"Foreign in a Domestic Sense"

HISPANIC AMERICANS IN CONGRESS DURING THE AGE OF U.S. COLONIALISM AND GLOBAL EXPANSION, 1898–1945

On October 15, 1900, *La correspondencia*, a San Juan daily newspaper, described the qualities of a Resident Commissioner, a position recently created by the Foraker Act (31 Stat. 77–86) to provide Puerto Rico with representation in the U.S. House. The writer stated that such a "representative must be worthy of the trust of those he represents. He must earn that trust through his history, which is a record of the things he has accomplished for the good of the homeland, a justification of his intellectual qualities, a demonstration of his character, and evidence of his love of freedom."[1] Yet, the first Resident Commissioner, Federico Degetau, was not even allowed to set foot on the House Floor when the 57th Congress (1901–1903) assembled in December 1901. Many in Congress questioned the very existence of the position of Resident Commissioner and the ability of Puerto Ricans to participate in a democratic society. Many Members of Congress were confused by the island's ambiguous position within the United States, classified as neither a state nor a territory. "Now, Mr. Chairman, Puerto Rico is either in the United States or out of it," Representative Amos Cummings of New York declared during debate on the Foraker Act. "If the island is out of the United States, we have no business legislating for her here in any way whatever, and if she is in the United States, she is in the same condition as Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and the other Territories." He concluded by suggesting facetiously that the Foraker Act "ought to be amended so as to be entitled, 'An act to make a temporary purgatory for the island of Puerto Rico.'"[2]

The colonial conquests of the late 19th century, particularly in Puerto Rico and the Philippines, marked the first time the U.S. took control over large indigenous

---

An 1898 map depicts the Caribbean basin and prominent battles of the Spanish-American War, along with inserts of Havana and Santiago, Cuba, and San Juan, Puerto Rico. The war spanned from the Caribbean to the Pacific islands of Guam and the Philippines.

Eugenia A. Wheeler Goff, *Goff's Historical Map of the Spanish-American War in the West Indies*, map (Chicago: Fort Dearborn Publishing Company, 1899); from Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, http://www.loc.gov/item/98687149

AUTHENTICATED U.S. GOVERNMENT INFORMATION GPO

Goff's Historical Map of the SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR IN THE WEST INDIES, 1898

Copyrighted, 1899, by Eugenia Wheeler Goff, and Henry Slade Goff, authors of Goff's Historical Maps for Schools and Families.

FORT DEARBORN PUB. CO.
MAP ENGRAVERS AND PUBLISHERS
CHICAGO, ILL.

SHEETS, SHEET
COPY
INDEXED
West Indies
G&S-1898-63

This image of Ladislas Lazaro of Louisiana was taken during his first term of congressional service. Elected on the strength of Woodrow Wilson's 1912 progressive platform, Lazaro served for eight terms (1913–1927) until his death in March 1927.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

populations outside the continental United States. The newly acquired territories had little or nothing in common with Anglo-American culture and political traditions, and the United States sought to manage them on a long-term basis, with the expectation that they would remain territories rather than incorporated states. Their assimilation was particularly difficult given the prevailing race relations in the United States, which led to the systematic disfranchisement and segregation of African-American citizens. An influx of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, as well as Asia, changed the racial and ethnic composition of many U.S. regions and heightened nativist fears about increasing urban poverty and labor tension.[3]

Of all the Hispanic Americans elected to Congress before the end of the Second World War, the overwhelming majority (17 of 25, or 68 percent) were statutory representatives, Delegates or Resident Commissioners with circumscribed legislative powers that were defined by Congress rather than the Constitution. A century of American hemispheric expansion and colonial acquisition shaped these positions. Not until 1913, when Ladislas Lazaro of Louisiana entered the House, did a Hispanic American represent in Congress a state or territory that had not been ceded by the Spanish empire or the Mexican government.

More than half the Hispanic Members of Congress who were first elected between 1898 and 1945 were Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners, a new class of statutory representative. Their story dominates that of the Hispanic Members during this era, and their careers were characterized by their attempts to balance the island's local needs with its economic, political, and cultural interests, which were all increasingly intertwined with the United States. The story of New Mexican Members is separate but parallel to that of the Puerto Ricans in the early 20th century. Only Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico bridged the gap in the 1940s. In the first clear example of surrogate representation among Latino Members, Chavez addressed issues that were significant to Hispanics beyond his prescribed state boundary when he focused on the economic needs of Puerto Ricans following World War II.[4]

But with no more than three Hispanic individuals serving simultaneously throughout this era—an insufficient number to create a voting bloc or an issues caucus—legislating was often lonely and isolating. Luis Muñoz Rivera, the poet-turned-politician, clearly understood this reality. Like the New Mexico Delegates before him and the Resident Commissioners who would follow him, he labored under the constraints of House Rules that limited his ability to represent and legislate. His awareness of being relegated to the margins of institutional power magnified Muñoz Rivera's sense that he was engaged in a solitary undertaking. Serving as Resident Commissioner in the 1910s, he wrote a friend in Puerto Rico, "I am here alone, in tomb-like isolation, mixing with people who speak a different tongue, who have no affinity with my way of life, who are not even hostile … but indifferent, cold, and rough as the granite stones which support their big Capitol."[5]

