

Index

- Adams, Lewis, 65
 administrative law. *See* Constitution; law;
 nonjudicial officials (as Constitution's
 interpreters); race and racialization;
 Reconstruction Constitution
 AFL (American Federation of Labor): electoral
 politics and, 110–111; Iglesias and, 7, 47–48,
 66–71, 97–98, 135–141; labor protectionism
 and, 155; Puerto Rican citizenship demands
 and, 71, 98–105, 121–123, 135–141; race
 and, 71–72, 99, 110–111, 154–156, 251n52;
 World War I and, 152–155
 African Americans: AFL's hostility toward,
 67–69, 71–72, 100; citizenship and, 11, 26,
 81, 120, 131, 169n11, 191n46;
 disfranchisement of, 1, 10, 35, 82–83, 108,
 119, 148–149; Dred Scott decision and, 11,
 15, 29–30, 51–54, 81–87, 169n11, 180n11,
 198n23; educational opportunities for, 65;
 Great Migration and, 156; labor
 activism and, 44, 49, 71–72, 99, 110–111,
 154–156, 206n56, 247n44, 251n52, 260n28
 Alaska, 12, 28, 31, 106, 114–115, 119, 147
 Alianza Puertorriqueña, 124–125
 alien status (of Puerto Rico/ans), 1, 15–16, 42,
 74–87, 96, 98, 146, 218n47
 Allen, Charles, 45, 99, 221n7
 ambiguity, 3–5, 56, 86–98, 114–120, 122–129,
 142–146, 158–159, 257n17
 American Indians, 1, 9, 14–15, 26–29, 43, 52,
 59, 65, 81, 93–94, 106, 148–149, 178n2,
 194n4, 196n15, 233n55, 255n2
 American Political Development (APD),
 166n16
 American Samoa, 1, 14, 98, 115, 147, 233n55
 American Tobacco Company, 136
 anarcho-syndicalists, 99
 annexation: ambiguity and, 3–5, 56, 86–98,
 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159,
 257n17; border-extension question and, 40;
 citizenship status and, 1–2, 12–13, 27–28,
 33–34, 39–41, 47, 53–55, 74–76, 81–87,
 91–92, 97–98, 114–115, 126, 142–143,
 179n7, 257n17; Dred Scott v. Sandford and,
 11, 40; Puerto Ricans' disagreements over,
 21–26; racial considerations and, 3–4, 6, 8–9,
 15–16, 29–30, 45–46, 77–78, 80–87,
 112–119, 168n9; Reconstruction
 Constitution and, 2, 8–16, 26–27, 40–41,
 51–53, 181n17; statehood and, 5, 27–30,
 40–41, 142–143, 149–150, 158–159, 180n11.
See also citizenship status; Puerto Rico; race
 and racialization; Reconstruction
 Constitution; statehood
 Anti-Imperialist League, 29
 Arizona, 30–31, 53, 148–149, 156
 assimilationism (in Puerto Rico), 18–19
 Australia, 151
 Autonomistas. *See* Partido Autonomista
 Bacon, Augustus, 31
 Baker, Newton, 141–142
 Baldorioty de Castro, Román, 17, 19–23
 Ballinger, Richard, 111
 Balzac, José, 158–159
 Barbados, 40
 Barbosa, José Celso, 23–24, 36, 44–45, 69–70,
 183n26
 Barkey, Karen, 214n20
 Barsh, Russel Lawrence, 255n2

