NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. In September 2013, El Nuevo Día published a series of articles examining migration to the United States, discussing topics like the young face of migrants; the “airbus” to Florida; the island’s dramatic loss of population and the growing number of Puerto Ricans now living on the U.S. mainland. See ElNuevoDia.com, accessed on September 29, 2013. On a more scholarly approach to Puerto Rico’s economic crisis and the related increase in migration to the United States, see Meléndez and Vargas-Ramos, Puerto Ricans.


3. Puerto Rican migration falls between the cracks in the study of U.S. migrations. Even a standard text on “multicultural” America like Takaki’s A Different Mirror does not devote any attention to Puerto Ricans. Another text on “immigrant” America by two scholars knowledgeable of U.S. Hispanic history also fails to mention Puerto Rican migration; see Portes and Rumbaut, Immigrant America. Puerto Rican migration is also absent from studies of internal migration; it is not even mentioned in one of the standard texts on this subject: Greenwood, “Research on Internal Migration.”

4. Senior, “Migration and Puerto Rico’s Population Problem,” 135; also Senior, The Puerto Ricans. This view is contrary to the assertion presented in The Puerto Rican Journey, which Senior coauthored with C. Wright Mills, where it is argued that for racial and other historical factors, Puerto Rican migration was different from previous migrations. See Mills, Senior, and Goldsen, The Puerto Rican Journey.

5. Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Labor Migration.

8. Lapp, “Managing Migration.”
9. Ibid., passim, particularly ch. 2.
13. For elaboration of this argument, see Meléndez, “Puerto Rican Migration.”
15. Grosfoguel, Colonial Subjects; Pérez, The Near Northwest Side Story; and Aranda, Emotional Bridges.
16. DeSipio and Pantoja, “Puerto Rican Exceptionalism?”
17. Duany, Nation on the Move, ch. 7; Duany, “The Orlando Ricans”; and Duany, “A Transnational Colonial Migration,” 247–48. On Puerto Rico’s migration policy from the perspective of migration to Chicago, Philadelphia, and Michigan, respectively, see Pérez, The Near Northwest Side Story, ch. 3; Whalen, From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia; and Findlay, We Are Left without a Father Here.
20. Grosfoguel has compared Puerto Ricans to other Caribbean “colonial migrants” who also enjoy metropolitan citizenship and have unrestricted access to the colonial metropolis, and whose migration there has been espoused by government agencies (metropolitan or colonial). For Grosfoguel and other scholars, colonial migrants engage in transnational relations similar to those coming from nation-states. See Grosfoguel, Colonial Subjects, ch. 6; and also Grosfoguel, Cervantes-Rodríguez, and Mielants, “Introduction.”
21. Fernando Sierra Berdecía, commissioner of labor and framer of the government’s migration policy, acknowledged the particular role played by the Puerto Rican government in this arena in his crucial text on this matter: Puerto Rican Emigration.
22. Meléndez, “Puerto Rican Migration.”
23. See Meléndez, “Citizenship.”
24. The idea that Puerto Ricans are seen as “foreign” to the United States is used by scholars like Duany to argue that Puerto Rican migration is a transnational—although colonial—migration; Duany, “A Transnational Colonial Migration,” 247–49. For the notion that French citizens from the Caribbean—like Puerto Ricans—are also seen as “foreign” in France, see Milia-Marie-Luce, “Puerto Ricans in the United States,” 98.
25. Puerto Rico is by far the largest of the U.S. overseas territories in terms of population and size. On the U.S. territories, see Leibowitz, Defining Status, and Sparrow, The Insular Cases.
28. For a review of this literature, see McCoy, Scarano, and Johnson, “On the Tropic of Cancer,” particularly 1–12.
29. Kaplan and Pease, Cultures.
31. Kaplan discusses Puerto Rico’s status within the American empire when she examines Downes v. Bidwell in order to explore the interrelationships between the “domestic” and the “foreign” in U.S. affairs; see her introduction to The Anarchy of Empire.
33. Cabán, *Constructing a Colonial People*.
34. Go, *American Empire*.
35. Thompson, *Imperial Archipelago*.
37. del Moral, *Negotiating Empire*.
38. See the chapters by Santiago-Valles, del Moral, Barreto, Navarro-Rivera, Scarano, Schmidt-Nowara, Duffy Burnett, Rodríguez Beruff, and García Muñiz and Campo, in McCoy and Scarano, *Colonial Crucible*.
41. On the need for more research linking U.S. empire to colonial migrations to the United States, see Green, “Labor of Empire.”
42. For an excellent study of Filipino migration to the United States within the context of U.S. empire, see Baldoz, *The Third Asiatic Invasion*, particularly chs. 1 and 2. Also see Fujita-Rony, *American Workers*. For an account on the relationship between Filipino migration to the United States and the independence of the Philippines, see Kramer, *The Blood of Government*.
43. A similar perspective on Puerto Rican migration is presented by McGreevy, “Borderline Citizens.” A comparative study of Filipino and Puerto Rican workers in Hawaii at the beginning of the twentieth century is provided by Poblete, *Islanders in the Empire*.
46. The major issues in *Downes v. Bidwell*, as well as the decision itself and its several opinions, are examined in Rivera Ramos, *The Legal Construction of Identity*, chs. 4 and 5; Sparrow, *The Insular Cases*, chs. 4 and 5; Torruella, *The Supreme Court and Puerto Rico*, ch. 3.
47. *Downes v. Bidwell* (182 U.S. 244, 1901), quotes from 279–80, 282, and 287, respectively.
49. See Meléndez, “Citizenship.”
50. *Gonzales v. Williams* (192 U.S. 1, 1904).
51. A comprehensive examination of the Jones Act and the grant of U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans requires a discussion that is not possible here. The Jones Act also introduced reforms to the Puerto Rican government (i.e., an elected senate) and granted Puerto Ricans their own bill of rights, in itself a topic that should require an appropriate discussion. That is, even as citizens, the Bill of Rights would not be fully applied to these new citizens. For many years previous to the act, some in Congress and among the colonial functionaries debated whether to grant citizenship to Puerto Ricans through a collective naturalization—as it happened—or by individual (“voluntary”) naturalization. The context where citizenship was granted—World War I—also raises a number of questions regarding this event, including the strategic and political concerns involved in this decision. For an excellent discussion of the reasons for granting citizenship to Puerto Ricans, see Rivera Ramos, *The Legal Construction of Identity*, ch. 7. The standard text regarding congressional debates on citizenship for Puerto Ricans remains Cabranes, “Citizenship and the American Empire,” 391–492. On the debates around the Jones Act, see also Fors, “The Jones Act.”


NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. See, e.g., Maldonado Denis, *The Emigration Dialectic*, ch. 2.


7. Ibid., 10.

8. For a review of the literature on this issue, see Meléndez Vélez, *Partidos*, ch. 1.


10. See Baldrich, “Class and the State,” and González Díaz, “El Estado.”


15. Ibid., 97, 100.


17. Centro, *Sources*, 54–64, also 16–53 for other documents on the Hawaiian experience.

18. Ibid., 65–94.

19. Ibid., 96.

20. Ibid., 140.

22. Ibid., 68–70.
23. McGreevy, “Borderline Citizens,” ch. 5; Centro, Sources, 104.
24. Centro, Sources, 5, 127, and 112–26 for this topic.
25. Ibid., 194–95.
27. Ibid., 206–10.
29. Sánchez Korrol, From Colonia to Community.
30. Atherton Lee to William Leahy, April 8, 1940; in Archivo General de Puerto Rico (AGPR), Fondo Oficina del Gobernador (FOG), tarea 96–20, box 269.
31. Leahy to Harold Ickes, April 9, 1940; in ibid.
32. Ridley to Leahy, May 21, 1940; in ibid.
33. Atherton to Carlos Gallardo, June 6, 1940; in ibid.
34. Rivera Martínez to Colóm, June 14 and 15, and July 2, 1940; in ibid.
35. Daley to Leahy, October 2, 1940; in ibid.
36. Stimson to the U.S. secretary of interior, October 25, 1940; in ibid.
37. López to Guy J. Swope, governor of Puerto Rico, February 25, 1941; in ibid.
38. Glen E. Edgerton to Swope, March 27, 1941; in ibid.
39. Swope to Edgerton, April 8, 1941; in ibid.
42. “Se estudia la compra de terrenos en Santo Domingo,” El Mundo, December 8, 1942, 1.
44. Frank Corrigan, “Proposal to Settle Puerto Rican Families in Venezuela,” confidential report to the secretary of state, September 1, 1945; in AFLMM, Section IV, Series 15, subseries 195a, doc. 1.
45. “Informal Committee on Migration: Called together by Field Office II, National Resources Planning Board, Room 211, Federal Building,” dated December 26, 1942; in AGPR, FOG, tarea 96–20, box 269.
49. Iglesias Jr. to Tugwell, October 21, 1942; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2256.
51. Senior, Puerto Rican Emigration, 24.
55. As quoted in Whalen, From Puerto Rico, 51.
56. Senior, Puerto Rican Emigration, 25.
59. “Emigration of Puerto Ricans to work in the copper industry in the United States,” memo from Pérez to Tugwell, February 20, 1945; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 269. Reports from September 1944 indicated that four hundred out of one thousand Puerto Ricans working for
the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. had abandoned their jobs; in “Dos mil obreros del país desean trabajar en E. U.,” *El Mundo*, September 3, 1944, 2.


### NOTES TO CHAPTER 2


5. Ramírez de Arellano and Seipp, *Colonialism*, 97.

6. Ibid., 97, 98.


8. Ibid., 3–4.


11. “Foro Público,” 5; location in note 10, above.


16. Pérez to Muñoz Marín, December 18, 1946; in AFLMM, IV/2, Sub. 9, Folder 251, doc. 11.

17. Pérez to Muñoz Lee, December 17, 1946; in ibid., doc. 12.

18. Pérez to the Director of *El Imparcial*, December 17, 1946; in ibid., doc. 13.
22. Carmen Isales, “Situation de los obreros puertorriqueños contratados por la Agencia de Empleos Castle, Barton and Assoc.,” December 1946; in ibid., doc. 25.
23. “Géigel partió en una misión especial ayer,” January 3, 1947, 1, and “Géigel presentará enmienda a la ley de emigración obrera,” January 24, 1947, 8; both in *El Mundo*.
26. PM’s articles were translated and published in “PM relata las vicisitudes de portorriqueños,” February 8, 1947, 1; “PM informa se controlará el éxodo boricua,” February 11, 1947, 1; “Miseria y abandono esperan a emigrantes boricuas en N. Y.,” February 16, 1947, 5; and “Problema de boricuas en Nueva York sin resolver,” February 20, 1947, 2; all in *El Mundo*.
38. D. J. O’Connor, “Notes for the Hon. Andrew L. Sommers on a Project to Locate Puerto Ricans in the Dominican Republic,” n.d. This document was attached to a memo from O’Connor to Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern, March 14, 1947, along with a draft letter to the U.S. president on the Dominican Republic plan, dated March 1947. In AGPR,
FOG 96–20, 236. The latter two also are found in AFLMM, IV:2, folder 22, docs. 20 and 23, respectively.


40. Senior, Puerto Rican Emigration, 122; emphasis in the original.

41. Ibid., quote from 119, and also 119–22.

42. On this notion see Lapp, “Managing Migration,” 67–74; Duany, Nation on the Move, 170–71; Whalen, From Puerto Rico, 35–36.