PRECONGRESSIONAL AND WASHINGTON EXPERIENCES

Family/Ethnic Roots

The Hispanic Members of Congress of this era were products of an increasingly interconnected geopolitical landscape. Nearly half (seven of 15) were born outside the United States. Five were born in Puerto Rico under Spanish rule; one was born in Mexico (Larrazolo), one was born in Spain (Iglesias), and another spent much of his youth in Spain (Degetau). Those who were American citizens from birth lived in Louisiana or the New Mexico Territory nearly their entire lives. Like 19th-century *nuevomexicano* politicians, who hailed from politically connected families, Delegate Pedro Perea followed his cousin Francisco Perea and brother-in-law Mariano Otero into politics. Puerto Rican politicians, too, had familial connections. Resident Commissioner Luis Muñoz Rivera's son, Luis Muñoz Marín, was a major figure in Puerto Rican politics throughout the middle of the 20th century, serving as Puerto Rico's first elected governor from 1948 to 1964. Félix Córdova Dávila's son, Jorge Luis Córdova-Diaz, served as Resident Commissioner from 1969 to 1973. Santiago Iglesias took on Bolívar Pagán as his protégé, and according to one account raised him after his parents died.[6] Pagán eventually married Iglesias's daughter and served out his late father-in-law's term.

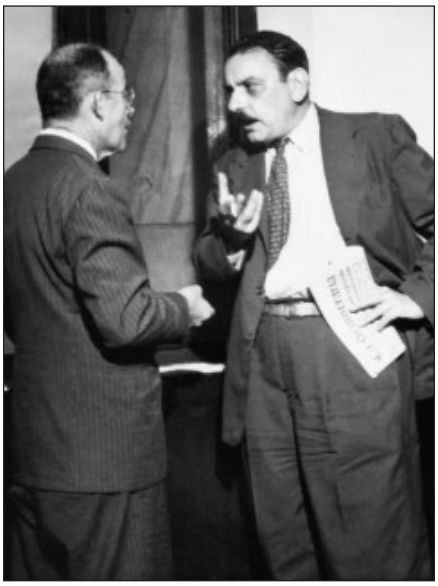
Age Relative to the Rest of the Congressional Population

The cohort of Hispanic Americans who entered Congress between 1898 and 1945 was slightly older (47 years old) than the average group of Members when they were first elected (45 years old) and far older than the first generation of Hispanic Americans in Congress, who were on average a decade younger (36.5 years). While this difference in age can be explained by the trend toward older Members entering Congress, it is also attributable to the fact that these Hispanic lawmakers spent the first part of their careers deeply involved in state or territorial politics. Because of their advanced age, six of the 15 died in office.

During this era, the oldest Hispanic Member in Congress at the time of his first election was Octaviano Larrazolo of New Mexico, who was elected at age 69 to a brief and symbolic term as the first Hispanic Senator. The youngest Hispanic Member during this era was 34-year-old Representative Joachim O. Fernández of Louisiana, a former state legislator who hitched his political wagon to Huey P. Long's insurgent political machine in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

Education, Professions, and Prior Political Experience

In most other respects, the members of this group mirrored their contemporary House colleagues. Eighty percent had some college education, with roughly half studying law.[7] Five (Degetau, Larrazolo, Pagán, Félix Córdova Dávila, and José Pesquera) were practicing lawyers. Five (Degetau, Muñoz Rivera, Iglesias, Pagán, and Néstor Montoya) were journalists or writers, which was a direct route to political office for many Puerto Ricans in this era.



The son of Resident Commissioner Luis Muñoz Rivera, Luis Muñoz Marín (right) dominated Puerto Rican politics as a party leader, president of the Puerto Rican senate, and governor of the Puerto Rican commonwealth for more than two decades.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

With regard to political experience, the members of this group stood out from their House contemporaries. All but two of the 15 Hispanic Members of Congress in this era (87 percent) served in statewide or territory-wide office; 12 of them served in their state legislatures before their election to Congress.[8] By comparison, less than half the House membership had experience in statewide office during this same period. Some of the Hispanic Members also had held key leadership posts at the state or territorial level. In 1903 Néstor Montoya was the speaker of the New Mexico territorial assembly; Pagán was both president *pro tempore* and majority floor leader in the Puerto Rican senate in the 1930s. In 1932, longtime judge Félix Córdova Dávila resigned his post as Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner to serve on the insular supreme court.

D.C. Residences and Careerism in Congress

During this era, as more politicians began to view Congress as a career rather than as a stepping stone to another position, Members began relocating their families to Washington, D.C. From their arrival, Representative Ladislas Lazaro of Louisiana and his family were fixtures of Washington society. When Lazaro's daughter Eloise debuted in 1913, the *Washington Post* ran a large photograph of her, pronouncing her "one of the most beautiful of the younger members of the congressional set."[9] Another Lazaro daughter, Elaine, married South Trimble, Jr., son of the longtime and popular Clerk of the House.

In this 1928 photo, newly elected New Mexican Senator Octaviano Larrazolo and his daughter Marie pose on the steps of the U.S. Capitol. Larrazolo's election as the first *Hispano* governor of New Mexico inspired other *Hispano* candidates to run for elected office.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Like most Resident Commissioners, Luis Muñoz Rivera spent much of his time in the capital as a bachelor. He resided in the upscale neighborhoods of northwest Washington, D.C., along with many other Members of Congress. For a time he rented an apartment in The Highlands, just off Connecticut Avenue near the Kalorama neighborhood; he later moved to The Benedick, a bachelor apartment just west of the White House on I Street. His teenage son, Luis, lived with him while attending Georgetown Preparatory High School and Georgetown Law School. Like many congressional family members of the time, Luis took a position as his father's personal secretary, working in his office on the second floor of the House Office Building (now the Cannon House Office Building).[10]