Index

267

- Bate, William, 42
 Bird, V. C., 263n37
 The Birth of a Nation (Griffith), 131
 Bloom, Sol, 259n23
 Board of Public Utility Commissioners v. Inchausti and Company, 264n41
 Bocanegra, Justa, 70–71
 Boers, 109
 Borah, William, 119
 Boumediene v. Bush, 265n2
 Brandeis, Louis, 237n7
 British Columbia, 98
 Brown, Foster, 242n32
 Brown, Henry, 53–54, 60
 Bryan, William Jennings, 45–46, 106, 109, 125
 Bryan, William S., 66, 67
 Bryce, James, 167n7
 Building a New American State (Showronek), 165n13
 Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization, 102–103, 146
 Bureau of Insular Affairs, 6, 55, 97–98, 112–133, 142–143, 145–146, 150–151, 233n55. *See also* specific officials
 Burgess, John W., 51
- Caffery, Donelson, 30, 52, 181n17
 Canada, 98, 126–127, 151
 Cannon, Joseph, 102, 110–111, 119
 Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 64–66
 Carpenter, Daniel P., 189n44, 232n52
 Carroll, Henry, 35
 Catholicism, 66
 Chae Chan Ping v. United States, 15
 Charlton, Paul, 113–114, 118
 children, 17, 22, 32, 40, 52–53, 56, 66, 81–83, 86–87, 95, 147–149
 Chinese Exclusion Act, 28, 63
 Chinese immigration, 15–16, 28, 31–32, 40, 51, 63, 81, 109–110, 172n22
 Círculo de Trabajadores, 23–24
 citizenship status: ambiguity of, 3–5, 56, 86–98, 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159, 257n17; of American Indians, 14–15, 26–29, 43, 52, 59, 65, 81, 93–94, 106, 148–149, 178n2, 194n4, 196n15, 233n55, 255n2; annexation and, 1–2, 27–28, 33–34, 39–41, 47, 53–55, 74–76, 81–87, 91–92, 97–98, 126, 158–159, 179n7; of children, 17, 22, 32, 40, 52–53, 56, 66, 81–87, 95, 147–149; definitions of, 4–5; federal power over, 15, 30, 41, 51–55, 59–60, 81, 148–149, 159, 169n11, 198n23; Fourteenth Amendment's definition of, 11, 14, 41, 51, 85–87; gender and, 19–21, 25–26, 52–53, 74–76, 81–91, 95, 127–128, 145–146, 165n12, 187n39, 211n10; Gonzalez v. Williams and, 74–76, 80–87; Iglesias's hopes for, 66–71, 121–124, 127–128; importance of, 51–53, 61, 101, 117–119, 121–122, 134–135, 144–145, 160–161; jus soli rule and, 29, 41, 51–52, 265n4; labor activism and, 7, 47, 66–71, 94–95, 98–105, 121–122, 128, 135–141, 143, 154–155, 157–159, 171n21, 203n48, 249n50; oaths and, 28, 40, 59, 78, 84–85, 97, 114–115, 179n3; as opposed to alien status, 1, 15–16, 42, 74–87, 96, 98, 146, 218n47; passports and, 60–61, 146, 215n35; race and, 1, 3–11, 15–16, 21–22, 25–26, 31, 37–38, 42, 80–87, 97, 105–112, 114–115, 126, 128–141, 146–149, 151, 167n7, 168n9, 172n22, 214n20, 223n14, 240n26; Reconstruction Constitution and, 2, 9–11, 49–50, 80, 121–122; rights attached to, 2, 11–13, 31–36, 39–41, 43, 51, 86–87, 94–97, 101–105, 117–122, 125–135, 137–139, 142–144, 146–149, 156, 171n21, 196n15, 226n27, 245n41; statehood and, 51–52, 128–129, 133–135, 149–150, 158–159; suffrage and disfranchisement and, 1, 11, 17–21, 29–30, 38–39, 82, 85, 109, 122–124, 140, 143; World War I and, 144–148, 155, 255n2. *See also* annexation; Dred Scott v. Sandford; gender; Hawai'i; Puerto Ricans; race and racialization; Reconstruction Constitution; statehood
 Civil Service Commission, 60
 Civil War, 1–2, 9, 11, 52–53, 82–83, 107
 The Clansman (Thomas), 131
 Clarke, James, 129
 Cleveland, Sarah H., 226n27
 Collazo, Domingo: Degetau's relationship with, 6; Democratic Party's ties with, 97–98, 105–112, 119, 121, 124–127, 132–133, 143, 150–151, 226n30; as head of household, 82–88; Isabel Gonzalez and, 74, 76–80, 87, 89, 96, 218n47; Muñoz Rivera and, 80, 124–125; New York politics and, 7, 73, 79–80, 124–125, 151–152, 259n23; racialization of, 24–26, 110–111; rights-rich citizenship and, 121; Spanish rule and, 5
 Collazo, Hermina, 75, 77, 79
 Coll y Cuchi, Cayetano, 133–135
 Colombia, 126

- colonia, 151–152
 Colón López, Joaquin, 156
 Colton, George, 116–117, 121–123, 125,
 127–129, 131–132, 135, 142
 Columbia Law Review, 161
 Commission on Industrial Relations, 139,
 153
 Constitution: administrative officials'
 interpretations of, 49–50, 55–56, 59, 61–63,
 72–73, 75–78, 94–95, 188n44, 193n3,
 198n25; ambiguity and, 3–5, 56, 86–98,
 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159,
 257n17; application of, beyond U. S. borders,
 33–34, 39–41, 46, 53–55, 67, 75–76, 85,
 103–106, 114–115, 117–118, 121–122,
 124–127, 131–132, 142–143, 146, 158–161,
 242n31, 264n41; law *vs.* politics in
 interpretations of, 48–50, 78, 87, 135–141
 consular courts, 15–16, 34, 40, 51
 Cooper, Henry, 59
 Costa Rica, 126
 Cott, Nancy F., 194n4, 223n14
 Coudert, Frederic, 46, 50–52, 55, 74, 78–87,
 95, 118, 161
 Council of Secretaries, 21, 35
 Cross v. Harrison, 264n41
 Cuba, 14, 16–27, 31, 71–72, 84–85, 98,
 105–109, 115–116, 126, 132, 155, 157
 Cubano Iguina, Astrid, 211n10, 249n50
 Cuentos para el viaje (Degetau), 80

