesión ordinaria prorrogada celebrada el día

37. Rosado, 28.

La Asamblea Legislativa de Puerto Rico eventualmente autorizó el financiamiento de unas cuarenta y tres becas para estudios en instituciones universitarias en los Estados Unidos y veinticinco para estudios de magisterio en la Escuela Normal de la Universidad de Puerto Rico. Con relación a las concedidas para estudios en los Estados Unidos, se observa que predominan las carreras profesionales técnicas como ingeniería, agronomía y medicina. Esto, a juzgar por las menciones que se hacen de instituciones tales como Massachusetts Institute of Technology, el Instituto Técnico de Tuskegee, el Colegio de Mecánica y Agricultura de Mississippi, el Colegio Politécnico de Baltimore y el Colegio de Medicina de Jefferson, entre otros. El Instituto Técnico de Tuskegee registraba el mayor número de becados con diecisiete. Seguían la Universidad de Cornell y las universidades estatales de Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Michigan y Ohio. Pedro Campos sería el único becario puertorriqueño que comenzaría a estudiar la carrera de ingeniero agrónomo en la Universidad de Vermont. Sabemos que su compañero Vicente Colón Morales también fue becado para estudiar en los Estados Unidos, aunque no aparece más información sobre su caso.³⁸ José A. Lanauze Rolón, como se recordará, el poeta de la clase, había solicitado beca al Ayuntamiento de Ponce para estudiar la carrera de ingeniería civil en los Estados Unidos, basándose en su excelente trayectoria como estudiante, que le valió el promedio general de 93+ por ciento en sus cuatro años en la Ponce High, según se certifica en la recomendación que hace el Principal Gerrish a mediados de abril.³⁹ Eventualmente se convirtió en médico y en figura muy prominente en los círculos sociales y culturales de la comunidad. Sus servicios se anunciaban regularmente en la prensa ponceña.

38. EAPR, 8 de agosto y 20 de septiembre de 1912.

39. Expediente Becas 1912.

APÉNDICES

Solicitud de Beca de José A. Lanauze

a

Hon. Consejo Municipal de Ponce:

Seguro de terminar la segunda enseñanza en nuestra alta escuela de Ponce el próximo junio y falto de recursos para seguir estudios superiores en una universidad de los Estados Unidos, elevo esta petición a vuestro alto cuerpo solicitando una beca que me facilite los medios necesarios para ello.

Son mis deseos tomar un curso de Ingeniería Civil que me prepare para ser más útil a mí mismo y más útil a mi pueblo.

Adjunto va una certificación de nuestro principal E. N. Gerrish que suministra información de mis estudios y facultades. Dadas las circunstancias y el acierto y justicia de nuestro Hon. Consejo Municipal de Ponce, espero se me conceda la solicitada beca.

Respetuosamente

*[firmado] José A. Lanauze [Rolón]
Abril 20, 1912, Ponce, P.R.*

2. 9 de octubre de 1911: “Acuerdo 15: Que se solicite autorización del Departamento para invertir con cargo a la partida 16 de la Sub-Cabeza G, la suma de \$30.00 mensuales en la compra de tickets de la Compañía del Trolley, los cuales serán suplidos gratis a los alumnos pobres Camilo Fernández, Mariana Rosso, Luis G. Ríos, Juan J. Forguet, Guillermo Belmont, Manuela Ortiz, Francisco Torres, Ramón Pedraja, Eloína Trujillo, María L. Lusia, Julia Carrillo y Herminia Torres, quienes residen en el Poblado de la Playa y tienen que continuar estudios en la High School y octavo grado de esta ciudad”. [Obsérvese que Ramón Pedraja es compañero de graduación de Pedro Campos. Pedraja se graduó del Programa Comercial]

3. Escuelas de Ponce en 1912: (Urbanas): Ponce High School, Ponce Grammar School, Mc Kinley, Dr. Pujols, Dr. Corchado, Baldorioty, Hamilton, Colón, Horace Mann, Ruiz Belvis. (Rurales): 59 escuelas distribuidas en todos los barrios rurales, casi todos con 1 escuela, algunos con dos [generalmente, los más cercanos al casco urbano]. Canas tenía 4 escuelas [caso único] y Sabanetas 3 [caso único]

(De las Actas de la Junta Escolar de Instrucción Pública de Ponce, Acuerdos, Caja S-213, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Ponce).

UNA CARTA INÉDITA DE JUAN ALEJO DE ARIZMENDI

Dr. Alvaro Huerga

Se conmemora este año el bicentenario de la promoción de don Juan Alejo de Arizmendi a la sede episcopal de Puerto Rico. La efemérides es pintiparada ocasión para divulgar una carta suya que se me quedó en el escriño en el volumen que dediqué en 1992 al ilustre personaje,¹ y antes, en 1988, se le escapó de ojo a M.A. Rodríguez en un artículo dedicado a la ordenación episcopal de Arizmendi por don Francisco de Ibarra,² a quien va dirigida la epístola de marras. En ella da el correspondiente curiosas y luminosas noticias personales sobre dos episodios de su biografía: la tardanza de la expedición de las bulas de su episcopado, imprescindibles para ejercer el oficio, y la vacuna antivariólica que le inocularon durante el largo periodo de espera de la llegada de las bulas.

Para recordar y festejar el ascenso de Arizmendi a la dignidad episcopal doy a conocer la mentada carta, previa una sucinta glosa sobre los dos temas.

1. Vicente Murga–Álvaro Murga, *Historia documental de Puerto Rico*, tomo X, Ponce, 1992, 5272 páginas; documentos 551 (partida de bautismo)–780 (autorización del gobernador Meléndez para trasladar los restos mortales de Arizmendi a la catedral).
2. Cf. M.A. Rodríguez, "Consagración episcopal de Juan Alejo de Arizmendi por el obispo de Caracas Francisco de Ibarra", *La revista*, número 6, enero-junio 1988, pp. 73-78.

dio el mar inmenso, y las naves mensajeras tardaban a veces meses y aun a los que las esperaban se les hacían los meses años.

En la carta que al final de esta glosa sale a luz, y que está datada el 9 de enero de 1804, y dirigida al obispo consagrante u ordenante, declara que las *bulas* no han llegado. Noticias tiene que anuncian su pronta llegada en el próximo correo. En el ínterin de la espera, Arizmendi se vacunó contra la viruela.

LA VACUNA

Vieja y triste, y también lúgubre, era la crónica de la devastadora epidemia o enfermedad de la viruela en Puerto Rico y en general en toda Hispanoamérica. Ya en los albores de la colonización, allá para el 1518, los jerónimos enviados por el cardenal Cisneros, regente del Reino, para reorganizarla y poner coto a los abusos, denunciados por Bartolomé de las Casas, informaban sobre los estragos que la viruela causaba en las Antillas. La plaga “pervivió” durante casi tres siglos, y a la altura de 1788, fray Íñigo Abbad Lasierra, refiere en su clásica *Historia de Puerto Rico*, que la “epidemia” de la viruela había sido la peor enfermedad del país, y “el cuchillo exterminador” que extinguió la “mayor parte de los indios y criollos”, y continuaba exterminando a las nuevas generaciones. Lamenta que a esas alturas, a fines del siglo XVIII, “no se haya introducido el uso de la inoculación” o vacuna antivariólica, usándose con tan feliz éxito en las otras partes del mundo”.⁵

Por esos años estaba “usándose” ya en Europa. Y no tardó el gobierno de Carlos IV en *decretar* el envío de una expedición a Hispanoamérica. La carta de Arizmendi alude a la

5. I. Abbad Lasierra, *Historia geográfica, civil y natural de la isla de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico*, 3ª edición, Ediciones de la Universidad, 1959, p. 63.

*nes y resultados de esta expedición filantrópica.*⁶

La expedición se organizó, sin regatear gastos, en Madrid, y se nombró director de la misma al galeno Balmis, acompañado de don José Salvany y de don Manuel Julián Grajales, cirujanos, y de dos enfermeros, y un grupo de niños, al cuidado de doña Isabel Sendales, para conservar viva la vacuna durante el viaje, inoculándola de "brazo a brazo".

El 3 de noviembre de 1803 se hizo a la mar la fragata *María Pita* con los expedicionarios. Hicieron escala de algunas semanas en Santa Cruz de Tenerife.⁷

Anocheciendo el 9 de febrero, entró en el Puerto de San Juan la corbeta *María Pita* con la expedición antivariólica a bordo. El capitán general y gobernador, don Ramón de Castro, le dio la bienvenida de rigor y la hospedó convenientemente. Pero sin festejo alguno, pues él se había anticipado importando la vacuna de la isla de Santo Tomás, y encargando a los médicos don Francisco Oller y don Tomás Prieto que la inocularan en pocos días a 1557 ciudadanos puertorriqueños, entre los que figuraban nada menos que el doctor Arizmendi, preconizado obispo, las dos hijas del gobernador don Ramón de Castro y un hijo del médico don Fco. Oller.

El frío recibimiento y la noticia de que Puerto Rico ya no necesitaba las lecciones y las inoculaciones de Balmis irritaron a éste, que perdió los estribos y se encabritó expresamente contra el doctor Oller, acusándolo de falsario, y de un modo solapado contra el gobernador, que había importado la vacuna. Oller, que no era ignorante ni manco, puso sobre el

6. *Gaceta de Madrid*, t. 65, n.º. 62, pp. 676-677.

7. Cf. Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *De arte y de Historia*, Madrid, 2004, pp. 166-260: "La inoculación y la vacunación antivariólica en España (Datos para la historia de la medicina española en los siglos XVIII y XIX)". Referencia a la estada de Puerto Rico, p. 237. Da como fecha de arribo el 6 de enero de 1804. Como verá el lector más abajo, llegó el 9 de febrero. En Puerto Rico existen muy buenos estudios sobre la vacuna antivariólica. El más reciente que conozco, estupendo de información, es el de José G. Rigau-Pérez, "The Introduction of Smallpox Vaccine in 1803 and the Adoption of Immunization as a Government Function in Puerto Rico", *Hispanic American Historical Review* 69 3, pp. 393-423.

cas, para donde partió el 12 de marzo de 1804, y el 25 de ese mes el obispo don Francisco de Ibarra le impartió la ordenación episcopal, y el 12 de abril del mismo año llegaba Arizmendi de vuelta a Puerto Rico,¹¹ donde va a realizar una abnegada y pastoral entrega hasta su muerte, que le aconteció el 12 de octubre de 1814.¹²

Juan Alejo Arizmendi, Obispo electo de Puerto Rico, a Francisco Ibarra, Obispo de Caracas*

Ilustrísimo Señor:

Muy estimado señor mío: Bien pensé haber tenido el gusto de besar la mano a Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima en esta ocasión, como lo podrá informar el capitán del correo, don José Ollos, si sube a Caracas. Pero todo se frustró, porque no parecieron las bulas, detenidas en Madrid para su pase desde el 26 de octubre anterior.

Sin embargo, me avisan ahora que en el próximo correo, sin falta, estarán aquí, y entonces, habiendo barco que ofrezca mejor comodidad que la que tiene la corbeta correo de la Guayra, aprovecharé la ocasión; de otra suerte espero el regreso de Ollos y su vuelta para mi ida.

Ya habrá llegado a manos de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima la circular en que el Rey encarga a los preladados de América persuadan la inoculación de la vacuna.

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11. "El 12 de abril último llegué con toda mi familia a este puerto, cumpliéndose justamente en día el mes de mi salida para ése": Carta a D. F. Ibarra, San Juan, 18 de mayo 1804: Caracas, *Archivo arzobispal, Documentos episcopales: Ibarra*, carpeta 37.
 12. Cf. A. Huerga, *Biografía pastoral de Juan Alejo de Arizmendi (1760-1814)*, Ponce, 1992, pp. 277-278: murió en el camino, visitando la diócesis, a la edad de 54 años.

WHY DID GERMANY TURN TO SUBMARINE WARFARE AS ITS PRINCIPAL NAVAL STRATEGY OF WORLD WAR I?

Juan R. Torruella

I. Introduction

The First World War was the scene of the greatest land battles in history up to that time¹ particularly when we consider the magnitude of the losses suffered by all sides² and the proliferation of trench warfare that it engendered, which became its defining characteristic.³ Notwithstanding the preeminence of this phase of the

1. In the Battle of the Somme, which started on June 24, 1916 and lasted 142 days, the British casualties alone were 415,000 men and the Germans possibly 650,000. **The Oxford Companion to Military History.** Richard Holmes (ed.), Oxford Univ. Press, (1999), at 852. In the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Napoleon fielded 72,000 troops against an Anglo-Dutch-Belgian army of 68,000, before the Prussians' late arrival. *Id.* at 986. Even in the Battle of Leipzig (1813), the largest European land battle before the First World War, fought over three days, the three Allied armies only had 300,000 men and the French lost 60,000 men. *Id.* at 500.
2. On the Allied side those killed were 1,700,000 (Russia), 1,357,800 (France), 908,371 (British Empire), 650,000 (Italy), 126,000 (United States), which together with the other Allies totaled 5,152,115. The Central Powers lost 8,538,315 killed divided into 1,773,700 (Germany), 1,200,000 (Austria-Hungary), 325,000 (Turkey), and 87,000 (Bulgaria).
3. On the Western Front alone the trenches extended from the Swiss border to the North Sea, a distance of over 300 miles at its longest point. *Id.* at 919.

II. In the beginning

The role of the submarine in modern naval warfare remained a hotly debated issue in all the principal navies of the world even after the commencement of World War I.⁷ Capital ships and other similar surface vessels were considered the preeminent instruments to effectuate naval strategy and achieve national goals.⁸ The submarine, although known and sporadically used for some time in warfare⁹, was thought to be destined to play a minor role in the conduct of naval operations, relegated principally to coastal defense, or at most, to scouting or picket duties.¹⁰

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7. **The European Powers in the First World War. An Encyclopedia.** Spencer C. Tucker (Ed., Garland Publishing, New York (1996), at 665. Winston Churchill had concluded after naval maneuvers in 1913 that "the great dangers from submarines will not be in the open sea but when [the Fleet is] returning to harbour to fuel". Churchill's speech on Naval Estimates, 17 March 1914, as reported in *The Times*. 18 March 1914. Churchill was nevertheless increasingly convinced of the power of the submarine and of the "decisive part" which it would play, but was not willing to sacrifice his 1914-15 Estimates, to build thirty to forty submarines and torpedo boats. Nicholas Lambert, **British Naval Policy. 1913-1914: Financial Limitation and Strategic Revolution**". *The Journal of Modern History*. 67 (September, 1995), at 626.
 8. *Compare*. Alfred Thayer Mahan, **Influence of Sea Power upon History**. S. Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, London (1890), at p. 86-88.
 9. In Germany as early as 1465, a Nuremberg weapons designer named Kyeser designed a diving boat. There was sporadic interest in submersibles, including by the Russians during the Crimean War. Submarines were in limited use during the American Civil War. A Confederate *David* class submarine severely damaged the 3,486 ton Union ship of the line *New Ironside*. Erhard Rossler, **The U-Boat**. Cassel & Co., London (1981) at p.10-4.
 10. **The European Powers etc., supra**, at 665.

surface vessels and destroyers¹⁵, and only 29 submarines¹⁶, and thus a ratio of approximately 9:1 of major surface ships to submarines. Although these ratios remained substantially the same for the British, they changed radically for the Germans by the time of the Armistice in 1918¹⁷. By then the ratio of large surface ships to submarines was approximately 2:3 in favor of submarines. Even discounting the inaccuracies in these figures caused by reason of the changes that took place in fleet compositions¹⁸, these numbers still give a fairly good indication of a substantial increase in the number of submarines in the German navy compared to its surface fleet as the War progressed.

This data alone would be supportive of the thesis that a change occurred in Germany's conceptualization of the importance of submarines in the conduct of naval warfare. But we need not rely on speculation. This major policy change, which is well documented¹⁹, was mandated by the need for a new strategy that would enable Germany to carry out an effective naval war against the Allies.

How and why did German submarine strategy change during World War I? The change was gradual and was caused by various circumstances.

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15. Germany had 20 dreadnoughts, 7 battle cruisers, 30 pre-dreadnought battleships, 15 cruisers, 35 light cruisers, and 164 destroyers. *Id.*, at 116-120, 121-124, 125-128, 128-134, 135-140, 143-146.
 16. **The European Powers, etc.**, *supra*, at 666; John Moore, ed. **Jane's Fighting Ships of World War I**, Military Press, New York/London, 1919 (1990, reprint).
 17. By War's end Germany had launched 372 submarines, of which 178 were lost in action. Those launched included 140 coastal boats, 107 ocean going submarines, 7 large merchant cruisers, and 116 minelayers. **The European Powers, etc.**, *supra* at 666; **Jane's Fighting Ships of the World War I**. New York, Military Press, 1919. Reprint 1990. Terraine states that Germany built 390 U-Boats before the War ended. John Terraine, **Business in Great Waters: the U-Boats Wars, 1916-1945**, Wadsworth Editions, London (1999), at 390.
 18. For battle losses and additions to the respective fleets. *Id.*, Table of losses, at 313. For a complete list of fleet dispositions, see www.ukas.edu/~kansite/ww-one/naval.
 19. See post, at 15-18. .

the German Naval Staff it was determined that this loss was caused not so much by the superior numbers of the British forces as it was that the British had heavier and longer range guns²⁴.

The immediate outcome was that Kaiser Wilhelm II, unwilling for the moment to further risk his fleet, replaced Admiral Fredrich von Ingenohl with the more passive Hugo von Phol²⁵, and declared all the waters around the British Isles a war zone²⁶.

This was a decision which would have important consequences regarding Germany's strategy in expanding the size of its submarine fleet²⁷. In the meantime the German High Seas Fleet essentially remained bottled up in the Baltic and the Germans turned more towards submarine warfare²⁸.

24. *Id.*, at 156-161.

25. Herwig, *supra*, at 153; Mader, *supra*, at 165-166.

26. The German Admiralty declaration, dated 4 February 1915, read as follows: *All waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, are hereby declared to be a war zone. From February 18 onwards every enemy merchant vessel found within this war zone will be destroyed without it always being possible to avoid danger to the crews and passengers.*

Neutral ships will also be exposed to danger in the war zone, as in view of the misuse of neutral flags ordered on January 31 by the British government, and owing to unforeseen incidents to which naval warfare is liable, it is impossible to avoid attacks being made on neutral ships in mistake for those of the enemy.

Navigation to the north of the Shetlands, in the eastern parts of the North Sea and through a zone at least thirty nautical miles wide along the Dutch coast is not exposed to danger.

Translated from *Reichsanzeiger*, 4 February, 1915, quoted on pages 260-261 of *Naval Operations*, Vol.II, by Sir Julian S. Cobertt (Battery Press reprint). The reference in the declaration to the British "order" of 31 January alludes to a communique of that date issued by the British Government indicating that it considered the use of false flags to be a legitimate *ruse de guerre*.

27. It also had the more immediate outcome of provoking of retaliation by the British Government's issuance of its Order in Council of March 11, 1915, officializing a blockade against Germany. See, www.lib.bvu.edu/~rdh/wwi/1915/usmarit.html. This in turn eventually brought about unrestricted submarine warfare. See *post*, at 15.

28. *Id.*, at 166.

in modern capital ships, and a 113:72 superiority in lighter vessels³¹. The British fleet also had a 1.5 to 2 knot speed advantage, and 272 heavy guns against the German's 200, an advantage greatly enhanced by a marked superiority in caliber size³².

The outcome of the battle in terms of numerical losses is straightforward³³. The British lost 3 battle cruisers, 3 cruisers, and 8 destroyers, and a total of 6,094 killed (6,945 casualties)³⁴. It lost a total of 111,980 tons. On the other hand the Germans lost one battleship, one pre-dreadnought, four cruisers, and 5 destroyers, with 2,551 killed (3,058 casualties)³⁵ and 62,233 tons lost³⁶.

Notwithstanding these statistics, however, the bottom line was that the day after the battle, 28 British capital ships were fully ready for battle whereas only 10 capital ships in the German Navy would have been able to do battle, and even those were not to be fully operational for months³⁷.

It is important to note for our purposes that *no submarines took part in a combat role at Jutland*³⁸.

Although it can be argued that the German Navy numerically and psychologically won the Battle of Jutland against a clearly superior British force, the importance of this battle, involving exclusively surface forces, is of course not who won numerically, but the fact that it unquestionably established the inability of the German Navy to win a surface naval war in the long run. In effect, the British won the strategic battle,

31. Mader, *supra*, at 437.

32. *Id.*, at 437-438.

33. John M. Campbell, *Jutland: Analysis of the Fighting*, Naval Institute, Annapolis, Md. (1986), at 338-341.

34. *Id.*, at 337. 8.8% of the total strength of ships' companies. Mader, *supra*, Vol.3, at 204.

35. Campbell, *supra*, at 337-338. 6.79% of the the total strength of ships' companies. Mader, *supra*. Vol. 3 at 204.

36. *Id.*, at 202-204; *The European Powers, etc.*, *supra*, at 391.

37. *Id.*, Mader, *supra*, Vol. 3, 204-205; Campbell, *supra*, at 337.