Santiago Iglesias employed members of his large family in his congressional office. He brought several of his daughters to the city after his election, taking up residence in an apartment in the Wisteria Mansions on Massachusetts Avenue near the American Federation of Labor (AFL) building, where he had spent time in labor organization efforts. He later purchased a four-bedroom duplex on Porter Street in northwest Washington, into which he moved his family, after renting out his home in San Juan. Iglesias's daughters, Libertad and Igualdad, were two of the three staff members in his congressional office. His daughter Laura took over Igualdad's position when she married Resident Commissioner Bolívar Pagán in 1933.[11]

Unlike Representatives, who moved into the House Office Building right away, Resident Commissioners received their office assignments in 1910, two years after the building opened.[12] New Mexico Representative Néstor Montoya described the building's amenities: "This building, which is located two blocks from the capitol, has couriers for the members, telephone and telegraph offices,

special restaurants and everything needed for comfort."[13] At the time, most Members kept only a skeleton staff in Washington and maintained no official district staff or offices. Ladislas Lazaro, for instance, had one full-time staffer: a personal secretary, Isom Guillory, from his home town of Ville Platte. His closest political confidant was J. P. Trosclair, the postmaster in Opelousas, one of the largest towns in his sprawling southwestern Louisiana district. Because Lazaro often spent long stretches of time in Washington with his family, he did not have the benefit of a politically astute wife or child in the district. During Lazaro's first several terms, Trosclair was his eyes and ears in his home district, and he became adept at sniffing out Lazaro's potential primary challengers. Lazaro relied on Trosclair to analyze local politics, to pass messages to political allies, and to promote stories about his legislative successes.

PUERTO RICO

The predominant development in the story of Hispanic-American Members of Congress during this era was the ambiguous absorption of Puerto Rico into the national fold. The island territory was neither fully part of the United States nor an independent country. "Since [Puerto Rico] was subject to the sovereignty of and was owned by the United States, *it was foreign to the United States in a domestic sense*," pronounced Justice Henry Brown in the Supreme Court's landmark *Downes v. Bidwell* (182 U.S. 244) decision in 1901—which was intended to clarify the island's position, but ended up only adding a new layer of uncertainty instead.[14] Primarily as a result of this contradic decision, Congress governed Puerto Rico through a series of statutes that enabled the United States to extract island resources and exploit its strategic location at the center of the Caribbean while paying little attention to the economic, cultural, and political realities on the island. Lawmakers found themselves in the position of "fabricat[ing] the jurisdictional fiction of an unincorporated territory," notes a scholar, effectively "relegating the island to the perpetual status of a ward who will never become part of his patron's family."[15]

U.S. Expansionism and the Caribbean

Although the United States began acquiring Caribbean territories in the late 1800s, the impetus for such acquisitions was based on Manifest Destiny—the concept that the United States had a moral claim on territory stretching to the Pacific Ocean and beyond—and on the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, which asserted that European nations should not meddle in the Western Hemisphere. The desire for security and control of economic resources such as sugar and tobacco also fueled some U.S. policymakers' ambitions for Caribbean territory during the antebellum era.[16]

Though the Civil War temporarily halted America's focus on the Caribbean, by the 1880s, large American businesses sought new markets, and the U.S. government desired influence beyond the North American continent. Within U.S. society, the emergence of a social elite and the travels of entrepreneurs, tourists, missionaries, and settlers also encouraged the public to look at expanding the United States' role in world affairs. Even anti-expansionists such as President Grover Cleveland had a mixed record as far as pursuing an aggressive foreign

Opened in 1908, the House Office Building (now named for Speaker Joe Cannon of Illinois), pictured above, enabled Members to conduct business in comfortable offices and convene hearings in larger committee rooms.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

A prominent Civil War veteran, William McKinley of Ohio served for seven terms in the House before being elected governor of Ohio. Elected President in 1896, McKinley was felled by an assassin in Buffalo, New York, in September 1901, six months into his second term.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

The accidental sinking of the U.S.S. *Maine* in Havana's harbor killed 266 U.S. sailors. With a rallying cry, "Remember the Maine, to hell with Spain," many newspapers blamed Spain for the incident. Popular sentiment compelled Congress to declare war in April 1898.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

policy and checking U.S. expansionist initiatives in the early 1890s.[17] Territorial expansion was a key platform for President William McKinley during the 1896 and 1900 elections, especially the expansion southward into the Caribbean where an American-owned isthmian canal was being built to connect the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.[18]

Spanish-American War

When Cuban revolutionaries began calling for independence from Spain in 1895, the United States found itself in an awkward situation given Cuba's proximity and its strategic Caribbean location. The American press began sensationalizing the events in Cuba, and popular opinion rallied behind the revolutionaries. McKinley and his deputies pressured Spanish officials to stop the uprising before it became uncontrollable, warning that failure to comply might precipitate American intervention.[19]

By February 1898 the diplomatic situation had deteriorated and the relationship between the U.S. and Spain was tottering. The explosion on February 15 of the U.S.S. *Maine*, an American battleship newly arrived in Havana Harbor, killed 266 sailors and became the tipping point for American intervention. Though the circumstances of the explosion were unclear, many, including some in Congress, blamed Spain.[20] President McKinley resisted the immediate calls for war, but with conditions in Cuba expected to worsen, he acknowledged the conflict in a message to Congress on April 11.[21] He blamed Spain and demanded an end to the war to protect U.S. interests and promote peace in the Caribbean. The House voted 325 to 19 in favor of war, passing a joint resolution that stopped short of recognizing an independent Cuban government. But the Senate added language to the House measure recognizing the Cuban Republic three days later on April 16, by a 67 to 21 vote.[22] When the conference committee convened, negotiations lasted until after one o'clock in the morning. The final resolution acknowledged Cuban freedom but did not acknowledge Cuba as a republic. Congress formally declared war on April 25.[23]