 D. A. de Lima and Company, 50
 Dalrymple, Louis, 32
 Danish West Indies, 12, 141, 147, 155
 Davis, George, 35, 38–40, 188n41
 Davis, James, 141
 Dawes Act, 83
 Day, William R., 28, 86, 179n7
 Dean, Frederic, 257n16
 De Diego, José, 133, 140
 Degetau y González, Federico, 4–5; admission
 of, to Supreme Court bar, 53, 78, 95;
 antidiscrimination activity of, for Puerto
 Ricans, 56–66; Foraker Act and, 42–44;
 Iglesias and, 24, 69–70; images of, 48; Isabel
 González's case and, 75–76, 78–90; labor
 issues and, 64; law-politics balance and,
 48–50, 52–53, 55–66, 71–73, 78, 87, 91–93,
 96–98, 118, 145, 220n57; media strategy of,
 47; Partido Republicano and, 36, 57–59,
 93–94; passport of, 60–61, 215n35; race and
 gender hierarchies and, 25–26, 37, 50–52,
 56–66, 70–71, 83–87, 89–92, 95–97, 132;
 retirement of, 95–96; rights-rich citizenship
 and, 51; Spain's colonial rule and, 5, 22–23;
 as Washington representative, 6, 46, 49, 63–
 65, 73
 De Lima v. Bidwell, 50, 53, 55, 63
 Democratic Party: Collazo's appeals to, 97–98,
 105–112, 119, 121, 124–127, 132–133, 143,
 150–151, 226n30; federal power and, 4, 6–7,
 10, 30–32, 37–38, 42, 51, 97–98,
 105–112, 116–117, 119, 121, 128–132,
 134–135, 140–141, 158, 189n45, 245n39;
 Muñoz Rivera's appeals to, 45–46, 108–109,
 132–133; rights-poor citizenship and, 120,
 130–135; white supremacy and, 3–4, 6–7,
 9–11, 30, 42–43, 97, 105, 108–112,
 128–141, 167n7, 240n26. *See also* specific
 people
 Department of Agriculture and Labor,
 140–143, 154
 Department of Labor, 136
 Department of the Interior, 111, 116, 131, 147,
 178n2, 233n55
 Depew, Chauncey, 40, 111, 116, 187n39
 Desai, Anuj C., 193n3
 Dickinson, Jacob, 118, 122–123
 disfranchisement: of African Americans, 1, 35,
 45–46, 119; literacy tests and, 35; of
 women, 2
 District of Columbia, 2, 40, 95, 145, 162n3
 Dixon, Thomas, 131
 Doctrina de Martí, 25
 dollar diplomacy, 122–129, 245n41
 Dominican Republic, 12–13, 98, 115–116, 126,
 132, 141, 147, 155
 Dorr v. United States, 226n27
 Downes, Samuel, 50
 Downes v. Bidwell, 6, 50, 53, 55, 82, 87, 98,
 101, 158, 198n26, 264n41
 Dred Scott v. Sandford, 11, 15, 29–30, 51, 54,
 81, 83, 86–87, 169n11, 180n11, 198n23
 Dudziak, Mary, 175n40
 Duncans, Evan, 190n45
 Dunning, William, 131, 167n7

 Edwards, Clarence, 97–98, 112–123, 125,
 127–130
 election boycotts, 19, 35
 El Globo, 22–23
 Elihu Root (Jessup), 186n35
 Elk v. Wilkins, 14, 83
 Ellis Island, 76, 79, 88

Index

269

- El Salvador, 126
 expressive liberties, 101–105, 137–139
- Fajardo, Mateo, 94
 Federación Libre, 44, 68–69, 99, 104–105, 110, 123–124, 127–128, 157
 Federación Regional de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico, 35, 44–45, 70–71, 99, 104–105, 110
 Fifteenth Amendment, 1–2, 10, 106–107, 226n27
 Filipinos (racializing of), 1, 6, 28–31, 52–57, 60–61, 81, 116, 180n11. *See also* Philipines
 Fleming v. Page, 34
 Florida, 128
 Flynn, William, 125
 Fong Yue Ting v. United States, 15
 Foraker, Joseph, 31, 41–43, 59, 69
 Foraker Act, 43, 50, 53–55, 85–87
 The Forging of Bureaucratic Autonomy (Carpenter), 232n52
 Fourteenth Amendment, 1–2, 10–14, 29–30, 41, 51–52, 82–87, 226n27, 265n4
 France, 82–83
 Frankfurter, Felix, 127, 132, 242nn31–32
 Freund, Ernst, 115
 Friedman, Barry, 254n65
 Frymer, Paul, 166n16, 195n7
 Fuller, Melville, 85–87
- García, Gervasio Luis, 182n23
 Garrett, Finis, 129
 Garrison, Lindley, 130
 gender: citizenship and, 26, 41, 52–53, 81–91, 95, 127, 165n12, 187n39, 211n10; Degetau and, 25–26, 83–87; honor and, 3, 18–20, 37, 46, 56, 73, 75–91, 134–135, 211n8, 211n10, 217n42; Isabel Gonzalez's case and, 75–77; labor activism and, 221n7; Puerto Rico's personifications and, 82–97, 111–112, 123–124, 147–148; voting rights and, 1, 11, 17–21, 29–30, 39–40, 82, 85, 109, 122–124, 140, 143, 145–146
 generative avoidance, 216n41, 257n17
 Germany, 14
 Giles v. Harris, 82, 106
 Gillman, Howard, 254n65
 Glorious Revolution, 17
 Gómez, Máximo, 24
 Gómez y Stanley, Alfonso, 63
 Gompers, Samuel: Iglesias and, 67–70, 97–98, 119, 121–122, 135–141, 154–156, 253n58; protectionist outlook of, 67; Puerto Rico's citizenship quest and, 98–105, 123, 129, 133, 249n50; Woodrow Wilson and, 135–138, 152–154. *See also* AFL (American Federation of Labor)
 Gonzalez, Isabel, 6, 74–92, 96, 108, 127–128, 151–152, 259n21
 Gonzalez, Luis, 77, 88
 Gonzalez, Vicente, 62
 Gonzalez v. Williams, 6, 80–92, 98, 101
 Gordon, Robert W., 163n7
 Grant, Ulysses S., 12
 Great Britain, 8, 14, 31, 40–41, 126–127, 264n42
 Great Migration, 156
 Greenwald, Richard A., 237n7, 252n57
 Griffith, D. W., 131
 Griggs, John, 51–53, 55
 Grosvenor, Charles, 190n45
 Guam, 1, 28, 59, 98, 114–115, 147, 233n55
 guano islands, 34, 40, 51
- Haiti, 107, 141, 147
 Haitian Revolution, 20, 23
 Hale, Edward Everett, 102, 223n14
 Harding, Warren, 147, 149
 Harlan, John Marshall II, 160
 Harper's Weekly, 57, 107
 Hartog, Hendrik, 236n3, 249n50
 Hawai'i, 1, 13, 21–22, 26–29, 39, 52, 59, 63–64, 93–94, 98–102, 110–115, 132, 146–147, 203n48
 Hay, John, 60
 Helm, Harvey, 128
 Henry, Guy, 27–28, 35, 61, 178n2
 Hill, David, 63
 Hoar, George, 181n17
 Hodges v. United States, 148, 226n27
 home rule, 4, 40, 66, 100–101, 105–108, 112, 120, 123–135, 149–152, 157
 Honduras, 126
 honor, 3, 18–20, 37, 46, 56, 73, 75–91, 134–135, 211n8, 211n10, 217n42
 Hooven and Allison Company v. Evatt, 264n41
 House of Delegates (PR), 46, 73, 78, 91, 94, 100, 111–112, 117, 133, 138
 Hoyt, Henry, 80–81, 86–87, 117–118
 Hunt, William, 68–70, 207n59

