

CONTENTS

Prologue: "I Am Never Coming Back Here" ix

1	Borikén's First Peoples: From Migration to Insurrection	1
2	Consolidating the Colonial Project	14
3	Revolutionary Winds: From Reform to Revolution	28
4	Imagining the Great Puerto Rican Family	43
5	Chronicle of a War Foretold	59
6	Foundations of U.S. Colonialism in Puerto Rico	73
7	A Turbulent Decade	87
8	The Populist Moment	104
9	The Great Migration	118
10	The Cold War and the New Push for Independence	133
11	The Road to Collapse	150
12	Broken Promises and Ongoing Resistance	164
13	The Night Everything Went Silent	179
14	The Storm after María	190
15	Broken Memories and Future-Oriented Histories	203

Acknowledgments 219

Notes 223

Selected Thematic Bibliography 267

Index 273

CHAPTER 1

BORIKÉN'S FIRST PEOPLES: FROM MIGRATION TO INSURRECTION

Before the arrival of Europeans, the island of Borikén was politically and administratively organized into dozens of *cacicazgos* (chiefdoms). These created a social structure for villages, peoples, and regions, as well as providing a hierarchical chain of command that organized and stratified the island's indigenous societies. While there may have been tensions between some *caciques* (chiefs), others were united by friendships, familial bonds, and networks that transcended the insular borders of Borikén. In fact, these communities likely imagined oceans, rivers, and other bodies of water not as frontiers but as pathways. An indigenous person from the southern coast of Borikén might have felt closer to communities in the neighboring island of Ayití, later renamed Hispaniola, than to the mountainous region of their own.¹

The *caciques* of Borikén had known of strange people landing in neighboring islands since the arrival of Europeans in 1492. When the Spaniards disembarked in 1508 to officially begin Borikén's conquest through sword and cross, indigenous communities understood exactly whom they were dealing with. Contrary to myths perpetuated by traditional historiography, the indigenous communities (soon to be named Taínos by the Europeans) did not consider the Spaniards gods. The *caciques* realized that the colonizers were not to be trusted as they had

shown what they were capable of in Ayiti. There, they had raped women, beheaded insubordinates, and terrorized indigenous villages.²

Agüeybaná I, then one of the most powerful caciques in the Caribbean, had to make a difficult decision. It was up to him whether his people resisted the conquest or negotiated with the conquistadores. His elderly mother advised him to make peace.³ This was not a sign of weakness or docility but a calculated political move. The Spaniards carried weapons that Agüeybaná I had never seen or imagined. Resisting them could have meant the immediate extermination of his people. The Spaniards also brought with them Bibles, crosses, and germs; their actions were guided by a desire to find and accumulate pieces of a glistening metal found in the island's rivers, often used as décor by indigenous leaders. This object, which the Spaniards called *oro* (gold), seemed to inspire violent greed.⁴ This violence, however, did not go unchallenged.

The First Migrations

When the Spaniards first arrived in the Caribbean, they met indigenous people they mistakenly referred to as Indians, thinking that they had arrived at the domain of the Great Khan. These peoples later came to be known as Taínos, though, as historian Ada Ferrer has noted, “how they called themselves in 1492 or 1511, we do not know.”⁵ There is much that we do not know about pre-conquest indigenous cultures and societies, a testament to the malleability and ever-changing nature of the past.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, European thinkers began to create categories to understand time and space. For these scholars, the planet lived in different temporalities, “with Europe in the present and the rest of the world in the past.”⁶ Such categories were considered universal but inevitably privileged European experiences and knowledge. Scholars created an asymmetric way of understanding the world, with Europe at the center and the peoples without history, to borrow a phrase from anthropologist Eric R. Wolf, on the outside.⁷

History is the documentation and intentional recording of the past, but documentation cannot be solely limited to writing. The people who

inhabited the Caribbean centuries before Europeans arrived on its shores had other forms of knowledge, history-keeping, and mythmaking. Oral tradition was a powerful tool to document the past while maintaining tradition and creating community; however, such traditions posed a serious challenge to those attempting to write down what happened in the past. Perhaps those oral traditions accrued their power by evading the gaze of outsiders such as historians writing thousands of years later.⁸

Crafting a history of the indigenous communities who first arrived in the archipelago we now call Puerto Rico requires a careful dance between archaeology, anthropology, and history. In the nineteenth century, the study of Puerto Rico's indigenous communities was done by amateur archaeologists—lawyers and medical doctors with an interest in setting the foundations for Puerto Rican history.⁹ Later, in the twentieth century, indigenous histories were taken up by a transnational Caribbean intellectual community who pieced together ceramics, sea-shells, and other artifacts that allowed them to begin crafting concrete yet fluid and ever-changing narratives of the region's ancestors.¹⁰

Out of these warring methodologies and debates about the region's first migrations some consensus emerged. It seems that the first migration of peoples to Borikén took place about six thousand years ago.¹¹ Named by archaeologists as *arcáicos* (archaics), they probably migrated from the estuary of the Orinoco River in the Amazon region by island hopping through the Caribbean. They were semi-nomad societies of hunter-gatherers. What we know of these archaic cultures has been the product of archaeological research. And scholars must grapple with the impossibility of ever fully understanding how these communities lived or the social imaginaries they created.¹²

The term “archaic” is used to identify indigenous societies that only developed rustic tools, but this does not negate the possibility that different ethnic and cultural groups existed in these earlier societies. It seems clear, however, that peoples identified as archaic were part of multiple waves of migration that took place all over the Caribbean. The region might have been more interconnected than we have previously imagined.

The second broad cultural group identified by archaeologists are the Arawak. Much like the archaic, this broad category created by scholars is used to identify peoples who could have belonged to different cultural and ethnic groups. Scholars believe that they might have shared the Arawak language and that they also arrived in several waves of migration. There is also historiographical and scholarly debate about whether they incorporated previous migrant peoples into their societies and whether they clashed with one another.¹³

Anthropologist Irving Rouse famously referred to the Taínos as the people who greeted Columbus. Instead, I propose to think of them as the people who resisted conquest by Columbus.¹⁴ While the term “Taíno” has been traditionally applied to describe a single ethnic or cultural group, there might have been more than just one such group; the people we refer to as Taínos also might have included several ethnicities with different cultural practices that spread throughout the Caribbean region.¹⁵ What seems clear, however, is that those who inhabited Borikén when Columbus arrived had developed sophisticated social systems and hierarchies.

At the beginning of the conquest, Borikén’s *yukayekes* (villages) were usually established next to rivers or in fertile valleys. Unlike previous migrations of nomadic groups, the people known as Taínos were farmers. Their diet was composed of tubers or root vegetables along with fish, poultry, reptiles, and insects. Taínos also dedicated some of their time to the production of artworks tied to their religious worldviews. They carved stones or wood to create necklaces, drawings, and ritual artifacts. The *dúho*, for example, was a small seat created out of wood or stone that might have been used for prayer; sacred objects also might have been placed on it. Perhaps the most important artifact in Taíno culture was the *cemí*. These small sculptures were believed to contain gods that represented the forces of nature.¹⁶

The cacique was at the top of Taíno society. His role was not solely political as he was also expected to lead the religious, military, and intellectual facets of everyday life. Directly below caciques were the *nitainos*, a group usually composed of the cacique’s family members or those close to them. The *nitainos* administered social life on behalf of the

cacique. *Bohiques* were those in charge of religious rituals and medicine. And common people were known as *naborías*.¹⁷

Women played a significant role in Taíno society, which had a matrilineal system where the inheritance of cacicazgos was based on kinship from the mother's side. When a cacique passed away, his siblings—not his children—inherited the cacicazgo. Women also played important roles in decision making. They took an active role in farming, military actions, and even political life. Historian Jalil Sued Badillo has documented the existence of *cacicas* (women chiefs) across the Caribbean region.¹⁸

Much of what we know about the Taíno culture of the Greater Antilles comes from firsthand accounts by Europeans. In his diary, Columbus wrote how during the first voyage he fooled his crew into believing they were sailing slower than they actually were to avoid mutiny after traveling for weeks without sign of land. Once they arrived in what they thought to be the domain of the Great Khan cited by Marco Polo, Columbus dedicated several pages to trying to comprehend the peoples who inhabited those lands.¹⁹

Columbus paid particular attention to the gold that adorned their bodies. Early chronicles of the conquest documented the existence of mute dogs, one-eyed humans, and cannibal people with dog snouts. While mute dogs did exist, the one-eyed, dog-snout peoples were pure fiction. Jalil Sued Badillo has argued that such fantastic portrayals of the Indies were used to justify the Spanish Crown's financing of future expeditions. Borikén's communities often went to war with the peoples living in the Lesser Antilles, known by Spaniards as the Caribs. The Caribs were portrayed by Europeans as warlike cannibals and savages. It seems that they did excel in the art of war and frequently attacked the indigenous communities of Borikén. But it is possible that they were not from a different ethnic group. Reports of cannibalism were also used for the purposes of enslaving rebellious indigenous populations.²⁰ When the Spanish Conquest unleashed its brutal violence, the perceived differences between Taínos and Caribs collapsed, giving way to collaboration and solidarities.²¹

One of the most detailed accounts we have about the Taínos' world-views, mythmaking, and religiosity was written by a self-defined "poor friar of the Order of Saint Jerome" named Ramón Pané. Inspired by Columbus's first voyage, he joined the second expedition and sailed to the Caribbean in September 1493. To comprehend Taíno culture for the purposes of evangelizing and conquering them, Columbus ordered Pané to move to the lands of Guarionex, a powerful cacique from Hispaniola who had shown interest in the Christian religion. Pressured by other caciques, Guarionex abandoned his Christian inclinations to the point of ordering the desecration of Catholic symbols. Pané alleged that Guarionex's people stole religious relics, threw them on the ground, and urinated on them. After these events, Pané settled in the lands of the cacique Mayobanex, where he lived for several years, learning the Taíno language and culture while also continuing his evangelizing mission.²²

Pané finished his study and delivered his text to Columbus in 1498 during the admiral's third voyage to the Caribbean. After providing the manuscript, Pané disappears from the archival record. After all, he argued that he "wore himself out in order to learn all of this."²³ Just like Columbus's diary, Pané's original text, *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*, was lost. Fortunately, it was reproduced in the biography Fernando, Columbus's son, wrote to defend the honor and legacy of his father. Fernando was a bibliophile who built one of the most impressive libraries of his time. Nonetheless, the text of Fernando's biography also disappeared, only to be reproduced in a poor Italian translation published by Spanish historian Alfonso de Ulloa in 1571.²⁴