43. Senior, Puerto Rican Emigration, quotes from 101 and 103, respectively.

44. Pons to Rafael Picó, July 14, 1947. Pons told Sierra Berdecía that he was “specially qualified to successfully solve the problem that this committee will face” in his letter to the commissioner, July 14, 1947. Both letters in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 422.


46. Minutes of the third meeting of the Emigration Advisory Committee, August 18, 1947, and attached memo to members from Reck, August 28, 1947; in ibid.

47. Minutes of the fourth meeting of the Emigration Advisory Committee, August 23, 1947, emphasis added; in ibid.

48. Minutes of the Emigration Advisory Committee, September 11, 1947; in ibid.


50. Sierra Berdecía lived in the United States from 1925 to 1927, and upon his return to the island he began to work in journalism, including as director of the newspaper La Correspondencia, chief editor of El Imparcial, and correspondent for El Mundo. He became director of the Minimum Wage Board in 1942 and in 1945 was appointed director of the Labor Relations Board. Sierra Berdecía was also a novelist and a distinguished playwright. Among his best known plays is Esta noche juega el Joker (The Joker Is Playing Tonight), based on his experience in New York City. Sierra Berdecía acknowledged many times how his days living in the United States made him particularly sensitive to the conditions that Puerto Rican migrants faced in a society with a different culture and social practices like racism. See, e.g., Sierra Berdecía, Puerto Rican Emigration, 11. On the evolution of his political thinking, see “Sierra Berdecía se solidariza con unión permanente a E. U.,” El Mundo, December 16, 1950, 1.

51. “Sierra Berdecía designado para dirigir Departamento Trabajo,” June 30, 1947, 1; “Bien acogido nombramiento Sierra Berdecía,” July 1, 1947, 1. Pagán de Colón was associate director of the Vocational Rehabilitation Division. Manuel Cabranes was appointed director of the Migration Office in New York; at the time, he was executive director of Melrose House in New York. See “Seleccionado ya el personal de Migración,” December 31, 1947, 1. All in El Mundo.

52. Sierra Berdecía resigned as commissioner of labor in December 1960 due to health reasons. He died of a thrombosis at age fifty-nine on January 21, 1961. He was given the highest honors a public servant could receive at the time in Puerto Rico. See “Muñoz accede, acepta renuncia a Sierra Berdecía,” December 29, 1960, 1; “Sierra Berdecía muere de trombosis a los 59,” “Muñoz apenado por fallecimiento del ‘amigo Sierra,’” January 22, 1962, 1; all in El Mundo. Also “Fernando Sierra Dies; Former Secretary of Labor in Puerto Rico was 59,” New York Times, January 22, 1962. El Mundo described his funeral services as “one of the greatest expressions of public mourning seen in recent years in Puerto Rico”; January 23, 1962, 1. Sierra Berdecía was also remembered by Puerto Ricans in the United States. See “Lamentan en urbe deceso Fernando Sierra Berdecía,” January 24, 1962, 17; and
“Boricuas en Chicago; mas de 1,000 van a misa en memoria de Sierra,” February 16, 1962, 9, both in El Mundo.

In an editorial titled “Mission Accomplished,” El Mundo praised the devotion of the commissioner to public service, concluding that after “a mission fully accomplished, Puerto Rico owes the highest recognition” to Sierra Berdecía; January 3, 1961, 6. Although he played an important role in postwar Puerto Rican government and politics, as of now there is no single article or book on Sierra Berdecía’s life or work.

54. “Sierra define actitud de Trabajo ante los obreros y los patronos,” El Mundo, September 7, 1947, 1. This presentation was published as Sierra Berdecía, Protecting Puerto Rico’s Labor.
57. Sierra Berdecía, “Migración de Trabajadores Puertorriqueños a Estados Unidos.”
60. “Esperan que Sierra Berdecía regrese en la próxima semana,” November 1, 1947, 5; “Sierra discute un plan para dar empleo a los puertorriqueños,” November 5, 1947, 7; and “Sierra afirma hará cambios en emigración,” November 11, 1947, 1; all in El Mundo.
64. Sierra Berdecía, “Migración de Trabajadores Puertorriqueños.” Page numbers of quoted passages from this source will appear parenthetically in the text.
65. Sierra Berdecía claimed repeatedly that the island’s migration policy was the result of consultation with functionaries and institutions in New York City. While visiting New York in December 1947, he asserted that the new migration policy was the result of the “consensus of ideas” discussed in his previous visit to review “the problem of Puerto Ricans” in the city. See “Sierra expone labor oficina de New York,” El Mundo, December 19, 1947, 1.
67. Gov. PR, Legislatura, Leyes de la Cuarta y Quinta Legislaturas, 386–94.
69. A. W. Maldonado, Teodoro Moscoso, 144–46.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

2. See, e.g., Fernández, “Of Immigrants and Migrants.”
3. According to Senior, Puerto Ricans’ “legal status as citizens . . . conflict in the public mind with their role as Spanish-speaking bearers of another culture, and they are often treated as immigrants.” Senior, “Patterns of Puerto Rican Dispersion,” 93.
4. President’s Commission, Migratory Labor, 49; emphasis added.
5. Ibid., 2.
6. Quotes and statistical data are from ibid., 38–39. Already by the 1920s, U.S. farmers stated their preference for Mexican workers over Puerto Ricans, based on the former’s deportability versus the latter’s U.S. citizenship. See Molina, *How Race is Made*, 34–38.


8. See letter from H. Rex Lee, acting director of the Division of Territories and Island Possessions, to Juan A. Pons, acting governor, July 21, 1947, and letter from Lee to Governor Piñero, July 24, 1947; both in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 422. A 1950 report by the agency acknowledged the need of Puerto Ricans to migrate and the benefits for U.S. employers in hiring them. See Office of Territories, U.S. Department of Interior, “The Potential Contribution of Puerto Rico’s Migrant Workers to the Mainland’s Need for Workers” (Washington, DC, October 1, 1950); in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2272.