- Iglesias, Santiago: Balzac v. Porto Rico, 158–159; citizenship (U.S.) of, 39, 47–48, 66–71, 120–121, 124, 127–128, 135–141, 157; Degetau and, 69–70; Gompers and, 68–70, 97–98, 119, 121–122, 140–141, 154–156; imprisonment of, 69–70; labor activism of, 5, 47, 66–71, 97–105, 121–123, 135–141, 249n50, 253n58; law-politics power balance and, 49–50, 66–73, 159; Muñoz Rivera and, 24, 43–44, 70, 100–105; New York City period of, 46; racial position of, 24, 26, 38, 44, 49, 69, 71–72, 122–124; as resident commissioner, 157, 263n35; revolutionary ideals of, 23–24; U. S. labor organizations and, 34–36; World War I and, 151–156; Yager and, 136–138
- immigration policies, 6, 19, 28, 40, 44, 50–56, 63–68, 74–103, 109–110, 146, 155–156, 172n22
- Imposing Decency (Findlay), 185n31
- In re Ross, 15, 34
- In re Tapia, 149, 158
- Insular Cases. *See* annexation; citizenship status; race and racialization; statehood; Supreme Court; specific cases
- Interstate Commerce Commission, 115
- IWW (Industrial Workers of the World), 99, 136, 152–153, 251n54
- Jamaica, 40
- James v. Bowman, 226n27
- Japan, 63, 109–110
- Jessup, Philip C., 186n35
- Jim Crow, 4, 10, 35, 122, 131
- Jones, Wesley, 245n41
- Jones, William A., 43, 119, 124, 131–135, 140, 142–143, 242n31, 245n41
- Jones v. United States, 34
- Judge (magazine), 58
- jus soli citizenship, 29, 41, 51–52, 265n4
- Katyal, Neal Kumar, 216n41
- Keck, Thomas M., 166n16, 254n65
- Kennedy, Anthony, 160–161, 265n2
- Kent, Andrew, 226n27
- Klarman, Michael J., 254n65
- Knox, Philander, 118
- Kopel v. Bingham, 118
- Kostiner, Idit, 215n28
- Ku Klux Klan, 10
- labor organizing: AFL and, 7, 47–48, 66–72, 94–105, 110–111, 135–141, 154–156; citizenship and, 7, 47, 66–71, 94–105, 121–122, 128, 135–141, 143, 154–159, 171n21, 203n48, 249n50; expressive liberties and, 101–105, 137–139; gender and, 221n7; Iglesias and, 5, 47, 66–71, 97–105, 121–123, 135–141, 249n50, 253n58; Puerto Rican politics and, 18, 20, 44–46, 63–65, 98–105, 135–141, 153–157, 249n49; race and, 44, 49, 66–69, 71–72, 99–100, 110–111, 154–156, 206n56, 247n44, 251n52; strikes and, 23–24, 35, 44, 69, 98–105, 135–137, 153; World War I and, 150–157. *See also* Iglesias, Santiago; specific labor organizations and political parties
- Lacombe, E. Henry, 77–78
- La Correspondencia, 80
- La Democracia, 106, 109, 111, 126, 133, 228n33
- La Follette, Robert, 119, 141
- La Isla, 22–23
- Lake, Marilyn, 187n39
- Langdell, Christopher Columbus, 30
- La Prensa, 133
- Larrinaga, Tulio, 94, 111
- Latin-American Democratic Association, 125
- law: administrative officials' application of, 49–50, 55–63, 72–78, 94–95, 188n44, 193n3, 198n25; ambiguity and, 3–5, 56, 86–98, 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159, 257n17; application of, beyond national borders, 33–34, 39–41, 46, 53–55, 67, 75–76, 85, 103–106, 114–132, 147, 158–161, 264n41; persons *vs.* places and, 2, 6–7, 56, 60–61, 95–97, 114–118, 122–123, 149–150, 157–159, 226n27, 264n41; *vs.* politics, in importance, 48–50, 52–53, 56–73, 78, 87, 91–93, 96–98, 118, 135–141, 159. *See also* Constitution; immigration policies; Reconstruction Constitution; Supreme Court; tariffs; United States; specific decisions
- Lee, Erika, 172n22
- Lee, Sophia Z., 189n44, 193n3
- Limbach v. Hooven and Allison Company, 264n41
- Lincoln, Abraham, 109
- Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock, 106
- Lopez, Ramón, 59
- Louisiana Purchase, 84, 128
- Love, Eric T., 168n9
- Lowell, Abbott Lawrence, 33–34, 40