This surviving palimpsest offers a window—through multiple colonizers' gazes—into the ways that Taíno peoples conceptualized their world. It documents origin myths: for example, how the ocean was created and how a woodpecker was used to design female genitalia, thus creating women. It also describes Taíno fears of the dead—believed to walk among the living at night—and how bohiques were in charge of healing the sick, becoming victims of beatings or even death if they failed in their endeavors. One of the stories Pané retold had prophetic undertones. It was said that two caciques from Hispaniola abstained

from eating and drinking for days so their cemís would reveal the future to them. After five days, the cemís spoke: “not many years would go by,” they said to the caciques, “before a people covered with clothes would reach that island, and they would end all those rites and ceremonies of the island and would kill all their children and deprive them of freedom.”²⁵

While the Taínos originally thought this premonition referred to the Caribs, it became clear that it was a prophecy about the arrival of the Europeans. After reading Pané’s text, the historian and intellectual Pietro Martire d’Anghiera commented on this story in the sixteenth century that “not even a memory is now left of the zemis [*sic*].”²⁶ Martire d’Anghiera never set foot in the Americas, but the proliferation of print media allowed him to make an accurate description of what was unraveling on the other side of the Atlantic. The Spaniards soaked the lands and rivers of Borikén with blood. But the Taínos fought back.

1511: The Road to Insurrection

The first recorded clash between indigenous communities and Europeans occurred during Columbus’s second voyage. It was November 14, 1493. The Europeans had stopped at the island of Santa Cruz (today St. Croix). They saw a canoe with “four men, two women, and a boy.”²⁷ Twenty-five Europeans decided to go after them. In self-defense, the fleeing indigenous people “daringly put their hands to the arches, the women as well as the men.”²⁸ They were able to wound one Spaniard and kill another before being intercepted. The men were beheaded. The women were raped and later sent to Spain to be showcased as cannibals. Michele de Cuneo, a Spanish soldier who claimed to be on the boat, took pride in raping one of them and argued, “suffice to say that she really seemed trained as a whore.”²⁹ Ten Taíno women were held captive in their ships. Six were able to escape by jumping ship and swimming away in the darkness of night.³⁰ This was the beginning of a regime of terror sustained by labor and sexual exploitation.

Europeans arrived at the island the Taínos called Burunquén or Borikén a few days later, on November 19, 1493. For decades historians

debated about exactly where Columbus's expedition landed. Nonetheless, it seems that Columbus never actually set foot on the island. His crew stopped there for two days to restock their food supplies. They found empty huts, or *bohios*; all the indigenous people had fled. During his first voyage, Columbus wrote in his diary that the Taínos had feared them at first glance but were amiable after gaining their trust.³¹ In the Caribbean, bodies of water served as avenues of communication. Columbus noted, "I have seen these canoes with seventy and eighty men in them, and each had an oar."³² News of the Spaniards' arrival might have quickly spread across different cacicazgos, carried by such canoes. The empty bohios could have meant that the Taínos of Borikén had already heard the news about the Europeans' brutality.

A few days later, the Europeans returned to Hispaniola and found the Nativity Fort—their first settlement, established December 24 of the previous year from the wreckage of Columbus's first ship, the *Santa María*—burned to the ground with no sign of the thirty-eight men left behind to protect it. Historians have suggested that the attack was organized by the cacique Caonabo from Maguana to avenge the brutality of the Spaniards against their people.³³ While we can never reconstruct what actually happened, the fort's ashes might be imagined as a symbol of the first indigenous insurrection in the Americas.

The Spanish Crown made Hispaniola their first colonial hub in the Caribbean. The exploitation of indigenous communities started immediately after the conquest began. Interested in the limited gold reserves found in the Caribbean, Europeans established a system of forced indigenous labor known as *repartimientos* (divisions), which later became *encomiendas*. In this way, Spaniards exploited the land through forced labor. Each colonizer, known as a *vecino* (neighbor), received indigenous peoples as subjects.³⁴ As historian Ida Altman notes, "Indians [*sic*] could be *encomienda* workers, permanent servants (*naborías*), or slaves, but in all cases they were subject to Spanish labor demands, strictures, and punishments."³⁵ This system was legally consolidated after a series of royal edicts from 1503 to 1504 ordered *encomenderos* (grantees) to remunerate indigenous people for their labor, to provide them time to rest and work in their own fields, and, ultimately, to evan-

gelize them.³⁶ As historian Juan Ángel Silén has argued, the Taínos' indoctrination was part of a longer war Iberians waged against paganism and Islam. The conquest of the Americas began immediately after Spain had expelled Muslim communities from the Iberian Peninsula following almost a millennium of conflict.³⁷

The official conquest of Borikén, soon renamed the Island of San Juan Bautista, began in 1508. The original charter for its colonization was granted in 1505 to Vicente Yáñez Pinzón, who had traveled with Columbus on his first voyage to the Americas. The charter was sold and resold, passing through different hands until it was granted to Juan Ponce de León, later immortalized for his death while supposedly searching for the fountain of youth in Florida. (His true intentions were otherwise—he was looking for indigenous people to enslave.)³⁸

In 1508, the archipelago was organized around two or three geopolitical units divided among dozens of cacicazgos, the most powerful of whom was Agüeybaná I. He dominated half of the island through alliances and familial relations with other caciques. Ponce de León had met Agüeybaná on a previous trip.³⁹ His arrival on August 12, 1508, had been delayed by two powerful hurricanes that seem to have predicted the coming storm brought upon by the colonizers.⁴⁰ Fernández de Oviedo, one of the first chroniclers, noted that it was Agüeybaná I's mother who convinced him to receive the Spaniards in peace because they knew of the methods used to “pacify” the indigenous communities in their neighboring island.⁴¹

In a document written and signed on June 4, 1516, and sent to the incoming king, Charles I, fourteen priests shed light on the brutality of the conquest during its first years. I will not reproduce the violence gruesomely described in the document, but it included infanticide, sexual terror, brutal dehumanization, and labor exploitation. The friars carefully described the conquest's genocidal impulse.⁴² Agüeybaná I's decision to negotiate peace with the colonizers should not be understood as an act of docility but one taken after careful political and military reflection.

Back in Spain, Christopher Columbus's son Diego Colón demanded to be named viceroy of the Indies as part of his inheritance. This meant

that Nicolás de Ovando, the governor of the Indies who had granted Juan Ponce de León a charter to colonize Borikén, would lose his power. Knowing that it was just a matter of time before Diego Colón arrived and reconfigured the political landscape, Ponce de León rushed to establish the town of Caparra, Borikén's first official European settlement.⁴³ Shortly after, in 1509, Diego Colón sent Cristobal de Sotomayor, a knight from Galicia, to Borikén. Since Ponce de León had already settled in Caparra, it was decided that Sotomayor would establish another town in the southern part of the island, a territory that belonged to the Agüeybaná I cacicazgo.⁴⁴

Two storms had welcomed Ponce de León to Borikén. Now, the winds of war began blowing. In November 1510, a group of indigenous peoples from the Yagüecas region in modern-day Añasco were tasked with ferrying Diego Salcedo, a young Spanish conquistador, across the Guaorabo River. As they carried Salcedo across, his fate turned. The cacique Urayoán had apparently ordered his assassination. The Taínos drowned him, an incident that still carries power today. Some scholars believe that Salcedo might have played and lost a game of *batú* with the Taínos. This ball game was played not only for fun but also for ceremonial purposes, with the loser oftentimes sacrificed.⁴⁵ In Puerto Rican mythology, however, the murder was committed to prove the Spaniards' mortality. Recounted in the 1535 chronicles of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, the story gave power to the myth of Taíno docility.⁴⁶ However, it can also be understood as a war cry.

Unhappy with the Taínos he had received as part of his repar-timientos, Cristobal de Sotomayor began to organize raids to capture indigenous peoples from inland communities and cacicazgos. In fact, Sotomayor was the first person to receive a charter allowing him to enslave indigenous peoples. This created tension between the colonizers and the southern cacicazgos, forcing Cristobal de Sotomayor to move the town of Guánica to the west, soon to be renamed Aguada.⁴⁷ Spanish conquistadores began documenting resistance from indigenous communities that refused to be subdued and rumors circulated about the planned assassination of Sotomayor.



FIGURE 1.1. Assassination of conquistador Diego Salcedo.
Source: John Carter Brown Library.

Unfortunately for Cristobal de Sotomayor, Agüeybaná I, who had been peaceful with the colonizers, died two years after his arrival. His brother Agüeybaná II inherited Borikén's most powerful cacicazgo. Known as Agüeybaná the Brave, he probably grew up hearing stories about the colonizers' actions in neighboring Ayiti and was now seeing that violence unfold in his own land. Unlike his brother, he decided to act. As a political, religious, and military leader, he began organizing for war against the colonizers.⁴⁸

In September 1510, Agüeybaná's sister advised Sotomayor to run away.⁴⁹ After receiving confirmation of the planned assassination, Sotomayor gathered four soldiers and made his way to Caparra to alert authorities there about the rebellion. As they traveled along the Jauca river, Agüeybaná II intercepted them. All the Spaniards were killed except for Juan González, a Spanish scout who had infiltrated an indigenous ceremony and knew their language. He swore on his life that he would become

loyal to Agüeybaná. He was wounded and left to live—only to promptly alert the Spanish authorities about what had happened that night. The conquistadores' bodies were buried vertically with their feet above-ground, their bodies pointing toward the hell the Christians talked so much about. War was inevitable.⁵⁰

By 1511, Agüeybaná II had amassed an army of 3,000 soldiers. They destroyed the town Sotomayor had established in the south and simultaneously attacked other settlements throughout the island. They killed 150 to 200 Spaniards at a time when the population was not more than a few hundred.⁵¹ In the chaos of the moment, those who survived fled to Caparra, where Juan Ponce de León was organizing an army. When Ponce de León's soldiers marched toward indigenous territories, they found that the Taínos had swept the dirt roads, symbolically welcoming the Spaniards into battle. The Spanish offensive proved successful, and the repression was brutal. Spaniards burned any Taíno town that was in their way and arrested and enslaved a great number of Taínos, burning an F into their heads to remind them that they were property of the Spanish king, Fernando de Aragón.⁵²

It was clear that the Taínos had suffered a great defeat. But the war did not end there. When Juan Ponce de León offered a pardon to those caciques in arms, only two accepted. After the initial stage of the war, indigenous communities changed their strategy. Instead of frontal warfare, they now opted for sneak attacks on Spanish settlements and for a naval strategy. In fact, it seems that many indigenous communities fled Borikén and took shelter in the Lesser Antilles, home to the so-called Carib Indians who had once been their enemies.