9. Barr to Cecil Morales, Department of Labor, December 5, 1947; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 454.


13. Memo from Sierra Berdecía to José Raúl Cancio, governor’s executive assistant, August 18, 1949; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2275.

14. Confidential Memo from Draper to Sierra Berdecía, October 24, 1949; in ibid.


16. Perl to Sierra Berdecía, January 19, 1950; in ibid. Support from the U.S. labor movement is reflected in a letter from David Sternback, CIO representative in Puerto Rico, urging colleagues in Connecticut to support the hiring of Puerto Ricans over West Indians in that state. Sternback to Ed. McCrone, June 14, 1951; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2276.


26. Tobin to Sierra Berdecía, June 14, 1950; in ibid.

27. GPR, Comm. Labor, *Vigésimo Informe Anual 1950–1951*, 39. Puerto Rico’s political status almost prevented the law from being extended there. According to Monserrat, the basis for this exclusion was that Puerto Ricans paid no federal taxes. The impasse was resolved when it was determined “that Puerto Rico provided a service to U.S. growers.” Monserrat, “The Development,” 10


41. According to Monserrat, the migration of agricultural workers “is and has been an intrinsic part and basic factor in the economic growth and development of the island.” Monserrat, “The Development,” 27. Also Senior in Dept. Labor, Migration Division, *Annual Report 1955–1956*, 117; in OGPRUS, box 2733, folder 2.
51. By the early 1950s, the typical labor contract approved by the Puerto Rican government included over fifteen stipulations that regulated farmworkers’ working and living conditions, ranging from the type of food that they could eat to housing, workers’ compensation, health insurance, transportation costs, and the right to belong to unions. The contract is described in Monserrat, “The Development,” 19–21.
52. One of the most important clauses in the contract prohibited any kind of discrimination, including racial discrimination, against Puerto Rican workers. Sierra Berdecía rejected any contract that would take Puerto Rican workers to the American South, arguing that it was almost impossible to protect Puerto Rican workers from racial prejudice and discrimination there and that their presence could cause conflicts in local communities, something that the government was trying to avoid. “Sierra no aprobara contratos para ir a trabajar al sur E. U.,” *El Mundo*, April 7, 1951, 17.
According to Monserrat, officials from USES tried to attach Puerto Rico to the regional office in Atlanta when it became part of this agency. Sierra Berdecía “refused that suggestion on the grounds that racial segregation was practiced” in that region; Puerto Rico eventually became part of the New York City regional office. Monserrat observed that Sierra Berdecía refused to send workers to the South even though he came under constant pressure from farmers in Florida and Georgia to do so. Monserrat, “The Development,” 12. On this racial policy, see also Sierra Berdecía, Puerto Rican Emigration, 18, and Pagán de Colón, Programa, 49. In his memoirs, the only reference that Muñoz Marín made on the issue of Puerto Rican migration to the United States was to acknowledge his refusal to send Puerto Ricans to the South due to the rampant racism there. In Luis Muñoz Marín, Memorias: autobiografía pública 1940–1952 (San Germán, P. R.: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 1992), 315.

53. President’s Commission, Migratory Labor, 59. The “prevailing wage” will be discussed further in chapter 7.


55. President’s Commission, Migratory Labor, 61.


57. The process of recruitment and selection of workers is described by Pagán de Colón, Programa, 28–30.


59. The functions and workings of the FPP carried out by the BEM’s Farm Placement Division were described in GPR, Comm. Labor, Twenty-First Annual Report 1951–1952, 39.

60. “No emigre para trabajar como agricultor el que no le sea,” May 29, 1950, 10, and “Devolverían a obreros boricuas que no satisfagan a granjeros,” May 7, 1952, 3; both in El Mundo.

61. GPR, Comm. Labor, Nineteenth Annual Report 1949–1950, 56. An analysis of FPP labor contracts carried out by Whalen for the years 1949 and 1950 clearly shows the overwhelming rural character of these migrants; see Whalen, From Puerto Rico, 80–81. See also Pérez, The Near Northwest Side Story, ch. 2.


63. Monserrat, “The Development,” 25; yearly figures in 32. The number given by Monserrat must be understood as the total number of placements or farmworkers going to the United States under FPP’s labor contracts and not as the total number of individuals moved by the program. Many workers returned to Puerto Rico and then came back to the mainland with a new yearly contract.


66. On the impact of migration on Puerto Rico’s rural municipalities, see Myers, “Migration and Modernization”; also Whalen, From Puerto Rico, ch. 4.


68. Ibid., 31.

69. For example, the 1953 agreement between the New Jersey Garden State Service Cooperative and the Puerto Rican government was negotiated directly by Muñoz Marín; “Hay acuerdo sobre viajes obreros a EU,” El Mundo, April 22, 1953, 1.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

71. See the confidential memo from Draper to Sierra Berdecía, October 24, 1949; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2275; also memo from Blas Oliveras, assistant commissioner of labor, to Muñoz Marín, October 27, 1949; in ibid.

72. See the series of articles published by Salvador Tió in El Mundo during the fall of 1947: “La emigración necesita similitud cultural, afirma Tió,” September 7, 1947, 5 and September 14, 1947, 7; September 28, 1947, 4; and October 5, 1947, 14. Tió and other intellectuals contended that Puerto Ricans in the United States also experienced the loss of their cultural and national identity; Tió, “La emigración,” and Fernández Méndez, “¿Asimilación o enquistamiento?”

73. Letter from Lee to Governor Piñero, July 24, 1947; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 422.

74. “Brasil abre sus puertas al éxodo portorriqueño,” August 27, 1946, 12, 17, and “El interior de Brasil: Están colonizando su centro para atraer a los inmigrantes,” August 18, 1946, 1, 12; both in El Mundo.