Index

271

- Magoon, Charles, 40–41, 51, 55–56, 114, 116, 188n41, 215n35
- Mahan, Alfred T., 8–10, 26
- Marín, Francisco Gonzalo, 151
- Marshall, John, 55
- Martí, José, 20, 23–25, 105, 111, 126, 174n35
- Martin, John, 112
- masculinity. *See* citizenship status; gender; honor
- Mashaw, Jerry L., 198n25
- Masonic lodges, 19
- McGovney, Dudley O., 256n12
- McIntyre, Frank, 116, 130–131, 135–136, 138, 140–141, 145–149, 242n31, 255n2
- McKinley, William, 5, 28–30, 35, 39, 41, 46, 60, 68–69, 84, 179n7
- Merry, Sally Engle, 203n48
- Mexico, 98, 150, 154–155
- Mezey, Naomi, 163n7, 182n20, 249n50
- Miles, Nelson A., 27–28, 44, 178n2
- Minneapolis Tribune, 92
- Minor v. Happersett, 82
- Monroe Doctrine, 98, 141
- Moreno Valerno, Ana, 61, 95–96
- Mormons, 15, 30, 40, 51, 109
- Muñoz Rivera, Luis: Autonomista position of, 20–21, 36, 132–133; Collazo and, 80, 124–125; corruption and, 38, 122–123; Council of Secretaries and, 35; Degetau and, 22–23; electoral politics and, 46–47; Iglesias and, 24, 35, 43, 70, 100–105; newspapers of, 70; New York City period of, 46; Partido Federal and, 36; race and, 37, 109–110, 122, 128–129, 228n34; statehood and, 133–135
- Muratti v. Foote, 149
- Nation, 87
- National War Labor Board, 150, 153–155
- naturalization: allegiance without, 41; American Indians and, 26–29, 43, 52, 59, 65, 81, 93–94, 106, 148–149, 178n2, 194n4, 196n15, 233n55, 255n2; collective, 7, 120, 127–143, 149, 160–161; definitions of, 15–16; oaths and, 28, 40, 59, 78, 84–85, 114–115, 179n3; Puerto Rico's independence and, 133–135; rights attached to, 122–123. *See also* annexation; citizenship status; Dred Scott v. Sandford; statehood
- Navy Yard, 94–95
- Needham, Charles, 53
- Nelson, Knute, 30
- New Mexico, 15, 30–32, 39, 128, 140
- New York All-Americas Chamber of Commerce, 133
- New York Evening Post, 70
- New York Independent, 78, 93
- New York Sun, 112
- New York Times, 70–71, 72, 74, 79, 88–91, 152
- New York Tribune, 42, 88, 116
- New Zealand, 105
- Nicaragua, 126, 147
- Nineteenth amendment, 145–146
- nonjudicial officials (as Constitution's interpreters), 49–50, 55–63, 72–78, 94–95, 188n44, 193n3, 198n25
- Northwest Ordinance, 11
- Novak, William J., 216n41
- oaths of allegiance, 28, 40, 59, 78, 84–85, 114–115, 179n3
- Oklahoma, 140
- Olmsted, Marlin, 116–117
- Our Islands and Their People (Bryan), 66, 67
- PAFL (Pan-American Federation of Labor), 154–157
- Pagán, Genera, 145–146
- Panama Canal Zone, 100–101, 107, 110, 114–116, 126, 132, 142, 147
- Parker, Kunal M., 207n59
- Parsons, Herbert, 113–115
- Partido Autonomista, 19–20, 174n35; Degetau and, 22–23; race and, 24–26
- Partido Federal, 36–37, 43, 45–46, 70, 94
- Partido Incondicional, 17–19
- Partido Liberal, 17, 19–20
- Partido Republicano, 42–43, 69–73, 91, 93–94, 100–105
- Partido Revolucionario Cubano, 20, 24–25, 94
- Partido Unionista, 94, 96, 102–104, 108–112, 118–129, 132–133, 140, 150, 244n38, 245n40
- patronage, 21, 38–39, 60, 111, 150–151
- “Peace without Victory” speech (Wilson), 141–143
- Peru, 155
- Philippine Independence Act, 159
- Philippine Organic Act, 33, 75–76, 98, 112–113
- Philippines: AFL's activity in, 98; annexation of, 4–5, 67, 98, 179n7; independence of, 7, 42, 97, 159; Japan and, 110; Puerto Rico's connection to, 6, 37, 39–42, 52–53, 55–56, 59–61, 66, 68, 78, 81, 84–87, 93–94, 101,