One of the most famous early battles took place in Yahuecas in Borikén's central-eastern region. According to chronicler Fernández de Oviedo, Ponce de León killed a cacique carrying a big *guanín* (gold metal necklace). This triggered the long-standing idea that Ponce de León had slain Agüeybaná II in battle. Nonetheless, Jalil Sued Badillo has persuasively demonstrated that the Spaniards recorded sightings of Agüeybaná during the following decades. In fact, the figure of Agüeybaná became a powerful myth, and people reported seeing him fight in multiple battles. It is more likely that he joined those who settled in the

Leeward Islands and continued leading attacks on Borikén's colonizers for years to come.⁵³

The war that began in 1511 and continued in the form of attacks for decades marked a turning point in the initial stages of Spain's colonial project in Puerto Rico. After the first battles, the Spaniards viciously murdered and enslaved many indigenous communities while more were killed by European germs. Exploitation and violence consolidated the conquest's genocidal impulse. By 1530, the Spanish reported 1,553 "indians" enslaved or in *encomiendas*.⁵⁴ That number, of course, is questionable if we take into account methods used to generate the data. Many indigenous peoples took to the mountains to live outside the limits of the state and are thus absent from the historical archive. Such silences pose challenges to historians. But if we take an indigenous perspective, absences could also provide a motive for celebration. Disappearing from the archive and from history may have meant surviving the conquest's genocidal thrust. It was in communities that indigenous peoples created on the fringes of societies where some of them befriended another group of people escaping the unspeakable violence of Spain's settler-colonial project: African-descended peoples escaping enslavement.

INDEX

Note: “PR” refers to Puerto Rico. Page numbers in *italic type* indicate illustrations.

- Abbad y Lasiera, Íñigo, 23
 Abreu, Juan, 36
 Acción Social Independentista (Pro-Independence Social Action), 107
 Acevedo Vilá, Aníbal, 163, 164, 166–67
 Acosta, José Julián, 53
 Acosta-Belén, Edna, 123
 Act 20 (Export Services Act), 206
 Act 22 (Individual Investors Act), 206
 Act 60, 206
 Act 66, 171
 Act 80, 175
 Administración de Seguro de Salud de Puerto Rico (ASES), 161, 192
 AES. *See* Applied Energy Services
 Afirmación Socialista (Socialist Affirmation), 99
 African-descent peoples: and 1930s radicalism, 89; African-American tourists in PR, 208–9; agency of, 49, 52, 89; in Borikén, 15; enslavement of, 15–16, 18, 39–40; as enslavers, 15; first to arrive in America, 14–15; laws aimed at, 39–40; as mine workers, 15–16; racist views of, 102, 208; as surrogate settlers, 226n6
 agency: of African-descent peoples, 49, 52, 89; of Puerto Ricans, xii, xv; of workers, 76–77
 Agosto, Ángel M., 141
 agricultural collectives, 211
 Agricultural Workers’ Union, 94
 agriculture, 20, 35, 89, 104, 129, 131
 Aguada, PR, 31–32
 Aguadilla, PR, ix, x, 33, 214
 Agüeybaná I, 2, 9, 11
 Agüeybaná II (the Brave), 11–13
 Aguirre Power Complex, 200
 Alameda, José, 168
 Alaska, 131
 Albizu Campos, Pedro, 95–98, 101, 114–16
 Alegría, José S., 96
 Alegría, Ricardo, 96, 113
 Allen, Charles, 76, 121–22
 Allende, Salvador, 135, 137
 Alonso Pacheco, Manuel. *See gíbaro, El*
 Alonso Torres, Rafael, 94, 101
 Altman, Ida, 8
 Álvarez Curbelo, Silvia, 41, 131
 Alvelo, Sixto, 139
 American Civil Liberties Union, 98, 195
 American Federation of Labor, 88
 Americanization, 73–74, 76
 Americans for Democratic Action Committee, 147
 anarchism, 56–57, 62
 Anazagasty, José, 148
 Andrade, Lupe, 174
 Andreu Iglesias, César, 136
 Angiolillo Lombardi, Michele, 56–58
 Anglo-Spanish Treaty, 35, 38
 Anglo-Spanish War, 22

- annexation, 65, 68, 70, 83, 95, 130–31, 156–61,
164, 209
- anti-Vietnam War movement, 139, 143, 153
- Antonia Operation, 145
- Applied Energy Services (AES), 183, 200
- Arawak, 4
- Arce de Vázquez, Margot, 103
- Arecibo, PR, 31–32, 36
- Arizmendi, Juan Alejo, 33
- armed movements, 97, 127, 137–38, 141, 144–45,
147, 148, 155. *See also* paramilitary groups
- Arnson, Cynthia, 105
- artesano*, *El*, 51
- artisans. *See* workers
- Ashford, Bailey K., 75
- assassinations, 10, 11, 11, 49, 56–58, 138, 147, 163
- assimilation, 73–74
- Association of Puerto Rico's Sugar
Producers, 94
- Ateneo Puertorriqueño. *See* Puerto Rican
Athenaeum
- Atilas, José, 206, 213
- austerity, economic, xiv, 158, 167–68, 174,
183, 212
- Autonomist Party, 54–55
- Autonomous Charter, 58
- Ávila Marrero, Ángela, 192
- Ayala, César, 158
- Ayiti, 1–2
- Bad Bunny, 194, 215–17
- Badillo, Herman, 127
- Bahamonde, Miguel, 99
- Baldorioty de Castro, Román, 53, 54
- baluarte*, *El*, 85
- Balzac, Jesús María, 84–85
- Balzac v. People of Porto Rico*, 85
- Banco de Fomento (Development Bank), 110
- Banco Popular, 177
- Bando Contra la Raza Negra (Proclamation
against the Black Race), 39–40, 49
- Bando de Policía y Buen Gobierno (The
Police and Good Government Proclama-
tion), 37–38
- bankruptcy, 172, 212
- Bar Association of Puerto Rico, 98, 163
- Barbuda, 180, 182
- Barbudo, María de las Mercedes, 36
- Barceló, Antonio, 107
- Batista, Fulgencio, 136
- BDO-Puerto Rico, 192
- Beauchamp, Elías, 97
- Belaval, Eugenio S., 103
- Benítez, Jaime, 114, 122
- Berlingeri, Gabriela, 216–17
- Bernabe, Rafael, 158
- Berrios, Rubén, 156
- Betances, Ramón Emeterio, 41–42, 44–46,
48, 53, 55–57, 60, 71, 120, 126; “Ten
Commandments of Free Men,” 45
- Bianchi Angleró, Carlos, 192
- Bidwell, George R., 83
- Bill of Rights (Puerto Rico), 112
- Bill of Rights (United States), 85
- birth control, 87–88
- Bitcoin, 205
- Black Panther Party, 127, 143–44
- Black Studies, 81
- Blair House, Washington, D.C., 115
- Blanco, Tomás, 103
- Bland, Sandra, 204
- Blockchain, 205–6
- bohiques (administrators of rituals and
medicine), 5, 6
- Bolívar, Simón, 36–38, 45
- Bonafoux, Luis, 55–56
- Bonaparte, José, 31
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 30–31, 34
- Bonilla, Yarimar, 208–9
- Borikén: African-descent peoples in, 15;
archaic peoples of, 3; conquest and
settlement of, 1–2, 9–13; enslaved revolt
in, 16; history of, xiii, 2–3; migration to,
3–7; resistance to Europeans in, 7–8,
10–14; social hierarchy in, 4–5. *See also*
Island of San Juan Bautista
- Brau, Salvador, 41
- Bray, Mark, 58

- Brazil, 22, 31, 105
 bregar (struggle), 24
 Brigades of Honor, 61
 Brookings Institution, 91
Bulletin, 126
 Bureau of Insular Affairs (United States), 84, 92
 Burke, John, 68
 Bush, George H. W., 138
- cabildos, 17–19, 31–32, 35
 cabotage laws, 84
 Cabral, Amílcar, 137
 caciques (chiefs): relations among, 1, 9, 14;
 relations with colonizers, 1–2, 6, 10, 14;
 resistance from, 12, 14; role of, 4–5, 224n8
 Caguas, PR, 187
 CAL. *See* Comandos Armados de Liberación
 Calderón, Sila María, 164
 Camacho, Julio, 99
 Campeche, José, 41
 CAMs. *See* Centros de Apoyo Mutuo
 Camuy, PR, 46
 Canales, Blanca, 115
 Cancel Miranda, Rafael, 116, 169
 Cancel-Sepúlveda, Mario R., 26
 cannibalism, 5, 7
 Cánovas del Castillo, Antonio, 55–57
 Caonabo, 8
 Caparra, PR, 10–12, 14, 17
 Capetillo, Luisa, 79–80, 88
 capitalism, 51, 88, 143, 213, 217
 Caraza, Diego de, 20
 Caribbean archipelago: as European theater
 of war, 19, 22; map of, viii
 Carib Indians: attacks on Spaniards by, 14,
 18, 20; relations with indigenous
 population of Borikén, 5, 7, 12
 carpetas (files), 148–49
 Carrasquillo, Agustín, 151
 Carrión, José, III, 177
 Carrión, Richard, 177
 Carroll, Henry K., 75
- caserío*, *El*, 117
caseríos (public housing units), 117, 160
 Castro, Fidel, 135–37, 139
 Castro, Ramón de, 33
 Catholic Church, 23, 75, 151
 cattle ranching, 18, 20
 Cédula de Gracias, 35
 Celso Barbosa, José, 54
 cemís (sculptures), 4, 7
 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 137
 Centro: Center for Puerto Rican Studies,
 154–55, 205
 Centro de Estudios de la Realidad
 Puertorriqueña (Center for the Study of
 Puerto Rican Reality [CEREP]), 153–55
 Centro de Periodismo Investigativo (CPI),
 184–85, 194, 203
 Centros de Apoyo Mutuo (CAMs), 187–88
 CEREP. *See* Centro de Estudios de la
 Realidad Puertorriqueña
 Cerro Maravilla, 147–48, 155
 Céspedes, Juan de, 20
 CGT. *See* Confederación General de
 Trabajadores
 Chardón, Carlos, 92
 Charles I, King of Spain, 9, 16–17
 Charles II, King of Spain, 24
 Charles IV, King of Spain, 31
 Charlie, Rey, 196
 Chenault, Lawrence, 123
 Chicago, Illinois, 120, 124, 126, 144
 Chicano civil rights movement, 143
 Chile, 45, 71
 cholera, 44
 Christianity, 6, 9, 75. *See also* Catholic
 Church; religion
 CIA. *See* Central Intelligence Agency
 cimarrones (runaways), 17
 citizenship, xii, 71, 82–85, 121, 126, 129, 186, 204
 Civil Code (Puerto Rico), 75
 Civil Guard, 54
 civil rights movement, 143, 158
Claridad, 135, 138, 141–42
 Clinton, Bill, 164