On July 25, 1898, the United States invaded Puerto Rico as part of an American strategy to capture Spanish holdings in the Caribbean. The Spanish Army put up little resistance to the invasion, and some rural peasants even formed mobile bands to resist their former colonizers.[24] Two future Resident Commissioners watched the assault from different perspectives. As a leader in the Autonomist Party and having recently won home rule for Puerto Rico from the Spanish government, Luis Muñoz Rivera watched the invasion with dismay. His political rival, Santiago Iglesias, whom Muñoz Rivera had imprisoned for his labor agitation at the outbreak of the war, nearly died when an American shell struck the prison. Upon his release, he aided the American invaders by serving as an interpreter. Hostilities ended August 12, 1898, and the United States installed a military government in Puerto Rico on October 18. The Treaty of Paris, which was signed December 10, 1898, ended the war, with Spain ceding Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. Among those present at the treaty's signing in France was future Resident Commissioner Federico Degetau.

Overview of Puerto Rican Politics, 1898–1900

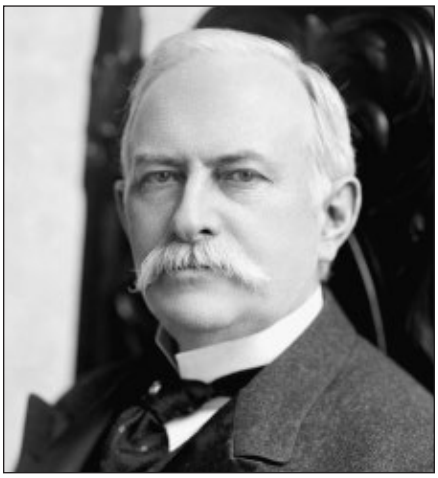
Puerto Rican politics differed from those of the other islands in the Spanish Caribbean and from those of other U.S. territories. Unlike Cuba and the Dominican Republic—which were characterized by revolutionary militarism and authoritarianism, respectively—Puerto Rico followed a tradition of working within the existing colonial system to liberalize civil government on the island.[25] By the time the United States acquired Puerto Rico at the end of the Spanish-American War the island's political elite, who would shape the first generation of relations with the United States, already had a long history of working within a colonial framework. By 1869 the Spanish Cortes in Madrid had seated the first Puerto Rican delegates. Over time Puerto Rican businessmen and politicians became inclined to favor "electoral and parliamentary solutions to its colonial dilemma," thus reinforcing "a defining characteristic of the island's political culture," relative economic stability with rigid class lines.[26]

Autonomists, who sought self-rule within the Spanish imperial orbit, dominated island politics by the 1880s. They formed Liberal and Conservative factions that often reflected the platforms of major parties in Madrid. Moreover, they constantly advanced their case for ever-greater measures of home rule by contrasting the island's record as a faithful outpost of the empire with Cuba's insurrectionist movement. For instance, the Autonomist faction, led by Luis Muñoz Rivera, contributed "loyalty and support for the Liberal Party in the Spanish Cortes in exchange for concessions of enhanced self-rule." Muñoz Rivera declared to Spanish officials, "We are Spaniards and wrapped in the Spanish flag we shall die."[27] He and future Resident Commissioner Federico Degetau were among those who traveled to Madrid in 1895 to secure home rule for Puerto Rico from the Spanish government.

The United States' victory in the Spanish-American War moved Puerto Rico's trajectory away from self-rule, frustrating and traumatizing Puerto Rico's political elites "to the extent that more than a century later, those wounds continued to ooze with no end in sight."[28] Instead of political autonomy, which Spain had promised, the United States implemented two years of military rule under three different governors: Major John Brooke, General Guy Henry, and General George W. Davis—all of whom had backgrounds as Indian fighters, leaving Puerto Ricans dismayed at the unlikelihood of their political recognition.[29] After the United States occupied the island in 1898, Muñoz Rivera wrote a poem likening his efforts to achieve political autonomy for Puerto Rico to Sisyphus's eternal task of pushing a huge rock up a hill, only to have it roll back down.[30]

The Foraker Act and Its Discontents

In 1900 the U.S. ended its military occupation of Puerto Rico and attempted to define the island's position within the federal orbit. Beginning as H.R. 6883, a bill to apply U.S. customs and internal revenue laws in Puerto Rico, the Foraker Act was the first law to define Puerto Rico's territorial status in the early 20th century. The bill was introduced by its chief sponsor, House Ways and Means Chairman Sereno Payne of New York, in January 1900.[31] Senate



Joseph Foraker of Ohio, chairman of the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Puerto Rico, was a Civil War veteran. Foraker also served as governor of Ohio for two terms before his election to the U.S. Senate.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

John C. Spooner of Wisconsin supported the acquisition of the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Guam as U.S. territories, but opposed their permanent annexation.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

bill S. 2264, introduced by Joseph Foraker of Ohio, simultaneously provided a "temporary civil government for Porto Rico." A report that accompanied the bill recommended "the election of a Delegate to the U.S. House of Representatives, who shall be allowed a seat but not vote in that body."