38. *Id.*, at 404.

them. For example, concerning this last point, the approximate cost of a submarine in Germany in 1914 was about Rm 2 million⁴¹, as compared to a capital ship's cost of Rm 50-75 million⁴², yet submarines could and did attack and seriously damage such vessels⁴³. Furthermore, the construction time of a submarine, from laying of the keel to launching, was only about 12-18 months⁴⁴, as compared to at least 3 years for a capital ship⁴⁵. Thus, economic and logistic considerations alone would have led German naval strategists to eventually conclude that the submarine should be promoted as a major component of its naval strategy against the Allies.

Other events caused this decision to take a more direct path.

D. The British Blockade

At the beginning of the War the Allied Powers, led by Great Britain, decided upon the use of the blockade as a strategic method of economic warfare against the Central Powers, but most importantly against Germany⁴⁶. Although all Allied

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41. The costs varied from Rm 1.9 million (for U-1) to Rm 3.5 (for U-66 to 70). See, Erich Groner, **Die deutschen Kriegsschiffe 1815-1945**, Bernard Kamp, Graefe Verlag, Vol. 3, Koblenz (1985).
 42. This was the approximate cost of a British dreadnought in 1905, the variation being caused by the differences in equipment, machinery, and other technical matters. The average cost of a German *Kaiser Class* dreadnought in 1909-1910 was L12.4 million, and it took 3 years to build. *Jane's / World War I*, *supra*, at 105.
 43. Although no British capital ships were sunk by German U-Boats during World War I, it was not from lack of trying. Five British battleships were torpedoed and seriously damaged by German submarines: *Britannia* on 9 November 1918, *Cornwallis* on 9 January 1917, *Formidable* on 1 January 1915, *Triumph* on 25 May 1915, and *Majestic* 9 January 1915. *Id.*, at 313.
 44. Rossler, *supra*, at 65-66.
 45. It took about 3 years to build a dreadnought. *Jane's*, *supra*, at 41, 105.
 46. Archibald Bell, **A History of the Blokade of Germany, 1914-18**, HMSO, 1937, London, 1961; Richard Hough, **The Great War at Sea, 1914-18**, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1983, Marion C. Sinez, **The Allied Blockade**, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1957. See *ante*, at N. 27.

IV. The Counter Blockade: the Precursor to Unrestricted Submarine Warfare

Because the German surface fleet was unable to attack the British blockading force directly, on February 4, 1915, the German High Command put in place what amounted to a counter blockade, that is, they established a war zone around the British Isles and the approaches to the French Coast⁵². Any vessel entering that war zone was presumed to be carrying contraband destined for the Allies and subject to attack⁵³. Of course Allied ships were subject to attack wherever found. It became self evident that only a fleet of submarines would be in a position to make the war zone a credible strategy⁵⁴. Their relatively short building time and comparatively great offensive power made submarines the ideal weapon for an overall blockade around the British Isles and the Mediterranean⁵⁵.

In this respect the psychological turning point had commenced as early as September of 1914 when the German *U-21* sank the British light cruiser *Pathfinder*, and a single German submarine, the *U-9*, sank three British armored cruisers, *Cressy*, *Houge*, and *Aboukir*, off the Dutch coast⁵⁶. In October the *U-9* struck again, this time sinking the cruiser *Hawke*, while the *U-27* sank the British submarine *E-3* and the seaplane carrier *Hermes*. In November the gunboat *Niger* was sunk by *U-12*, and the New Year brought the first major attack of a capital ship by a submarine when *U-23* torpedoed and caused major damage to the battleship *Formidable* on January 1, 1915.

Clearly the time of the submarine as an offensive naval weapon had come. But it still took another year for Germany

52. *Id.*; Terraine, *supra*, at 9. See *ante*, at N. 26.

53. *Id.*

54. Terraine, *supra*, at 666.

55. Rossler, *supra*, at 78.

56. Hazlett, *supra*, at 27-28.

States into the War⁶¹.

This latter prospect, and the pressure of the military situation at the end of 1916 and early 1917⁶², led to the final adjustment in the German strategy regarding the use of the submarine.

V. Unrestricted Submarine Warfare is Declared by Germany

Under pressure from the German High Command and with the support of the Naval Staff, the Germans decided upon unrestricted submarine warfare as the strategy that would bring Great Britain to the bargaining table before effective entry of the United States on the side of the Allies. This decision was reached on 9 January, 1917 and was preceded by considerable internal debates and discussion within the German Government.

A. The von Tirpitz Memorandum

As early as 13 February, 1916 Admiral von Tirpitz, Secretary of State of the Imperial Marine Service, sent Chancellor von Bertmann-Hollweg a memorandum in which

61. One of the contributing factors was the sinking of the British passenger liner *Lusitania* off the southern coast of Ireland on 7 May 1915, with the loss of 128 United States citizens. Although the German Consulate in New York had warned U.S. citizens against traveling on this voyage, and it is almost certain that the *Lusitania* was both armed and carried a large amount of munitions on board, its sinking was a *cause celebre* in the United States and undoubtedly greatly influenced public opinion against the Germans. Colin Simpson, *The Lusitania*, Little, Brown, Boston (1972). See, Note sent by President Wilson on 13 May, 1915 at, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1915, *Supplement*, at 393 ff. After this sinking, and as a result of the furor provoked in American public opinion, German submarine warfare was suspended temporarily in the war zone surrounding Great Britain, and was shifted instead to the Mediterranean. It returned to the Atlantic in full force in 1917.

62. *The European Powers*, etc., *supra*, at 671.

endorff who stated that “time is working against us; the blockade is becoming more and more oppressive”, and argued for the commencement of unrestricted submarine warfare⁶⁸. In this he was supported by Admiral von Chapelle⁶⁹. The opposing view, strongly stated by Secretary of State von Jagow, argued that such tactics would turn all neutrals against Germany, including entry of the United States into the War into the Allied camp. He saw “nothing but catastrophe” in such a course of action. The Chancellor expressed doubts about the ability to encircle England sufficiently to force it to sue for peace, and in any event believed that no such action could be taken without consulting Germany’s allies⁷⁰. The conference thus ended without a concrete decision upon any action.

C. Admiral von Holtendorff’s Think Tank at Work

After this conference Admiral von Holtendorff gathered a group of experts in diverse fields in the Admiralty’s Department B1 for the purpose of making his case⁷¹. The group was a cross section of German society and included leading financial, commercial, agrarian and industrial representatives.

The committee’s work was memorialized in a document dated 22 December 1916, which concluded in substance that: (1) the War had to be brought to an end “by the autumn of 1917” or the consequences would be “fatal” for Germany, (2) the disruption caused by interruption in the receipt of raw material and food shortages would bring the British economy

68. *Id.*

69. *Id.*

70. *Id.*

71. Holger H. Herwig, *Total Rhetoric, Limited War: Germany’s U-Boat Campaign 1917-1918*, *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, Spring, 1998 (electronic journal), available at <http://www.stratnet.ucalgary.ca/journal/articles.html>.

The fact is that Germany simply did not have enough submarines available to carry out the "total" war that was urged upon it by the admirals and generals. In this it was they who were principally to blame for their earlier near-sightedness⁷⁴.

Although the Submarine Inspectorate at Kiel had as far back as June, 1914 estimated that a minimum of 222 submarines were needed to mount an effective blockade of the waters surrounding the British Isles, most were never built on time⁷⁵. In 1915, Germany had an average of only 48 U-Boats available for all of its operations in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean⁷⁶. In 1916, this figure had climbed to 58 boats⁷⁷, and in February 1, 1917 total submarine forces stood at 111, of which only 82 were stationed in the Atlantic and the North Sea⁷⁸. This figure does not give an accurate picture of the situation, however: considering boats undergoing repairs and those returning or going to the war zone, there were on average only 32 boats on station to enforce the counter blockade against the British Isles⁷⁹. Furthermore, not all were long range attack submarines, some were coastal or mine laying boats. In the last analysis, an average of only 20 U-Boats were on station at any one time in the critical waters off western Britain⁸⁰.

There were other tactical and technological factors that helped to attenuate the impact of unrestricted submarine warfare. These include the development of underwater listening gear, and depth charges, as well as the use of convoys to escort merchant and troop laden vessels, procedures that came to their own in full after the United States entered the War.

74. *See ante*, at 2-4.

75. Herwig, *Total Rhetoric*, *supra*.

76. *Id.*

77. *Id.*

78. *Id.*

79. *Id.*

80. *Id.*

man strength on the Western Front had exceeded the Allies by 324,000 rifles⁸⁴. By October with 29 U.S. divisions holding 101 miles of the front lines (23% of the total), the Allies exceeded the Germans by more than 600,000 rifles⁸⁵. The issue was not just added strength in troops, but the fact that the U.S. troops relieved substantial French and British troops from the front lines, where they had been almost continuously fighting, with appalling casualties⁸⁶, for three years⁸⁷.

The material contributions to the Allied cause were also substantial. For a period of 25 months, commencing in April, 1917, the United States spent \$1 million an hour on its direct war effort plus another \$0.5 million an hour in expenditure loan to the Allies, to help replenish their coffers which were near exhaustion⁸⁸. Additionally, about 7.5 million tons of cargo were carried to Europe, almost exclusively in U.S. bottoms⁸⁹, containing not only war related material, but also considerable food stuff to aid civilian populations, particularly in France. In 1917 the U.S. Food Administration reported that France's 1918 wheat crop was short by one half, the potato crop by one third, the sugar-beet by two-thirds, the number of cattle decreased by one sixth, the sheep by over one third, and hogs by two fifths, as compared to France's 1917 levels⁹⁰.

84. *Statistical Summary, supra.*

85. *Id.*

86. France lost 1,357,800 killed and 4,266,000 wounded; the British Empire lost 908,371 killed and 2,090,212 wounded. *See*, <http://www.home.zonnet.nl/rene.brouwer/>.

87. *See, The Allies Appeal for American Assistance, at* <http://www.lib.byu.edu/~rdh/www/1918/amicome.html>.

88. *Statistical Summary, supra.*

89. *Id.*

90. *McMurry, supra.*

VII. In Conclusion

At the commencement of World War I, submarine warfare was not considered by German naval authorities to be an important component of German naval strategy. This view gradually changed, to the point that by the War's end submarine warfare was the almost exclusive form of naval activity against the Allies, and certainly the most effective. This conversion came about gradually, and was fueled by three principal circumstances: (1) the inability of the German surface Navy to face the numerically superior British Navy with a modicum of possibility of success, (2) the need to create a cost effective and rapidly built alternative to surface confrontation that would allow effective attacks against the naval forces blockading the German homeland, and (3) the exigency to create a counter-blockading force to prevent strategic supplies from reaching Great Britain and France, and thus bring them to the negotiating table as soon as possible.

All things considered, the German submarine service performed its mission in admirable fashion and arguably came close to achieving the assigned goal. Had the German hierarchy been more farsighted in the use of the submarine and earlier prepared to apply it in an expanded strategic role, the War could have been more substantially affected, even if the outcome probably would have eventually remained unaltered.

MISS ALICE GOULD, PUERTO RICO, Y SUS AMIGOS

István Szászdi León-Borja
A la memoria de don Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois

Hace cincuenta años, en la fiesta de Santiago, falleció en la entrada del castillo de Simancas, el archivo europeo más importante en documentación sobre la Edad Moderna, una de las más notables historiadoras concedoras de la Historia de los Descubrimientos Geográficos, la investigadora norteamericana Miss Alice Gould. Quiero participar en su recordación ofreciendo algunos testimonios dispersos de la generación anterior a la mía de historiadores americanistas que conocieron a Alicia Gould. Algunos eran personas muy queridas y cercanas para mí como mi padrino fray Lino Gómez Canedo O.F.M., Úrsula Lamb, Manuel Ballesteros, Roberto Ferrando y otros.

Debido a que Miss Alice reorientó su actividad investigadora –cosa que marcaría su trayectoria personal– al realizar un viaje a Puerto Rico, la Isla en que nació, comenzaré haciendo memoria de cómo ella descubrió su vocación por la historia y concretamente la Historia de los Descubrimientos y Colón.

Según recordara don Ramón Carande, en el esbozo biográfico que escribió de Gould y que dedicara a Úrsula Lamb, el año de 1903 –y por tanto a los 35 años de edad– doña Alicia viajó a la isla de Puerto Rico, que desde 1898 pertenecía a los Estados Unidos tras la Guerra Hispano-Americana. Decía el gran historiador de Carlos V y sus banqueros que

— *¿Podría yo conseguir estos estudios del Dr. Stahl sobre la "Flora Puertorriqueña"?*

— *Creo que sí. Le daré una tarjeta de recomendación para el sabio amigo que vive en un pueblo inmediato.*

A los pocos días se me presentó Miss Gould estupefacta y me dijo:

— *Visité al Dr. Stahl en Bayamón. Me recibió afectuosamente y me manifestó que no conservaba ninguno de esos folletos que yo deseaba. Le dije: Y ¿por qué no hace usted una segunda edición? Me miró muy sorprendido, abrió los ojos y se echó a reír. Le dije: Y ¿por qué se ríe usted? Y me preguntó: ¿Lleva usted mucha prisa No, le repliqué. Pues entonces oiga:*

— *Cuando publiqué el panfleto que creía yo más interesante de mis tres folletos, juzgué conveniente para ayudarme al pago de la imprenta y a las subsiguientes publicaciones, colocar algunos de ellos entre mis amigos. Se trataba de una pequeña cantidad. A los pocos días vi por casualidad en la cocina de mi casa una libra de granos y otra de azúcar envueltas en hojas de mi folleto "Las Talamifloras". Primero me indigné, luego me eché a reír. Por último el cajón que guardaba estos folletos, que nadie solicitaba porque no iba yo personalmente a meterlos por las narices se llenó de cucarachas y ordené entonces, al estilo de Omar con la biblioteca de Alejandría, aunque en más pequeña escala, que se quemara el maldito cajón en mitad del patio de mi casa.*

El doctor, después de haberme hecho esta confidencia, se echó de nuevo a reír.²

Como se aprecia, Miss Alice estaba interesada en la botánica y la flora de la Isla del Encanto. Al fin y al cabo esos parecían ser sus intereses por esas fechas de creer a Carande quien nos describe cómo ella abrigaba una profunda admiración e interés por la obra del sabio naturalista suizo Juan

2. Cayetano Coll y Toste, "Puertorriqueños ilustres. Dr. Agustín Stahl". *Boletín Histórico de Puerto Rico*. Marzo-Abril, año V - 2. San Juan, Puerto Rico, 1918, pp. 73-74.

permitted conocer anécdotas de Alicia —como la llamaba el llorado don Manuel—. Ella fue su madrina de bautismo, sospecho que no imaginaban los Ballesteros que Miss Alice Gould, de padre unitario y madre episcopal, era protestante o para decir lo mismo carismática para la Iglesia Católica, cuando llevó entre sus brazos a don Manuel a las aguas del bautismo en la catedral hispalense. Sucedió el nacimiento de su primogénito en 1909, don Antonio y doña Mercedes quisieron demostrar el respeto que tenían por esa sencilla norteamericana, moderna sin resultar inquietante, respetuosa de España y apasionada por su Historia, que acababan de conocer. A pesar de los esfuerzos de doña Mercedes Gaibrois nunca consiguió convencerla para que se convirtiera al Catolicismo, le decía que ella lo haría de buen grado pero que qué dirían sus parientes los Quincy de Massachusetts...⁴

Como ha señalado Roberto Ferrando, discípulo de don Manuel Ballesteros y catedrático del Instituto, en el acto recordatorio celebrado en el Instituto Internacional de Madrid en memoria de Miss Alice, el pasado 3 de octubre de 2003, la influencia de la investigadora fue tan grande que estimuló las importantes investigaciones científicas del propio don Antonio Ballesteros, quien hasta entonces era conocido como experto medievalista, auxiliándole con documentación producto de sus cartas científicas en el Archivo General de Indias. Su vinculación afectiva con los Ballesteros duró hasta su fallecimiento.⁵

Igualmente la apreciaban un número extenso de historiadores por su gran generosidad y modestia. Ella quería ayudar a todos los que la buscaban —y no buscaban— en apu-

4. Comunicación personal del doctor Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (Sevilla, 1909–Madrid, 2002).

5. El homenaje madrileño estuvo coordinado por la Sra. Kathleen E. Le Mieux. Parte de este trabajo fue presentado entonces, ante diversas autoridades y público. Por la tarde tuvo lugar la sesión de inauguración del año académico de la Real Academia de la Historia, sesión que fue dedicada a la memoria de Miss Alice con una importante conferencia del académico español Dr. D. Miguel Ángel Laredo Quesada.

Para este menester escribió una carta de presentación dirigida al Director del Archivo General de Simancas, don Ricardo Magdaleno Redondo. La dicha carta esta fechada en Sevilla a 29 de julio de 1947, y dice así:

Querido amigo: Tengo el gusto de presentarte a la Profesora Lamb, de Columbia University, que ha trabajado aquí una temporada sobre Frey Nicolás de Ovando (pariente de mi Juan) y piensa ir unos días por ese Archivo. Mil gracias desde ahora por todo cuanto podáis hacer para facilitar sus trabajos, cuyo éxito a todos nos interesa. ¿Está ahí Miss Alice?...?

Sí, felizmente, Miss Alice estaba allí. Y digo felizmente para Úrsula, porque aquel encuentro no sólo le permitiría acceder a una documentación fundamental para su investigación sobre el gobierno del Comendador Mayor de Alcántara en el Nuevo Mundo, sino que sería el nacimiento de una larga amistad que como he escrito en otra parte permaneció hasta después de la muerte de la investigadora de Nueva Inglaterra, a quien rendimos respetuoso recuerdo. La incansable Úrsula Lamb se presentó en el castillo un caluroso 1 de agosto de aquel año de 1947 y después de las cortesías de rigor con su dirección se presentó ante Miss Alice. Aquella joven le cayó particularmente bien. La propia Úrsula Lamb recuerda aquel encuentro con estas palabras:

En el Archivo Nacional de Simancas tuve la buena fortuna de tener por guía a la difunta Miss Alice Gould, decana de los americanos expertos en Colón que han venido a España. Pese a la presión de su propio trabajo y a la ligera indisposición que padecía, me llevó personalmente por todo el edificio, y pude beneficiarme en grado sumo de una gran parte de la buena voluntad que se había ganado entre los españoles y que tan generosamente

7. Archivo General de Simancas, Expediente de Investigador, año 1947, Leg. 110, n° 21.

vencita, provocando el disgusto de su padre.¹⁰ Debió ver en Úrsula Lamb muchas cosas de sí misma. También la alemana había tenido que probar su capacidad desde su nacimiento por ser mujer.¹¹ Las dos eran ordenadas en el trabajo y amantes de la perfección. Miss Alice era en cierta manera una náufraga cultural de un mundo occidental que el presidente Wilson¹² y G. Clemenceau redujeron a pedazos, aunque sin renunciar a la esperanza de un mañana más justo para la humanidad, también Lamb, sólo que ella vivió otro tipo de exilio –teniendo que sufrir ser alemana– y haber sido testigo de la escena final de aquella destrucción del viejo orden iniciada en 1914: el régimen de Adolfo Hitler que terminó con acabar a la vieja Europa.

Miss Alice le facilitó a Úrsula Lamb, con enorme despeggo y generosidad, los documentos del proceso de los Tapia contra Frey Nicolás, el resto del primer juicio de residencia conservado en el Nuevo Mundo. Ella lo había encontrado y sabía su valor pero pensó antes en lo bueno que era para Úrsula. Y efectivamente, ésa fue una de las más importantes aportaciones de su libro. Úrsula siempre creyó tener una gran deuda de gratitud con su amiga, así siempre aprovecharía la oportunidad de recordarla.¹³

Muchas veces pienso en las dos. Las dos hicieron el bien con los demás. Las dos amaron a las Américas y a España. En nuestro mundo tan altamente competitivo y carente de humanidad Alicia Gould es un ejemplo para los investigadores de una abnegada creyente en la solidaridad y amistad como profunda manifestación de la divinidad y del bien en este mundo. Ella supo vivir y morir coherentemente con sus ideales de vida.

10. Carande, op. cit., p. 4.

11. Según le confesó en su partida de nacimiento su padre mostró su disgusto de no haber tenido un varón inscribiéndola como "*cosa del género femenino*".

12. Quien, por cierto, enseñó en el college en que Miss Alice hizo sus estudios.

13. Como hizo en el artículo: "*Pioneers of Discovery History in the Spanish Archives, Alice Gould and Irene Wright: A memoir*".

EL CANJE DE LA MONEDA MACUQUINA EN PUERTO RICO: VISIÓN DEL ESTAMENTO MILITAR EN 1857

Jorge L. Crespo Armáiz'

Introducción

Una de las singularidades que más sobresale dentro del desarrollo económico de Puerto Rico durante la época del dominio colonial español, es la multiplicidad de mecanismos y sistemas monetarios ensayados para enfrentar la condición de continua escasez de numerario circulante en el País. Debido a la relativa ausencia de grandes recursos de metales preciosos en la Isla (en comparación con otras jurisdicciones del imperio, como Perú y Méjico por ejemplo). Puerto Rico no tuvo nunca la capacidad, y por ende la autorización, de acuñar moneda localmente.²

1. El autor es Secretario de la Sociedad Numismática de Puerto Rico y estudiante del programa doctoral en Historia del Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe en San Juan. El artículo es una adaptación de una monografía final del curso de Investigación Histórica en los Archivos Militares de Madrid.
2. Las cecas principales de acuñación en el nuevo mundo fueron establecidas en los grandes centros de acumulación de riqueza: primeramente en Méjico (1535), seguido por Santo Domingo, Lima, Potosí, Cartagena y La Plata, entre otras.

la emisión de papel moneda provisional de manufactura local, con la promesa de redimirlo a la llegada de algún futuro situado. Considerando que ya no podrían depender de los situados como fuente de dinero en metálico, y ante la imperiosa necesidad de amortizar y sustituir el papel moneda que tantos malestares provocó entre la población, en 1813 se autorizó la circulación de la llamada moneda "*macuquina*". Esta era una moneda de factura y corte irregular, que se prestaba a la mutilación y desgaste por comerciantes y especuladores, generando también mucho malestar entre la población. Aún así, la moneda macuquina se mantendrá en uso por unos 44 años, hasta su retiro y canje definitivo en 1857.