- Clinton, Hillary, 173
- Coalición, 91–92, 94, 108
- Coamo, PR, 31–32
- Cobián, Martín, 202
- cockfighting, 133
- coffee trade, 35, 43–44, 50
- Cofresí Ramírez, Manuel, 99
- COINTELPRO (Counterintelligence Program), 136, 143
- Cold War, 111
- Colectiva Feminista en Construcción (La Cole), 177, 196–97, 211
- Colectivo Ilé, 196
- Collazo, Oscar, 115
- College of Engineers, 200
- Coll y Cuchi, José, 96
- Coll y Toste, Cayetano, 59
- Colón, Diego, 9–10
- Colón, Jesús, 81, 121
- colonialism: administrative practices of, 17–19; atrocities committed during, 2, 7, 9, 12–13; impact of, xiii–xiv; Puerto Rican history of, xiii–xv, 1–2; Spanish, xiii, 1–2, 5–48, 54, 57–58; UN opposition to, 111, 138; U.S., xiii–xiv, 66–86, 97, 111–12, 115–16, 138–39, 144, 155–56, 171–74, 186, 205–9, 208, 213–14. *See also* decolonization; exploitation of indigenous population; genocide; imperialism, U.S.; resistance to colonialism
- Columbus, Christopher, 4–9, 158
- Columbus, Fernando, 6
- Comandos Armados de Liberación (CAL), 144–45
- Comandos Revolucionarios Armados, 147
- communism, 88. *See also* socialism
- Communist International, 99
- Communist Party of Puerto Rico, 99, 107, 138
- comportes* (pacifiers), 54
- Concepción, Patricio de la, 23
- Concepción de Gracia, Gilberto, 109, 156
- Confederación General de Trabajadores (CGT), 108, 109
- Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 108
- Consejo Asesor de Reconstrucción Económica y Fiscal (Fiscal and Economic Reconstruction Advising Committee; CAREF), 167
- Conservative Party, 50
- conservatives, 50, 54, 167–68, 211
- constitutions. *See* Puerto Rico: constitution of; U.S. Constitution
- consumption practices, 152, 169
- contraband, 20, 23–26, 28
- coronavirus pandemic, 202, 207
- Corretjer, Juan Antonio, “Boricua en la luna” (Boricua in the moon), 119
- corruption, xiii, 159, 161–62, 167, 191–93, 202, 213–15
- corsairs, 17–19, 24. *See also* pirates
- COVID. *See* coronavirus pandemic
- crime, 160–61, 168, 215
- criollo bloc, 202
- criollos (white people born in Puerto Rico), 26, 32, 41, 43–44, 229n57
- Christophe, Henri, 16
- Cruz Soto, Marie, 162
- cryptocurrency, 205–7
- Cuba: Castro-led revolution in, 136–39, 153; flag of, 60; paramilitary exiles from, 137–38; PR relations with, 137–38, 205; United States and, 62, 73, 81; wars for independence in, 37, 45–46, 49–50, 54–60
- Cuban Revolutionary Party, 59–60, 120; Puerto Rico Section of, 60, 65
- Culebra, 162
- culture: diasporic, 121, 124, 127–29; and national identity, 112–14, 156–59; PNP and, 157, 159. *See also* national identity
- Cumberland, George Clifford, Earl of, 22
- Cuneo, Michele de, 7
- Darío Rosado, Arnaldo, 147
- Dávila, Arlene, 156, 169
- Dávila, Virgilio, “Nostalgia,” 123
- Dávila Santiago, Rubén, 61
- Davis (general), 70

- deaths, from Hurricane María, 180, 183–85, 190–91, 194
- debt, 152, 172–77, 212
- “Declaration from Puerto Rico to the World,” 47
- decolonization, 111, 138, 211–12
- Delano, Irene, 113
- Delano, Jack, 113
- de la Pezuela, Juan, 39–40, 52
- de la Torre, Carlos, 105
- de la Torre, Miguel, 36–39
- del Moral, Solsiree, 74
- Democracia*, *La*, 92, 107
- Democratic Party (United States), 173
- demonstrations and protests: economic, 165, 168–71, 174; Hurricane María as impetus for, 185, 191; political, 98, 149, 165–66, 177, 193–99, 202, 214–15; against privatization, 162; race as subject of, 204; against tourism, 209; against U.S. Navy, 163; Verano ‘19, 193–99, 203, 214, 215; violent suppression of, 174, 177, 195, 214. *See also* strikes
- Department of Education, 74, 175–76, 192
- Department of Intelligence, 148
- Department of Labor, 90
- Department of State, 137–38
- Dessalines, Jean-Jacques, 33
- diaspora. *See* migration
- Díaz Ortiz, Jorge, 165
- Díaz Quiñones, Arcadio, ix, 24
- dignidad, 211
- Discover Puerto Rico, 215
- disease: cholera, 44; coronavirus, 202, 207; dysentery, 22; hookworm, 75; after Hurricane María, 190, 200; indigenous population’s susceptibility to, 13, 20; yellow fever, 48. *See also* health care; medicine
- División de Educación de la Comunidad (Division of Community Education; DIVEDCO), 113, 117, 124, 157
- Division of Insular Territories and Possessions (United States), 92
- divorce, 75
- Dominica, 180
- Dominican Republic, 44, 45, 71–72, 205
- Downes, Samuel, 83
- Downes v. Bidwell*, 83, 85
- draft, military, 130, 139
- Drake, Francis, 21–22
- Droz, Nina, 177
- drugs, 160, 168, 215
- Duany, Jorge, xi, 124, 156
- Dubois, Laurent, 29, 30
- dysentery, 22
- earthquakes, 199–201
- Eastern Airlines, ix, 105
- economics: in 1930s, 90–93; austerity measures and, xiv, 158, 167–68, 174, 183, 212; colonial reforms and, 35; consumption practices and, 152; contraband’s role in, 20, 23–26, 28; cryptocurrency entrepreneurs and, 206–7; foreign investment and, 110, 150, 164, 171, 204, 212; mercantilism and, 23; neoliberalism and, xiv, 152, 159, 161–62, 164, 167–69; problems in nineteenth century, 41; problems in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, 20, 24; problems in twentieth century, 89, 121, 131–32, 150–53; problems in twenty-first century, 164–75; prosperity in nineteenth century, 38–39; protests centered on, 165–66, 166, 168–69, 177; tourism and, 207; turn-of-the-twentieth-century, 68; in U.S.-Spanish War, 64. *See also* debt; Great Depression; industrialization; privatization; trade
- Economist*, 175
- Ecuador, 37
- education: abroad, 41, 44, 51, 77, 114, 153, 174; as “civilizing” or Americanizing project, 71, 73–74; community-oriented, 113, 124, 165–66; economic cuts to, 175–76; higher, 114; improvements under U.S. governance, 91; of intellectual elites, 41, 44, 51, 114, 153, 174; language of instruction in, 74;

- education (*continued*)
 privatization of, 176; social status associated with, 62; teachers in, 74; vocational schools and, 91; of women, 77; worker-led, 61, 76, 79–80. *See also* intellectual elites
- Ejército Latinoamericano Anti-Comunista (Anti-Communist Latin American Army), 138
- elections: for first autonomous government, 62; for local representatives after Moret Law, 50; PR's first, 31–32. *See also* plebiscites; voting rights
- Electoral Commission, 191–92
- electricity, xii, 179, 180, 184, 187, 190, 199, 205, 213
- El Local (bar turned temporary community center), 188
- Emigración* (book), 124, 125
- Employment and Migration Bureau, 122
- encomiendas (forced labor system), 8–9, 13
- England, 21–22, 24
- English language, 74
- Enlightenment, 29, 30, 50, 74–75
- Enríquez, Miguel, 24–27, 213
- Ensayo obrero*, 62, 67
- Escalera, Henry, 195
- Escuté, Matías, 36
- Estercolero* (Muckheap) (Levis Bernard), 69–70
- Estrada Palma, Tomás, 71
- Estrella, Victor, 151
- eugenics, 75
- Eurocentrism, 2, 114
- evangelization, 9, 75
- exploitation of indigenous population: labor, 8–9, 13; sexual, 7, 9. *See also* slavery
- exports. *See* trade
- Facebook, 191, 201
- Farm Labor Program, 124, 129
- FBI. *See* Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Federación Libre de Trabajadores (Free Federation of Workers; FLT): Balzac and, 84; Capetillo and, 85; creation of, 68; decline of, 107–8; Rivera Martínez and, 90; and Russian Revolution, 88; Socialist Party and, 85; and strikes, 77; and unions, 93–95; women and, 78, 80
- Federación Regional de Trabajadores (Regional Federation of Workers; FRT), 68
- Federación Universitaria Pro Independencia (Pro-Independence University Federation; FUPI), 134, 139–40
- Federal Aviation Agency, 207
- Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), 136, 137, 143, 147, 155, 163, 191
- Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 187, 190
- Fela, Doña. *See* Rincón de Gautier, Felisa
- FEMA. *See* Federal Emergency Management Agency
- feminism, 80
- Fernández de Oviedo, Gonzalo, 9, 10, 12
- Fernando, Prince of Spain, 31
- Fernando de Aragón, King of Spain, 12
- Fernando VII, King of Spain, 34–35
- Ferré, Luis A., 131, 140, 157
- Ferrer, Ada, 2
- Ferrer, Shariana, 197
- Ferrer y Ferrer, José, 66, 68
- Figueroa Cordero, Andrés, 116
- Findlay, Eileen, 111
- First Amendment, 85
- First Spanish Republic, 49
- Fiscalizador, Leon (blogger), 201
- Fiscal Oversight and Management Board (“La Junta”), 173–76, 193, 198, 212
- five-hundred-acre law, 107
- flags, 60, 120
- Flores, Irving, 116
- Floyd, George, 204
- FLT. *See* Federación Libre de Trabajadores
- foco theory, 137
- Fontánez Torres, Érika, 151
- food stamps, 132
- Foraker, Joseph Benson, 81