Two types of opposition emerged. Some Members argued that the legislation did not go far enough, challenging the notion that a single individual could represent more than one million, a constituency significantly larger than any House Member's. Also, the provision fell significantly short of Puerto Rico's representation in the Spanish Cortes, which included four senators and 12 deputies.[32] Other Members, such as Senator John C. Spooner of Wisconsin, believed the legislation went too far. Spooner felt territories such as Puerto Rico and Hawaii would never become states and that the election of a Delegate held out a false promise of eventual statehood. "There is no difference between a Delegate in Congress and a member except in the matter of a vote. It has always been considered a pledge of statehood," Spooner argued. "I am not yet ready, nor are we called upon now, to give that *quasi* pledge of statehood, or to imply that they will ever reach a condition where it shall be either for their interests, or certainly for ours, to let them be one of the members of this Union."[33]

A small Puerto Rican delegation representing a diverse range of political interests appealed for a civil government during debate on the Foraker Act. Among the members of the delegation was future Resident Commissioner Tulio Larrínaga, who was then a municipal engineer of San Juan and a member of the Puerto Rican Federal Party. Testifying before several House and Senate committees about conditions on the island, he called for free trade with the United States, advocated territorial status for Puerto Rico, and discussed universal male suffrage.[34] "Puerto Rico needs a civil government even more than free trade," he told the House Committee on Ways and Means. "The people want to feel that they have become in a tangible manner attached to the United States and [that Puerto Rico is] not a mere dependency."[35]

The House passed Payne's bill by a vote of 172 to 160. The Senate replaced the language in the House bill with its own, adding such extensive amendments that the bill was eventually named for its Senate sponsor. President McKinley signed the Foraker Act (31 Stat. 77–86) on April 12, 1900. The law established a colonial regime, administered by the U.S. President and the Congress, and designated the island an "unorganized territory"; thus, while Puerto Ricans were not granted U.S. citizenship, those who swore loyalty to the United States would receive its protection. The act placed absolute power in the hands of a governor appointed by the President and an 11-member executive council that comprised a majority of U.S. appointees who directed the island's six principal administrative bureaus. The law also created a 35-member house of delegates that would be popularly elected every two years, but undermined its authority by vesting the executive council with unchecked veto power. Additionally, it provided that "qualified voters" would elect biennially a Resident Commissioner who would be "entitled to official recognition as such by all Departments" and given a seat in the U.S. House. Finally, the law anticipated, but stopped short of, instituting a system of free trade. Instead it established a reduced ad valorem

tariff of 15 percent for all Puerto Rican merchandise entering the United States and all U.S. goods entering Puerto Rico.[36] Although the Foraker Act was economically generous in some respects—it exempted the island from U.S. taxes, for example—many Puerto Ricans were bitterly disappointed because it left the island's political status unresolved and created an undemocratic administrative structure.[37]

Future Resident Commissioner Luis Muñoz Rivera emerged as the voice of mainstream discontent with the Foraker Act. Addressing the Puerto Rican house of delegates in 1908, he characterized American political leaders as "petty kings" and the house of delegates as an institution serving little purpose because its laws were "wrecked on that perpetual reef" of the U.S.-appointed governor's council. Even in oppressed countries like Ireland and Hungary, the lawmakers were natives, Muñoz Rivera noted, but "the members of the Porto Rican senate are Americans, and we are given the laws of Montana, of California.… The inventors of this labyrinth find pleasure in repeating that we are not prepared [for self-government]," he said. "I wish to return the charge word for word … that American statesmen are not prepared to govern foreign colonies so different in character and of such peculiar civilization."[38]

Insular Cases

The Foraker Act also raised questions about American citizenship for Puerto Ricans. Since the passage of the Northwest Ordinance in 1787, most territories within the continental United States achieved statehood by following well-established guidelines.[39] The Insular Cases, which were eventually heard by the U.S. Supreme Court, stemmed from debate about whether overseas territories such as Puerto Rico should be considered foreign or domestic for tax purposes, but the question on most Americans' minds, was whether Puerto Ricans would be entitled to full citizenship under the new civil government.[40] Of the Insular Cases heard before the Supreme Court, scholars consider *Downes v. Bidwell* (182 U.S. 244, 1901), *Dorr v. United States* (195 U.S. 138, 1904), *Balzac v. Porto Rico* (258 U.S. 298, 1922), and *Rasmussen v. United States* (197 U.S. 516, 1925) to be the most important because they delineated the entitlements of incorporated versus nonincorporated territories. The Supreme Court ruled that nonincorporated territories would receive "fundamental" constitutional protections including "freedom of expression, due process of law, equal protection under the law … [and] protection against illegal searches," but not the full range of constitutional protections enjoyed by U.S. citizens.[41] The Supreme Court classified Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Pacific territories acquired after 1898 as nonincorporated territories. Incorporated territories received full constitutional protections because they were considered part of the United States.[42] Puerto Ricans were considered "citizens of Porto Rico," a designation that gave rise to the term "U.S. national," a person who receives fundamental constitutional protections but is not entitled to full civil or constitutional rights.

The court was deeply divided over the groundbreaking decision in *Downes v. Bidwell*. In a 5 to 4 decision, the Justices wrote five different opinions (one

This 1899 image of La Fortaleza emphasizes its defensive capabilities. Built in the 16th century to guard San Juan Bay from naval attacks, it has served as the Puerto Rican governor's residence for more than 400 years.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

William A. Jones sponsored an act that outlined independence for the Philippine Islands. A 14-term U.S. Representative, Jones attended the Virginia Military Institute as an adolescent and helped to defend Richmond, Virginia, from the Union Army during the Civil War.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives

majority, with two separate concurrences, and two dissenting), reflecting an array of views.[43] In effect, the ambiguous ruling reinforced the Supreme Court's marginal role in territorial jurisdiction, thus preserving—and arguably strengthening—Congress's absolute authority over Puerto Rico's status.