El presente trabajo tiene como objetivo analizar la visión y perspectiva del estamento o autoridades militares de la Isla respecto al canje final de la moneda macuquina en 1857. Para ello utilizaremos como referencia principal documentos primarios del Archivo General Militar de Madrid, complementados con otras fuentes secundarias.

Desarrollo Monetario de Puerto Rico hacia Principios del Siglo XIX

Según expusimos en la sección anterior, desde finales del siglo XVI, y por unos 222 años, la principal fuente de apoyo económico y monetario de la Isla de San Juan Bautista lo fueron las remesas del llamado "*Situado Mejicano*". Muchos historiadores y estudiosos de nuestro desarrollo económico han argumentado incorrecta e injustamente a nuestro parecer, que este largo período de dependencia sobre el "*situado*" no fue sino un reflejo de las condiciones de retraso e indolencia de la población local, lo cual llevó a la necesidad de establecer estas subvenciones por determinación de la Corona. Esta visión paternalista se perfila ya en la relación que del desarrollo histórico de la Isla encontramos en los informes oficialistas del gobierno militar norteamericano tras

ello, el *"situado"* no fue en sí mismo el causante del estado de atraso económico y social de la Isla, ni su institución fue el factor determinante de que en ella no prosperasen las actividades agrícolas e industriales. Las condiciones imperantes de atraso en la agricultura, el comercio y las industrias —no sólo en Puerto Rico, sino en la mayoría de las posesiones españolas de ultramar— fueron reflejo de la diferencia en el nivel de atraso de las estructuras sociales y económicas españolas en contraste con otras potencias europeas. No empecé a liderar el continente europeo en los grandes descubrimientos geográficos, España era aún un país semi-feudal, con mucho poder concentrado en las altas castas nobles y una pequeña burguesía casi inexistente. El enfoque español en su empresa colonizadora fue pues uno de extremo mercantilismo, desarrollando mecanismos monopolísticos de explotación para beneficio unilateral de la Corona, sin prestar mayor interés en desarrollar el potencial económico endógeno de sus posesiones de ultramar. El monopolio español se concentró en controlar el comercio y la navegación, enfocando en salvaguardar el flujo de materia prima, y esencialmente de los metales preciosos necesarios para financiar sus guerras en el viejo continente. En contraste, otras potencias como Inglaterra, Francia y Holanda (caracterizadas por un mayor espíritu empresarial y una fuerte burguesía comercial y bancaria) estimularon la producción local.⁵

Dentro de esta perspectiva apropiada, los *"situados"* no fueron el factor causante de la indolencia o la falta de productividad local, sino un elemento más del paradigma mercantilista español. Claro está, según ya adelantamos, además de cumplir un objetivo estratégico específico, por sobre 200 años, los situados constituyeron la principal inyección de numerario circulante del país. Por ello los retrasos en su

5. Bosch, Juan. **De Cristóbal Colón a Fidel Castro: El Caribe Frontera Imperial**. Alfa y Omega, Santo Domingo, 1983, páginas 21-27. Sobre este punto véase también la obra de Eric Williams, **From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean**. Vintage Books, 1984.

Antillas, la isla se convirtió rápidamente en uno de los puntos receptores principales del envío de los "situados". Como ya se ha establecido, la institución del situado nace de la incapacidad local para solventar los gastos de la plaza ya que, como indica Brau: "*mal podrían las rentas públicas cubrir gastos extraordinarios cuando no alcanzaban a remediar los más precisos. A falta de moneda circulante se practicaba la recaudación de tributos en especies*".⁸

Es difícil construir una serie histórica precisa de las remesas del situado asignadas o recibidas en la Isla desde su autorización inicial hasta su cese definitivo a inicios del siglo XIX, debido principalmente a la condición fragmentada de la información y, en muchos casos, a la ausencia total de datos para periodos específicos. Para propósitos de nuestro trabajo utilizaremos dos fuentes principales. En primer término, haremos referencia a los datos recopilados por José F. Cruz Arrigoitia, quien desarrolló en 1984 una investigación que le permitió reconstruir el período inicial de asignaciones del situado para Puerto Rico entre 1582 al 1599. En segundo lugar, nos referiremos a los datos presentes en las **Memo**rias de Pedro Tomás de Córdova, y los cuales cubren principalmente el período entre 1766 al 1810, o sea, la fase final de los envíos. Esto deja un vacío de unos 165 años (entre 1600 al 1765) para el cual no contamos con datos precisos. No obstante, los datos disponibles proveen información muy relevante sobre el origen y la fase inicial de los envíos, así como de la dinámica de los situados durante su fase crítica de declive y suspensión, siendo éste precisamente el período de mayor relevancia en tanto que en él se patentiza con claridad el impacto negativo que sobre la economía del país tuvo la dependencia sobre este sistema.

En su estudio sobre la fase inicial del situado en Puerto Rico, Cruz de Arrigoitia documenta (a través del examen de la correspondencia, cédulas y otros documentos en el Archivo General de Indias, en Sevilla), las fechas específicas de la

8. Brau, *op. cit.*, página 96.

pecífica nuevamente en 2,686,275 maravedies (80,000 reales) para los gastos de Puerto Rico.

Esta última fecha (1586) es la que se cita comúnmente en los diversos libros de texto como la fecha de la institución del situado para Puerto Rico, lo cual, como vemos resulta incorrecto, ya que la remesa se instituyó desde 1582.¹¹ La primera remesa del situado recibida efectivamente en la Isla arribó el 15 de octubre de 1587, esto es, unos cinco (5) años posterior a la autorización inicial. Esto representaba una deuda de unos 13,431,375 maravedies (unos 398,000 reales) de parte de la tesorería novohispana para con los gastos de la guarnición de la Isla. No empecé a que se solicitó el pago de toda la cantidad adeudada, le remesa inicial de 1587 fue de sólo 5,400,000 maravedies (160,000 reales).

Situados Recibidos en Puerto Rico (1587 al 1599)

Situados Recibidos en Puerto Rico
(1587 al 1599)

Años	Situados		Total	%	Comentarios
	Guarnición	Construcción			
1587	160,000	0	160,000		
1588	160,000	0	160,000		
1589	0	0	0		Reorganización del situado
1590	224,615	0	224,615		
1591	97,840	0	97,840		
1592	0	0	0		Naufragio por huracán
1593	737,361	0	737,361		
1594	0	0	0		
1595	0	0	0		
1596	0	178,000	178,000		
1597	0	111,111	111,111		
1598	0	89,000	89,000		
1599	0	89,000	89,000		
Totales	1,379,816	467,111	1,846,927	74.7%	25.3%

FUENTE: Cruz de Arrigoitia, José F. El Situado Mejicano: Origen y Desarrollo en Puerto Rico durante los Años 1582 a 1599. Citas en reales

11. Esto se confirma además en Cruz Monclova, Lidio. **Historia de Puerto Rico. Siglo XIX.** Tomo I (1808-1868). Editorial Universitaria, 1970, página 15

Como hemos visto, uno de los aspectos más difíciles del estudio del *situado* en Puerto Rico es, en primera instancia, el determinar la cuantía exacta de estas remesas hacia la Isla durante los 222 años en que se entiende perduraron dichas transferencias (desde 1587 al 1809). Las cifras que existen en fuentes secundarias para los años de finales del siglo XVIII e inicios del XIX, a más de incompletas, son bastantes conflictivas. Coll y Toste, por ejemplo, señala:

*“Este ingreso consistía de 225 mil pesos anuales, que enviaban las cajas reales de Méjico para las fortificaciones de San Juan y sostenimiento de la guarnición de artillería e ingeniería. Por la real orden de 1784 se redujo a 100 mil pesos. En calidad de depósito y a suplir las faltas, para cuando no llegara el situado de Méjico, había en Puerto-Rico 300 mil pesos de las cajas reales de Guatemala, en virtud de la real orden del 2 de mayo de 1767. En el año de 1643 el situado venía de Cartagena de Indias. De 1790 a 1809 la suma total recibida ascendió a 4,408,991 pesos, 4 reales y 27 maravedís”.*¹³

Las cifras citadas por Coll y Toste provienen a su vez de la obra documental de Don Pedro Tomás de Córdova.¹⁴ Sin embargo, Coll y Toste no especifica la fecha del envío de los 225,000 pesos,¹⁵ haciendo inferir, equivocadamente, que di-

13. Coll y Toste, Cayetano. **Reseña del Estado Social, Económico e Industrial de la Isla de Puerto Rico al tomar Posesión de ella los Estados Unidos**. Imprenta de La Correspondencia, San Juan, 1899. Edición facsimilar de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia, 2003, páginas 386-387.
14. De Córdova, Pedro Tomás. **Memorias Geográficas, Históricas, Económicas y Estadísticas de la Isla de Puerto Rico**. (6 Vols.) 1832. Edición facsimilar del Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, Editorial Coquí, 1968 y **Memoria sobre todos los Ramos de la Administración de la Isla de Puerto Rico**. Madrid, 1838. Edición facsimilar de la Academia Puertorriqueña de la Historia, Luis E. González Vales (Ed.), 2001.
15. Ya para esta época las cifras se establecen en el **peso** como unidad monetaria (equivalente a ocho reales de 12 º centavos cada uno, ó un peso = ocho reales = 100 centavos).

*“Pero oíanse con gran regocijo estas campanadas, cuando el situado, que se traía de México, se esperaba con impaciencia, por no haber venido a su tiempo. . . Cuéntanme, que por vivir de aquel situado gran parte de los vecinos (entonces era la ciudad y su comarca lo más numeroso y poblado de la Isla), ocasionaba la llegada de aquel auxilio, mucha alegría, siendo conducido desde el muelle en mulas primorosamente enjaezadas, y al son de música. . . [al grito de Velas, Velas] . . . esto recordaba sin duda el alborozo que solía ocasionar a nuestros abuelos el anuncio del situado . . .”*¹⁹

Como hemos apuntado con anterioridad, la institución de los situados, no sólo para Puerto Rico sino también para otras jurisdicciones como Santo Domingo, Cartagena de Indias, la Florida e incluso La Habana, respondía a la finalidad geopolítica específica de fortalecer y mantener los gastos de operación de los enclaves de importancia estratégica para la protección de la ruta de las flotas españolas. No fue su propósito expreso el servir de mera transferencia de subsidios para estimular la dependencia económica de dichas poblaciones. Sin embargo, el paradigma de extremo centralismo imperante en la empresa colonial española nunca estimuló ni apoyó el desarrollo de la capacidad productiva de Puerto Rico, limitando grandemente su capacidad de desarrollo endógeno, y por ende, de generar los recursos fiscales para cubrir sus propias necesidades.

La Crisis Monetaria de inicios del Siglo XIX: Rol del Intendente Alejandro Ramírez

El situado constituyó pues un elemento que vino, no a atenuar esta situación sino por el contrario a reforzar la mis-

19. Tapia y Rivera, Alejandro. **Mis Memorias**. Edición original de 1928. Edición de Cultural Puertorriqueña Inc., 1992, páginas 62 y 64.

queos directos de piratas comunes o de corsarios de distintas potencias extranjeras. Pero nunca dicha falta fue sentida con mayor gravedad que a inicios del siglo XIX. La convulsión derivada de los movimientos libertadores que llevarían a la independencia de las antiguas colonias españolas continentales, incluyendo al Virreinato de Nueva España, afectó grandemente le estabilidad de los envíos de las tan esperadas remesas.

Según explica González Vales²¹ la situación más crítica la confrontó el mariscal Don Toribio Montes, quien asumió la gobernación de la Isla el 12 de noviembre de 1804 y cesó el 30 de junio de 1809. Precisamente en 1804 (primer año de incumbencia de Montes), se inicia un largo período de ausencia del situado, prolongándose por cinco años consecutivos (1804 al 1808). Ya en 1809 Montes envió directamente a Méjico (no a La Habana como era costumbre), al teniente de infantería Diego Pizarro para reclamar el situado. Aunque en total se debía a la Isla una suma de 2,000,000 de pesos, el virrey Pedro Garibay remitió una remesa de 500,000 pesos.²² Más adelante, su sucesor, el gobernador Salvador Meléndez Bruna, en lo que de seguro sería la última gestión de este tipo en la historia de Puerto Rico, envió a Veracruz al capitán Echavarría en el bergantín "*Arrogante*" en busca del situado.²³

Las irregularidades del situado (hasta su eventual cese definitivo) tuvo como consecuencia que las autoridades locales tuvieran que recurrir a medidas extremas para conjugar la crisis económica que ello generaba ante la ausencia de numerario circulante en la plaza. Las dos medidas principales para ello lo fueron el recurrir a la solicitud de préstamos

21. González Vales, Luis E. "La Real Hacienda de Puerto Rico 1765-1816: Apuntes para su Historia"; en **Primer Congreso Internacional de Historia Económica y Social de la Cuenca del Caribe 1763-1898**, Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 1992, página 515.

22. Cruz Monclova, *op. cit.*, página 15, en nota al calce número 23.

23. *Íbid.*, página 60.

enero de 1801] (Notas y énfasis nuestro).²⁵

Además de ilustrar claramente la práctica de los préstamos por la demora de los situados, la cita anterior incluye una alusión directa a un mal considerado mucho peor que los préstamos. Obsérvese que se recurre al mecanismo de los préstamos para “evitar la moneda provisional que trae males y perjuicios a la isla”. Se refiere al uso de “papel moneda” provisional para suplir la ausencia de numerario en plata durante la demora de los situados. Sin dudas la medida que mayor impacto negativo tuvo sobre el funcionamiento económico del país como consecuencia de la ausencia de los situados fue la institucionalización de la emisión de papel moneda, o la llamada “moneda provisional de papeletas”. Dicho papel moneda era confeccionado rústicamente, utilizando para ello papel de sello cortado en tamaños según fuese requerido (dependiendo la denominación) e imprimiéndose el mismo con el valor correspondiente y el uso de diversos símbolos gráficos para evitar en lo posible las falsificaciones. Finalmente, cada billete tenía que ser validado con las rúbricas de los oficiales de la Real Hacienda correspondientes.²⁶ Como se patentizó más adelante, por su carácter rústico y artesanal, todas estas medidas probaron ser insuficientes para evitar el surgimiento de las consabidas falsificaciones.

Aunque en la bibliografía numismática se da por sentado que Puerto Rico tuvo el triste precedente de ser la primera jurisdicción del nuevo mundo en emitir papel moneda, al igual que con el situado, han existido discrepancias respecto a la fecha inicial de dichas emisiones de “moneda provisional”. Algunos autores habían señalado el año de 1779 como la fecha más antigua documentada sobre esta práctica.²⁷ No

25. *Actas del Cabildo de San Juan de Puerto Rico (1798-1803)*. Publicación del Municipio de San Juan, 1968, página 238.

26. González Vales, *op. cit.*, página 516.

27. Ortiz Murías, Jorge. “La Moneda en Puerto Rico” (Parte I). *Revista NUMIEXPO* 1989, Sociedad Numismática de Puerto Rico, página 21.

Real Orden del 31 de agosto de 1812 el gobernador Meléndez Bruna autorizó una emisión inicial de moneda provincial de papeletas en cantidad de 80,000 pesos, la cual fue gradualmente aumentada hasta llegar a los 500,000 pesos en 1813, manteniéndose en circulación hasta principios de 1816, siendo finalmente amortizada gracias a las efectivas gestiones del Intendente Alejandro Ramírez.³²

En ausencia de todo respaldo en metálico, las transacciones del papel moneda se convirtieron en un problema de graves connotaciones negativas, no sólo económicas sino sociales. Citando a Rodríguez Vázquez, *“las emisiones de 1812 trajeron un grave problema económico al país, ya que no existían fondos metálicos para respaldarlo... El papel moneda no gozaba de la aceptación del público ya que debido a la simpleza del diseño inmediatamente comenzó a falsificarse. En poco tiempo depreció su valor llegando a un 400% su devaluación”*.³³ González Vales señala igualmente que *“el resultado fue la desvalorización del papel moneda y la inflación. Los especuladores comenzaron a traficar con el papel moneda y hubo ocasiones en que se cotizó a 300 pesos por uno”*.³⁴

Un repaso a través de las actas del Cabildo de San Juan para estos años nos provee innumerables ejemplos de incidentes en que se patentizan los graves problemas y las distintas instancias en que el papel moneda en circulación afectaba la vida diaria de todos los ciudadanos. A continuación varios de estos ejemplos:

32. González, Jaime. **El Problema Monetario de Puerto Rico**. (inédito, 1934), página 8; González Vales, *op. cit.*, página 524. Para una relación detallada del proceso de creación del papel moneda y la gestión del Intendente Ramírez para su recolección y amortización véase a González Vales, Luis E. **Alejandro Ramírez y su Tiempo: Ensayos de Historia Económica e Institucional**. Editorial Universitaria, 1978, páginas 43-75.

33. Rodríguez Vázquez, **Catálogo ...**, *op. cit.*, página 12.

34. González Vales, *op. cit.*, página 524.

...[El Cabildo deniega esta solicitud] *Que siendo el papel moneda una deuda del estado, y para lo cual el gobierno ha adoptado medios para su amortización... estima el ayuntamiento que los contratos habrán de arreglarse a estos términos*", [25 de marzo de 1815]³⁷

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*"Doña Carlota Sofía Malavé, viuda de don José Bellón, representó nuevamente para que este ilustrado ayuntamiento le conceda en plata la suma de 1,000 pesos que en papel moneda le dio [el gobierno], a cuenta del valor de la casa que tomó para ensanche de la cárcel"*. [22 mayo de 1815]<sup>38</sup>

Pero sin dudas, el impacto mayor y directo del demérito o devaluación de papel moneda lo sufría el pueblo en sus transacciones diarias, a través de la inflación de precios en los artículos de consumo de primera necesidad. La tabla a continuación, extraída de datos publicados en el *Diario Económico de Puerto Rico*, para la fecha del 14 de julio de 1814, ilustra con claridad los graves problemas del papel moneda y su pérdida de valor de cambio respecto a la moneda en metálico.<sup>39</sup>

37. *Ibid.*, página 40-43.

38. *Ibid.*, página 57.

39. *Diario Económico...*, *op. cit.*, Tomo II, Número 2, página 15.

En esta coyuntura de grave crisis, tanto económica como de desconfianza pública generalizada, es que entra en juego la figura del nuevo Intendente Alejandro Ramírez. Ramírez arriba a Puerto Rico el 11 de febrero de 1813 procedente de Guatemala. Ocupará la posición de Intendente de la Real Hacienda hasta inicios de 1816, luego de que dicho cargo fuese separado del de la Capitanía General por Real Orden del 28 de noviembre de 1811. Anteriormente ambas funciones estaban integradas, lo que ocasionó que no se diese una atención efectiva a la política fiscal y al fortalecimiento económico del país.<sup>40</sup> Hombre de gran instrucción y mente liberal, fiel ejemplo de la ilustración de su época, Ramírez comenzó a implantar de inmediato diversas gestiones para fortalecer, no sólo la hacienda pública, sino también el desarrollo agrícola e industrial y, sobre todo, para devolver la confianza de la población en la gestión pública en general. Una de las primeras acciones del nuevo Intendente, y de seguro la de mayor prioridad, fue la amortización y extinción del papel moneda devaluado circulante. El profesor González Vales resume los aspectos principales de estas medidas:

*“Dos medidas inmediatas propuso el intendente Ramírez para amortizar el papel moneda en circulación. Creó un nuevo impuesto sobre el comercio extranjero pagadero en las aduanas en papel moneda. Este nuevo impuesto debía producir entre 4 a 5 mil pesos mensuales ... La otra medida consistió en establecer una Real Lotería que produciría de 3 a 4 mil pesos por sorteo. Todos los fondos así obtenidos serían retirados de circulación y destruidos en ceremonia pública. En adición a estas dos medidas, Ramírez solicitó a los comerciantes de la Isla, un préstamo de ochenta a cien mil pesos en papel moneda para ser destruido inmediatamente... Los prestatarios recibirían intereses al seis por ciento. Estas me-*

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40. González Vales, *Alejandro Ramírez...*, *op. cit.*, página 16.

*neda colonial hispanoamericana, de plata u oro, batida en cospeles irregulares sin cordoncillo, de bordes recortados, espesor y módulo variables y de tosca acuñación, que con el nombre de 'corriente' circuló en América con un valor menor respecto a la de cordoncillo de los tipos columnario y de busto, llamada 'fuerte'".<sup>44</sup>*

Aunque las monedas macuquinas fueron producidas desde inicios de las operaciones de acuñación en el nuevo mundo, en general su propósito era el de proveer un medio de grabar e identificar con un valor ponderal la "pasta" o plata cruda que se remesaba hacia la metrópoli. La subsiguiente aparición de monedas regulares con cordoncillo o borde definido (como las del tipo columnarias o "dos mundos", y posteriormente las de "busto" –por presentar la efigie real– a partir de 1772, bajo el reinado de Felipe V)<sup>45</sup>, suponía la sustitución de la macuquina por circulante de mayor calidad y confiabilidad.