- Foraker Act, 71, 81–82
- foreign investment, 110, 150, 164, 171, 204, 212
- Forensic Science Institute, 185
- Fortuño, Luis G., 167–69, 171, 206
- Fortuño Bernier, Francisco, 173
- France: abolition of slavery by, 39; corsair attacks from, 19; Napoleon and war in, 30–31; navy of, 24; revolution in, 30; and Saint-Domingue, 27, 29; Spain and, 19, 31, 33–34
- Free Federation of Workers. *See* Federación Libre de Trabajadores
- Frente Armado Anti-Imperialista, 147
- Frente Armado de Liberación Nacional, 127
- Frente de Liberación Nacional Cubano (Cuban National Liberation Front), 138
- FRT. *See* Federación Regional de Trabajadores
- Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional (FALN), 144
- FUPI. *See* Federación Universitaria Pro Independencia
- Gana, José Francisco, 56
- Garcés, Juan, 16–17
- García-Colón, Ismael, 129
- García Díaz, Roberto, 168
- García López, Gustavo A., 213
- García Padilla, Alejandro, 171–72, 214
- Geigel Polanco, Vicente, 96, 109
- gender, 75, 80. *See also* women
- General Electric, 140
- genocide, 9, 13, 16
- George Washington College, 185, 187
- gibaro*, *El* (Alonso Pacheco), 52
- Glorious Revolution (Spain), 49
- gold: mining of, 15–16; Spanish desire for, 2, 8, 15; worn by Taínos, 5, 12
- Gómez, Violante, 14–15
- Gómez Acosta, Fernando, 66
- Gómez Garriga, María Libertad, 112
- Gómez Vázquez, Jaime, 173
- González, Isabel, 83
- González, Jenniffer, 213
- González, José Luis, ix
- González, Juan, 11–12
- González Malavé, Alejandro, 147–48
- Gore, Robert H., 94
- governors: administrative role of, 19, 33, 37; American, 69, 76, 81, 84–85, 90, 94, 97–98, 121–22, 123; Puerto Rican, 109–11, 113, 115, 129–30, 150, 158–68, 171–72, 174–76, 184, 191–98, 201, 203, 206, 210, 214–15; Spanish, 10, 18–20, 22, 25, 31–34, 36–37, 39–40, 52, 54, 62–63
- Gran Colombia–Peru War, 37
- Grandin, Greg, 65
- Gran Regata Colón ’92, 159
- Great Depression, 86, 87, 90, 121
- Great Khan, 2, 5
- Great Migration, 116–32, 203–4
- Great Puerto Rican Family, 50, 52, 74, 82, 102, 113, 158, 213
- Grenada, 155
- Grito de Lares. *See* Lares revolution
- Grito de Yara, 49
- Gruening, Ernest, 92, 106
- Guam, 71, 82
- Guánica, PR, 200–201
- Guarionex, 6
- Guedes, Álvarez, 181
- guerrilla movements, 137, 141, 144–45. *See also* armed movements
- Guevara, Ernesto “Che,” 137
- Gutiérrez (detective), 77
- Gutiérrez de la Riba, Gabriel, 25, 213
- Gutiérrez Franqui, Víctor, 108
- Guzmán Cardona, Cristián, “Huracán,” 178
- Haiti: maroon communities in, 35; migration from, 35; revolution in, and model of, 27, 29–30, 33, 37–38
- Hamilton* (Miranda), 173

- Harlem Renaissance, 81
Haro, Juan de, 22
Hartford, Connecticut, 120, 128, 132, 155
Hartman, Saidiya, 181
Hawai'i, 71, 73, 121, 131
health care, 161, 174. *See also* disease; medicine
Health Reform, 161
hedge funds, 171
Hendricksz, Boudewijn, 22–23
Henna, Julio J., 60, 65
Henry, Guy V., 68
Hernández Colón, Rafael, 130–31, 150, 158–60, 162
Highway 52, 169–70
Hill, Robert T., 74
Hispanic Studies Department, UPR, 101–2
Hispaniola, 6, 8
hispanismo, 101–3
historiography, 2–4, 52–53, 103, 104, 153–55
Hita, Vicente, Jr., 157
Hoàng Bích Sơn, 137
Holland, 22–24
Holstein, Guillermo Lafayette Ducoudray, 36–37
Homar, Lorenzo, 114
homelessness, 168
homosexuality, 75–76. *See also* queer community
hookworm, 75
Hostos, Eugenio María de, 71–72, 120
House of Bourbon, 24, 28–29
House of Habsburg, 24
House of Representatives (Puerto Rico), 84
housing, 117, 151–52, 160, 179, 182, 207, 213.
See also homelessness
Howard University, 87
Hugo, Victor, 79–80
hunger and malnutrition, 91, 132, 211. *See also* poverty
Hurricane Hugo, 152
Hurricane Irma, 179–80, 187
Hurricane Katrina, 184
Hurricane María, xii, 179–91, 194, 206
hurricanes, 181
Hurricane San Ciprián, 90
Hurricane San Ciriaco, 68–70, 86, 90, 121, 181
Hurricane San Felipe, 86, 89–90
Iglesias Pantín, Santiago, 66–68, 76, 157
iLe, 215
immigration, to Puerto Rico, 35, 205. *See also* migration
imperialism, U.S., 62, 70–71, 73, 81–83, 144.
See also colonialism
imports. *See* trade
independence: diaspora groups and, 142, 146;
failure of efforts for, 72, 205; nineteenth-century sentiments and actions for, 32–33, 35–37, 44–48, 54–58, 60–63; repression of advocates for, 60, 97–98, 115–16, 134–36, 143–48, 155, 163; twentieth-century sentiments and actions for, 72, 96–98, 107–9, 116, 130, 133–47, 155–56. *See also* revolution; self-governance; separatism
Independent Communist Party, 99
Indian Wars, 64
Índice, 102
indigenous population: arrival in Borikén, 3–4; atrocities against, 2, 7, 9, 12–13; causes of death, 13, 20; cultural continuities among, 20; early contact with Spaniards, 1–13; flight from Spaniards, 8, 12, 20; historiography of, 2–4, 53; material needs of, 20, 23; resistance from, 7–8, 10–14; social hierarchy in, 1; women's role in, 5. *See also* exploitation of indigenous population; Tainos
industrialization, 106, 110, 113, 116–17, 121.
See also modernity and modernization
infrastructure, 90, 92, 117, 180, 183, 189, 200–201, 205, 213
Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña (Institute of Puerto Rican Culture; ICP), 113, 157
Insular Cases, 82–83, 85
Insular Labor Party, 78
Insular Police, 76–77

- Insular Senate, 84
- intellectual elites: and communism, 88;
education of, 41, 44, 51, 114, 153, 174;
liberalism among, 44, 49; migration
encouraged by, 122–23; and national
identity, 40, 41, 52–53, 59, 74, 82, 101–3,
112–13, 153–55; political engagement of,
50–54, 101–3
- Intentona de Yauco (Attempted Coup of
Yauco), 55
- International Congress of Working Women, 78
- International Ladies Garment Workers
Union, 108
- International Monetary Fund, 172, 213
- International Workers Day, 165
- Isabella II, queen of Spain, 49
- Island of San Juan Bautista, 9, 16
- Jaime, Karen, 127
- Jamaica, 35
- Jaresko, Natalie, 193, 212
- jíbaros (rural peasants), 112
- Jiménez, José “Cha Cha”, 143
- Jiménez, Javier, 197
- Jiménez de Wagenheim, Olga, 35
- João, Prince of Portugal, 31
- Johnson, Marsha P., 127
- Jones-Shafroth Act, 83–84, 121, 171
- Jornada Se Acabaron Las Promesas, 177
- Juan Carlos I, King of Spain, 158
- Junta. *See* Fiscal Oversight and Management
Board
- Junta Centro Bravo No. 2, 46–47
- Jurakán, 181
- Keleher, Julia, 175–76, 192–93
- Kropotkin, Piotr, 79
- labor. *See* unemployment; unions; workers
- labor laws, 40
- La Cocina Huracanada, 188
- Lanauze Rolón, José, 87–89, 98–99
- Lando, Francisco Manuel de, 18–19
- Lanzador del Norte, 46
- Lares revolution, 42, 46–48, 55, 99, 115, 163
- Las Carolinas neighborhood, 187–88
- Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*, 173
- La Torre del Viejo (The Old Man’s Tower), 54
- Law 53 (“Gag Law”), 114–15, 116
- Law 372, 113
- Law 600, 111
- Lebrón, Dolores “Lolita,” 116
- LeBrón, Marisol, 144, 163, 174, 201, 212
- Lebrón, Pedro, 199
- lectores (readers), 79
- Leeward Islands, 12–13
- Lesser Antilles, 5
- Levis Bernard, José Elías, 69–70. *See also*
Estercolero (Muckheap) (Levis Bernard)
- liberalism: and abolition of slavery, 41, 44–45,
49; colonial suspicion of, 36; foreign
countries exposed to, 41, 44; ideals of,
44–45; and independence, xiii, 36, 44–45;
and race, 74; in Spain, 49
- Liberal Party, 55, 92, 94, 99, 106–8
- Liberal Reformist Party, 50, 53–54
- Liga Femenina, 77
- Liga Sufragista (Suffragist League), 77
- Lincoln Hospital, New York, 143
- literacy, 59, 61, 78, 79–80, 104, 113
- Lloréns, Hilda, 185, 200
- logbook regime, 40, 43, 47
- López de Baños, Miguel, 39
- Los Secos (The Dry), 54
- Louverture, Toussaint, 16
- Lowe, Lisa, xiv
- Lúgaro, Alexandra, 193, 210
- Luis Muñoz Marín Airport, 171, 177, 185,
207
- LUMA Energy, 213
- Macheteros, 155, 163
- machismo, 127, 135, 215
- Macías Casado, Manuel, 63–64
- Malatesta, Ericco, 56
- Malato, Charles, 55