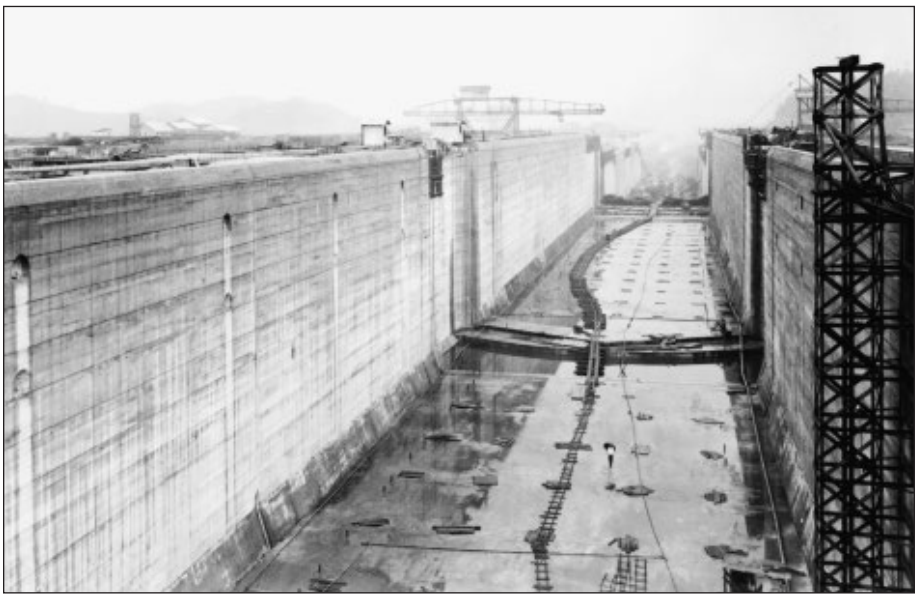
The Jones Act of 1917: Origins and Discontents

Frustrated with the Foraker Act, the Puerto Rican Union Party led a revolt against then-governor Regis Post and the executive council in 1909, accusing them of deliberately resisting calls for political reform on the island. After a large portion of its legislative agenda was rejected, the Puerto Rican house of delegates submitted petitions protesting the Foraker Act to the U.S. Congress and to President William Howard Taft, and threatened to adjourn without passing vital budget and appropriations bills. Congress amended the Foraker Act to enable it to pass Puerto Rico's budget bills if the house of delegates failed to act, and American officials became newly aware of Puerto Rico's grievances with its governing legislation.[44]

Woodrow Wilson's ascent to the presidency increased the likelihood that the Foraker Act would be amended. In 1912 Wilson campaigned on a promise to ensure U.S. citizenship and home rule for Puerto Ricans.[45] From 1912 to 1914, Insular Affairs Committee chairman William A. Jones of Virginia, who had previously opposed the Foraker Act, introduced bills on six occasions calling for a new constitutional government for Puerto Rico and U.S. citizenship for its residents. None of them gained any traction, but two events in 1914 added to the island's importance in the eyes of U.S. officials: the completion of the Panama Canal and the start of the First World War. The canal's role as a vital connection between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans highlighted Puerto Rico's strategic value as a stopover for maritime commercial traffic. This was especially the case for ships coming from Europe, but the start of World War I strengthened fears that the Caribbean would be dragged into the conflict. Puerto Rico had served for centuries as a Spanish outpost, and in the early 20th century it was crucial to U.S. plans to protect the Panama Canal from German U-boats patrolling Caribbean shipping lanes.[46]

Though the Wilson administration was preoccupied with events in Europe, the Bureau of Insular Affairs (BIA) argued that cementing the political bonds between Puerto Rico and the mainland would pay significant dividends. "The word loyalty will have a greater meaning [for Puerto Ricans] if we admit them to the conglomerate of our citizenship," read a 1912 internal BIA memo. "Otherwise, there will always be discontent[ed] elements that will agitate for breaking the bond."[47] Also, U.S. military planners were eager to assemble a volunteer Puerto Rican home guard and a Puerto Rican regiment to protect the island and defend the Canal Zone, respectively. Puerto Ricans' newly acquired U.S. citizenship made recruitment easier. On an island with roughly one million inhabitants, hundreds of thousands of men registered for the draft; more than 17,000 were selected.[48] The island also exceeded its fundraising quota for Liberty Loan bond drives. "We have been at your side in the hour of crisis and the people who are good to share the responsibilities, hardships, and sacrifices at any

great emergency and who are quick to respond to the call of public duty, should also be good to share the prerogatives and advantages of your institutions and of American citizenship in normal times," said Resident Commissioner Félix Córdova Dávila.[49]