No obstante, enfrentando la carencia de cualquier tipo de circulante en la Isla por el cese de los situados, y ante la imperiosa necesidad de sustituir el gravoso papel moneda provisional, el gobierno local dio paso a la macuquina. Esta decisión estuvo también íntimamente ligada al arribo a la Isla de grandes cantidades de emigrantes incondicionales procedentes de Venezuela, huyendo de las luchas de independencia en el convulsionado país. Según Burzio, los patriotas de Caracas acuñaron grandes cantidades de moneda macuquina entre los años de 1811 al 1813.<sup>46</sup> El objetivo de aprovechar este flujo de emigrantes, con sus consabidos caudales, se denota de forma expresa desde la misma primera oración del propio decreto de Meléndez Bruna:

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44. Burzio, Humberto F. *Diccionario de la Moneda Hispanoamericana*. Fondo Histórico y Bibliográfico José Toribio Medina, Santiago de Chile, 1958, Tomo II, M a Z, página 11.

45. Ortiz Murías, *op. cit.*, página 20.

46. Burzio, *op. cit.*, página 13.

Este problema era previsible, y por ello en el mismo decreto de autorización se establecía que se debería honrar *“por su valor nominal, el mismo que tubiere estampado en su sello, o el que le diere la común aceptación”*. Esta última frase, era una aceptación de la dificultad en identificar con certeza la denominación o valor facial en las monedas macuquinas, dada su tosquedad de acuñación inicial, agravada aún más por el continuo desgaste. Al carecer de borde definido o cordoncillo, una moneda de ocho reales, por ejemplo, podía ser desgastada o cortada sustancialmente, perdiendo valor ponderal (peso en plata) equivalente a varios reales, y aún así el tenedor podía exigir su aceptación por su valor facial, ya que aún la denominación podría ser legible en el cuño.

En su relación sobre la historia del siglo XIX en Puerto Rico, Lidio Cruz Monclova nos provee varias instancias que ilustran los graves problemas que suponía la circulación de la moneda macuquina desgastada:

*“... si en un principio [la moneda macuquina] había contribuido a aliviar la crisis, más adelante la medida se trocó en verdadera calamidad, porque careciendo la macuquina de peso, ley y cuño, las funestas artes de la mala fe no tardaron en entrar en función, con graves quebrantos para los intereses del país”*.<sup>49</sup> [1813]

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“La situación monetaria seguía siendo deplorable. Pues, pese a la circular del general de la Torre, era cada vez mayor el número de los que, en vista del desgaste de las piezas, se negaban a recibir por su legítimo valor las monedas macuquinas de peseta, real y medio real”.⁵⁰ [1828]

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49. Cruz Monclova, *op. cit.*, páginas 67-68.

50. *Ibid.*, página 205.

La moneda macuquina se mantuvo en circulación en la Isla hasta el 1857, año en que se decretó su recogida y canje por moneda “de cordón” de cuño español, por decreto del gobernador Fernando Cotoner (5 de mayo de 1857). Según rezaba el propio decreto, se ordenaba la recogida de la macuquina “*que agobiaba al comercio y afligía a las clases pobres, labrando así, a paso agigantado, la ruina del país*”.<sup>53</sup> En su relación del estado de la Isla de Puerto Rico al momento del cambio de soberanía en 1898, Coll y Toste provee una síntesis del desarrollo monetario del país.<sup>54</sup> Respecto al canje de la macuquina en 1857, señala que en dicha operación la Isla sufrió un último timo como consecuencia de la desvalorización de tan depreciada moneda, ya que para su sustitución por moneda fuerte de cordón, las autoridades españolas le aplicaron un descuento de un 12° por ciento. Esto significó que por cada peso o real de a ocho macuquino, el portador recibió siete (7) reales en moneda “fuerte”, perdiendo un real de valor en el proceso. Según Coll y Toste, la moneda macuquina circulante al momento del canje totalizó \$1,565,466 pesos 40 centavos, de los cuales España proveyó 1,350,000 pesos en nueva moneda de cordón.<sup>55</sup>

## Visión del Estamento Militar ante el Canje de la Moneda Macuquina

Al evaluar los recursos documentales del *Archivo General Militar de Madrid* y su Fondo Documental de la Sección de Ultramar del Ministerio de la Guerra, fue sumamente interesante descubrir tan sólo dos (2) referencias relacionadas al tema monetario de la Isla. Entre estas referencias, ambas muy breves por cierto, resalta el evento del arri-

53. Cruz Monclova, *op. cit.*, página 360.

54. Coll y Toste, *op. cit.*, páginas 13-18.

55. *Ibid.*, página 14.

chivos una de carácter militar, la tendencia es a documentar procesos o eventos directamente relacionados con la seguridad y el orden público de la provincia, o que pudiesen repercutir sobre éstos. En este sentido, y según se ha corroborado a través de diversas fuentes secundarias, la circulación de la moneda macuquina creó infinidad de problemas y malestares a toda la población (incluyendo por supuesto a los milicianos), problemas que sin duda repercutían en el menoscabo de la tranquilidad ciudadana. A diferencia de la crisis del papel moneda, la cual fue resuelta vía la amortización en unos cuatro (4) años, las penurias derivadas de la circulación de esta moneda depreciada habían dilatado ya sobre cuatro décadas.

Aunque la documentación de referencia en el Archivo Militar de Madrid es muy breve (unas ocho páginas), se percibe con suma claridad una tónica de gran satisfacción al notificar al gobierno de la metrópoli el pronto inicio de la operación del canje de la macuquina tras el reciente arribo de la nueva moneda “de cordón” de cuño español. La documentación básicamente corresponde a una carta del gobernador y Capitán General de la Isla, Don Fernando Cotoner, participando al Ministerio de la Guerra este evento, seguida por el correspondiente acuse de recibo de parte del Ministerio (Cotoner fue precisamente quien hizo público el Real Decreto para la recogida y canje de la macuquina, con fecha del 5 de mayo de 1857, y publicado en la *Gaceta* el 27 de julio siguiente).<sup>58</sup> A continuación reproducimos la transcripción de la carta número 295 del gobernador Cotoner, con fecha del 7 de agosto de 1857:

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58. Cruz Monclova, *op. cit.*, página 360 y González, Jaime, *op. cit.*, páginas 137-139.

La carta de Cotoner, fechada unos tres meses posterior al real decreto para la recogida de la macuquina, aunque sencilla y carente de datos sobre sucesos trascendentales, a nuestro entender es reveladora más que por su contenido objetivo, por su contenido *subjetivo*, esto es, por las distintas expresiones anímicas que claramente transmiten el sentir, no sólo del pueblo en general, sino del propio estamento militar ante el comienzo del tan esperado proceso de canje monetario. Desde el punto de vista objetivo, la carta confirma el dato histórico establecido en otras fuentes sobre la fecha del real decreto para el canje (5 de mayo de 1857). Por otra parte ofrece un nuevo dato no registrado o documentado previamente, y es la identificación de la embarcación (el vapor "*Pizarro*") en que arribó a la Isla el cargamento de la nueva moneda española de cordón para efectuar la operación de canje (un total de 1,350,000 pesos, según Coll y Toste, ya citado).

Pero estos datos no son lo trascendental de la carta. Lo que sobresale es la atmósfera de satisfacción que se desprende, de distintas formas, a través del documento. La noticia del arribo del nuevo numerario se describe como un "*fausto acontecimiento*" que tomó por sorpresa a los ciudadanos de la Capital. El gobernador considera de tal magnitud los "*veneficios*" que habrán de tocar a "*todos en general y a cada uno en particular*", que no duda en considerar este acontecimiento como uno que "*formará época en los anales*" del país.

Pero estas expresiones del "*júbilo del pueblo*", fueron también compartidas, al parecer de forma igualmente espontánea, por los distintos niveles directivos de la oficialidad militar de la Isla. Según informa Cotoner, el 27 de julio anterior, recibió la visita de "*los Jefes y oficiales de toda la guarnición*" que al parecer sin previa citación ( "*se me presentó*"), vinieron a comunicarle su satisfacción por el inicio del canje monetario, y a solicitarle remitiera al gobierno de la metrópoli sus expresiones de felicitación por la medida. Aunque, nuevamente podríamos pecar de especulación, nos parece que

El problema de extrema dependencia de Puerto Rico (así como de otras jurisdicciones) sobre las remesas de los “situados” tuvo su origen en la incapacidad de la Isla de generar sus propios ingresos como secuela del subdesarrollo. Ello obedecía a su vez al paradigma mercantilista y semi-feudal implantado por España en sus colonias periferales, el cual no permitía ni incentivaba el fortalecimiento industrial y agrícola de aquellas áreas que, en su concepción geopolítica, tenían la única función de proteger sus rutas mercantiles.

En este contexto de extrema fragilidad, la demora prolongada de los situados (culminando finalmente en su cese definitivo a inicios del siglo XIX), generó profundas crisis económicas en el país, las cuales estaban fundamentadas en la incapacidad de generar sus propios ingresos, y agravadas por la ausencia casi total de numerario circulante. Para enfrentar esta crisis, el gobierno local puso en práctica diversas medidas, incluyendo el aumento de impuestos y aranceles, la solicitud de préstamos a comerciantes y pudientes, la emisión de papel moneda provisional (estos dos últimos redimibles al arribo de los situados pendientes) y la autorización de la entrada y circulación de la moneda macuquina que llegaba en los caudales de los emigrantes que arribaban a la Isla huyendo de las revueltas revolucionarias de «Costa-Firme».

Estas y otras medidas mostraron ser insuficientes para atenuar la crisis económica y monetaria que la Isla enfrentó, con mayor agudeza, a partir del cese definitivo de los situados en 1809. Mucho más que insuficientes, algunas de estas medidas vinieron a agravar la situación, creando otros males sociales *sui generis* de gran impacto negativo entre la población, principalmente los derivados del uso del papel moneda devaluado o falsificado, y de la moneda macuquina depreciada y mutilada por especuladores.

La situación económica de la Isla comenzó a mejorar significativamente con las gestiones acertadas del Intendente Alejandro Ramírez, quién aportó significativamente a for-



ficiarios directos del canje, a la vez que responsables de custodiar la estabilidad y seguridad social, que tanto se afectó por la circulación de tan polémica moneda.

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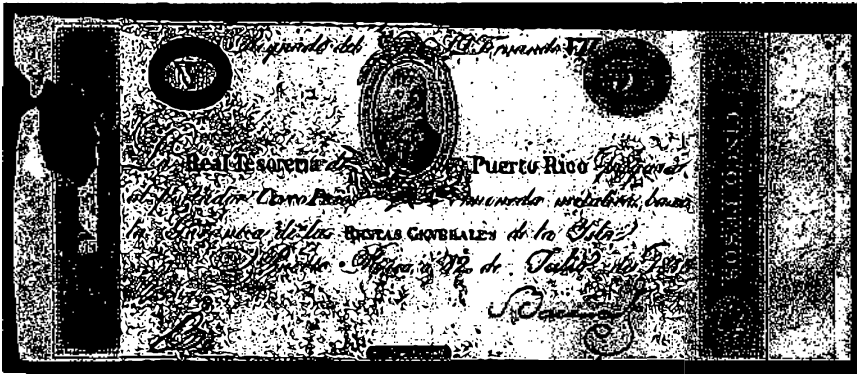
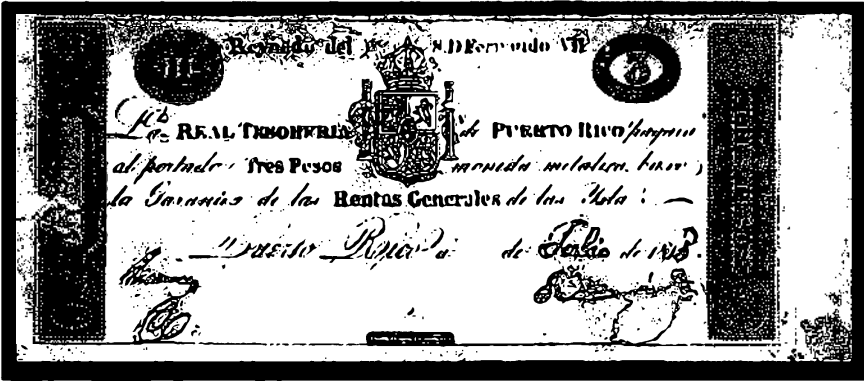


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**Billetes de tres y cinco pesos impresos en Estados Unidos por gestión del Intendente Alejandro Ramírez para reforzar la confianza pública en el papel moneda (1815) (Cortesía Colección Humberto Costa)**



# MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM H. HUNT

(November 5, 1857–February 4, 1949)

## FOREWORD

**I**t is a real happiness to feel that in my chosen field of labor, whether in the studies connected with thirty-five years of judicial responsibilities or in the many years in other public service, executive and legislative positions, I have had many delightful contacts and friendships not only with men and women of learning and influence but also with persons whose practical experiences have been in nearly every phase of the struggle for human existence and welfare. To them I am indeed grateful for a better understanding of my fellow beings. I have known their sympathy; I have been strengthened by their friendships and their uplifting constant confidences in me under every circumstance and time.

It will be apparent that although I have omitted many details of events which have affected my life, heredity and environment have played their part. Retrospection makes that plain to me as I contemplate the span of time between 1857 and the spring of the year 1941 when this outline of my life is brought to a close. There is in bold relief the contrast between the conditions which surrounded the hopes and ambitions of a young man who faced the world then and one who must face it today.

## CHAPTER I

**T**here is no person living who, from his or her personal knowledge, can describe the more intimate habits and ways in which my parents lived about November 5, 1857, when I came into the world; nor have I ever read or heard of any unusual circumstance connected with my birth. I was the fourth son of my parents who lived in a modest brick house on Bourbon Street near the center of the City of New Orleans.

My father, a native of South Carolina, was educated at the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, Connecticut, and at Yale College. He was tall, straight, with dark complexion, piercing brown eyes, perfect teeth and of courtly manners. He looked like a Frenchman, a natural likeness, for his mother, Louisa Gaillard, was a descendant of Pierre Gaillard, who came to South Carolina from France in 1669. My father's father was an Englishman. He was a native of Nassau; he left the West Indies very soon after the Revolutionary War and went to Charleston, South Carolina, where he became an American citizen. In 1805 he married my grandmother, Louisa Gaillard, of French ancestry – Huguenots who went to South Carolina in 1650.

I make little more than passing reference to my ancestors. All of my grandparents died before I was born but "The Life of William H. Hunt," written in 1922 by my brother Thomas, gives the history of the families from which I came. The book is well worth the study of those who come after me. It is not only an accurate record of how our family lived in the South but the author has animated his work with accounts that bring the reader into close association with the traits that made my father so deeply beloved by his children. And in writing this sketch of my own life, there is quickened happiness in the memories of my father. I loved him fervently.

Livingston grant.

My mother's health had been very delicate for a long time and within six weeks after arriving at Ridgely she died on July 29, 1864, leaving six sons and one daughter. Fortunately for this motherless family, my Aunt Emma, my father's maiden sister, was with us at the time and took charge of the household. She had the character, the affectionate disposition and the ability to assume the responsibilities imposed by the situation. We were truly as devoted to her as we could have been to our mother.

Aunt Emma was in many respects a remarkable woman. She bore herself as do many English ladies; she was stern and quiet, with perfect ease and patience which made her conduct of family affairs firm. She was tall in figure, had black piercing eyes, never appeared to be angry, and never, as I recall her, was she partial in her control of the seven of us. Gaillard, the youngest of us, was less than two years old when our mother died and solely because of his tender age, possibly he was the one upon whom she bestowed the most tender attention.

When the summer had passed the seven of us were taken to New Orleans, but we returned to Ridgely in June, 1865. That fall my three elder brothers, Ridgely, Tom and Randell, were placed in a boarding school at Malden, a village on the Hudson River opposite Ridgely, while we four younger ones went back to New Orleans where I went to Miss Georgie Harrod's School. In the winter I learned to ride on "Banks," a half-Arabian pony, which was given to me by General N. P. Banks when he was in command of the military forces at New Orleans. The pony ran away with me several times and more than once threw me. Such experiences may have frightened me, but I persisted and became a good rider.

In the winter of 1868 and 1869 my younger brother Livingston and I for part of the time attended a school kept by a Scotchman named Gordon and for a year we were at a French school kept by Ferrier.

Our summer vacations were spent at Ridgely, the place of my happiest recollections. Who would not cherish the memory of the beauty of the Hudson and of a boyhood so filled with pleasure as was ours? We had horses to drive and to ride; boats to row and sail; and fields nearby where we hunted and roamed at will. All these pleasures were heightened by the affectionate companionship of our father, who came from New Orleans to join us for his summer vacations.

As the end of vacations drew near, our father, anticipating our clothing needs for the ensuing school year, went with us to Hudson, seventeen miles north of Ridgely, where we bought our clothes. Sometimes we drove, but a seventeen-mile drive up and the same drive back was hard on the horses and consumed so many hours that we more frequently took the local trains. The excursion was a delight to us boys, for we were alone with our father, who entered into the spirit of the day, not only by helping to select the clothes we needed but by joining in the humor of any situation that pleased us. I specially mention this annual trip of 1874 because it relates to what happened after.

I graduated from the grammar school in June, 1874, and passed the entrance examinations for Yale College. I was conditioned in Roman history and the metric system, which was made a requirement only a few days before the entrance examinations, but being confident that I could work off the conditions before college met, I had no worry over them. Vacation was spent at Ridgely. In September, while on our annual trip to Hudson, I was seized with such a severe pain in my side that my father took me to a doctor. He could not diagnose the trouble but did relieve me somewhat and I was able to return to Ridgely. After staying in bed a few days I was well enough to go to New Haven in time to enter college on the opening day. But I did not feel very well; the trouble recurred and again I was in pain and had to go to bed and receive medical care. After a week or two I recovered and joined in college life.



to inveigle the fellow into my room where we were to put out the gas and then assault him with pillows, shoes and books, etc. Our idea was that he would quickly beat a retreat and leave us to enjoy the success of the rough-house. As the agent of the conspiracy I went down to the basement and told the janitor he was needed in my room. He came up and the bombardment began. But the janitor stood his ground. "Young men, you got the wrong man this time," was his remark as he lighted the gas, identified each of us, and left the room. We were disconcerted. The plot was a failure. The next afternoon I received a letter from Professor Timothy Dwight, then a professor in the Divinity School, later President, formally notifying me that owing to a "disgraceful row" of which I was "the instigator" I would have to vacate my room in Divinity Hall immediately. Without delay I went to see Professor Dwight. He was obdurate and, of course, I had to move before night. There was nothing disgraceful in what I had done, hence the ejection did not worry me. In fact, it was a welcome opportunity to join my intimate friend Bill Hammond and share his rooms on College Street back of the old New Haven Hotel. Fred Tuttle, our intimate friend, had the rooms adjoining ours. Thus came about a very agreeable situation.

It so happened that my aunts, Emma and Floride, were spending that winter in New Haven. They boarded at Mrs. Lake's on College Street, nearly opposite to my newly established quarters, so with my good standing in my class and my improved health the world was bright for me. But things soon changed.

One cold night in February we were aroused by an alarm of fire near by. Bill Hammond and I joined a number of students running to the scene of the fire. It was very cold and while we watched the burning, I was seized by a chill and soon felt the same old pain in my right side. As daylight came I became very sick and had to be moved to the Lake boarding house where my aunts could nurse me. I became

I was not idle for there were many interests about the place to attract me. The garden, the orchards, the roads, the poultry, the horses –“Tom” and “Phil”–, the cattle and the dogs. Our dogs included a greyhound, “Kaiser,” a pointer, “Spot,” a setter, “Snyder,” and a mongrel, “Jack Pingles,” who was the noblest of them all. Pingles was white with brown about his head; he showed pointer blood combined with a strain of mastiff and a trace of bull. He had lost one eye in a curious accident. As a pup in play he jumped under a swinging axe which came down full force on his head, leaving a dreadful gash. Rufus, our coachman, first thought it best to kill the dog, but Pingles, with fidelity and trust in his friends, realizing that Rufus had not intended to harm him, went straight to Rufus pleading for help and comfort. Touched by the dog’s intelligence and confidence, Rufus concluded to try and save the animal’s life and bound up the wound. Pingles recovered and although he had only one eye and bore a disfigured face, his spirit was never affected; nor is it too much to say that he was the favorite of us all and is remembered by my brothers and me as the finest of dogs.

After trying many varieties of chickens, my tastes became confined to leghorns and gam. I advertised eggs for sale, and my correspondence called for considerable attention.

Although these fancies did not last more than over the summer months, they provided interests for me while my health was being restored.

The question of my education was ever before me. The climate of New Haven was too cold for me, so my father advised me to go to New Orleans for the winter, thus availing myself of the privilege which the Yale faculty gave me of taking the sophomore annual examination to be held in June, 1876, and rejoining my original Class of ’78. With this purpose in mind I studied under a tutor, Mr. Bartlett, in New Orleans, expecting to return to New Haven in June. But in April, I was generally debilitated and felt miserably. My

cotton pressing factory? I called on Mr. O'Brien, who owned such an establishment. He was encouraging and said that in a month or two he would give me a place. A month or two seemed a long while to wait, so I followed the suggestion of Judge P. H. Morgan, another intimate friend of my father's, and applied in person for a clerkship in the United States Customs Service. Mr. Herwig, the deputy collector of customs, asked me a few questions, then called a clerk and without delay directed that I be employed. That was action. The next week I was installed in the bond office of the Customs House at a salary of one hundred dollars a month. My mind was easy but only for the immediate present.