- 106, 112, 114–115, 124–125, 132, 147–148, 159, 190n45; racialization of, 1, 6, 28–32, 52–57, 60–61, 81, 116, 180n11; Spanish American War and, 21–22, 27–28; Spanish rule over, 16–21; U. S. sovereignty over, 26–27, 31–34, 39, 44, 106, 113–114, 116; World War I and, 145–146
- Plessy v. Ferguson, 3, 61–62, 82
- politics-law balance of power, 48–50, 52–53, 56–73, 78, 87, 91–93, 96–98, 118, 135–141, 159
- Polletta, Francesca, 246n42
- Populist Party, 10–11, 35
- Porto Rico American Tobacco Company, 136
- Porto Rico Review, 105
- Post, Regis, 101
- Pratt, Richard, 65–66
- Privileges and Immunities Clause (of the Fourteenth Amendment), 9, 11–12, 41, 43, 82, 85
- Puck (magazine), 31
- Puerto Rican American League, 106
- Puerto Rican Commission, 25–26, 94
- Puerto Ricans: as aliens, 1, 42, 74–87, 96, 98, 146, 218n47; annexation disagreements among, 21–22, 25–26; as children, 17, 22, 32, 40, 52–53, 56, 66, 81–87, 95, 147–149; citizenship's appeal to, 7, 117–119, 122–123, 135–141, 155; diasporic populations of, 7, 46, 73–80, 124–125, 133, 151–152, 259n23; double citizenship of, 85–87; as Hawaiian laborers, 63–65; honor of, 3, 18–20, 37, 46, 56, 73, 75–91, 134–135, 211n8, 211n10, 217n42; Isabel Gonzalez's case and, 74–87; mobility of, 6, 19, 28, 40–41, 44, 50–56, 63–68, 74–103, 109–110, 146, 156, 160–161; racialization of, 3–11, 24–26, 31, 36–37, 41–43, 45–46, 51–52, 56–66, 80–87, 93, 97–98, 102–112, 116, 122–123, 126, 128–141, 146–148, 151, 160–161, 167n7, 191n46, 223n14, 228n34, 240n26, 256n4, 260n28; Spanish American War and, 21–22; Spanish rule and, 4–5, 9, 16–21; as subjects, 85–87, 131–132, 139; voting rights and, 1, 11, 17–21, 29–30, 39–40, 82, 85, 109, 122–124, 140–141, 143, 161. *See also* citizenship status; labor organizing; specific people
- Puerto Rican Socialist Party, 140–141
- Puerto Rico: AFL's relationship with, 47–48, 121–122; ambiguity and, 3–5, 56, 86–98, 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159, 257n17; American corporations in, 121–122, 125–127, 135–141; annexation of, 1, 39–42, 98; Constitution's applicability in, 56–71, 85, 103–105, 121–122, 124–127, 131–132, 153–154, 242n31; corruption in, 38, 66–71, 135–136; electoral politics in, 34–36, 43–46; gendering of, 82–97, 111–112, 123–124, 147–148; home rule movement and, 4, 40, 66, 100–101, 105–108, 112, 119–120, 123–135, 149–152; honor-based norms and, 3, 18–20, 37, 46, 56, 73, 75–91, 134–135, 211n8, 211n10, 217n42; independence movement in, 22, 133–135; invasion of, 27–28; labor activism in, 43–46, 98–105, 135–141, 153–154, 156–157, 249n49; as Latin America's harbinger, 105–108; nonvoting delegate to the House of, 41–42, 78–79; patronage politics in, 21, 38–39, 60, 111, 150–151; Philippines' connection to, 37, 39–42, 52–53, 55–57, 59–61, 66, 67, 78, 81, 84–87, 93–94, 101, 106, 112, 114–115, 124–125, 132, 147–148, 159, 189n45; racial caste system on, 17–21, 24–26, 38, 44–46, 56–72, 97–99, 102–105, 108–110, 117–118, 122–123, 126, 128–129, 146–147, 160–161, 176n47; resident commissioner post of, 42–43, 46; Spain's governance of, 4–5, 60, 83–84, 137; statehood and, 5, 36–37, 51–52, 140, 149–151; strategic geographical position of, 8–10, 141–142; sugar economy of, 99–100, 103, 133, 135–137, 153–154, 181n17; tariffs and, 28, 42, 50, 53–54, 75–76, 110, 123–124, 242n32; U.S. imperial governance over, 5, 35–41, 51, 68–71, 102–103, 112–119, 142–143, 145–146; World War I and, 141–148, 152–153. *See also* annexation; Bureau of Insular Affairs; citizenship status; Constitution; statehood; territorial nonincorporation; specific people and political parties
- Puerto Rico Herald, 108, 228n33
- race and racialization: annexation efforts and, 3–4, 6, 8–9, 13, 15–16, 29–30, 45–46, 77–78, 80–87, 112–119, 126; citizenship and, 5, 11–13, 21–22, 37, 41–42, 80–87, 122–123, 126, 129–132, 146–148, 151, 191n46, 214n20, 223n14, 226n27, 228n34; colonial independence movements and, 21–22; Degetau and, 22–23, 25–26, 50–51, 70–71; Filipinos and, 1, 6, 28–32, 52–53, 55–57,