- Maldonado Gautier, Raúl, 191–92
Maldonado Nieves, Raúl, 191–92
malnutrition. *See* hunger and malnutrition
Mano Dura Contra el Crimen (Strong Hand Against Crime), 160–61, 163, 215
Manso, Alonso, 14
Marcantonio, Vito, 98
marginalized people, 152, 154, 196
María Fund, 191
María Cristina, Queen regent of Spain, 58
Mari Brás, Juan, 133–35, 145–46
Marín, Pachín, 55
Marín, Ramón Juliá, 70
Marín, Sabás, 62, 63
Mari Pesquera, Santiago “Chagui,” 146–47
Mark-Viverito, Melissa, 193
Mármol, Fernando Tarrida del, 56
maroon communities, xiii, 35, 52, 89
Marqués, René, 114; *La carreta*, 119
marriage, 75
Marsh Kennerly, Catherine, 113
Martí, José, 142
Martin, Ricky, 194
Martínez Lagares, Antonia, 145
Martínez Ocasio, Benito Antonio. *See* Bad Bunny
Martinique, 39
Martire d’Anghiera, Pietro, 7
Marx, Karl, 77
Marxism, 136–37, 139, 141, 153
Massachusetts Department of Education, 73
Matienzo, Carlota, 77
Mattei Lluveras, Antonio, 60
Mayagüez, PR, 36
May Day, 165, 168, 177
Mayobanex, 6
mayors, 38
McGreevey, Robert, 83
McKinley, William, 65, 68, 70, 75
medicine, 74–75, 87–88, 96. *See also* disease; health care
Meléndez, Edgardo, 123
Meléndez Bruno, Salvador, 32, 34
Meneses del Carpio, Laura, 96
mercantilism, 23
Merchant Marine Act, 84
Mexía, Antón, 14–15
Mexía, Francisco, 14–15
Mexico, 18, 19, 32, 37
Miami Herald, 197
middle class, 77–78, 118, 120, 152, 160
migration: airborne, ix, 104; to Borikén, 3–7; and citizenship, 83–84; coronavirus as impetus for, 202; and culture, 121, 124, 127–29; experiences of, x, 118–20, 123–29, 132; extent of, xi, 120–21, 132, 168; Great Migration, 116–32; Haitian Revolution as cause of, 35; after Hurricane María, 185; impetus for, ix–x, 118, 120, 168, 203, 205, 217; internal, 117, 121, 151; modernization and, 120–23; and national identity, 120, 128, 132, 142, 154, 191; networks in, 123–24; return from, 120, 131–32, 217; in Spanish colonial period, 18–19, 35; state encouragement of, 116–17, 122–23, 129, 203–4; of workers, 81, 121. *See also* immigration, to Puerto Rico
Migration Division, 124
Miles, Nelson A., 64–66
military government (1898–1900), 68–69, 73–74, 81
Mill, John Stuart, 79
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 132
mining, 14–16, 20
Miranda, Edwin, 203, 205, 208, 209
Miranda, Lin-Manuel, 173
Misión de Puerto Rico en Cuba, 137
modernity and modernization: in 1950s, ix–x; failure of, 129, 131; intellectual elites and, 51; medicine and, 74–75; migration and, 120–23. *See also* industrialization
Molinari, Sarah, 187–88, 212
Montes, Toribio, 31, 33
Morales, Ed, 172
Moret Law, 49–50
Moscoso, Francisco, 20

- Movimiento Obrero Unido (MOU), 140–41
- Movimiento Pro-Independencia (Pro-Independence Movement; MPI), 134–42, 140
- Movimiento Socialista de Trabajadores, 195
- Movimiento Unión Soberanista (Sovereign Union Movement), 209
- Movimiento Victoria Ciudadana (Citizens' Victory Movement; MVC), 210
- MPI. *See* Movimiento Pro-Independencia
- mujer, La*, 80
- mundo, El*, 141
- Muñoz Marín, Luis, 88, 92, 94, 98, 106–11, 113–15, 122, 129–31, 133–34, 147, 169, 172
- Muñoz Rivera, Luis, 54–55, 106, 109
- naiborías (common people), 5
- Napoleonic Wars, 30
- National Guard, 115, 191. *See also* U.S. National Guard
- national identity: in 1930s, 89–103; *Alegría* and, 96; contemporary, 214; culture and, 112–14, 156–59; diaspora and, 120, 128, 132, 142, 154, 191; distinction from Spain as component of, 45, 48–49; history of, xiii–xv; intellectual elites and, 40, 41, 52–53, 59, 74, 82, 101–3, 153–55; politics and, 156; PPD and, 112–14, 156–58; Spanish heritage identified with, 102. *See also* culture; nationalism
- nationalism: early instances of, 41–42; methodological, xiii–xiv; and revolution, x; rise of, in mid-twentieth century, 114–16; symbols of, ix. *See also* national identity
- Nationalist Party, 95–99, 106, 114–16
- nationals, 83
- Native Americans, 62, 64
- Nativity Fort, Hispaniola, 8
- naturales (people born in Puerto Rico), 26
- Nazario Grillo, Néstor, 134
- needleworkers, 90, 93
- Negrón de Montilla, Aida, 73
- Negrón Muñoz, Ángela, 77
- Negrón-Muntaner, Frances, 186
- neoliberalism, xiv, 152, 159, 161–62, 164, 167–69. *See also* privatization
- neo-Malthusianism, 88
- Nepomuceno Otero, Juan, 36
- Neruda, Pablo, 135
- New Age spirituality, 206
- New Deal, 91–92, 106, 110, 113
- New England Journal of Medicine*, 185
- New York City: immigration to, ix–x, 80–81, 84, 123–29, 132; and Puerto Rican independence and identity, 44, 45, 55, 60, 120, 128, 132, 142, 146, 154
- New York Times*, 197, 205–6
- Nieves Rivera, Carlos Alberto, ix–xii, xi, xii
- Nineteenth Amendment (United States), 78
- Ninguno (fictional political candidate), 165–66, 166
- nitainos (family members or associates of caciques), 4–5
- núcleos, 141–42
- nuevo día, El*, 161, 207
- Nueva Historia, *La* 153–55
- Nutritional Assistance Plan, 132
- “Nuyorican,” 127, 142
- Nuyorican Poets Café, 127
- Obama, Barack, 173
- O'Daly, Demetrio, 36
- oil crisis, 131, 150
- Ojeda Ríos, Filiberto, 137, 163
- Oller, Juan Bautista, 56
- Omega 7, 138
- Onís, Federico de, 102
- Operación Manos a la Obra (Operation Bootstrap), 110, 122, 150, 157, 164
- Operación Serenidad (Serenity Operation), 113
- Operación Válvula de Escape (Operation Escape Valve), 117
- Operation Bootstrap. *See* Operación Manos a la Obra
- origin myths, 6

- Ortiz, Rafael, 68
- Ortiz Molina, Julio, 147–48
- Ortiz-Torres, Blanca, 188
- Osma, Joaquina de, 57
- Ostend Manifesto, 62
- Our Islands and Their People* (Olivares), 82
- Ovando, Nicolás de, 10
- Padín, José, 91
- Paéz, José Antonio, 37
- Palacios González, Romualdo, 54
- Pan Am, ix, 105
- Panama, 37, 62
- Pané, Ramón, 6–7
- Paoli, Olivia, 77
- Papel Machete, 165–66
- paramilitary groups, 137, 145. *See also* armed movements
- pardos, 24, 26
- Paris Peace Conference (1919), 78
- Partido del Pueblo (People's Party), 130
- Partido del Pueblo Trabajador (Party of the Working Peoples), 209–10
- Partido Estadista Republicano, 157
- Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño (PIP), 109, 112, 134–35, 138–39, 156, 209–10
- Partido Liberal Neto, Auténtico y Completo (Net, Authentic, and Complete Liberal Party), 101, 107
- Partido Nuevo Progresista (New Progressive Party; PNP): and culture, 157, 159; goals of, 131, 156–58, 160, 161, 209; and Pedro Rosselló, 174–75, 197; and PPD, 156, 209; rise of, 130, 157; and routine politics, 147, 159, 167, 171; tensions within, 201
- Partido Popular Democrático (PPD): creation and rise of, 101, 106–10; Rincón de Gautier and, 104; goals of, 107–11, 116; and industrialization, ix, 106, 110, 113, 116–17, 121–22; and labor, 139; migration encouraged by, 122, 124; Muñoz Marín and, 107–11, 130–31, 133–34; and national identity, 112–14, 156–58; and PNP, 156, 209; and populism, 106; and routine politics, 148, 156, 158, 164, 171; state intervention promoted by, 93; tensions within, 109, 130
- Patria* (newspaper), 59
- patriarchy, 52, 89
- Peace of Basel, 33
- Pedreira, Antonio S., 102–3
- peninsulares* (people born in Iberian Peninsula), 41, 43
- People's Assemblies, 198–99
- Pérez, Tom, 193
- Pérez y González, María E., 154
- Perón, Juan Domingo, 105
- Peru, 18
- Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 120, 126
- Philippines, 71, 73, 82
- Picó, Fernando, 38, 68, 87
- Pierce, Brock, 206
- Pierluisi, Anthony, 215
- Pierluisi, Pedro, 198, 210, 215
- Pietri, Pedro, “Puerto Rican Obituary,” 119–20
- Piñero, Jesús T., 111
- Pinzón, Vicente Yáñez, 9
- Pinzón brothers, 158
- pioneros* (pioneers), 121
- PIP. *See* Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño
- pirates, 17, 19, 38. *See also* corsairs
- Planning Board, 110
- Plaza las Américas (San Juan shopping mall), 131, 169
- plebiscites, 130, 157, 160, 161, 211, 213
- Plessy v. Ferguson*, 83
- PNP. *See* Partido Nuevo Progresista
- Pol, Bernabé, 47–48
- police, 136, 147–48, 151, 160–61, 170, 174, 177, 195, 201, 215
- Police Proclamation, 40
- politics: in 1930s, 96–101; administration of PR, 17–20, 31–32, 37–39, 58, 71, 84, 93, 163; autonomous government of PR, 58, 62;