75. Memo from O’Connor to Piñero, Muñoz Marín, Fernós-Isern, Sierra Berdecía, Moscoso, and others, “Subject: San Francisco River Valley- Brazil,” August 4, 1948; in AFLMM, Section IV, Series 2, Folder 18, doc. 10.

76. Hanson to Muñoz Marín, January 5, 1949, 1; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2275.

77. Ventura Barnes Jr. to Rafael Picó, January 24, 1949; in ibid.

78. José Raúl Cancio, January 31, 1949, and letter from Cancio to Sierra Berdecía, February 17, 1949; both in ibid.

79. See letter from Sierra Berdecía to Alvaro Adolfo, Senate of Brazil, June 9, 1949; letter from Adolfo to Sierra Berdecía, May 30, 1949; and letter from Sierra Berdecía to Cancio, June 10, 1949; all in ibid.

80. These notes have no author, title, or date; in ibid. Muñoz Marín’s handwritten note dates the document February 21.

81. O’Connor to Hanson, October 26, 1949; in ibid.

82. This account is based on Maldonado’s Teodoro Moscoso, 150–54.


84. “Preparan una emigración a Venezuela,” December 26, 1947, 1; “Verán a Muñoz sobre obreros para Venezuela,” January 9, 1948, 1; and “Esbozan proyecto de emigración por lapso 20 años a Venezuela,” February 8, 1948, 1; all in El Mundo. Government officials continued to contemplate the export of laborers to Venezuela as an option; see the letter from Vernon R. Esteves, economic adviser to the governor, to Sierra Berdecía, June 21, 1950, in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2275.

85. “‘Miami Herald’ acoge la idea sobre Surinam,” March 19, 1947, 4; “Harán estudio de emigración a Sudamérica,” November 2, 1947, 1; and “Fomentarán la inmigración a zona Surinam,” July 22, 1948, 1; all in El Mundo.


NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Sánchez, La guagua aérea; Torre, Rodríguez Vecchini, and Burgos, The Commuter Nation; Duany, Nation on the Move.

2. Dept. Labor, “Requirements for the Transportation of Workers from Puerto Rico to the United States.” In AFLMM, V:1, folder 138, doc. 16.


12. Ibid., 36.
15. Dierikx, Clipping the Clouds, 33.
17. See Dierikx, Clipping the Clouds, ch. 2 passim; data from appendix, 145–46.
24. Dierikx, Clipping the Clouds, ch. 2 passim, and 41, 58.
33. “Mueren quince puertorriqueños,” and “Ante la desgracia,” editorial, January 8, 1948, 6, in El Mundo. Many ads published in La Prensa during this period announced flights to Puerto Rico by travel agencies (mostly Puerto Rican–owned); all promoted chartered flights by unscheduled airlines (Waterman Airlines, Trans-Tropic Airlines, TLA Airlines, Universal Airlines, etc.). They competed in terms of stops (nonstop versus one-stop in Miami) and price (nonstops from $113 to $130 in 1946 and from $50 to $65 in 1947). See, e.g., La Prensa, July 12, 1946, 8, and May 5, 1947, 11.


41. “Cierran el caso del avión DC-3 desaparecido,” El Mundo, July 19, 1949, 1. This tragic incident became part of the Bermuda Triangle legend.


43. “Gobernador investigará el desastre,” June 9, 1949, 1, and “Marcantonio pide Congreso proceda,” June 11, 1949, 1; in El Mundo.


47. “El desastre de Punta Salinas,” and “Problemas de la emigración,” June 9, 1949, 17; also “Después del desastre,” June 10, 1949, 19, in El Imparcial.


53. See memo from Pagán de Colón to Sierra Berdecía, “Information Regarding Airline Contracts,” June 12, 1950; in AFLMM, V:1, folder 138, doc. 7. In this regard, see the letters from Pagán de Colón to Eddie Holohan on September 28, 1949, and May 10, 1950, both in ibid., docs. 10 and 14.

54. See memo from Alberto Arrillaga, military assistant to the governor, June 15, 1950; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2273.


59. Letter from Piñero to O’Connell, November 8, 1948; also letter from O’Connell to Piñero, stamp-dated December 14, 1948; both in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 454.

62. “O’Connor vino a discutir el caso de ampliación de servicio aéreo.”
70. “Trazan plan para acabar obra nuevo aeropuerto para el 1953,” August 1, 1951, 1; “Aeropuerto Isla Verde estará terminado a principios de 1954,” March 8, 1952, 5; and “Acelerarán aeropuerto de Isla Verde,” July 31, 1952, 1; in El Mundo. The new airport’s design included spacious departing and receiving areas made specifically to accommodate the Puerto Rican tradition of welcoming and saying farewell to travelers. The TA director claimed that 1,086,577 persons went to the airport to see out or receive relatives, more or less three per passenger.
74. “Puerto Rico ‘Fair’ to Open Airport,” May 15, 1955, 45, and “Puerto Rico Airport Hailed at Opening,” May 21, 1955, 36; in New York Times. The Times reported that in 1954, the Isla Grande Airport served more than two million people. It also informed readers that the federal government apportioned only $2.5 million of the airport’s estimated $15 million final cost, an amount much lower than that reported elsewhere.
75. “Puerto Rico’s $15,000,000 Airport”; also “Aviation: Puerto Rico; A Model Airport to Open Next Month,” New York Times, April 10, 1955, Travel, XX21.
76. See, e.g., Merrill, Negotiating Paradise, 186–87. Partsch links the expansion of air transportation facilities to Puerto Rico’s economic development program; see Jesús T. Piñero, 144.
77. For Fomento’s role in tourism, see Ross, The Long Uphill Path, 100–105. Also, Merrill, Negotiating Paradise, ch. 5; and Vaughan, “Tourism in Puerto Rico.”
85. Ibid., 110, 124–25.
86. The Commissioner of Labor’s annual reports for the years 1956–57, 1957–58, and 1958–59 were incorrectly numbered in the original documents. The numbers 23, 24, and 25 were repeated. To avoid further confusion, hereafter we will use both the number and the year of the report as reference for these documents.
NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