The clerkship was agreeable for the time being. It helped financially, too, but as I broadened in my views, I was far from satisfied with the idea of being a clerk for the remainder of my life. I was too ambitious for that kind of an occupation. So, by the advice of my father and Mr. Parker, I enrolled as a student in the law department of the University of Louisiana, now Tulane. The lectures were given in the evening, which enabled me to keep my clerkship and to attend the law school at night.

At the law school, one of my uncles, Randell Hunt, lectured upon the Constitution of the United States, and a cousin, Carlton Hunt, was the professor of Admiralty Law. The lectures interested me, although I did not do much independent reading upon some of the subjects included in the course. Not so, however, with respect to Constitutional Law. Heredity made my interest in national affairs unusually keen. I acquired a good understanding and knowledge of the foundation history of the United States and of the provisions of the Constitution and of the forms of our government.

The civil law being the prevailing system in Louisiana, the major courses at the law school were based upon the principles declared in the Code Napoleon. As I had little intention of living in Louisiana, it would have been of greater advantage to attend a law school in a common law state. On the other hand, the professors of law in New Orleans were

The sport of hunting also attracted me and many a weekend did I spend in snipe or duck or deer hunting. Louisiana, with its countless bayous, was a paradise for sportsmen. In deer hunting the guide sat in the stern of the pirogue, the hunter sitting in the bow with a gun. Slowly, noiselessly, the guide paddled the boat through the bayous while the hunter vigilantly watched the shores, expecting to see deer coming to drink under the boughs of the great oaks laden with moss hanging to the water's edge. Only the songs of the birds or the roar of a startled flock of wild ducks broke the stillness. For miles and miles one could paddle in and out of innumerable bayous without seeing or hearing a human being. Game was plentiful; at sunset upon return to the clubhouse, it was not uncommon to count numbers of deer and hundreds of ducks; or if one preferred fishing, the rewards were equally good.

In snipe shooting we used dogs and hunted in localities where there was cane stubble. I was but an ordinary shot. Occasionally I was lucky but my aim was none too reliable. This was true whether I was shooting snipe in the South or in later years prairie chickens or ducks in the West.

It was not the lighter side of life, however, that filled my thoughts, for as already indicated, it was my inheritance to take a keen interest in national political affairs. As the Hayes-Tilden campaign of 1876 drew to a close, political troubles were rife in Louisiana. My father believing that the national interests were best guarded by the Republican Party supported that party and in 1876 was the candidate for Attorney General of the state. His comments upon the political issues of the time enlightened me upon the broader questions which divided the older parties and naturally I became and have always been a sympathizer with the Republican Party. I realized that my point of view was partisan; yet there was no middle ground for a southern man to take. There were no mugwumps or conservatives. Nor was there a way for an indifferent attitude between the parties. Feeling was too

to be fraudulent. Inasmuch as the majority of votes cast appeared to be for Tilden, the issue of fraud was bitterly fought. In February of 1877, in the thick of these political troubles, my father, at the urgent request of influential men, went to Washington to present the situation to President Grant. The President, who was to retire in March, 1877, declined to take action. Predictions of civil strife were made should Congress uphold the Republican position. Finally, as a compromise, an electoral commission was created by Congress. Arguments were heard before the commission and in March, after the commission made findings, Hayes was declared elected and became President. The Republicans of the South were heartened, but it soon developed that the new President, Mr. Hayes, was not going to interfere in Louisiana local politics, for he regarded the situation as a local one for the state to adjust. This greatly disappointed the Republicans of Louisiana who expected President Hayes to lend them his support. Times were exciting. I read everything I could find upon the subject. My interest was aroused to a point where I wrote an article arguing that by the terms of Article IV, Section 4 of the Constitution, the United States guaranteed to Louisiana a republican form of government; wherefore, if the new legislature of the state, or if Packard, installed as Republican governor in January, made application for protection against domestic violence which immediately threatened, it became the duty of the President to recognize Packard as the lawful governor and to employ whatever force might be necessary to maintain the Republican state government. My father approved my article and after making one or two changes which he advised, I sent it to the New Orleans Daily Republican, a newspaper, where, to my delight, it appeared as a leading editorial. I also wrote several articles upon the whole Louisiana political situation for a Buffalo (N. Y.) newspaper.

The general political excitement between November, 1876 and May, 1877, was the absorbing topic of conversation.

is, with this comment, however; that many writers of the post war civil conditions have wandered far from the actual facts by taking the easy method of accepting as accurate the biased reports of the New Orleans newspapers of those days, and have done so forgetting or purposely ignoring the important feature that practically everyone of those publications was controlled by partisans of the one side and that after the spring of 1877 there was not a Republican newspaper in New Orleans. The truth of the happenings of the time can only be gathered by digging into primary records of the two sides – reports, letters, affidavits, testimony and arguments as presented to the Senate in Washington and heard by the committees of Congress in 1876 and 1877, when the Louisiana elections and campaigns were investigated. For the sake of history, I hope an accredited historian will undertake the task.

The collapse of the Republican Party in Louisiana was complete, however, in the spring of 1877, after President Hayes declined to support the Republican state government. It was in April that Packard left the old St. Louis Hotel building then occupied as the State Capitol. Packard had become convinced that notwithstanding the fact that Hayes had been declared elected by counting the electoral vote of Louisiana for the Republican candidate, he would not support the Republican Party in Louisiana and he knew that without national influence backed by military force, if necessary, it would be futile for the Republicans to attempt to retain political control.

I went with my father to see Mr. Packard the evening before he left the hotel building where he had been staying night and day since his inauguration in January. Governor Packard said to my father that as President Hayes had abandoned the Republicans in Louisiana, it would be useless for him to continue “playing Governor.”

The next day when Packard left the state house, the Democrats instantly took possession of the state records, and

fever yesterday and epidemic gaining. Streets sprayed with carbolic; houses closed against night air! Nothing tempted me to begin life in New Orleans. An unhealthy, humid climate for the body and only the prospect of discord between my views and the opinions of my relatives and most of my friends. How could I sleep soundly at night? How could I be happy when I knew how greatly my father had suffered for his opinions, and my troubled mind was filled with the belief that if I remained in New Orleans I would have to suppress my convictions bearing upon public issues or carry on a moral fight which surely would mean loneliness and disquietude. It was, I know, the realization of such conditions that increased my wish to go to a new country, somewhere in the far West; perhaps the mountains of Colorado, the timber regions of Oregon, or the prairies of Dakota. A freer land, new hopes, new aspirations!

I wrote for pamphlets issued by the Chambers of Commerce and the Boards of Immigration of those frontier states. After studying them I sent the literature to my brother Randell who was then employed as a civil engineer by the Department of Parks in New York. He became interested and with pioneer spirit went out to St. Paul where he found employment in the City Engineer's office. He was delighted with his new surroundings and urged me to join him at once. But I hesitated because I had no money and did not wish to resign my position in the Custom House. The problem required thought. Hickey Morgan, one of my intimate and sympathetic friends, had to earn his living and left New Orleans to become a night brakeman on a railroad in Texas. This left Harry Morgan and me to swelter in the muggy heat of the New Orleans summer. Disease was rife, too. The watering carts were sprinkling creosote in the streets at night as a prevention against the fast spreading yellow fever. People in our neighborhood were dying in alarming numbers. Apprehension and uncertainty prevailed. We used to sit on the front steps of my father's house. We planned and planned.

## CHAPTER IV

Had I been less confident of myself I would probably have been more thoughtful of the fact that my equipment for an independent life in the West was none too good. I was not twenty-one years old and my health was not robust. My college training was incomplete. My study of law had not been serious or long enough to entitle me, nor was I old enough, to apply for a degree at the Louisiana law school. However, I was determined. No matter how the future might turn out, the thought was always present that I could accomplish something and could gain a worthy position in any occupation that I might undertake.

The trip up the Mississippi river was uneventful. In those days the steam boats were stern-wheelers, built to carry cotton principally. They made landings at any of the towns along the river. At Memphis, having occasion to go into a store to buy some letter paper, the saleswoman after looking closely at me asked me if I was a passenger on the boat from New Orleans bound for St. Louis. "Yes, I am," I replied. The woman became terribly nervous and in a most excited manner asked me to leave the store at once as she was terribly afraid that I might be exposing her to yellow fever. Of course, I left immediately and returned to the boat lest the woman should inform some authority of my presence, which might result in my being placed in quarantine. Nothing came of my fears, however, and the boat soon pulled out for St. Louis.

My stay in St. Louis was only for a few hours. After a walk I killed time by sitting for an hour or two in the lobby of the Planters Hotel where I learned that I could get a train that night leaving for St. Paul whither I was bound.

The luxury of a sleeping car was beyond me; I sat up all night in the day car and upon my arrival at the beautiful



New York. He told us to pitch our tent close to his cabin where we could get our meals. We accepted his advice, flirted with his daughter, but after a week or two we retraced our route and went back to the Minnesota side to a point on the Buffalo River eighteen miles southeast of Moorhead where we learned the soil was very fine and where plenty of public land was available. We pitched a tent upon the prairie beside the Buffalo creek. A week or two afterwards Peniston, a young lawyer from New Orleans, and Brulatour, also from New Orleans, joined us, and they too had a tent. We tried to locate the tents so that we could claim possession of four quarter sections of public land open for preemption under the land laws. Camp life began auspiciously. Brulatour was cook; Peniston, the only one of the four who had money, was financier; Randell was regarded as a wise counsel; and I was a roustabout with but little responsibility. "Nibs", a very fine pointer dog, belonged to Peniston; he was made a member of the party and did his share in hunting for prairie chickens. Brulatour understood how to cook the game. Our plan was to build a frame dwelling house in the center of the six hundred forty acres covered by our respective land entries. In day dreams we pictured how the farm would look when the soil was broken and the crops would yield their profits. As the winters in Minnesota were always cold and had to be thought of, Peniston said he would go to Fargo and arrange for the lumber needed for building the house which we expected to build. I was glad to go with him.

Our route to Fargo was to walk in an easterly direction eight miles to Barnesville, Minnesota, a station on the St. Paul, Minneapolis and Manitoba Railroad; thence to go north by train to Glyndon, Minnesota, and from Glyndon to take a stage running to Fargo ten miles west on the Northern Pacific Railroad. It seemed easy as the prairie between our camp and Barnesville did not look as though it were at all swampy. In that opinion, however, we were entirely wrong, for we soon found ourselves in a thick, coarse growth of wild cane in

Mr. Jesse Wheelock, Register of the Land Office at Fargo. He was a very busy official but he received us courteously with expression of a genuinely kind interest in us. Randell told him he was an engineer, and within an hour after our visit, Mr. Wheelock recommended Randell to some land seekers who needed a surveyor to locate certain lands. Mr. Wheelock also advised them that I could make out application papers for entry of lands.

This gave us an immediate start. The problem of earning a living was, at least for the time being, solved. Confidence was in our make-up and within a week we had blue pasteboard signs printed:

**HUNT BROTHERS  
ENGINEERS AND LOCATORS OF LANDS.  
LANDS SURVEYED  
LAND OFFICE BUSINESS TRANSACTED**

We tacked these posters in several places, and thanks to new friends, Randell was employed every day. I was also fairly well occupied, and through the further kindness of Mr. Wheelock, we met many people in the community. A feeling of assurance emboldened us to rent an office with bedroom adjoining. Four of us shared the expense of the sleeping room. Harry Moore, a painter, a Kentuckian, and Charles Rhodes, a carpenter from Pennsylvania, were the other two. Both were honorable, fine fellows, and the four of us were congenial and always ready for whatever amusement the evening might offer.

As the winter approached, however, there was much less activity and a resultant decrease in land office work for me. How would newspaper reporting do? I tried it by becoming a solicitor for subscriptions to the St. Paul Pioneer Press, at that time the influential newspaper of the Northwest. The work required me to call on residents of towns near Fargo. I hated the necessary travelling in the intensely cold weather;

Randell, who had steadily advanced to a moderate prosperity, became engaged to be married to Miss Emma Radcliffe, a young lady who was visiting friends in Fargo. I kept my position in Mr. Ball's office and enjoyed the work, but as I disliked the cold of winter I thought what a lonely fellow I would be when Randell married. The more I thought about the future, the stronger became my feeling that I had better leave Dakota and move on westward to the farther frontier. So, when Randell went to St. Paul to visit his sweetheart, I thought the situation over without advice from any one. Had he been in Fargo at the time when I made up my mind to leave Fargo, he would probably have persuaded me to go East instead of West, for I remember well how he longed to return to make his permanent home near New York where professional opportunities for a civil engineer were more frequent and rewards for work more copious. Acting, however, entirely upon my own counsel, I took advantage of his absence and after patting my pointer goodbye, I left Fargo for Bismarck, Dakota, the terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad. I left a brief note for my dear brother and took a freight train for Bismarck. Of course, I was mindful of the serious question of what I might do to make a living, yet there was none too much worrying over that problem.

The conductor of the freight train was a friend; he allowed me to ride free to Bismarck where for the first night I shared a room with a drummer who was selling "merchandise" whiskey to saloon keepers.

Bismarck is on the east bank of the Missouri. As I walked about the town I saw several steam boats lying in the stream with their bows pointed north towards Montana Territory, a country where game was abundant. With what now seems to have been amazing self confidence, I went to the office of Mr. Maratta, the agent of the steamboat company, and told him that I wanted to go to Montana, and that if he would give me free passage I would write an article for a newspaper describing the journey and incidentally speaking well of the

bread and potatoes which had been given us by the steward of the boat, we were doing pretty well. That night, however, Indians raided the camp, stampeded the newly arrived horses, and aroused the soldiers to immediate action. When morning came every one of the newly consigned horses was gone and the bugles were calling the soldiers to the duty of scouring the hills for the lost animals.

Naturally I wanted to move on to Benton, and to my joy I met a man named Congdon, known to frontiersmen as "Redstone," who had driven his four-horse team to Cow Island expecting to make some money by transporting U. S. freight to Ft. Assinoboine, then a large military post in Northern Montana. "Redstone" said he would let me go with him if I would pay him a dollar a day and do my part in watching his horses at night to ward off Indians and horse thieves.

The northern part of Montana was truly a frontier. The whole territory of Montana with an area of over 147,000 square miles had a population of less than forty thousand. The portion in which lay the trail we had to take from Cow Island to Port Benton was a plain country with a thick covering of bunch grass. The portion lying north of the Missouri River and sloping toward the foot of the Bear Paw range was a region of miles and miles, practically unexplored and uninhabited except by Indians and a few prospectors. We saw great herds of antelope and hundreds of deer and buffalo. We met several Indian hunting parties. Redstone knew their language and how to greet them in a friendly tone, using the few words that Indians employ and by making the signs with his hands by which they interchanged thoughts.

We made camp at night in the open by some one of the beautiful creeks which flowed from the mountains toward the river. It was doubtless because of Redstone's familiarity with the region and his understanding of the tribes of that section that we were saved from marauders, for we were not molested further than to be gazed upon silently by the several

tana in the early 70's. He was lame from a bullet wound received in a skirmish with Indians near Fort Benton. Both men were kind. I asked many questions myself but I gave them little detail of whence I came or whither I might be going.

It was all strange to me. I wondered what next? I had no money, was thousands of miles from anyone I ever heard of, had no baggage except a seamless sack into which I had put a few garments before I left Fargo. I was wholly unused to the rougher frontier and in truth had no fixed purpose ahead of me. But I felt well: that meant everything. I was not disheartened! On the contrary, there was some indescribable fascination that went with the realization that I was in a new country, perfectly free and sure in my mind that opportunity must come. The Overland Hotel menu contained buffalo steak or venison. When the evening came I heard stories of Indian fights and of "prospects" of gold in some newly opened camps within a hundred miles. Life was worth while!

My plans were indefinite; necessarily so, for I had only four dollars which by the end of the second day was insufficient to pay my hotel bill. I wanted to join two young men, chance acquaintances, who were riding horseback to Oregon, but I had neither horse nor money and had not the nerve to tell them so. I kept my trouble to myself.

Two days after my arrival in Benton, I was much surprised to meet Colonel Edward Moale, in command of the United States troops stationed at Fort Benton. I had known the Colonel in New Orleans. He graciously insisted upon my going to dinner at his house, and although my clothes were ill suited for a dining company, I accepted. Through the Colonel's friendship, within a few days I met many people, including bankers and merchants, who advised me to settle in Fort Benton. There was no use to debate the choice of a location. I had to stay in Fort Benton, at least for some time, or run the risk of being embarrassed by inability to pay my

One of my post office duties was to put the mail sacks on the stages which left for Fort Assinoboine sixty miles north at three o'clock in the morning, and for Helena, one hundred fifty miles westward, at seven o'clock. I also distributed the mail and waited upon patrons. Everyone who expected mail or wanted to buy drugs came into the store. In my clerkship, people supposed that I was a kind of medical adviser. Sick men consulted me and called me "Doc" as I listened to the symptoms of my "patient's" trouble. However, I always told the "patient" that I was entirely ignorant of medicine and could only suggest bicarbonate of soda or sometimes a bottle of "Golden Medical Discovery," one of the patent medicines which adorned the shelves of the store. My suggestions were invariably for something harmless.

It was part of my duty, too, to fill the oil lamps, sweep the floors and keep up the fire. I recall the morning I was filling a lamp when Mrs. Flanagan came into the store and after watching me a minutes said, "It doesn't look to me, Mr. Hunt, as though you were accustomed to filling lamps." I smiled and said, "Why, do I do it so badly, Mrs. Flanagan?" "No, not at all," she said, "but I do not think that you are used to doing that sort of thing. I came in here to ask you to take supper with us this evening." I accepted and for many years I have counted Mr. and Mrs. Flanagan as true friends, to be remembered with gratitude and affection.

## CHAPTER VI

The gossip of the town soon had it that I was a lawyer. Several persons consulted me about legal matters and before many weeks I was employed to represent specially the

## CHAPTER VII

My brother Tom's intimate friend and classmate of the Class of '76 at Yale was Horace R. Buck, a Mississippian, located in St. Louis. Buck wrote me inquiring whether there was an opening for a lawyer in Montana. As I knew of his superior ability and training in the law, I asked him to join me. He came to Fort Benton and the law firm of Buck and Hunt opened an office in an old log cabin containing two rooms, each about eight by ten feet. We used one room for our office and the other for our bedroom. Our tin sign was tacked on the door and we waited for clients.

At Yale Buck was one of the most popular men in his class. His mind was exceptionally clear and well trained. He was particularly versed in sociological research. Often when we were alone he descanted upon human relations, commenting upon the probable social conditions which he predicted would eventually obtain in our country as industrial enterprise increased in size and power. With his great personal charm and his retiring manner he attracted to himself many devoted friends and admirers.

Our quarters were very scantily furnished. In the office we had a piece of ingrain carpet, a plain pine table, one camp stool and two ordinary hardwood chairs, a common kerosene lamp, and standing on the table against the wall were the only books we had: The Montana Territory Statutes, a volume of forms of conveyance, a book on Attachments, and a copy of the Works of Confucius, which a Chinese laundryman had given to me. In our bedroom we spread a buffalo robe on the corner of the floor; for pillows we used a comfort rolled like a bolster. Our washstand was an ordinary packing box with one side left open for storage of soiled clothes. Spikes which we drove into the logs made convenient clothes hanging posts,

On one occasion I made a fast ride to the Barker mining district, a newly discovered quartz field in the Belt Mountains, seventy miles from Benton. To protect the rights of my client it became important that certain attachment writs which my client procured should be served ahead of other similar writs which I was sure would be levied upon a silver smelting plant that was heavily encumbered with debt and was fast drifting to insolvency. We worked all evening preparing the papers and about nine o'clock at night, with an experienced frontiersman as driver, in a heavy buggy, I started for the mining district. We crossed the Missouri on the ice and headed for the trail across the snow-covered prairie leading to the Belt Mountains. The wind blew the fine snow in our faces and made traveling dangerous, but we pushed on as fast as the horses could travel, commandeering fresh teams whenever we could get a settler to rent his horses. Expense was a minor consideration, for our client had to secure the first lien on that smelter property.

As we approached the mountains the snow was deep: our progress became very slow. If I had been alone I might have been discouraged but Harris was a wonderfully self-reliant pioneer. He belonged to the type of frontiersmen who never allowed difficulty to overcome them. The unwritten code was that no matter what situation developed, it had to be met. On and on in the darkness of the night we pushed through the heavily timbered mountains, stopping only to rest our team for a particularly heavy grade ahead. The need for haste, coupled with the novelty of the whole situation, prevented me from being sleepy. As we drew near the mining camp a nervous tension kept me on the alert to win the race that we believed was with representatives of other creditors from other sections of the Territory. We reached the mining camp where I awoke the sheriff and handed him the writs to serve. We were first, but less than fifteen minutes afterwards a single horseman who had been riding all night dismounted and handed the officer the writs issued by other attaching



friend and graduate of Yale, who had an interest in a sheep ranch near Benton, bought the Fort Benton Record by giving notes for the purchase. In addition to our law practice, we thus became newspaper men. The venture was interesting, but Buck and I found that news-gathering, editorial writing and attention to the commercial side required time which we preferred to give to our law practice. After a year of editorial experience, we sold the paper to the original owner and thenceforth confined ourselves to our increasing practice.