- creation of political parties, 50; failures of government, 180, 183–86, 190–93, 200–201, 211; intellectual elites and, 50–54, 101–3; military government (1898–1900), 68–69, 73–74, 81; Puerto Rican participation in American, 127; scholarship and, 154–55; and state intervention, 92–93; two-party system in, 130; women and, 47, 48, 77–80, 104, 112; workers and, 51, 61, 66–68, 76–81, 88. *See also individual political parties*; citizenship; conservatives; corruption; demonstrations and protests; elections; liberalism; self-governance; socialism; voting rights
- Polo, Marco, 5
- Ponce, Mayra, 192
- Ponce, Puerto Rico, 77, 87, 98
- Ponce de León, Juan, 9–10, 12, 17
- Ponce Massacre, 98
- Popular Democratic Party. *See* Partido Popular Democrático
- populism: defined, 105; and education, 113; neoliberalism and, 161; PPD and, 111
- Porto Rico & Its Problems* (Brookings Institution), 91
- Portugal, 31
- poverty, 68–70, 121–22, 132, 143, 150–52, 161, 172, 182, 187, 200, 205. *See also* hunger and malnutrition
- Power Laws, 34
- Power y Giral, Ramón, 32–33, 34, 41
- PPD. *See* Partido Popular Democrático
- Pravda*, 99
- Prim y Prats, Juan, 39–40, 49
- Prince of Asturias Prize, 159
- print media, 51, 61–62
- privateering, 24
- privatization, 161–62, 167, 171, 176, 194, 213. *See also* neoliberalism
- Programa de Vivienda Permanente para los Damnificados del Huracán Hugo (Permanent Living Place for the Victims of Hurricane Hugo Program), 152
- PROMESA bill, 173–74
- Protestantism, 75
- protests. *See* demonstrations and protests
- Proyecto Dignidad (Dignity Project), 211
- PSP. *See* Puerto Rican Socialist Party
- public celebrations, 38–39
- Public Law 7, 167–69
- Public Law 25, 122
- Puertopia, 205–6
- Puerto Rican Athenaeum, 53, 59, 163
- Puerto Rican College of Physicians and Surgeons, 188
- Puerto Rican Revolutionary Committee, 55
- Puerto Rican Senate, 198
- Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), 135, 140, 141–43, 145–46, 145. *See also* Socialist Party
- Puerto Rican Studies, 154
- Puerto Rican Telephone Company, 162
- Puerto Rico: as a commonwealth, 106, 112, 130–31, 138, 147, 156, 160, 209, 214; constitution of, 112, 147, 156, 171–72, 174; flag of, 60, 120; food of, 20, 23; interpretations of, xi; media coverage of, xii, xv; modernization of (1950s), ix–x; population of, 18, 20, 35, 59, 88, 116, 121–23, 203, 204–5; social hierarchy in, 43–44, 52; strategic value of, 21, 28; as unincorporated territory of the United States, 83, 86; U.S. attitudes toward, 70–71, 81–86, 95–96, 110, 124, 184, 188–89, 204. *See also* annexation; Borikén; colonialism; economics; immigration, to Puerto Rico; independence; Island of San Juan Bautista; migration; national identity; nationalism; politics
- Puerto Rico Electric Power Authority (PREPA), 186
- Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration (PRERA), 92
- Puerto Rico Reconstruction Administration (PRRA), 92, 106
- Puerto Rico Section, Cuban Revolutionary Party, 60, 65
- #PuertoRicoSeLevanta, 188

- Puerto Rico v. Sánchez Valle*, 173
- puertorriqueñidad*, 41, 48, 52. *See also* national identity
- puertorriqueños (people born in Puerto Rico), 26, 41
- Puertorriqueños por Puerto Rico (Puerto Ricans for Puerto Rico), 209
- Pullman Company, 64
- Pure (Orthodox and Historical) Autonomist Party, 54
- Pure Labor Party, 99, 108
- queer community, 127–28, 215–16. *See also* homosexuality
- race: African-American tourists in PR, 208–9; intellectual elites and, 102–3; and Latinos' status, 126; in PR, 39–40, 45, 47–48, 52, 70–71, 74, 112–13, 158, 160; Spanish colonists and, 27, 29, 39–40, 48; U.S. notions about, x, 65, 70–71, 82–86, 95–96, 124, 126, 204. *See also* African-descent peoples; indigenous population; slavery; xenophobia
- Radio Huelga, 170
- Radio Isla 1320, 191
- Ramírez, Rafael, 155
- Ramírez de Arellano, Francisco Antonio, 32
- Ramos, Marcos A., 145
- Ramos Antonini, Ernesto, 108, 109
- rape, 2, 7, 25
- reading, 61–62
- Reagan, Ronald, 152
- recogedores de indios (Indian collectors), 14
- referenda. *See* plebiscites
- Reglamento de Jornaleros (Day Laborer's Regulation), 40
- religion, 9, 75. *See also* Catholic Church; Christianity
- repartimientos (forced labor system), 8
- repression. *See* surveillance and repression
- Republican Party (Puerto Rico): and PR self-governance, 112; Socialist Party and, 79, 91, 93; workers' support for, 68
- Republican Party (United States), 167, 173
- Republic of Boricua, 36
- Republic of Puerto Rico, 47, 60
- Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC), 139
- resident commissioners, 108, 111, 159, 167, 213
- Residente, 194, 215
- resistance to colonialism: in Borikén, 7–8, 10–14, 11; and revolts of the enslaved, 16, 27, 29–30
- revolution: in Cuba, 136–39, 153; in France, 30, 44; in Haiti, 27, 29–30; nationalism and, x; people of color as organizers of, 29; in Puerto Rico, 42, 44–49, 55, 60–61, 115; in Russia, 88; in Spain, 49; in Spanish America, 31–33, 35, 45–46, 49, 60, 137; Spanish-Puerto Rican relations and, 29–50, 54, 62; in the United States, 30. *See also* independence; slavery: revolts against
- Reyes, José Antonio de los, 36
- Rhoads, Cornelius P., 95–96
- Rice, Tamir, 204
- #RickyRenuncia, 193, 195
- Riggs, Francis, 97–98, 106
- Rincón, Puerto Rico, 190, 206–7
- Rincón de Gautier, Felisa (Doña Fela), x, 104, 109
- Río Piedras massacre, 97
- Rivera, Francisca, 133
- Rivera, Sylvia, 127–28, 128
- Rivera Martínez, Prudencio, 90, 93, 99
- Rivera-Rideau, Petra, 160
- Rivera Schatz, Thomas, 192
- Roberts, John, 212
- Rockefeller Foundation, 95
- Rodríguez, Félix, 202
- Rodríguez Cotto, Sandra, 215
- Rojas, Manuel, 46–48
- Roldán Soto, Ada Nilda, x–xii, xii
- Romero, Calixto, 53
- Romero Barceló, Carlos, 147–48, 149, 151, 157–59; *La estadidad es para los pobres*, 158
- Romero Rosa, Ramón, 66, 68
- Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 91–92, 106, 110

- Roosevelt, Theodore, Jr., 90–91
 Roosevelt, Theodore “Teddy,” 90
 Roqué de Duprey, Ana, 77
 Rosado, Hiram, 97
 Rosado Barbosa, Elma Beatriz, 163
 Rosselló, Beatriz, 184, 191–92, 198
 Rosselló, Pedro, 159–64, 174, 197
 Rosselló, Ricardo, 174–76, 184, 191–98, 201–2, 203, 210, 214
 Rouse, Irving, 4
 Ruiz Belvis, Segundo, 41–42, 44–46, 53
 Russia, 88. *See also* Soviet Union
- Safe Drinking Water Act, 183
 Sagasta, Práxedes Mateo, 55, 57–58
 Saint-Domingue, 27, 29
 Saint Thomas, 45, 46, 48
 Salcedo, Diego, 10, 11
 Sampson, William T., 63–64, 66–67
 Sánchez, Alberto, 99
 Sánchez, Luis M., 173
 Sánchez Korrol, Virginia, 154
 Sánchez López, Eugenio, 77
 Sánchez Tirado, Samuel, 207
 Sánchez Vilella, Roberto, 130
 Sanes, David, 163
 San Germán, Puerto Rico, 17–19, 31–33
 San Juan, Puerto Rico: bombing during U.S.-Spanish War, 63–64; cabildo program, 17–18, 31–32, 35; cryptocurrency entrepreneurs in, 206; demolishing of walls surrounding, 61; Dutch attack on, 22–23; English attacks on, 21–22; fortifications of, 19, 21–22; settlement of, 17; social hierarchy in, 118–19; tourism in, 207–8, 208
 San Sebastián del Pepino, Puerto Rico, 47–48
 Santa Cruz (now St. Croix), 7, 39
 Santiago, Carlos E., 123
 Santiago Barea, José, 97
 Santiago Díaz, Celestino, 145
 Santiago Ortiz, Aurora, xiv, 175, 181, 196
 Santo Domingo, 17, 19, 130
 S. B. Downes & Company, 83
 Scarano, Francisco, 64
 Schomburg, Arturo Alfonso, 80–81
 School of the Americas, xi
 Schwartz, Stuart, 70
 La Seccional (The Sectional), 142, 144, 146
 secret societies, 46, 54
 Section 936, U.S. Internal Revenue Code, 150, 164–65
 self-governance, 29, 71, 82, 84, 110–12, 138, 173. *See also* independence
 Senior, Clarence, 122
 separatism, 32–33, 35–36, 38, 48–49, 50, 55, 59–61. *See also* independence
 sexism, 193–94
 sexuality, 75, 127
 sex work, 75–76
 Scherrer Caillet, Fernando, 192
 Silén, Juan Ángel, 9
Simpsons, The, 186
 Situado Mexicano, 19–20
 Sixth Amendment, 85
 Skeel, David, 212
 slavery: abolition of, 39, 44–45, 49–50, 52; beginnings of, in Puerto Rico, 10, 15; Black enslavers, 15; enslaved people of African-descent, 15–16, 18, 39–40; growth of, 13, 35; laws related to, 39–40; persistence of, 38; revolts against, 16, 27, 29–30, 33, 35, 39–40; in Saint-Domingue, 29; sugar industry dependent on, 35, 43. *See also* exploitation of indigenous population
 Smith, Sheppard, 197
 Smith-Hughes Act, 91
 snow, x, 105
 social Darwinism, 75
 socialism, 61–62, 66, 139, 153. *See also* communism
 Socialist Party: creation of, 78; divisions within, 88, 91, 99, 108; FLT and, 85; impact of, 86; and labor, 94–95; and PR self-governance, 112; Republican Party and, 79, 91, 93; Rivera Martínez and, 90; and Russian Revolution, 88; splinter group of, 99; U.S. branches of, 126–27; women and, 78. *See also* Puerto Rican Socialist Party