87. BEM, “Programa de Orientación en Puerto Rico a personas que se proponen salir para los Estados Unidos u otros países,” San Juan, January 24, 1956; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, box 2274, 2.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

4. Negrón de Montilla, La americanización. For a recent perspective of Americanization in educational policy, see del Moral, Negotiating Empire.
6. del Moral, Negotiating Empire, 72.
9. See del Moral, Negotiating Empire, ch. 3.
12. Ibid., 102.
19. This World Telegram article was translated as “Problema de escolares boricuas en Nueva York,” El Mundo, May 6, 1947, 12.
32. “Conferencia pide gobierno federal siga ayuda a Isla,” El Mundo, March 9, 1953, 1. El Mundo questioned the government’s late acknowledgment of this issue in an editorial, “La enseñanza del inglés,” March 9, 1953, 6. The second Migration Conference was held in San Juan in July 1954. According to the Labor Department’s 1953–54 annual report, the “purpose of this conference was to study the most effective means to aid in the integration and adjustment of the Puerto Ricans in New York.” In GPR, Comm. Labor, Twenty-Third Annual Report 1953–54, 59.
33. “Muñoz insta preservar español e intensificar la enseñanza del inglés,” El Mundo, December 30, 1953, 1; quotes are from 16.
34. After the governor’s speech, El Mundo supported the government’s policy of intensifying English language education in public schools in “La enseñanza del inglés,” editorial, December 30, 1953, 6.
1. Although the department changed its name to Departamento de Instrucción Pública (Department of Public Instruction) in 1953, it kept using the name Department of Education in English texts. To avoid any confusion, and because the word instrucción might imply a different meaning in English as well, I will keep referring to this government agency as the Department of Education in the text that follows.
40. GPR, Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Informe Anual, 1956–57, 55.
49. Ibid., 26.
52. “44,000 toman cursos inglés en cuatro años,” El Mundo, February 8, 1958, 1. The Department of Education’s 1958–59 annual report pointed out that 59,304 persons had completed the program’s courses since its creation in 1953. GPR, Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Informe Anual, 1958–59, 47.


54. I was able to examine Semana issues only from 1959 to 1961, but the weekly’s emphasis then should not be different from that of previous years. In AGPR, Fondo Departamento Instrucción Pública, Section: Programa de Inglés Adultos, Tarea 65–95, Lista 65–21, Serie 8: Publicación Escolar “Semana,” box 28.


60. Semana, February 13, 1961, 3.
61. Semana, November 14, 1960, 1.
63. Rizzo Costa and Robinett, La Familia Vázquez.
64. For a description of this program and its goals, see GPR, Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Informe Anual, 1957–58, 63–71. For this fiscal year, thirty-seven community organizers worked in 336 communities throughout the island, making over ten thousand visits and organizing more than five thousand community meetings with an average of forty-five adults per meeting.

65. GPR, Departamento de Instrucción Pública, DIVEDCO, Emigración.

67. “Plan ayuda a migrantes; Muñoz urge intensificar la enseñanza del inglés,” El Mundo, February 12, 1958, 2, emphasis added. The English fluency of Puerto Rican migrants was again a major issue in the fourth Migration Conference held in New York City in 1960. See “Pide aumento de enseñanza inglés en isla,” El Mundo, June 6, 1960, 1.

The Puerto Rican government had already produced films to advise and orient migrants by 1953. Among the events of the 1953 Migration Conference was a showing of the film A Friend in New York, in which migrants were advised on the conditions they would face in the United States and the services provided by the migration offices in the U.S. mainland were advertised. See “Puerto Rico Film Warns Migrants,” New York Times, March 7, 1953, 17.

68. In AGPR, Fondo Departamento Instrucción Pública, Sección Programa de Inglés para Adultos, Tarea 65–95, Lista 65–21, Series 6: Programa de Televisión, box 24. There are dozens of boxes on WIPR’s English programs, including the graded exercises.
69. By the fiscal year 1961–62, 6,025 persons were registered in the television courses and 4,365 were taking the courses offered by radio. Like the English for Adults/English for Prospective Migrants program, most of the participants came from the rural areas. See “Informe Anual de la Sección de Inglés para Adultos Correspondiente al año fiscal 1961–62,” Memo from Félix R. Guzmán, director Sección de Inglés para Adultos, to Federico José Modesto, assistant secretary, Programa de Educación de Adultos, July 13, 1962, 5–6; in AGPR, Fondo Departamento Instrucción Pública, Sección Programa de Inglés Adultos, Tarea 65–95, Lista 65–21, Series 1: Correspondencia Administrativa, box 3. The English for Adults program offered in WIPR consisted of eighty half-hour classes three days a week.