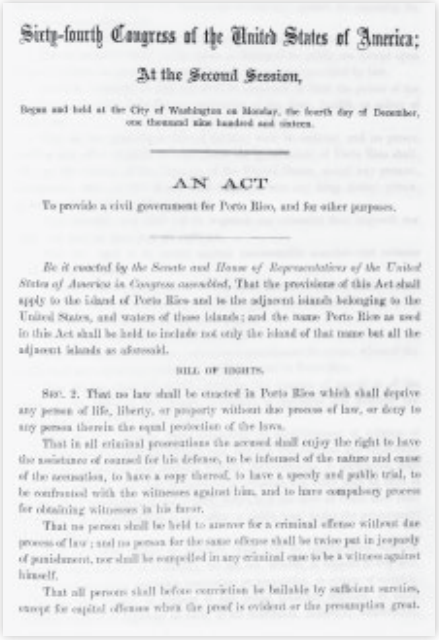


This 1912 photo shows the construction of the Panama Canal. The locks are visible but the gates have not yet been built. World War I made the U.S. government aware of Puerto Rico's importance in relation to the canal.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Introduced by House Insular Affairs Chairman Jones—and following on the heels of the First Jones Act (39 Stat. 545-556), which in August 1916 had increased Filipino autonomy and pledged independence as soon as practicable—the Second Jones Act (39 Stat. 951-968), which pertained to Puerto Rico, was less sweeping than the Foraker Act and retained much of the colonial structure. While the new legislation increased membership in the territorial house from 35 representatives to 39 and created for the first time a popularly elected senate with 19 members, it reserved Congress's right to annul or amend bills passed by the insular legislature and it required that directors of four of the six major government departments—agriculture and labor, health, interior, and treasury—be appointed by the U.S. President with the advice and consent of the territorial senate. The two remaining department heads, the attorney general and the commissioner of education, would be named solely by the President.[50] As a scholar of Puerto Rican politics notes, the Jones Act "barely nodded in the direction of [the] American principle of government by consent of the governed," and though it provided some "coveted gains," it hardly fulfilled most Puerto Ricans' aspirations.[51] Most significant, rather than deferring to Puerto Ricans on the issue of citizenship, the final version of the Jones Act conveyed new constitutional obligations.

Citizenship was a controversial subject on an island whose political leaders struggled to define its relationship with the United States. For example, Luis Muñoz Rivera initially argued against granting Puerto Ricans U.S. citizenship in the debate over the Jones Act, following the lead of his Union Party, which eliminated statehood from its platform in 1912. However, he personally



Sixty-fourth Congress of the United States of America;

At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the fourth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and sixteen.

AN ACT

To provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the provisions of this Act shall apply to the island of Porto Rico and to the adjacent islands belonging to the United States, and waters of those islands; and the name Porto Rico as used in this Act shall be held to include not only the island of that name but all the adjacent islands as aforesaid.

BILL OF RIGHTS.

SEC. 2. That no law shall be enacted in Porto Rico which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws.

That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to have the assistance of counsel for his defense, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to have a copy thereof, to have a speedy and public trial, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, and to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor.

That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense without due process of law; and no person for the same offense shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses where the proof is evident or the presumption great.

The Jones–Shafroth Act (39 Stat. 951-968) guaranteed full citizenship rights to Puerto Ricans. The act also extended the term of Resident Commissioners from two to four years. This law was superseded by the Commonwealth Act of 1952.

Original Jones–Shafroth Act; image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

embraced the prospect of U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans. After eventually endorsing the Jones Act on the House Floor, Muñoz Rivera proceeded to explain why many Puerto Ricans rejected it. "My countrymen, who, precisely the same as yours, have their dignity and self respect to maintain, refuse to accept a citizenship of an inferior order, a citizenship of the second class, which does not permit them to dispose of their own resources nor to live their own lives nor to send to this Capitol their proportional representation," he said.[52] Muñoz Rivera never saw the Jones Act implemented; he died before President Wilson signed it into law on March 2, 1917.

Intended to pacify Puerto Rico's concerns and strengthen America's grip on the Caribbean Basin during wartime, the Jones Act only made Puerto Rico's political situation more complex. "Rather than solving the status question, the Jones Act intensified the status struggle," placing Resident Commissioners at the center of the debate observes historian Luis Martínez-Fernández."[53]

The Ongoing Question of Puerto Rican Status

What the Foraker Act, the Insular Cases, and the Jones Act failed to finally determine was Puerto Rico's political status as a nonincorporated American territory. According to Martínez-Fernández, the early decades of U.S. rule in Puerto Rico were driven by a policy of "bifurcation and fragmentation" as U.S. authorities played favorites with factions of the island's political elite in an attempt "to retain the island as a territorial conquest of ambiguous political status."[54] Puerto Rican politicians were also split on the question of status. The popularity of three broad options—statehood, complete independence, and some measure of autonomy within the colonial structure—waxed and waned among Puerto Rico's political elites.

By virtue of their participation in the American federal government most Resident Commissioners either advocated a form of colonial autonomy or pursued statehood. At the heart of the matter was the constant struggle to achieve a balance between federal and local control of Puerto Rico's internal affairs. One scholar describes Luis Muñoz Rivera as a "master trapeze artist in Puerto Rico's ideological wars" because at one point in his career he embraced all three status options.[55] But this balancing act was difficult for Muñoz Rivera, who was caught between his deep emotional and cultural attachment to his Hispanic heritage and Puerto Rican independence and his pragmatic impulse to accept U.S. citizenship. Here was the essential autonomist dilemma: Whereas statehood threatened to subsume local Puerto Rican issues, complete independence might limit the island's economic opportunities.[56] The divisiveness of this issue both on and off the island led a *Washington Post* reporter to observe in 1924, "What the ultimate status of Porto Rico will be is a matter still lying in the capacious lap of the gods."[57]