- 60–61, 81, 116, 180n11; gender and, 41–42; Haitian Revolution and, 20, 23; honor and, 3, 18–20, 37, 46, 56, 73, 75–91, 134–135, 211n8, 211n10, 217n42; immigration administration and, 6, 19, 28, 40, 44, 50–56, 63–68, 74–82, 86–103, 109–110, 146, 155, 172n22; labor movements and, 44, 49, 66–71, 99, 155–156, 206n56, 247n44; paternalism and, 37–38, 83–87; Puerto Ricans and, 6, 16–21, 24–26, 44–45, 51–52, 57, 65–66, 71–72, 97–98, 102–105, 107–110, 116, 127–129, 147–148, 151, 160–161, 256n4; Republican Party's positions on, 6, 36–37, 41–42, 70, 93; self-governance and, 31–32, 38–40, 52, 56–57, 59, 63–64, 81, 83–84, 108, 111–114, 122–123, 126, 147–149, 161, 180n11; Spanish colonialism and, 17–21, 24–26; statehood and, 8–9, 30–31, 168n9; white supremacy and, 3–11, 21–22, 25–26, 29–32, 41–43, 97, 105–112, 128–141, 146–147, 167n7, 187n39, 240n26, 256n4. *See also* citizenship status; Democratic Party; United States
- Race over Empire (Love), 168n9
- Ralston, Jackson, 158–159
- Ramírez Quiñones, Ubaldo, 145–146
- Rana, Aziz, 198n23
- rapto, 77, 88, 90, 211n10
- Rasmussen v. United States, 226n27
- Reconstruction, Political and Economic (Dunning), 131
- Reconstruction Constitution: administrative officials' interpretations of, 49–50, 55–63, 72–78, 94–95, 188n44, 193n3, 198n25; ambiguity and, 3–5, 56, 86–98, 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159, 257n17; annexation's complications and, 2, 8–16, 26–27, 39–43, 46, 51–53, 128–129, 181n17; citizenship status and, 2, 49–52, 80, 97–98, 121–122, 128–129, 142–144; definitions of, 2; federal power and, 14–16; Spanish American War and, 21–22; statehood and, 2, 49–52, 128–129, 144; territorial nonincorporation and, 7, 158–159. *See also* annexation; citizenship status; Constitution; statehood; specific amendments
- Redemption (Southern political order), 10–11, 39, 88, 108–110, 124–127, 129–132
- Reid v. Covert, 160
- Reily, E. Montgomery, 147–148, 152
- Republican Party: annexation and, 3–4, 7, 53–55, 93, 97–98, 101, 105–108, 112–119, 127–129; carpetbagger imagery and, 10, 43, 108–110, 112, 116–117, 119, 125, 131–135; Degetau's appeals to, 6, 23, 56–59; good governance and, 38–43, 112–119, 121–122, 125, 127–129; labor's opposition in, 110–112; pro-imperialism positions of, 30–31; rights-poor citizenship and, 121–122, 131–135
- revenue clauses (of the Constitution), 147–148, 151, 242n31
- Reynolds, Henry, 187n39
- Rezvani, David A., 264n42
- Richards, John, 51, 53
- rights: ambiguity and, 3–5, 56, 86–98, 114–120, 122–129, 142–146, 158–159, 257n17; annexation's connection to, 39–40; children and, 17, 22, 32, 40, 52–53, 56, 66, 81–87, 95, 147–149; citizenship status and, 2, 11–12, 31–36, 42, 43, 51, 86–87, 94–97, 117–120, 125–135, 142–143, 146, 148–149; expressive liberties and, 101–105, 137–139; gender and, 57–58, 124, 145–146, 164n12; voting rights and, 1, 11, 17–21, 29–30, 39–40, 82, 85, 106, 108–109, 119, 122–124, 140–141, 143, 151, 161, 228n34. *See also* annexation; citizenship status; Constitution; Puerto Rico; race and racialization; territorial nonincorporation
- Roberts, F. C., 140, 153–154, 252n57
- Rodríguez, Juan, 94–95
- Roosevelt, Theodore, 60–61, 68–70, 76, 94, 98, 104, 107, 111, 113, 118
- Root, Elihu, 39–42, 51, 98, 113, 118, 125–126, 133, 179n7, 245n41
- Rossy, Manuel, 91, 93
- Russian Revolution, 99
- Russo-Japanese War, 109
- Sanabria, Carlos, 182n23
- Sanchez Morales, Luis, 89
- San Francisco Examiner, 64
- San Juan Times, 150
- Sarat, Austin, 251n52
- Schiller, Reuel E., 195n7
- Schmidt, Thomas P., 216n41
- Schomberg, Arturo, 151
- “School Begins” (Dalrymple), 31–32
- Selective Service Act, 145
- Separate Car Act (Louisiana), 10–11