Had I yielded to the temptation of gaining a livelihood by comparatively simple effort, I believe now that I would have continued in newspaper work; but, as I have already expressed, there was always present an ambition to accomplish something where real effort was essential. Even short experience convinced me that newspaper writing is less exacting than studying law books. Knocking about the town, greeting people on the street, chatting with new arrivals, gathering news of the conditions of livestock, or booming the prospects of a newly discovered mining camp, copying hotel registers, and describing weddings are not the hard tasks that a young lawyer must face.

Meeting people has a charm for most young men; I met everyone in that part of Montana. Among others was Louis Riel, then notorious as a Canadian insurgent exile who had been the leader of a rebellion in 1870 against Canadian authority. He had a round face with chin and cheeks well covered with a heavy brown beard. He wore moccasins, but did not look like the half-breed Indian he was. His blue eyes were restless as he told Spencer and me of conditions in Canada. But his mind seemed more engrossed with scientific study of perihelia near the sun. He asked us to publish several articles he had written upon that subject, and was anxious to discuss it. Neither of us could argue with him upon that question, for we knew nothing of astronomy, so we were quiet listeners, but we formed the opinion that Riel's mind was unbalanced by the hardships of his life. A few years

Blaine was a political intriguer, while Grant, notwithstanding his weaknesses, had nothing of that kind in his make-up. I thought, too, that Grant was more certain of election. My support of Grant was not enthusiastic, nor in any way did it dull my hearty support for Blaine after he was nominated. As events turned out, Garfield of Ohio, a compromise candidate, was nominated and Blaine in March, 1881, became Garfield's Secretary of State.

The winter of 1880-1881 in Montana was intensely cold; the thermometer went down to fifty below zero. The roads leading to Benton were covered with snow. Those who were obliged to come to the little town took the risk of freezing. The supply of fire wood became so low that many actually suffered. We, ourselves, had to get along by using green logs; they afforded but little heat but were better than nothing. At night the ink froze; so did the water in the pitcher in the bedroom. Even the kerosene in the lamps was thickened by the cold. We had few clients and all my recollections of that winter are looked back upon as most unhappy.

But with early spring came the news of the appointment of my father as Secretary of the Navy in the cabinet of the new President. The honor greatly gratified me. Not long after the new administration took charge my father wrote to me advising me to return to Washington to accept a position in the Navy Department. It was hard for me to make a decision. To go to Washington meant the delight of intimate association with my father; it meant a life of comfort with comparative ease, of social attractiveness, and possibly future advancement in the public service. On the other hand, I knew that it would mean abandonment of the profession of the law; it meant leaving the West and breaking away from association with the friends I had made in Montana. I thought of all of this very seriously. I did not like the idea of being a clerk whether in a department in Washington or elsewhere, or of turning my life into a field of routine public service in Washington. Some inborn ambition told me that I ought to strive

took an interest in the suggestion of my name. The President consulted my father, who said he would prefer that my name be eliminated, but the President thought differently. Even my father thought differently when Mr. Windom, the Secretary, told him that he himself knew that a young lawyer on the frontier was not likely to get rich very fast nor to be burdened with too much professional work, and that a governmental position which did not interfere with his practice would be a help with its salary of \$1800 a year. Mr. Windom by experience well knew what he was saying. I was appointed and promptly confirmed. I found the duties light while the salary was indeed a help. In that way I had a presidential commission in the Federal Service when I was twenty-four years of age.

My recollection of the early days in Fort Benton are very pleasant. I enjoyed the freedom from conventionality. It meant, too, a certain feeling of independence which was stimulating. My associations were agreeable and advantageous. Many of my friends were well educated, not only in a scholastic sense but in experience on the frontier which gave them habits of self reliance and a practical common sense which qualified them for leadership.

Reverting to my drug store clerkship, it was delightful to listen to Jim Wells, an old frontiersman. He stood over six feet and was a raw-boned, lithe Missourian. He used to come into Flanagan's drug store at night and tell me of his experiences in living among the Indians at the time that Sitting Bull was on the warpath. There was not a bit of conceit in Wells' manner, nor did he ever say that the situations he had encountered were alarming. He was a stranger to fear. His descriptions, though couched in terms that would not be used by a New England college graduate, were wonderfully vivid in portrayal of incidents where his bravery combined with strategy and superior understanding of the Indian's nature and character saved his own and his companion's lives.

the judge, left the court house. Bowles was really an intelligent, kindly man, but when he drank he became a terror to those about him. Unfortunately, he came to the bad end that awaited the cattle man who put his own brand upon a calf or colt which he should have known did not belong to him. He was indicted and convicted of stealing cattle and after serving a term in prison died in obscurity.

But enough of the rude civilisation that was part of the frontier life. The restlessness of it greatly interested me and, I must repeat, I learned a great deal from those quiet, generous and courteous men. I observed, too, the effect of a wave of moral progress. As churches were built, the white women in the town began to resent the presence of squaws living openly with frontiersmen. The men living with the squaws really made no secret of their relationships; there was no hypocrisy among them nor did they suffer at all in a business or seriously in a social way. In fact, it was but a condition which often existed among those who lived on the frontier.

But as months passed, the moral revolt led to popular demand that men who lived in open adultery with squaws should be indicted. Finally a grand jury met and hailed into court many prominent citizens who were obliged to plead guilty to the charge of adultery. Some, particularly where there were children, married their squaws, while others sent them into the Indian reservations to rejoin the Indian tribes from which they had been taken. Where there was a marriage, the indictments were immediately dismissed; in other cases, upon assurance that the squaws would be sent away, mere nominal fines were imposed. From that time on there was a conspicuous absence of squaws in Front Benton.

flowers, and a table covered with a red cloth. The whole effect was terrible but there was no doubt about an excellent heater which kept the room warm for two days before the couple arrived.

Finally, one bitter cold day they drove into the town. The bride was wrapped in a man's buffalo coat with a sealskin cap drawn over her forehead and ears and a heavy scarf wrapped about her neck. It was a glad day for us. A kind of voluntary reception committee soon gathered and escorted the couple to their room where, after she removed her heavy wraps, we saw Mary Buck's large clear gray eyes, brilliant in contrast to a complexion reddened by the cold of the journey. She was so bright, so happy, so gloriously filled with cheer and interest! We were charmed, it meant so much to us all; and after all these years, in recalling that first meeting, let me write in solemn thought, never once in sorrow or trial did Mary Buck lose that sweetness of disposition and bravery of spirit which she brought with her and made her truly beloved by all who were fortunate enough to know her. I know of the many trials which came to her and I know that she bore them with resolute strength and a reserve which but distinguished her lovely character.

## CHAPTER X

As Christmas approached, I yearned to see my father and other relatives, so I decided to go to Washington. In December, I took the stage from Benton to Helena where I joined T. C. Power, and together we went by stage from Helena to Dillon in Southwestern Montana. At Dillon we boarded a narrow gauge railroad from Ogden, Utah, where we changed

I used to go to the court house to look at the nervous paranoiac and hear the proceedings.

I met many distinguished men and women who called to pay their respects to my father, and it pleased me to be introduced by him to his visitors. It was also my fortune to hear Mr. Blaine deliver the eulogy upon Garfield before the two Houses of Congress. Immediately after the session adjourned, my father and I drove to Mr. Blaine's house, where Mr. Blaine told us that above all things he had done in his public life, he wanted that eulogy to be the best. It was indeed a beautiful address.

## CHAPTER XI

But when March came, I felt that I ought to get back to Montana and early in that month I left Washington for Fort Benton by way of Butte, Montana, then the terminus of the Utah Northern railroad. I reached Silver Bow Junction late on a terribly cold night and drove in a stage the ten miles to Butte. The only available piece to sleep in the hotel was a double bed in an alcove back of the hotel office. I engaged the room, which meant that I would have to share the bed with Jesse Taylor, a great big, heavily bearded old pioneer, who was returning to Montana from a visit to his former home in Missouri. We slept in our clothes; I got but little rest as the bed was hard and narrow. We were called at half past two to take the three o'clock sleigh stage for Helena. My! but it was one of the darkest and coldest nights I ever felt. We piled into the sleigh. Just before starting, the driver of the sleigh struck a match to read the spirit thermometer which hung on the porch of the hotel.

hours, but the changing of horses every twelve or fifteen miles was diverting, often exciting, when the fresh teams made a bolt in the start.

Early spring, always the dulllest time of the year in the northern frontier, but heightened the natural dreariness of Fort Benton and its surroundings. The high winds blew the dry gritty dust through the streets, at best unattractive except when crowded with freight teams. It was all terribly depressing. Again and again I soliloquized: "Why do you choose to live in this place?" But when the mornings came and the sun shone, I knew I was with my friends and I felt satisfied. Then, too, the law practice of Buck and Hunt was fairly good; it brought to each of us an income of at least two hundred dollars a month, which at that time meant a comfortable living. The future seemed reasonably hopeful and, although I had neither wealth, nor property, I longed for a home. This ambition stimulated me, and Gertrude being agreeable, we fixed August 31 for our wedding date. When the time came for me to leave, I made a loan at the bank, which assured my financial safety. My intimate friends being in full sympathy, gave me a hearty Godspeed as I boarded a steam boat bound down the Missouri for Bismarck, Dakota, where I took the train.

The wedding was to be in Brooklyn where Admiral Upshur was in command of the United States Navy Yard. At his invitation, I was a guest at his house for a few days before the 31st.

We were married on the evening, of the 31st of August, 1882, at Grace Episcopal Church in Brooklyn. Reverend Dr. Addison Atkins officiated. My brother, Lieutenant Ridgely Hunt of the Navy, was my best man. Tom was an usher; so was John Addison Porter, an old school friend. The wedding reception at the Navy Yard was lovely. The grounds about the Commandant's house were lighted with Chinese lanterns; the officers were in full uniform; the Navy Yard band played the music; relatives and friends were in the best of spirit,

les north of Junction City. We accepted the General's kindness and took a train at Bismark for Junction City. Lieutenant Borden met us at Junction City and after one night in a tent we started northward escorted by a sergeant and ten soldiers, some of whom, as I remember, were very drunk. We camped at night. It was Gertrude's first sight of wild buffalo. At Fort Maginnis we were the guests of Major and Mrs. Rawolle of the Army. From Maginnis we started for Fort Benton and within three days reached the bluffs overlooking the Missouri and Benton in the hollow. Soon we were in our little house chatting with the Bucks and other friends who greeted us.

Our bungalow was in the bottom back toward the hills. Fort Benton was primitive. There were no paved streets, no running water, no sewers, no gas, no electricity, no telephones. Nor were there sidewalks in the vicinity of our house. We drank river water which was hauled in a cart and delivered into barrels back of our house. It may seem strange but we had little trouble over the servant question, for in those frontier towns there were always chinamen who were faithful and efficient. Time did not drag. I was busy at my office and in the evening the Bucks and other friends, among whom were graduates of Yale, Princeton, Raenssler Polytechnic of Troy, West Point and other colleges, came to see us. When spring came the Bucks moved to a house of their own, which left our little house adequate for nursery purposes.

One hot morning, July 22, 1883, little Elizabeth Ridgely was born. The trained nurse, Miss Coffin, who had been sent out by Admiral Upshur from New York, remained for a month and when she left the only substitute we could get was a half-breed Indian girl, Ida, about ten years old. Ida was the child of a squaw named Katopa and of Bill Conway, a frontiersman. She was very near savage when she came to us direct from a tepee; yet it was remarkable how quickly she learned English words and adapted herself to the ways of the more civilized life.



## CHAPTER XII

Within a few days after my return to Benton from the 1884 Convention, a cable from St. Petersburg, Russia, told me of the fatal illness and death of my father, then American Minister to Russia. The happiness of my life seemed suddenly to vanish. The feeling that I was never again to see my beloved father was a deep grief and for some time I found it difficult to adjust my mind to things close at hand. I seemed so far away from my real home that a heartfelt longing to be with my sister and brothers made me plan to go East.

In order to meet my step-mother and my sister who were returning to the United States bringing the remains of my father, it was necessary to take the stage from Benton to Helena, a distance of one-hundred fifty-four miles, where we (Mrs. Hunt, the baby Elizabeth, and I) could take a northern Pacific train for St. Paul. The weather was intensely cold when we began our journey but Gertrude and I wore buffalo coats and with hot bricks on the floor of the Concord coach we kept our feet warm. We wrapped the baby up in a circular fur-lined cloak and nestled her between us. When night came we approached Birdtail Mountain; the snow was frozen so hard that the wheels of the coach slipped and progress became slow and dangerous. At the stage station where we changed horses just before driving over the mountain the driver said he was afraid the wheeled stage might upset if he attempted to drive it over the divide, but he felt sure that we could go over safely in an open sleigh if we were willing to risk the cold storm. The advice of the experienced stage driver, accustomed to the severity of the climate and to night driving, was not to be ignored, so at about eleven o'clock at night we took our places on the back seat of a big open sleigh, Beth,

Fortunately, however, the two patients were saved by the loving care of Mrs. Buck and Miss Isidore Tonge, a friend, who gave their help with unselfish kindness. The baby was dreadfully ill; nor could the mother raise her head. When the danger was passed, recovery was rapid and our normal lives were soon resumed. My practice was good and we were very happy.

Politics in a general way interested me, but I had no ambition to hold any office. I had refused to be United States Attorney for Montana and was surprised in September when a telegram told me that the Republican convention in Helena wanted to nominate me for Attorney General of the Territory. The elections were to be held in November of that year, 1864. As the Democratic party was conceded to be in the majority, my friends said that I had small chance of election but that a defeat for a professional office would not hurt me in a political way. I did not like that attitude and was self-confident enough to believe that with a vigorous campaign the Democratic majority could be overcome; hence I determined to accept the nomination. We had a hot campaign. My plan was to make an aggressive fight; it was exciting to me. I found my audiences enthusiastic and as days went by felt that sentiment was turning my way. Queer incidents occurred. At one town in Choteau County one of my listeners, a Democrat, told me that he wanted to vote for me but that a man as thin and cadaverous as I was could not live to fill the two-year term of the office I was seeking and that as my death would mean the expense of a new election and general inconvenience to the public, he would probably stick to his party and vote for my opponent. The fellow was sincere: I could not well get angry, although his observation embarrassed me. My only reply was that sometimes a squeaky hinge lasted a long time.

Riding hundreds of miles in stage coaches, greeting crowds of miners and ranchmen, was strenuous. I so often thought of my father, wondering what he would say if he could

many old-timers there was a rougher and quicker way of enforcing justice upon such an occasion as was presented. To avenge the crimes, the leaders of the old-timers in Helena organized a vigilance committee and with fixed purpose went a few miles out of the town toward the road over which the officers with their prisoner Murphy would have to pass in bringing their quarry to Helena.

The weather was bitterly cold and the ground was covered with a heavy mantle of snow. The vigilantes wore buffalo coats with collars turned up and mufflers around their necks. Silently, as twilight dimmed the scene, several hundred committeemen plodded through the snow toward the east. Soon, from afar, a sleigh appeared with four men who were heavily enveloped in clothing. One of the four was Murphy. Upon meeting the committee the men got out of the sleigh. A brief low-tone parley was had. Within a few moments the assembled vigilantes drew close to the sleigh; two of the "committee" quickly tied a rope around Murphy's neck; one of them then threw the end of the rope over a projecting beam of a railroad bridge over a coulee. The crowd moved closer, a score of hands pulled, and Murphy's body was lifted in the air and swung while the loose end of the rope was tied to a beam of the bridge. The crowd then quickly went back to Helena.

Late that night I reached Helena and from the sheriff learned of what had happened in the early evening and of the circumstances of the fight and the execution of Murphy.

"If you want Murphy you will find him in the building next to the jail," the sheriff said. I went into the shed where I saw Murphy's body wrapped in a tarpaulin lying in the corner of the engine house directly opposite the court house.

A sense of outrage arose in me. Surely, I thought, the law must be strong enough to avenge the lawless act, and I, as the proper law officer, must invoke every process. I advised the sheriff to make a full investigation to the end that the men who hung Murphy could be indicted for murder. A grand

men were so wrapped up that you could not see enough of their faces to identify them. I would hate to say that I recognized any of them."

"Well, Sheriff, describe to the grand jurors how some of the men looked."

"Some had moustaches; some had dark eyes, some light; some were tall, others were short; but you know yourself, Mr. District Attorney, that with only a small part of a man's face showing, you cannot positively swear who he is."

"But you can certainly tell us more definitely who some of the men were," I insisted. "What they looked like."

The former sheriff paused a minute calmly looking about the room.

"Well, as far as I could see, several of them looked to me a good deal like some of the gentlemen on this Grand Jury.

A roar of laughter went up, heightened in part, I think, by the expression of the young prosecuting attorney. The old sheriff, who was intimately known by every one of the grand jurors, sat unperturbed, but with a stern look which indicated some satisfaction over the crisis.

"There is no need to detain the witness any longer," said the foreman of the Grand Jury. "If there is no objection he will be excused."

The witness and I left the room and upon returning I was informed that by unanimous vote the investigation was ended and that no bill had been found. Thus the execution of Murphy passed into history of Montana as an instance where the publicly constituted authorities refused to disaffirm the decree of an unwritten code of the resistless, restless race of pioneers.

for Mrs. Hunt and Beth to go to Washington where Admiral Upshur lived. The plan was carried out, and on April 13, 1886, William H., Jr. was born. I joined the family in Washington in June and after a month or two in the East, we returned to Helena in the fall and spent the winter at Miss Sanky's boarding house. In May, we started housekeeping in a house near lower Main Street.

My private practice was growing to an extent which justified the removal of the firm of Buck and Hunt from Benton to a larger community. The Bucks, therefore, left Benton and the law firm of Carpenter, Buck and Hunt was started in Helena. Carpenter had been Governor of the Territory from 1885 to 1887; he was a lawyer of ability and his name added strength to the firm. We had a good general practice. When my term of office as Attorney General expired in 1886, I devoted all my attention to private practice, eschewing participation in politics. But in 1888, when I was in White Sulphur Springs trying an important case, I was surprised to hear that the Republican convention in Helena had nominated me as candidate for the territorial legislature, to run against Democrat William Wallace, Jr., who was with me as co-counsel in the suit which we were trying at White Sulphur Springs. As we were the best of personal friends, we went on with our case to a successful result. After the term of court we returned to Helena to become opponents in the political campaign.

## CHAPTER XIV

After a lively campaign, I was elected, and In January, 1889, took up my legislative work. The drafting of bills, translating men's thoughts into forms where they would become rules of action, was a very pleasant duty; fascinating,

I was sorry when the session ended, for I enjoyed everything connected with it. I felt then, and have always felt, the keenest interest in the constructive work of drawing proposed statutes and debating questions of their validity and usefulness.

That winter, 1888-1889, we were living in a house in the Oro Fino Terrace in Helena, where on February 28, 1889, our daughter Helen was born. I wanted to name the child Eleanor Custis, but the mother fancied Helen Upshur, and so she was christened. Helen, like Beth, was a beautiful baby, and again like Beth has been to us always the dearest, most devoted daughter. We know the truest pride and happiness in each of them.

## CHAPTER XV

It was in 1888 that the movement for admission of the territory into the union found revived and strong general support, which resulted in the act of Congress enabling admission to the Union. A convention to frame a constitution was provided whereby the territory would become a state with a full complement of state officers, including judges of the various courts, all to be elected in November, 1889.

Many friends suggested my name for the first judge of the State District Court at Helena. I frankly and sincerely said that I did not wish any office. I had not accumulated any substantial means and my feeling was that it was better for me to remain in active practice. I thought it was well to give up the notion of public place, at least for a time. I was just thirty-two years old, my wife was twenty-eight; we had three children, and were without means except what my profession might yield. We were young, healthy, happy and forward looking. I was satisfied to keep out of political life

## CHAPTER XVI

My judicial life is not to be detailed in this sketch. It would be of little interest to my children, while to other readers the story would not vary greatly from the accounts of the doings of busy judges, trying many cases, hearing arguments, studying briefs, and rendering decisions. Let me make this point: It is all wrong to picture courts in the early days of the State of Montana as most primitive. The proceedings were conducted with dignity and the forms of administering the law were not different from those which obtained then or do now in the old states. To be sure, back in the years between 1865 and 1885 many court rooms were in log buildings. It could not have been otherwise; the circumstances, too, were such that in that rough frontier atmosphere, men, litigants, witnesses, jurors and spectators were often clad in the raiment of frontiersmen. But the formalities of procedure, the decorum that marked the routine, including the general bearing of the judges and lawyers, were what one would observe in a court room in New England or Chicago or New York.

Adding special stress concerning the lawyers of early days: Many of them had marked ability. It should be remembered that mining properties were often very valuable and that as precedents were few and books seldom readily at hand, controversies over rights to claims demanded resourcefulness of minds which called for superior intellectual power. The very isolation compelled men to reason. Let no one believe that because miners often used physical force in the beginning of their quarrels, the lawyers representing them in the courts argued with guns on the table or in attitudes of bodily antagonism, or that the judges were careless of decision; such thoughts are without foundation in study

work hard. I well knew that to make a successful judge, I had to study much and patiently. My course must have been approved, for in 1892 I was unanimously renominated and elected by a large majority. Judicial life was agreeable, though only by close management could we keep within my moderate salary. However, when the panic of 1895 came and nearly all the banks in Helena failed, there was comfort in knowing the salary would protect us.