70. GPR, Departamento de Instrucción Pública, Informe Anual, 1958–59, 46.
73. “Utilizarán aquí TV para enseñar el idioma inglés,” September 10, 1958, 1; also “La televisión y el inglés,” editorial, September 13, 6; in El Mundo.
77. “En fincas EU; se iniciará la enseñaza inglés a puertorriqueños;” El Mundo, September 13, 1958, 18.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. On migrant discontent among Puerto Rican farmworkers in the United States, see García Colón, “Claiming Equality.” For a recent analysis of the Michigan incidents, see Findlay, We Are Left without a Father Here; also Asencio Camacho, Itinerario de muerte.
3. Ibid.
4. Ayala, American Sugar Kingdom; Mapes, Sweet Tyranny, ch. 1; and Sparrow, The Insular Cases, chs. 1–3.
5. Mapes, Sweet Tyranny, 26–28; Sparrow, The Insular Cases, ch. 4.
7. See ibid., ch. 8.
8. See Mathews, Puerto Rican Politics, ch. 5.
9. See Ayala, American Sugar Kingdom, ch. 5.
10. Quintero-Rivera, Conflictos de clase; Garcia and Quintero-Rivera, Desafío y solidaridad; and Meléndez, Puerto Rico’s Statehood Movement, ch. 4.
11. See Mathews, Puerto Rican Politics, passim; Pantojas-García, Development Strategies, ch. 2; and Dietz, Economic History of Puerto Rico, ch. 3.
16. Mapes, *Sweet Tyranny*, chs. 4, 5, and 6, quotation is from 129; Valdés, *Al Norte*, chs. 2 and 3.
24. “Resolución para quitarle poderes a Tugwell,” February 9, 1943, 1, and “El senador Vanderberg presentará un proyecto para ponerle fin a la gobernación de Tugwell,” January 4, 1943, 1; in *El Mundo*. Crawford’s resolution wanted to annul the laws creating the Land Authority, the Development Bank, the Economic Development Company (Fomento), the Communications Authority, the Transportation Authority, the Water Resources Authority, and the Sugar Industry Regulatory Board. Although signed by Tugwell, these laws were important pieces of legislation in the PPD’s reform program. See Lugo Silva, *The Tugwell Administration*, 142–43.
25. See “Statements by Luis Muñoz Marín, President of the Puerto Rican Senate,” January 14, 1943, AFLMM, IV:15, file 12, docs. 16 and 17.
28. “El Comité Bell condena en su informe la socialización de economía de Pto. Rico,” May 1, 1944, 1, and “El Comité Bell desilusionado con Compañía de Fomento,” July 19, 1944, 1; in *El Mundo*.
31. See the letter from Muñoz Marín to Crawford, June 11, 1947; in AFLMM, IV:1, file 137, doc. 27.
32. “El status de la Isla no se decidirá en 25 años,” May 26, 1944, 2; “Crawford afirma que P. R. no tendrá ni independencia ni estadidad en 25 años,” July 19, 1944, 1; in *El Mundo*.
36. Muñoz Marín urged Crawford to reply to Marcantonio’s plea during the congressional hearings to approve Public Law 600 to counteract his influence in the House debates; cablegram from Muñoz Marín to Crawford, June 26, 1950; in AFLMM, V:12 (January–December 1950), doc. 41. Muñoz Marín acknowledged Crawford’s role in pushing the constitution bill through Congress in a letter to Crawford, March 5, 1952; in AFLMM, V:2 (January–June 1952), doc. 79. *El Mundo’s* William Dorvillier acknowledged that Crawford’s initial conflictive relationship with Muñoz Marín changed after Tugwell left the governorship; in “Informe Crawford es obra de estudio,” May 4, 1951, 6.
40. Crawford lost the 1952 Republican primaries to Alvin Morell Bentley. El Mundo acknowledged Crawford’s role in getting reforms through Congress and the negative role that his work on behalf of Puerto Rico played in this contest in “Agradecidos, Señor Crawford,” editorial, October 29, 1952, 6. Even El Imparcial, not particularly fond of Crawford, agreed with this argument; “Justicia a Crawford,” editorial, September 7, 1950, 19.
42. Muñoz Marín to Crawford, April, 23, 1953; in AFLMM, V:12 (January–June 1953), doc. 171.
43. “Dos Nacionalistas planeaban el asesinato del Congresista Crawford,” El Mundo, August 1, 1951, 1. Ironically, Congressman Bentley, who replaced Crawford in Congress in 1952, was one of five House members shot by Puerto Rican Nationalists after they opened fire in the House chambers on March 1, 1954.
45. A first-person account of the crash and its aftermath by one of its survivors is presented in Asencio Camacho, Itinerario de muerte. A review of the Michigan incident appears in Findlay, We Are Left without a Father Here, ch. 4.
53. “Contrataron Westair a base aprobación ACC,” June 10, 1950, 2; also, “Otro testigo corrobora no inspeccionaron avión,” June 11, 1950, 3; from El Imparcial. This testimony and statements were reiterated during the CAB investigation weeks later; “Revelan Trabajo pidió informe sobre la Westair desde 1949,” El Mundo, June 29, 1950, 23.
55. “La causa del desastre,” El Imparcial, June 9, 1950, 19. While El Imparcial linked these tragic air crashes to the government’s migration policy, El Mundo, whose editorials strongly supported it, blamed the lack of implementation of rules and regulations already in paper; see “El caso de la Westair,” editorial, El Mundo, July 7, 1950, 6.
57. Sierra Berdécia, “Report for the Governor of Puerto Rico,” 1–2; also, “Grupo de 29 se encuentra en Míchigan, El Mundo, June 12, 1950, 1.
60. “Transigen caso de la Westair con la Lloyds,” El Mundo, June 24, 1951. The CAB declared the unspecified failure of the two engines as probable cause for the accident. See “Vistas públicas sobre tragedia aérea Westair,” El Imparcial, June 17, 1950, 4; and Asencio Camacho, Itinerario de muerte, 104–5.


64. “Boricuas se quejan de maltrato en Michigan,” *El Imparcial*, June 27, 1950, 5. There are hundreds of letters from farmworkers in Michigan complaining to Muñoz Marín about their situation there in Box 2273 of the Governor’s Office fund at Puerto Rico’s General Archives. I decided to use those letters from farmworkers that were published in newspapers since these became part of the public debate on the Michigan issue.


69. “Le agradaría a usted,” *El Imparcial*, July 10, 1950, 19; signed by Pedro Rodríguez and others.


71. “Nueva quejas,” *El Imparcial*, August 5, 1920, 19; signed by Emilio Guzmán and many others.


82. “Siguen las quejas,” July 9, 1950, 17; also “Los obreros de Michigan,” July 16, 1950, 17; in *El Imparcial*.