- Seward, William, 12
 Shafroth, John, 141
 Shanton, George, 234n57
 “She Can’t Resist Him” (cartoon), 92
 Sherer, Joan, 190n45
 Showronek, Stephen, 165n13
 Silverstein, Gordon, 254n65, 257n17
 Slaughter-House Cases, 8, 11–12, 30, 82–83
 slavery: annexation issues and, 45–46, 168n9;
 in the Caribbean, 16–21, 25–26, 37–38,
 57–59; U. S. abolition of, 9, 11. *See also*
 citizenship status; labor organizing; race and
 racialization; white supremacy
 Socialist Labor Party, 44, 157, 253n58
 Spain: Black Legend and, 31–32, 35–37;
 Caribbean presence of, 8–10; Degetau’s
 whitening of, 56–58; Glorious Revolution
 and, 17; imperial policies of, 16–21; Puerto
 Rico’s governance by, 9, 16–21; racialization
 and, 17–21
 Spalding, John, 66
 Spanish American War, 3, 21–22, 27–29,
 179n7
 Sparrow, Bartholomew H., 254n65
 Spectator, 12
 statehood: annexation and, 27–30, 149–151,
 158–159; citizenship and, 51–52, 128–129,
 133–135, 151; Dred Scott v. Sandford and,
 11, 15, 40; race and, 8–9, 12–13, 15;
 Reconstruction Constitution and, 2, 12–13,
 21–22, 49–50
 Stimson, Henry, 128–129
 strikes, 23–24, 35, 44, 69, 98–105,
 135–137, 153
 Suárez Findlay, Eileen J., 211n8
 suffrage, 1, 11, 17–21, 29–30, 39–40, 82, 85,
 109, 122–124, 140, 143. *See also* citizenship
 status; disfranchisement; gender; Puerto
 Ricans; race and racialization
 Sunstein, Cass, 216n41
 Supreme Court: ambiguity and, 6, 9–10, 86–87,
 93, 97–98, 107–108, 118–119, 142–144,
 149, 158–159, 257n17; Isabel Gonzalez’s
 case and, 75–78, 80–87; Puerto Rico/ans’
 status and, 6; race and, 15–16; territorial
 nonincorporation and, 158–159. *See also*
 specific cases
 Taft, William Howard, 111–112, 116, 119,
 122–123, 127–128, 158–159, 218n47
 Tammany Hall, 39–40, 151–152
 Taney, Roger B., 43, 52–53, 169n11
 tariffs, 23, 27, 34, 50, 53–54, 75–76, 100–105,
 110, 123–124, 133, 170n15, 242n32
 territorial nonincorporation, 2, 6–7, 56, 60–61,
 95–97, 114–115, 118, 122–123, 149–150,
 157–159, 226n27, 264n41
 territories. *See* annexation; citizenship status;
 Democratic Party; race and racialization;
 Republican Party; statehood; specific
 territories
 Thatcher, América Iglesias, 263n37
 Thayer, James Bradley, 226n27
 Thirteenth Amendment, 1–2, 11, 137;
 applicability of, in Puerto Rico, 40
 Tillman, Benjamin, 146
 tobacco trade, 123–124
 Torres, Juan, 89
 Torres-Mary, Belinda, 259n21
 trade agreements, 13–14, 19, 23, 28, 34, 41, 50,
 133, 245n41
 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 84
 Treaty of Paris, 39, 83–84, 86, 179n7
 Trías Monge, José, 161
 Trinidad, 40
 Tropicales (Muñoz Rivera), 80
 turbas, 45–46, 70–71
 Tuskegee Institute, 65–66
 “Uncle Sam’s Burden” (cartoon), 71, 72
 Uncle Tom’s Cabin (Stowe), 57–59
 Union League Club, 39
 United Mine Workers, 140, 247n44
 United States: annexation policies and, 1–5,
 8–13, 54–55, 142–143; Caribbean’s strategic
 value to, 8–10, 21–22; dollar diplomacy of,
 122–129, 245n41; European colonialism
 and, 8, 14, 31, 40–41, 82–83, 98, 112–119,
 126–127, 151, 264n42; exceptionalism of,
 43–44; guano islands and, 34–35, 51;
 hemispheric hegemony of, 98–99, 107,
 112–119, 126, 130–132, 141–143, 147, 150,
 155, 245n41; immigration policies of, 6, 19,
 28, 40, 44, 50–56, 63–68, 74–103, 109–110,
 146, 155–156; imperial rule by, 5–7, 13–16,
 26–34, 36–39, 43–44, 100–106, 112–119,
 122–143, 198n23; paternalism of, 83–87;
 racial othering and, 1–2, 24–26, 38, 50–51,
 56–66, 80–87, 105–108, 122–123, 127–128,
 160–161, 168n9, 176n47, 180n11, 223n14,
 228n34, 256n4; tariff agreements and,
 50–51, 53–54, 75–76, 110, 123–124, 133,
 170n15, 242n32; whiteness and, 1, 3–11,
 29–32, 41–43, 63–64, 65–66, 97, 105–112,

Index

275

- 128–141, 156, 167n7, 187n39, 223n14, 228n34, 240n26, 256n4. *See also* annexation; Constitution; race and racialization; statehood; Supreme Court; specific governmental agencies, people, and political parties
 United States v. Celestine, 149
 United States v. Kagama, 14
 United States v. Nice, 149
 United States v. Verdugo-Urquidez, 265n2
 United States v. Wong Kim Ark, 15–16, 29–30
 U. S. Virgin Islands, 12, 141, 147, 155
 Utah, 15, 51. *See also* Mormons
- Vardaman, James, 134, 141, 245n39
 Vega, Bernardo, 151
 Venezuela, 14, 155
 Vest, George Graham, 30, 180n11
 Vignarajah, Krishanti, 163n6
 Viñals, Adolfo, 75–77, 88
- wage theft, 136
 Walsh, Frank, 153
 War Department, 5–6, 28, 39–41, 46, 50, 55, 112–114, 127, 142–149, 154–155, 188n44, 233n55
 War Labor Conference Board, 153
 Washington, Booker T., 65
 Washington Evening Star, 113
 Washington Post, 113
 Weeks, John, 148–149
 Weinrib, Laura, 251n52
 Wheelock, William, 93
 White, Edward Douglass, 6, 54–55, 101, 194n6, 198n23, 226n27
 “The White Man’s Burden (Apologies to Kipling)” (cartoon), 58
 white supremacy, 3–11, 30–31, 41–43, 97, 105–112, 128–141, 167n7, 240n26. *See also* race and racialization
 Whittington, Keith E., 166n16, 195n7, 254n65
 Wickersham, George, 118
 Williams, William, 76
 Wilson, William, 140, 155, 158
 Wilson, Woodrow, 7, 125, 130, 132–133, 135–138, 141–143, 147, 153–154, 240n26
 Winthrop, Beekman, 104
 women. *See* citizenship status; disfranchisement; gender; honor
 World War I, 133, 136–137, 141–145, 155, 255n2
 Wounded Knee, 14
- Yager, Arthur, 130, 137, 140, 150, 152–155, 158–159, 242n31, 245n39