Digressions from court work varied life. I became especially interested in the study of the earliest history of Montana and pursued my inquiries to the furthest possible point having in mind the purpose of writing a paper which would accurately describe the origin of the territory and tell how the name of Montana was chosen and the manner in which the territorial organization was established. Among those from whom I sought primary knowledge was Sidney Edgerton, first governor (1864), and James M. Ashley, a former member of Congress from Ohio and governor of Montana in 1866. From Mr. Edgerton I received the following letter:

*"Akron, O., May 23rd, 1892.*

*Judge William H. Hunt,  
Helena, Montana.*

*Dear Sir:*

*I am in receipt of your letter asking some questions relating to the organization of Montana Territory. I most willingly comply with your request and will give you such facts as I can recall from the long-ago, depending entirely upon my memory. The paper you sent me, I regret has not come to hand, as it might quicken my somewhat dormant intellect.*

*When I arrived in Bannock in the fall of 1863, I found a country so vast, intersected by streams and*



*time, and judge, I might as well make you my Father Confessor and have done with it. After I had been in Washington perhaps two months, Dr. Thompson called, being on his way to Massachusetts on a visit; he brought with him a large chunk of gold, as clean and bright as gold could be made. I got him to leave it with me till his return. I took it into the House of Representatives, awhile before it was called to order and laid it on the desk, where I used to sit. The members flocked around me to see it and men and women in the galleries rose and peered at it, and I passed it off as a nugget, when in fact a retort had broken and let the gold into the ashes. It was a good enough nugget for them.*

*I reached Washington in the forepart of February; I had many interviews with Gov. Ashley, who was a strong supporter of the bill and as chairman of the Committee on Territories, had a great influence. At one time the bill depended on the casting vote of the Speaker, Mr. Colfax; he voted for it and saved it.*

*The committee on territories were at first for placing the western line of the Territory along the Rocky Range; over this we had a fierce struggle. I finally got the delegate from Idaho, Mr. Wallace, to go with me before the Committee and urge the line as finally established. It was unfortunate for Wallace, I regret to say, for it caused his defeat at the next election. All or nearly all the western Senators favored the bill, but Senator Wade of Ohio was probably the most active in its support. I had a number of interviews with President Lincoln; he was earnestly in favor of the bill. I remember when I called on him the first time, and showed him the fine gold- and nuggets; he looked at them carefully and in his way of apparently talking to himself, said, 'Talk about bankrupting this country; it can't be done, it can't be done. There is gold enough in the Rocky Mountains to pay off our national debt in three years, if we could get it out.*

*As soon as the bill passed I left Washington. My friends urged me to stay. I had been five months from my family, so I would and go I did.*

Mr. Ashley's letter, in some respects dis-discordant with Edgerton's, is authoritative and should be recorded.

*"Toledo, Ohio, Apl. 28, 1892.*

*My Dear Sir:*

*I have read your address with much interest. As chairman of the Committee on Territories I prepared and introduced the bills for the organization of the territories of Montana, Arizona, and Wyoming and selected their names. My purpose was to give to each territory a euphonius name and at the same time use a word that should appropriately describe the topography of the country. I therefore selected the Spanish Mexicanized word Montana (pronounced Montanya). Senators Sumner of Massachusetts and Howard of Michigan, at first sight objected to the name. When the bill reached the Senate they sent for me to come over and give my reasons for selecting it. I answered, 'That the country which it was proposed to organize had been described to me as being two thirds or more mountains and that the word Montana was not only appropriate, but a beautiful name for a state.' They both declared that they had never seen the word and as they were the recognized scholarly men of the Senate, they assumed that I must be mistaken. I sent to the library for an old Mexican dictionary, which I had consulted, and when I showed them the word they recognized the authority and approved the name. But for that old dictionary, some objectionable name might have been fastened on your state, such for instance as that of New Mexico, Washington or Nevada.*

*I selected the name of 'Arizona' because it described the arid-plains of that territory and because it was appropriate and euphonius.*

*I gave the name of Wyoming to that territory (instead of Laramie or Jefferson, which the settlers suggested or demanded) because the Indian word in Pennsylvania stood for 'Large Plains.'*

its history up to the time of its admission as a State. I read the finished paper before the Unity Club in Helena.

## CHAPTER XVIII

Higher honors appealed to me, and in October, 1894, during my second term as District Judge, the Republican Convention nominated me for Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the state. The elections of 1894 were more less complicated by the fact that the location of the permanent capital of the state was to be selected by the popular vote. Helena, the capital from 1865, and Anaconda were the contesting cities. The bitterness in behalf of the respective cities absorbed public attention and made the election of a judge of little concern. The campaign ended with my election over L. A. Luce, the Democratic nominee, and Mr. Reeves, the Populist candidate. In January, 1895, I took my seat on the State Supreme Court with W. Y. Pemberton and William H. DeWitt as my associates.

Pemberton (born in Missouri) was a fine type of frontier lawyer—long since passed. He had lived in mining camps for years where everyone knew him and enjoyed his good stories and easy manner. As a vigorous prosecuting attorney he became popular by his fiery oratory and fair methods. Largely by the votes of miners in the mining districts, he was elected Chief Justice of the State. A rough and ready nan, always very kind, and with an extraordinary fund of common sense and power to penetrate into the rights of a case, he was really a just and useful judge. In conference, his judgments were expressed in language adorned by homely anecdotes, often pertinent and witty.

DeWitt was a graduate of Hamilton College, New York. He was a cultivated scholar of studious habits, with a taste

swept over the silver mining states and gold men were regarded as enemies of the country. Webster, Crane and I kept our heads. But as I never pretended a real knowledge of the political economics of the situation, I put a great many questions to the other fellows. Ben Webster knew the economics of the issue thoroughly. He and Crane were thoroughly educated men, with particular interest in national financial affairs. Their answers to my questions elucidated the fallacy of the "sixteen to one" cry and confirmed my adherence to the gold standard.

An agreeable incident during one of my first two years on the Supreme Court was the act of Yale University in conferring on me the honorary degree of Master of Arts. The honor came as a gratifying surprise and softened the regret I have always felt because of the untoward circumstances of bad health which prevented me from having the full four years' course.

## CHAPTER XIX

The winter of 1897, which bid fair to be a happy one, was suddenly made sad by the sudden death of my friend and old partner, Horace Buck. He had been elected as an associate justice of the Supreme Court in 1896 and we predicted for him a career of great usefulness and distinction. The sense of personal sorrow weighed heavily upon me and made it a sad duty for me to speak for the Court in reply to resolutions of respect presented by the Bar in tribute to his memory.

Another sorrow came within a few weeks when in January, 1898, I learned of the fatal illness of my brother Randell, who was one year my senior. He died the day I arrived in San Francisco. Randell and I were the closest of

determined to defeat that ambition, and in the progress of events the Judges of the Supreme Court of the State were drawn into an issue inseparably connected with the enmities of the two. It was at the legislative session of 1899 that Clark energetically pushed his campaign to be elected a Senator. The air was rife with rumors of bribery of certain members of the legislature to vote for or against Clark and that J. B. Wellcome, one of Clark's attorneys, was a bribe giver. A petition was filed in the Supreme Court to disbar Wellcome as a lawyer because of alleged bribery of members of the legislature to vote for Clark. By various proceedings, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court to entertain the proceedings was questioned and after elaborate argument the Court decided to hear evidence.

For several years before and during the years 1898 and 1899 my health was not good, due principally to stomach trouble. I had been urged by a specialist in New York and by my physician, Dr. Treacy, in Helena, to give up the hard work I was doing; yet I felt that it was my imperative duty to share my full responsibility in hearing and deciding all matters which might be brought before the courts. Thus, in the course of my duty, I participated with Judges Brantley and Pigott in the hearing and decision of the Wellcome disbarment proceeding.

One day during the pendency of the Wellcome proceeding and before decision was reached by the Court, my family physician, who was also a trusted personal friend, came out to my home and said he had come to give me another warning of the precariousness of my health. We were standing on the lawn. He advised me to go away, saying I would break down completely and my life would be endangered unless I changed my environment by seeking a lower altitude and entirely relinquishing hard study and close attention to my duties, at least for a year or two. I told him that although I was not well, I could not afford to follow his prescription. After a little further conversation concerning my health, he said

Judges, however, remained steadfastly quiet in the performance of their court duties. Meanwhile, in Washington, Clark's right to a seat in the United States Senate was challenged and a searching investigation was conducted by the Senate committee on privileges and elections. Witnesses from all parts of Montana were called to testify. Among other things the Wellcome disbarment proceeding became very material. The committee of the Senate telegraphed us Judges, asking us to appear and testify. We replied that unless it was necessary we hoped the Judges could be excused from testifying. The Senate Committee, in their reply, took the position that public interest made it our duty to give our testimony and urged us to go to Washington.

The three of us then went to Washington in February (1900) and each of us testified before the committee. The substance of our testimony was published throughout the land with varying comments upon the exposure of the wickedness in Montana politics. Senators, including Turley and Chandler, told us that they appreciated how reluctant we were to have the Supreme Court of the State dragged into such a nasty political mess, but that in testifying we had done a distinct service to the public and had put the Court and ourselves as judges on the very highest plane.

We judges were sensitive —very properly so— lest the Court should impair the enviable position we felt it should have and really had in the State. Some of the newspapers in Montana friendly to Clark broke forth with abuse of the judges and made me the principal target for scurrility. My position, though trying, never disturbed my conscience, nor did any of the three judges pause an instant in the course of our duty.

The result of the Senate investigation was a finding that Clark had obtained his election by bribery and that he should be unseated. Clark knowing that such action meant disgrace resigned before a vote was taken by the Senate.

It was some time before the local atmosphere became

as Secretary of State for that island under the act of Congress which provided for the establishment of civil government there. The immediate question of health was so important that I delayed decision until I learned that the climate of the island was equable and not at all dangerous for me and the children. I accepted, was promptly confirmed, and prepared to leave Helena in May, 1900.

The Bar in Helena tendered me a public farewell reception May 22, 1900, and adopted the following resolution:

*WHEHEAS, recognizing the gravity of the duties the government of these United States has undertaken in relation to the Island of Porto Rico, the President thereof, in obedience to a universal demand that its representatives among the people shall be men of the very highest character, has appointed the*

*HONORABLE WILLIAM H. HUNT,*

*late associate justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Montana, and former judge of the First Judicial District thereof, to an important legislative and administration office in connection with the government of the island about to be instituted, occasioning his removal, temporarily at least, from this, the scene of his long labors on the bench and the severance of his relations with the Bar of this state,*

*BE IT RESOLVED, that the members of the Bar of the State of Montana bear testimony hereby to the loftiness of the motives which have ever prompted him in the discharge of his official duties, and the inflexible and unswerving impartiality with which he administered justice.*

*RESOLVED, that we recognize in the voluminous contributions made by the distinguished judge to the reports of the Supreme Court of Montana, the uniform*

## CHAPTER XXII

Upon my arrival in Washington I called at once upon President McKinley. He was truly a gracious gentleman. He told me that he was interested in the initiating of civil government and that there had been scores of applicants for positions in Porto Rico, but that he had selected Charles H. Allen as governor and myself as secretary because of his personal regard and confidence in us. I recall his saying: "The Democrats have predicted that the colonial service in Porto Rico and in the Philippines would be filled with politicians, ready to exploit the people and so would bring disgrace upon the administration. I do not propose," he continued, "to lie awake at night about Porto Rico. You will have many problems to meet. Whatever Allen and you do will be right, and you can count upon me to be at your backs in every step you take." I thanked him and said I was sure he would not be disappointed. As I bade him goodbye, he added, "I am not going to forget you, Judge, for going down there."

Secretary of State Hay having urged the importance of going to the island without delay, I left Washington at once (May, 1900) and went to New Haven, Connecticut, where Mrs. Hunt and the children were the guests of Mrs. Buck. Our intention was so to speak, to "park" the children with Mrs. Buck for a short time and that Mrs. Hunt and I would go to Porto Rico and that she would return to New York and gather the children for the summer. But little Gertrude suddenly became ill at Mrs. Buck's and just as we reached the dock in New York and were about to board the ship for San Juan, the doctor in New Haven telephoned me that the child, though not dangerously ill, was quite sick and pining for her mother. There was no time for deliberation. "All aboard!" was cried; the gangplank was ready to be hauled off. We hastily



some forty rooms in the two stories and the sub-story of the main building. The massive structure was built on a wall overlooking the sea. Walls on the sea side were several feet in thickness; built in the seventeenth century and at that time of sufficient strength to resist war attacks from enemy ships. Below the level of the ground floor were many dark rooms which we called dungeons. Spacious entrance halls, very large rooms, with marble floors, high ceilings, indicated the luxurious ways in which the Spanish governors had lived. The inside galleries of the building faced a patio under which were cisterns holding the rain waters. Guards, insular policemen, were stationed at the entrance from the street, giving color of military authority to the whole setting. Indeed, there was a real dignity to the old palace—a true stateliness not known to Americans who find the governors of their respective states living in modest, unostentatious residences of twentieth century architecture. Porto Rican grandeur took me back to a history of centuries of monarchical sovereignty in the Carribean.

It will be recalled that as one of the results of the war with Spain, Porto Rico fell an easy conquest after a short campaign of nineteen days from the landing of American troops at Guanica on July 25, 1898. A few small military engagements were followed by the proclamation announcing the truce, which in October was followed by the evacuation and completion of the transfer of the island to the control of the United States.

American military governors ruled until Congress established a civil government to be effective on May 1, 1900. The treaty under which the United States acquired the Island of Porto Rico placed the disposition of the people, the laws to govern them and their political future in the control of Congress. However, although the organic act, passed by Congress on April 12, 1900, provided for the appointment of a civil governor and other officials, it made no detailed provision for the manner by which the military government

show.

In August, 1899, a terrible hurricane swept over the Island destroying life and creating devastation and general distress. For ten months immediately following the calamity the War Department of the United States, acting through the military government of the Island, distributed about thirty-two million pounds of rations. After careful consideration of the policy to be adopted by the civil government, we gave notice that there would be no more rations issued after July 1, 1900. Accordingly, in July distribution of free rations ceased. No work, no rations! The reason for the ruling was that if the men were obliged to seek employment, which was not at all difficult to obtain, it would arouse ambition for self help. Some of the local politicians—nearly every native was a politician—resented the order stopping distribution and were loud in exaggerating reports of dire poverty and suffering which, it was predicated, would follow if our plan should be carried out. I stood firm in declining all appeals to continue the issue of free rations; but, as I shall show, that attitude brought upon the new administration not a little abuse by disappointed natives as well as by unfriendly Spanish newspapers.

One morning I was surprised to see about a hundred men and women huddled in the narrow street in front of the old palace. The women were squatted and many held small American flags in their hands. Several men from the crowd came into the palace and told me that the people outside were weak from starvation, that the men could not get work and that all had walked from their homes twenty miles away to appeal for food in order to sustain life. I remarked that none of the committee looked emaciated, whereupon one of them pulled up the leg of his trousers and showed his leg upon which there was a running sore which indicated impoverishment of the blood which often resulted from inadequate nourishment.

I knew that as rations had been stopped it would be

rulings. We soon learned, too, that in the days of Spanish control the central insular government had used the municipalities as political tools and that the alcaldes, or mayors, were wholly subject to the influence of the Spanish governor. The alcaldes were in fact but delegates of the central government, charged with complying with and enforcing the "general laws of the Island, including the maintenance of public order. They also acted as chiefs of the municipal administration, sometimes acting as police judges. Such a system was very unsatisfactory. Complaints poured into the office charging political oppression by the alcaldes against persons of opposite political faiths. As a remedy, in due time we established police courts to be presided over by magistrates appointed by the Governor for terms of two years.

In the Secretary's office we also kept records of various petitions presented to the Governor. For instance, the Governor received requests for authority to carry on cockpits, to enter and live upon public lands, to grant pardons, to give authority to contract marriages between cousins, to order road construction, to relieve taxpayers, besides hundreds of appeals for charitable relief. There seemed to be no independence of gubernatorial approval or control.

The Executive Council appointed by the President of the United States made provision for holding the first election under civil government. Preparations had to be made for registration of voters who were to elect a resident commissioner to Washington and thirty-five members of the newly created House of Delegates. The detail of establishing precincts, creating election boards and prescribing qualifications of voters involved much labor.

Porto Ricans are zealots in politics, and uncompromising hatreds have always divided the main political parties. The "Federalists" cherished the old Spanish order of things and in most respects opposed the American administration. The "Republicans" were cooperative. As the first election campaign progressed, everything ran along smoothly until

industrious with disposition to welcome changes and modifications of practice which would gradually bring the Spanish and American systems of law into closer harmony.

The adoption of a wise financial system for the Island was of prime importance. There, again, our policy was not to make too sharp a departure from ways and means that had prevailed during the days of the Spaniards, nor to disregard local conditions. Nevertheless, we were firm in the belief that there should be introduced into the financial affairs of the Island certain elements of stability and integrity which real progress under the new standard demanded.

The question of public health had special attention. Threatened epidemics were checked. The sources of water supply were investigated and rules and regulations concerning foodstuffs were rigid. Immediate improvement in these respects followed.

Education presented a stupendous problem. A new school law was passed. Dr. Brumbaugh, first commissioner under the civil government, worked hard to arouse a spirit of local concern, reserving, however, in the commissioner of education power to delegate increasing local power as conditions might from time to time warrant. When the schools opened in October, 1900, forty thousand children were in attendance. The schools were poorly equipped but with the limited means at hand we were under many restrictions. Teachers were appointed and while nearly all of them were natives, there were enough Americans to help teach English and to arouse among the natives an ambition to learn something of the English language. We established a normal school and opened a pedagogical library to which all teachers had free access. School children were encouraged to take an interest in patriotic exercises. At every school the American flag floated during each school session and the children eagerly learned to sing "America," "Hail Columbia," and the "Star Spangled Banner" in English.

The director of charities had charge of the charity schools



Executive Secretary William H. Hunt Presides the First Session of the Executive Council in the Throne Room of La Fortaleza on Monday, August 27, 1900. Seated from left to right row: Rosendo Matienzo Cintrón (Puerto Rican Republic Party), José C. Barbosa (Puerto Rican Republican Party), Jacob H. Hollander (Treasurer), José de Diego (American Federal Party), and William H. Elliot (Commisioner of the Interior). Second row , seated from left to right: Manuel Camuñas (American Federal Party ), Andrés Crosas (Independent Councilman ), George Groff (Commissioner of Education), John R. Garrison (Auditor), and Arthur F. Odlin (Attorney General).

successful operation. Our association in official duties was sufficiently satisfactory to convince him that I should be named Governor and he frankly told me that he had so written to President McKinley.

It was in June, 1901, that, I went to Washington and, of course, called on President McKinley. As his engagements were many, he asked me to take a drive with him at four o'clock. I returned to the White House. He first spoke of his pleasure in the physician's report of Mrs. McKinley's improving health. The carriage we stepped into was hardly out of the White House grounds when he asked, "Whom do you wish appointed Secretary of the Island when you are Governor?" I replied that I had not given serious thought to that matter for I had no real reason to believe that I was to be appointed Governor. I added that the position was a very high honor and that while I knew I had his personal confidence, still he might feel that he ought to appoint some one better known in the political world and from a state with more influence than Montana. "Oh, no," he replied, "I have no plan other than to appoint you as Governor. You have earned it; that is settled in my mind." He mentioned that pressure to appoint a certain person was persistent, but, "You are to be the man."

I thanked him, and with some care explained the Porto Rican political opposition which we were encountering from native Porto Rican critics. I told him of the attitude of Governor Allen and myself toward the opposition faction which was led by Muñoz Rivera who was, as already pointed out, a strong sympathizer with the old Spanish element. That attitude was one of respectful attention but not of subservience. The President made some suggestions and approved our course.

At the close of the drive the President said that he hoped I would soon return to San Juan in order to relieve Governor Allen who wished to give up in July. I cut my visit short and returned without delay.

The calamity not only brought deep sorrow to the people generally but it was a real personal grief to me. The President had expressed his personal regard for me in such a cordial manner that I felt close to him and counted upon further mutual intimacy.