- Socialist Party of America, 122
- social justice, 107–9
- social movements, 163
- Social Study Centers, 67
- Sociedad Protectora de la Inteligencia del Obrero, 51
- Sociedad Recolectora de Documentos Históricos de San Juan Bautista de Puerto Rico, 53
- Sofia, queen of Spain, 158
- Solá, Mercedes, 77
- Soler, Estanislao, 99
- Sosa Pascual, Omayra, 194
- Soto Arriví, Carlos, 147
- Sotomayor, Cristobal de, 10–12
- Soviet Union, 99, 100, 111. *See also* Russia
- Spain: administration of PR, 17–20, 31–33, 37–39, 58; atrocities committed by, 2, 7, 9, 12–13; colonialism of, xiii, 1–2, 5–34, 54, 57–58; and colonial reforms, 32, 34–42; conquest of Borikén, xiii, 1–2, 5–13; constitution of, 34, 37, 58; English conflict with, 22; exploitation and slavery instituted by, 7–10, 13; France and, 19, 31, 33–34; gold sought by, 2, 8, 15–16; mercantilist economy of, 23; military and navy of, 19–21, 24; monarchical crisis in, 24, 28–29; revolution in, 49; U.S. war with, 63–66, 81
- Spanish language, 159
- squatters, 151
- Standard and Poor's, 171
- statehood. *See* annexation
- Statehood Party, 130
- Stonewall Riots, 127
- street theater, 165–66
- Street Transvestites Action Revolutionaries, 128
- strikes: general, 162; labor, 68, 76–80, 85, 93–95, 108, 140–41, 162; labor organizations' legitimacy damaged by, 94–95, 107–8; at UPR and other educational institutions, 94, 114, 139, 170–71, 176–77. *See also* demonstrations and protests
- Suárez del Solar, Manuel, 36
- Sued Badillo, Jalil, 5, 12
- suffrage. *See* voting rights
- sugar industry: beginnings of, 16; economic role of, 20, 35, 40–41, 50, 86, 87; enslaved labor in, 29, 35, 41, 43; worker actions in, 76, 78–80, 94–95
- Supreme Court (Puerto Rico), 85, 198
- Supreme Court (United States). *See* U.S. Supreme Court
- surrogate settlers, 226n6
- surveillance and repression, 38–39, 60, 67, 97–98, 115–16, 134–36, 143–48, 155, 163
- Swain, Laura Taylor, 212
- Taft, William Howard, 85
- Táinos, 1–13, 15, 20, 102, 113
- Tapia y Rivera, Alejandro, 52–53
- tarjetitas (medical insurance cards), 161
- taxation: Spanish, 18, 29, 32, 34–35, 68; U.S., 110, 122, 150, 164, 171, 202, 205–8
- teachers, 74
- Telegram, 192, 203
- Teller Amendment, 81
- “The Terrible Year,” 54
- tertulias* (literary soirees), 53, 79–80, 89, 153
- Thatcher, Margaret, 152
- “the thirties’ generation,” 102
- Thompson, Lanny, 70, 71
- Three Kings Day, 105, 128, 132
- Time*, 131, 150
- Timothée, Pedro Carlos, 68
- tobacco, 35, 50, 79
- Tobin, James, 150
- Todd, Roberto H., 65
- Toledo, Pedro, 160
- Tolstoy, Leo, 79
- Torres, Felipe, 127
- Torresola, Griselio, 115
- torture, 54, 56
- tourism, 144, 202, 207–9
- Tourism Company, 215
- Trabal, Providencia “Pupa,” 133–35, 137

- Trabal, Ricardo, 133
- trade: agriculture and, 89; economic role of, 35, 86; leading products for, 35, 43, 50, 86, 89; U.S. regulation of, 83, 84. *See also* contraband
- Treaty of Paris (1898), 66
- Tricontinental Conference, 137
- Tripartite Union, 99
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph, 29, 89
- Truman, Harry S., 111, 115
- Trump, Donald J., 184–86, 203, 204
- Trump, Melania, 184
- Tugwell, Rexford G., 110
- Twitter, 193
- Tydings Bill, 98, 107
- Ulloa, Alfonso de, 6
- UN. *See* United Nations
- unemployment, 38, 43, 86, 89, 92, 121, 131–32, 150, 164, 167–68, 205
- Unidos Por Puerto Rico, 191
- Union Party, 92, 96
- unions: creation of, 67; FLT and, 93; FRT and, 68; women and, 78–79; workers' relations with leaders of, 76, 93–95. *See also* strikes; workers
- United Nations (UN), 111, 138, 213
- United States: administration of PR, 71, 84, 93, 181; and annexation of PR, 65, 68, 70, 83, 95, 130–31, 156–61, 164, 209; colonialism of, xiii–xiv, 66–86, 97, 111–12, 115–16, 138–39, 144, 155–56, 171–74, 186, 205–9, 208, 213–14 (*see also* imperialism, U.S.); and Cuba, 62, 73, 81; imperialism of, 62, 70–71, 73, 81–83 (*see also* colonialism: U.S.); PR relations with, xii–xiv, 62–63, 66–75, 81–86, 90–92, 95–99, 106, 110, 111–12, 138–39, 156, 172–74, 186, 188–89, 214; Puerto Ricans' experiences in, x, 118–20, 123–29, 132, 204; recession in (1970s), 131, 150; revolution in, 30; war with Spain, 63–66, 81
- Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 112
- Universidad Carlos Albizu, 185
- University Law (1942), 114
- University of Chicago, 114
- University of Puerto Rico (UPR), 32, 74, 94, 101–3, 114, 122, 139, 145, 147, 153, 169–70, 176–77, 185
- UPR. *See* University of Puerto Rico
- Urayoán, 10
- U.S. Bankruptcy Code, 172
- U.S. Civil War, 40, 64–65
- U.S. Congress: attack on, 116, 169; and Cuba, 81; and governance of PR, 70–71, 82–83, 86, 98, 110, 112, 138, 150; and PR economy, 164, 172; PR voice in, 108; and women's voting rights, 78
- U.S. Constitution, 81–82, 85–86
- U.S. Geological Survey, 200
- U.S. Internal Revenue Code, 150, 164
- U.S. National Guard, 160, 202. *See also* National Guard
- U.S. Navy, 162–63, 194
- USS *Maine*, 62
- U.S. Supreme Court, 82–83, 84, 173–74
- Valero, Antonio de Bernabe, 37
- Vargas, Getúlio, 105
- Vasconcelos, José, 101
- Vázquez Garced, Wanda, 192, 198, 201–2, 207, 213
- vecinos, 8, 15, 17, 18, 19
- Vega, Bernardo, 81, 121
- Vélez-Vélez, Roberto, 187
- Venator-Santiago, Charles, 126
- Venezuela, 32, 33, 36, 37
- Verano '19 protests, 192–99, 203, 214, 215
- Verdad* (Truth) (newspaper), 99, 100
- Vergne Ortiz, Luis, 99
- Vieques, 162–63, 187, 194
- Vietnam War. *See* anti-Vietnam War movement
- Villanueva, Joaquín, 110, 202, 213
- Villanueva Osorio, Adolfin, 151
- Villarrubia-Mendoza, Jacqueline, 187
- Villasante, Blas de, 16–17

- Villa Sin Miedo (squatter settlement), 151–52
 vocational schools, 91
 voter turnout, 209, 211–12
 voting rights, 50, 58, 77–80
- wages, 90, 94, 171, 175
Wall Street Journal, 197, 212
 War of 1898, 63–66, 81, 83
 War of Secession, 24, 28
 Washington, D.C., voting rights of, 131
Washington Post, 197
 water, xii, 17, 180, 182–83, 187, 190
 Wells Fargo, 155
 Weyler, Valeriano, 56–57, 58
 Whalen, Carmen Teresa, 126
 Wheat, David, 226n6
 whiteness, 26
 white supremacy, 204
 Wilbur Cartwright Bill, 98
 Wilson, Woodrow, 83, 85
 Winship, Blanton, 97
 Wolf, Eric R., 2
- women: and divorce, 75; intellectual engagement of, 53; middle-class, 77–78; political engagement of, 47, 48, 77–80, 104, 112; and sexism, 193–94; social status and exclusion of, 53, 76–77; in sugar industry, 76; in Taíno society, 5; and unions, 78–79; voting rights of, 77–80; in workforce, 76, 78–79. *See also* feminism
- Worcester, Massachusetts, 132
- workers: agency of, 76–77; attitudes toward, 82; education of, 61, 76, 79–80; forced labor, 8–9, 13; immigrant experiences of, 126, 129, 132, 204; laws aimed at, 40; migration of, 81, 121; political and intellectual engagement of, 51, 61, 66–68, 76–81, 88, 93; PPD and, 107–8; protections for, 167, 175; social hierarchy among, 62; union leaders' relations with, 76, 88, 93–95; U.S. affinity of, 68, 76; in U.S.-governed Puerto Rico, 84–85; women among, 76, 78–79. *See also* exploitation of indigenous population: labor; strikes; unemployment; unions; wages
- World Bank, 172, 213
- xenophobia, xiv, 70–71, 82, 85, 95, 102–3, 124, 205. *See also* race
- Yager, Arthur, 85, 122
 Yauco uprising, 60–61, 62
 yellow fever, 48
 “Yo no me dejo” generation, 215
 Young Lords Organization, 126, 143
 Young Lords Party, 128, 143–44
 Yulín Cruz, Carmen, 186