86. “No somos más Populares,” *El Imparcial*, July 19, 1950, 15; like many others from the Michigan situation, this news clipping was found in the governor’s papers in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2273.


88. “Puerto Rican Farm Workers Embittered by Deplorable Plight,” August 6, 1950; also “Puerto Ricans Vow Not to Return,” August 8, 1950, both in *Bay City (Michigan) Times*; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2276.

89. Valdés, *Al Norte*, ch. 6, quote from 132.


92. “F. Sierra Berdecía partió ayer junto con Howard Davidson,” July 25, 1950, 2. Sierra Berdecía repeatedly stated that the goal of his trip to Michigan was “to help both our boys and employers as well.” In “Sierra empieza investigación en Michigan,” July 27, 1950, 12; from El Mundo.


100. “Situación en Míchigan,” editorial, El Imparcial, August 20, 1950, 17.

101. Letter from Sierra Berdecía to Henderson, and letter from Crawford to Muñoz Marín, both August 8, 1950; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2273. Crawford’s letter was sent on a “Farmers and Manufacturers Beet Sugar Association” letterhead.


108. See telegrams from Muñoz Marín to Crawford and Henderson, August 21, 1950; and Henderson to Muñoz Marín, August 22, 1950. On August 24, Muñoz Marín’s assistant, Roberto Sánchez Vilélla, informed Henderson that the governor would send him three thousand copies of his letter to the Michigan workers so these could be distributed in the farms. All documents in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2273. See also “Michigan Beet Labor to Get Hourly Rate,” New York Times, August 23, 1950. In his telegrams to Crawford and Henderson, Muñoz Marín made it clear that he was trying to mediate between the workers and the sugar beet producers. During his deposition before Truman’s Commission on Migratory Labor, Crawford stated that in visits to Michigan farms, he saw Puerto Rican workers with copies of Muñoz Marín’s letter. “Crawford declarará en la vista hoy sobre migración obreros,” El Mundo, September 11, 1950, 10.

109. Crawford es vencedor en su distrito; se van Tydings y Marcantonio,” El Mundo, November 9, 1950, 1. The newspaper reported that Crawford was reelected with the vote of areas where sugar beet production was dominant, where many believed that the last harvest had been saved by Puerto Ricans “brought” there by him.
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112. Memo from Cabranes to Sierra Berdecía, “Ayuda prestada a trabajadores mediante la ley no. 1,” August 23, 1950; in OGPUS, box 3056, Folder 6 (Reports and Aid for Agricultural Workers, 1950–51).
113. Memo from Sierra Berdecía to Muñoz Marín, September 27, 1950; in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2276.
118. Cabranes to Pagán de Colón, December 7, 1950; in OGPUS, box, 2991, folder 5.
120. Memo “Possibilities of Sending Puerto Rican Farm Workers to Michigan,” meeting at the University of Puerto Rico on March 19, 1952; also letters from Sierra Berdecía to Muñoz Marín, March 24, 1952, and Muñoz Marín to Crawford, March 27, 1952; all in AGPR, FOG 96–20, 2276. Emphasis added in the quote.
123. “Se informa que obreros nativos pueden trabajar en Míchigan,” El Mundo, March 31, 1953, 4. On March 11, 1953, O’Connor sent a memo on Michigan to Sierra Berdecía, Pagán de Colón, Senior, and several of the governor’s advisors arguing that sugar beet producers there were again interested in seeking Puerto Rican labor. He claimed that this could present “an opportunity to lay the groundwork for the Middlewest ‘colonies,’ [sic] which should serve to deflect some of the migratory stream into metropolitan New York.” In AGPR, tarea 63–37, Series 5, “Correspondencia de la División de Colocaciones en Fincas 1953.” File “Migraciones Clandestinas 1953.”
124. Valdés, Al Norte, 133.
125. Quintero-Rivera, Conflictos de clase y política; García and Quintero-Rivera, Desafío y solidaridad.

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6. See “Fernós Isern considera idea ir a Míchigan,” September 8, 1950, 1, where the resident commissioner declared his support for “our friends in Congress.” In the editorial “Las primarias en Michigan,” September 15, 1950, 6, El Mundo celebrated Crawford’s primary victory.


12. President’s Commission, Migratory Labor. Page numbers of quoted passages from this source will appear parenthetically in the text.

13. Using a different method and sources, Lyon argues that in 1952 there were close to 2.162 million migratory workers, excluding foreign labor. See Lyon, “Legal Status,” 30.


USES managed the Farm Placement Service, whose main function was to provide labor to U.S. agriculture.

15. Lyon, “Legal Status,” 81–82. According to Lyon, there were some four hundred agricultural associations in 1949.


24. Notices to farmworkers, application forms, and office memos are found in Correspondencia de la División de Colocaciones en Fincas, Departamento del Trabajo, in AGPR, Tarea 63–37, Serie 5, File: Material Impreso de Migración, 1952; the quote is from “La carta del agricultor,” by the Employment Section, Department of Labor, n.d. On the importance of all farmworkers having their photo ID when going to the United States, see the memo on this subject by Pagán de Colón to all local office managers on May 19, 1952, in Correspondencia de la División de Colocaciones en Fincas 1953, Departamento del Trabajo, in AGPR, Tarea 63–37, Serie 5, File: Memorandum a las Oficinas Locales 1952.

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26. I have found no data from the Department of Labor or any other source indicating the percentages of worker desertion under the FPP. Data on the number of migrant farmworkers under contract that returned were not reported by the department.


41. Ibid., 70.


47. Ibid., chs. 4 and 5.


49. Lapp, “Managing Migration,” 187–97; on contract violations and working and housing conditions, see Whalen, From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia, 154–56.


52. Acosta-Belén and Santiago, Puerto Ricans in the United States, 126–44.


54. Acosta-Belén and Santiago, Puerto Ricans in the United States, 129.