As acting Governor, I issued a proclamation announcing the death of the President and directed that the public buildings throughout the Island should be draped in mourning. The inaugural plans were immediately changed by cancelling orders for the preparations that had been made. Public celebrations were at once cancelled and on the sixteenth, in the throne room at the palace, I took the oath of office as Governor in the presence of the Justices of the Supreme Court and the Councillors and a few officials. I read my inaugural as changed to conform to the circumstances:

*"What was to have been a holiday has suddenly become a time of universal grief. Our hearts are bowed down with sorrow; our minds dwell only on our national bereavement. In confining this ceremony to the simple act of taking the oath, I therefore felt that my wishes but conformed to a common feeling, for I know the manifestations of popular grief in Porto Rico are spontaneous evidences of the grateful love of the people for President McKinley. Words of tender sympathy and condolence have come from every point in the Island, from the hamlets in the mountains, from the valleys and the cities by the sea, exhibiting a devotion to his memory truly beautiful in its pathos. No cables can properly convey to the mainland the truth of this widespread sentiment. Only those who are here in the closest touch with the expression of it can fully appreciate what I mean.*

*"I thank the people and only say at this time that my highest ambition is to be worthy of the great trust confided to me for them by the patriot we mourn.*

*"Having guided the Nation through the calamities of war, he yet lived to lead it to the triumphs of peace and love. Far-sighted and experienced, his statesmanship*

*"Executive Mansion  
Washington,*

*September 26, 1901.*

*Personal.*

*My dear Governor Hunt:*

*In dealing with the Philippines, Cuba and Porto Rico, my purpose is to give Taft and Wood and you the largest liberty of action possible, and the heartiest support on my part. In taking up the question of the lesser appointments I want to consult especially with you three men, for I have the utmost confidence in each of you. I shall certainly not want any man whom anyone of you who has to be over or with that man disapproves of. I have written Senator Hanna at once about Howe, and I take it for granted there will be no difficulty in his appointment.\*\*\* As to the particular place of Secretary of State, it was the intention of President McKinley to appoint Mr. Charles Hartzell. He had tendered the place to him and it had been accepted. Naturally I desire to carry out this intention, but before doing so would wish to ask whether you know of any objection to it—and in asking you for your opinion I am sure I am doing precisely as the late President intended to do. I wish you would write me with the most absolute freedom as to any appointment that ought or ought not to be made, or as to any other question of policy.*

*In dealing with our insular possessions and dependencies I feel that no consideration whatever must be allowed any weight save the consideration of getting the best possible service for the islands and therefore for our whole country. The problem is far too grave and too delicate to admit of any other course being pursued.*

*Sincerely yours,*

*Theodore Roosevelt."*



beginning of civil government imposed tasks complicated and particularly difficult by reason of the depression caused by the hurricane of 1899, when there had been widespread destruction of life and property throughout the Island. We felt that the element represented by sympathizers with the old Spanish control, and largely made up of the better educated natives, was not in sympathy with the civil government and would give little real aid in a political way. But we moved along with determination and confidence.

Opposition to the new government came also from some of the Americans in the Island. The San Juan News, a newspaper edited by Hobart Bird, an American, became very abusive of the administration. One American preacher also felt aggrieved because we did not immediately remove all Roman Catholic teachers in the schools and orphan asylums; and, on the other hand, the Roman Catholic bishop was fretful and complaining because we did not quickly recognize the title of the Catholics to certain lands and properties claimed by the Catholic Church. Numerous petitions of grievances were sent direct to Washington, where the President or other official to whom they were addressed invariably sent them back to us for such report as might be fitting. These things were sometimes worrying, but we persevered in our course, convinced that in due time progress and contentment would follow.

We had some trying experiences. I relate one that was annoying to me in a personal way.

The American anti-administration newspaper in San Juan assailed a local district court judge, a married man, by charging that some time before his appointment he had a mistress and had an illegitimate as well a legitimate family. Investigation was asked and a complaint was forwarded to President Roosevelt. The President asked for a report. The truth of the charge, insofar as it pertained to the former life of the man, was sustained, and I so advised the President, explaining to him, however, that prior to the American sovereignty and offense such as the judge had committed was not at all uncommon; that the American military

letter, even though marked personal, that he would prefer to be kept out of print.

When I saw President Roosevelt, I made it a point to tell him of the attacks and of my worry. He laughed heartily and told me he had once had a similar experience in relation to an applicant for an appointment and had incurred the wrath of a large circle of people who had been his political friends.

## CHAPTER XXVI

In retrospect, looking back for over forty years of American government in Porto Rico, I am sure we made mistakes in the early days; yet from the larger viewpoint, time has proved that the foundations which we laid were sound and enduring. With educational advantages assured, a government intelligently solicitous of the public welfare and of the rights of the people and with a free market for products in the United States, the course of the new government brought much to Porto Ricans.

At a dinner at the White House in 1905, President Roosevelt and Senator Allison of Iowa plied me with questions about the Island and the people. "Well," said the Senator, "how long will it be before Porto Rico will be fitted for statehood?" "That depends," I said, "upon what standard you have in mind." "Well, my own state, Iowa," he replied. "Not less than three generations," was my answer. "Yes," said the Senator, "more than over a hundred years."

Our troublous moments, however, were interspersed with humorous happenings. For example, one day the following letter came with my mail:

*"To His Excellency, Governor Hunt:*

*Your excellence it Becomes so that I am compel to address you to let you Know that Im properly murdered*

respects to Mrs. Hunt and me before forming the merry hundreds who made up the guests.

When the Governor traveled in the Island his party was entertained with lavish hospitality. There were elaborate parades of welcome; dinners, public receptions, and balls. Committees of Porto Rican ladies left nothing undone to make Mrs. Hunt and others of the party comfortable. They gave up their houses and servants to us, and in every detail graciously showed most pleasing hospitality. "A la disposición de Usted," was their greeting. Unfortunately, there was none too much small conversation because interpreters became necessary. Occasionally a native lady spoke French, which frequently enabled the hostess and guests to meet on more intimate terms.

A specially memorable trip was one we made with Miss Alice Roosevelt, our house guest, as one of the party. Alice and Juliet Buck, Elizabeth's best friend, and Elizabeth made a lovely and very lively trio. Robert Bliss, my efficient faithful secretary, had his hands full in arranging our plans and responding as well to the requests of the three girls who conspired to make his life wretched. But Robert, then fresh from Harvard, was admirably fitted for his diplomatic position. He never allowed the girls to disturb his unruffled bearing, and by an urbanity most commendable, turned the tables, often defeating the efforts of the conspirators. We were all truly gratified over the honors which have come to him – Consul at Venice, Secretary of Legation at St. Petersburg, Minister to Sweden and Ambassador at the Argentine Republic.

## CHAPTER XXVII

Toward the end of the third year of civil government the constructive work had lessened to a considerable extent and

chance for an increase at the present time. I would advise you to take the United States judgeship in Montana and keep in line for promotion."

Notwithstanding the friendly advice of the President, the question of my future was troubling me. I did not care to go back to a judgeship in Montana. It meant returning to a life of hard study and seclusion in a small town during the prime of my life. I fully appreciated the honor of being a United States judge; nor did I overlook the fact that the tenure was for life. Yet, when I weighed the different considerations, I was reluctant to return to the Bench in Montana.

As the days went by, however, I was sensible of a dread of striking out in the profession in New York. With my dependencies and limited means the risk seemed to be greater than I ought to take. The counter-balancing thought was that if I took the judgeship we would be sure of modest comfort, with a fair probability of early promotion. These reflections became more convincing and before I could express myself to the President, in April, 1904, I was nominated and confirmed as United States District Judge for Montana.

I promised the President that I would return and remain as Governor until after my successor was named and reached San Juan. In June, Beekman Winthrop of New York was appointed and with his wife arrived in San Juan about July first. We went over important public matters, and on July fourth he was formally inaugurated in the theatre where he delivered his inaugural.

There was a touch of sadness in giving up. Many kind evidences of regard were shown. The Executive Council unanimously adopted complimentary resolutions expressing regret at my departure. A beautiful loving cup accompanied by complimentary resolutions, was presented to me by some fifty Americans and Porto Ricans. After the inaugural parade, I lunched at the palace with the Winthrops, and then, in the quiet of Judge McLeary's office, the Judge administered the oath of office to me as a Federal Judge. Governor Winthrop

Helena has always had a deserved reputation for intelligence and refinement. Few small cities were comparable to it in cosmopolitanism and general liberality of thought. However, there were a good many limitations upon life there, and naturally I hoped we would not have to remain permanently in so cold a climate.

My court duty was exacting, the work was important and never ending, and as was the situation generally in the Federal Courts, cases multiplied as fast—often faster—than they could be satisfactorily disposed of. I was also assigned to hold court for a time in Portland, Oregon, and to sit as a member of the Circuit Court of Appeals at San Francisco.

It would be of no special interest to elaborate upon the scope of my judicial work. Many of my more important opinions are published in the one hundred ninety-four volumes of the Federal Reports, commencing with Volume 135 of the older series and ending with Volume 29 of the second series. They constitute a substantial contribution to legal history—test of their worth is for a critical profession.

The quiet of our home doings in Helena was enlivened in September, 1906, when Elizabeth was married to George W. Thompson of New York at St. Paul's Church in Helena. A wedding reception at the house brought many friends together and made the occasion a joyous one. After the wedding festivities were over and the bride and groom left, we passed through a time such as parents must experience when a devoted daughter marries—a sadness in the thought that their daughter has in a sense left her parental roof. The child's probable happiness made us content, but in our tender devotion to her the knowledge that she was away from us and that she was now to begin a life of her own amid different surroundings brought many regrets.

We settled down, though, to a more or less quiet social existence, at times monotonous. Court work held my daily attention; law books, arguments, study and preparation of opinions filled the days.

We sold our household furniture and left Helena in April, 1910. Our Airdale terrier, "Sandy," was put in the baggage car, but just before the train left Helena he slipped his collar and returned to the house which we had left. In a few days we were told that Sandy was found lying on the porch guarding the door and refused to allow anyone to enter. Later our son took him away. A faithful friend!

## CHAPTER XXX

Washington at last! Too good to be true, yet there we were and there I believed we would make a last stand.

The Customs Court was organized with Judge Montgomery of Michigan as Chief Justice, and James F. Smith, O. W. Barber, Marion De Vries and myself as Associate Judges. I found my associates to be men congenial in every way. But as the jurisdiction of the court was limited to appeals from the decisions of Boards of Appraisers in customs matters, it became apparent that the field of litigation was narrow and that the questions submitted, while involving large amounts of money, did not present the broader litigations called for in the Federal District and Circuit courts. Nor was the work nearly as laborious as I had been accustomed to.

Had I been satisfied to consider the standpoint of comfort alone, no position could have been more enjoyable, but it became fixed in my mind that at my age (fifty-three) I ought to be tackling more and harder problems. The President and Mr. Wickersham, the Attorney General, must have had much the same view, for in the following December (1910), when the Customs Court was sitting in New York, I was again surprised this time to read in the paper that I was one of five persons nominated as Circuit Judge to be assigned to the United States Commerce Court, another newly established

comparatively poor and weak.

All such objections were readily disposed of by the record; I was confirmed without a single objection, and in ample time to enable me once again to assist in the organization of a newly created Federal tribunal, the Commerce Court. The other judges were Knapp of New York, Archibald of Pennsylvania, Garland of South Dakota, and Mack of Illinois. The court was duly organized and proceeded to its duty.

In 1909, Congress by a small margin had established the Commerce Court in order to have a readily accessible tribunal where orders of the Interstate Commerce Commission could be expeditiously tested. It is only fair to mention that as an administrative body the Interstate Commerce Commission had become popular. Its procedure was very simple and more expeditious than were usual court reviews. People appreciated that court delays had often worked injustice. Furthermore, the rulings of the Commission for several years had frequently favored shippers as against the railroad companies. This was "meat" for a politician in farming sections. To abuse the railroads and freight rates whether by attack well or ill founded became the easiest way to appeal successfully to people of farming sections. As a consequence, any order of accord which enjoined an order of the Commission was cited as ground for assailing the Commerce Court. This feeling resulted in a bill to abolish the court.

The members of the Interstate Commerce Commission really encouraged such a measure for the abolition of the court, for in its annual report it disclosed that it was fretted by knowing that for the first time in the history of the Commission there was in Washington, but a few blocks away, a judicial body clothed with power to examine into the legality and justice of the orders of the Commission.

Several Congressmen referred to the court as unnecessary. These speeches were repeated. They made us judges quite indifferent concerning the fate of the proposed

books or public men, dead or alive, or foreign affairs. He loved life and mankind. His comments were invariably right to the point –he never pussyfooted– and no man was more impressive in that ready sense of humor which he often interpolated when he talked about men. In his home he was charming, never too busy to enjoy the fun of the children or to take part in everything great and small that came up in the family life.

But I believed, and still believe, that his political activities, though uplifting generally, were misdirected when he sought the Presidency as a Progressive in 1912. I have never understood what reason there was for organizing a third party which could only mean defeating Taft by electing Wilson. It is true that as President, Taft was a disappointment to him and to many others. That made it fair for Roosevelt to try to defeat him for nomination in the Republican convention, or if unsuccessful in defeating him, to give his direct support to Wilson at the polls. But it was a very different matter to defeat the Republican Party by the organization of the Progressive, which any student of politics could see could not succeed and which really offered nothing better than what the Republicans or Democrats presented. Sentimental or ecstatic appeals to elect Roosevelt roused thousands of people in the campaign; yet the best informed men predicted that the “Progressive” movement was an ephemeral incident in American politics with no accomplishment other than the election of a Democrat. On the other hand, the Republican Party, by adhering to the principles announced in the platform upon which Taft made his campaign, has lived to see the Progressive Party pass out.

Unbiased students who are sufficiently painstaking to go into the history of party politics of the times will agree with me that those biographers of Theodore Roosevelt are radically in error in echoing that Roosevelt’s defection was “sacrificial” because it had been “demonstrated” that under



too heavy for one court.

The circumstances related made it plain that I would be assigned to courts of appeal away from Washington. This presented the question where we should make our home, which in turn depended upon what assignment I might have. Chief Justice White sent for me and was most considerate in wishing to make an assignment in accordance with my preference.

At the request of Judge La Combe, I went to New York in the Second Circuit for a time. The judges in New York were tremendously busy. Their devotion to duty, too, was admirable. A country is fortunate in having the services of such conspicuously able men as La Combe, Hough, Learned Hand, and Augustus Hand.

To be close to New York we rented a house in Montclair, New Jersey, a pretty suburb convenient to New York and Philadelphia. The people we met in Montclair were very polite, but neither my wife nor I had any family identification with the community, nor was there any special reason for us to stay there during the cold months. We preferred New York where we both had near relatives. On the other hand, the severity of the winter climate and the expense of living in New York compelled us to give up the notion of remaining in that vicinity, so when spring came we returned to our house in Washington where we remained until June after the wedding of Helen to Barnaby Conrad of San Francisco.

In June, Chief Justice White sent for me and said that a request had come to him for my assignment to the Fourth Circuit and that he intended to make the necessary order of assignment if agreeable to me. I liked the prospect and was counting upon it. It meant that we could live in Washington or Baltimore or Richmond. But within a month an impediment unexpectedly arose by an appeal of Judge Knapp of the abolished Commerce Court to be assigned by the Chief Justice to the Fourth Circuit. The Chief Justice again asked me to call. He told me that he was embarrassed by the

any public honor, the position of a Senator was most appealing. But to make the campaign I would have been obliged to resign my life appointment as a Circuit Judge, and in the uncertain political conditions which prevailed in Montana it was by no means safe to predict Republican success in the election. When all these circumstances were considered, I declined to be a candidate and advised Taft of that determination.

I was sorry to reach that conclusion, for I have always had a decided taste for constructive legislative work and have never lost my interest in national politics. But prudence became my guide. I asked myself, what if defeat should come? Or, even if I should be elected for one term and then be defeated for the second term, what would be my position? Poor, without an established law practice and my age too far advanced to escape anxiety over how to earn a living.

I knew, too, that the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit, filled an important place in the judicial life of the country. So many questions affecting the public affairs arose in the West—controversies over public lands, railroad grants, mineral rights, deportation proceedings, and Indian reservations—that the decisions of the Court were often of unusual moment. At all events, I gave up thoughts of political office.

My associates in California were Judges Gilbert, Ross and Morrow. Judges Gilbert and Ross were Virginians by birth, the former a graduate of Williams College, the latter of the Virginia Military Institute. Both were able lawyers and cultivated gentlemen. Few men of my acquaintance have been as familiar with history and literature as Judge Gilbert. Judge Ross had been a soldier in the Confederate Army. He went to Los Angeles after the Civil War and soon made an enviable place for himself in that enterprising community. He was of a high-strung temperament. I never knew a purer character. Judge Morrow was of a different mold. He came to California in early days after the Civil War and practiced

Consul; Von Bricken, Chancellor of the German Consulate; Crowley, an American; and Mrs. Cornell, all jointly indicted for conspiring to violate the neutrality laws of the United States. The case, although tried a few months before our country was drawn into the World War, attracted unusual attention because of the growing feeling that Germany was really hostile to our country and that open warfare was inevitable.

The evidence against the defendants exposed a deep, far-reaching, concerted plan to blow up American trains and ships carrying munitions of war to England and other countries then engaged in war with Germany, with which nation our country was then on friendly terms. All of the defendants were convicted and sent to the penitentiary. That was the last jury trial case over which I presided.

Not long thereafter came the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The natural result of the publication of these things but intensified the increasing hatred of the German attitude which had so aroused indignation over the sinking of American ships that war was freely predicted. However, President Wilson's deliberation in the hope that hostilities could be averted prolonged a state of uncertainty.

In the first half of April, Mrs. Hunt and I went to Pasadena to visit my brother Tom and his wife who were visiting California for a few weeks. On Friday, April 7, the four of us motored to the Riverside Inn at Riverside and while we were at lunch, newspaper extras announced that Congress had passed the resolution declaring that a state of war existed between our country and the German Empire. Tom made plans to return to New York without delay and we returned to San Francisco.

It was hard to settle down to usual pursuits. The days were made thrilling by the sight of soldiers, the strains of martial music. We shared the eagerness of young men anxious to enlist and we admired the patriotism of the women organizing for the sale of Liberty Bonds and for the making

told. In her trouble she had the full depth of sympathy of her parents and other relatives who resolutely advised and upheld her action in obtaining a decree of divorce in 1916 in New York. Several years afterwards she met and married (in 1922) Edward Tayloe, a cultured and esteemed gentleman, of Charlottesville, Virginia. Her marriage to Mr. Tayloe ended the misery and sorrow 'she had endured; a new and perfectly happy life awaited her.

It was but natural that the strong health we had both enjoyed could not remain forever, and in 1922 illness forced me to remain away from court for several weeks. I recovered and resumed my work, with joy in our home life where our grandchildren, Helen's two fine little boys, William Hunt and Barnaby, Jr., were bright and active forces.

In November, 1927, my seventieth birthday fell upon me—not like a rock, but with enough force to remind me that I could not do as much work as I had been doing and that it was unwise to continue to try to. For recreation we went to Milwaukee to spend Christmas with our daughter Gertrude and her two little boys, Rulison and Peter, and then to Washington where my brothers Tom and Livingston with their wives, my sister Nellie, our daughter Elizabeth, and other relatives came to see us. We discussed the question of my retirement from the Bench under the law which enabled a judge who has reached the age of seventy and has served as a judge for ten years or more continuously to retire on full salary. The family unanimously agreed that I should avail myself of the right.

I saw Chief Justice Taft quite often. He approved of that course. Accordingly, I filed notice of my retirement to be effective February 1, 1928. President Coolidge, in acknowledging my formal letter, took occasion to write me a letter commending my services and wishing me well.

The status of a retired judge is this: He need not do any judicial service, or he may perform such as he signifies his willingness to do. He is not under any sense of obligation to

to read my name among the attorneys of San Francisco and to be asked how I liked the prospect of resuming practice.

## CHAPTER XXXII

I joined Mr. T. T. C. Gregory, a lawyer of high repute in San Francisco, and with Bradford M. Melvin and Wallace Sheehan we formed the partnership of Gregory, Hunt & Melvin. In 1940, Darwin Bryan joined the firm, which has an established and desirable clientele. My associates are all gentlemen of ability in the profession and are my warm personal friends.

For the past few years I have done but little professional work, but when I make the suggestion that I withdraw lest I become a drag, I am met with affectionate smiles and "cut it out" from my associates.

On my eighty-third birthday I gave a luncheon to my associates and employees in our law offices. We were in the midst of our meal when a telegraph messenger appeared and after singing "Happy birthday" to me, read this note to me:

*"Judge Hunt -*

*To us Boys and Girls, you are the beau ideal of the stainless, scholarly, gallant gentleman.*

*We daily learn from you something of the graces, amenities and convivialities of life. Would that each of us could be heirs of your fine spirit and deep wisdom.*

*You are yielding rich autumn fruit and may God preserve you to us for a long time to come.*

*Mary Fractenberg*

*Belle Johnson*

*Matilda Hansen*

*Bradford M. Melvin*

**I**n 1942 my mother and father came to Charlottesville. My mother, an invalid, and she died in 1944. My father continued living here where he could be near me, and my sister Gertrude Knox who was living in Washington, and also near his granddaughter Elizabeth Thompson Wise who lives near Charlottesville. He remained in good health, though after the death of my mother, he lost much of his lightness of heart and his loneliness was ever present.

A year or so before his death his sight commenced to fail and his worry over this was great; all his life he had been dependent upon reading, in which he found solace and comfort. He did not want to die; his interest in life was deep up to the day of his death.

He died February fourth 1949 in his ninety second year —the last of his generation of five brothers and a sister. With his death ended the unforgettably happy chapter in the lives of his children. Our minds and hearts are filled with the memories of the happy hours we spent with him and our mother, both in our childhood and in later life.

Though in reading his "Memoirs" one can appreciate his nobility of character, his great modesty did not permit him to put enough of himself into this record. His charm, his tolerance, his humor, and above all his great understanding, all added to his character and endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He had not an enemy in the world and was an inspiration to those around him. His life was devoted to helping those who sought his advice and judgment, regardless of class, and his true and sincere interest in helping others was a source of genuine pleasure to him. His unforgettable smile was bestowed upon everyone and that smile meant so much, for it came from his heart. My father had a great gift of narrative and a sense of humor which I am sure helped him in some of his difficult problems. If

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