Pivoting on the issues of autonomy, statehood, and independence, Puerto Rican political parties underwent a number of transformations in the early 20th century (see table on page 160). One scholar describes the insular political scene of the 1920s as a "kaleidoscope" with the "disappearance of some parties, the birth of new ones, and the merger of others" and as a jumble of "personality clashes, factions within parties, and changing political credos." Adding

another layer of complexity, these developments always "operated within the framework of United States control."[58] Félix Córdova Dávila discussed Puerto Ricans' quandary: testifying before the House Committee on Insular Affairs during the 70th Congress (1927–1929), "This uncertainty [in status] brings as a result a divided public opinion; some of the people advocating independence, others statehood, and others full self-government," he told his colleagues."We are not to be blamed for the different views that are striking our minds. It is not our fault. If there is any fault at all, it belongs exclusively to the doubtful position we are left in through the failure of the American Congress to define our status." Continuing, Córdova Dávila delineated Puerto Rico's identity crisis:

> Are we foreigners? No; because we are American citizens, and no citizen of the United States can be a foreigner within the boundaries of the Nation. Are we a part of the Union? No; because we are an unincorporated Territory under the rulings of the Supreme Court. Can you find a proper definition for this organized and yet unincorporated Territory, for this piece of ground belonging to but not forming part of the United States? Under the rulings of the courts of justice we are neither flesh, fish, nor fowl. We are neither a part nor a whole. We are nothing; and it seems to me if we are not allowed to be part of the Union we should be allowed to be a whole entity with full and complete control of our internal affairs.[59]

Shifting American policy had a direct influence on the confusing political alliances in Puerto Rico. "The political situation here is more complex and scrambled than it has been for many years," wrote Harwood Hull in the *New York Times* in 1932, a year that saw at least three party transitions. "Party lines have been broken and re-formed in recent months."[60]

CRAFTING AN IDENTITY
The Office of Resident Commissioner

The position of Resident Commissioner, which Congress created for Puerto Rico, echoed the island's ambiguous status.[61] Like Territorial Delegates, the Resident Commissioner had legislative responsibilities, but unlike Territorial Delegates, the Resident Commissioner was "entitled to official recognition as such by all [executive] Departments." Also, although the Resident Commissioner was a Member of Congress, he was obligated to present his certificate of election to the State Department as if he were a foreign diplomat.[62] The first Resident Commissioner, Federico Degetau, said it was "difficult, from a reading of the law, for many people to determine whether the commissioner was elected by the people to represent them or to represent the government of the island … in other words, whether he is an official of the local or of the Federal Government."[63]

The creation of the office of Resident Commissioner was a compromise: While recognizing that the residents of Puerto Rico, and later those of the Philippines, deserved some federal representation, Members of Congress were tacitly precluding the possibility that these overseas territories would

Table—Political Parties of Puerto Rico, Founded 1898 through 1945[a]

POLITICAL PARTY	PERIOD	DESCRIPTION	RESIDENT COMMISSIONER(S)
Partido Federalista (Federal Party)	1898–1904	Supported internal autonomy and eventual independence. Backed primarily by coffee growers who were critical of U.S. trade policy that negatively affected their crop.[b]	Luis Muñoz Rivera
Partido Republicano (Republican Party)	1898–1932	Supported eventual statehood. Backed by commercial powers with economic ties to the United States, including sugar producers. Continued as the Pure Republicans after 1924.[c]	Federico Degetau José Lorenzo Pesquera (unofficially)
Partido de Unión (Union Party)	1904–1932	Born of an alliance between dissident members of Partido Republicano and Partido Federalista. Initially supported a "catch-all" program of independence, statehood, and autonomy and stood firmly in favor of amending the Foraker Act of 1900 to include a greater degree of self-government. Eventually embraced autonomy after eliminating statehood from the platform in 1912 and independence in 1922.[d]	Luis Muñoz Rivera Tulio Larrínaga Félix Córdova Dávila
Alianza (Alliance)	1924–1932	Derived from factions in both the Partido de Unión and Partido Republicano. Took a pragmatic approach, supporting autonomy and believing statehood and independence were politically unfeasible in Washington.[e]	Félix Córdova Dávila
Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)	1915–1948[f]	Born of the political wing of the Federación Libre de Trabajadores (Free Federation of Labor), a labor union with ties to the American Federation of Labor. Informed by the global political movement, the Party initially considered itself an extension of the American Socialist Party; formal ties between the two parties ceased in 1924. Supported statehood but focused primarily on social justice and aiding impoverished Puerto Ricans.[g]	Santiago Iglesias Bolívar Pagán
Partido Nacionalista (Nationalist Party)	1922–1960s	Split from the Partido de Unión, advocating complete cultural and political independence from the United States. Never carried a significant electoral base, peaking with an unsuccessful electoral alliance with the Liberal Party in 1932. Turned toward violence following the 1932 electoral loss amid crippling economic depression. Followers carried out a number of attempted assassinations, several successfully.[h]	N/A
Coalición (Coalition)	1924	An electoral agreement between a wing of the Partido Republicano and the Partido Socialista for the 1924 election cycle. Both parties campaigned on the issue of statehood but maintained separate platforms.[i]	Santiago Iglesias
Partido Unión Republicana (Union Republican Party)	1932	Derived from portions of the Alianza and the Partido Republicano. Sought statehood but favored independence over contemporary colonial arrangement. Organized in January 1932 and absorbed into the Coalición in October 1932.[j]	José Lorenzo Pesquera (unofficially)
Coalición (Coalition)	1932–1940	An electoral fusion agreement between the Partido Unión Republicana and Partido Socialista. Supported statehood and the social justice platforms advocated by the Socialistas. Opposed local New Deal interventions.	Santiago Iglesias Bolívar Pagán
Partido Liberal (Liberal Party)	1932–1940	Organized from factions of the Partido de Unión and Partido Republicano. Criticized the U.S. government for its perceived neglect of Puerto Rico's political and economic needs, and supported independence. Provided local support for New Deal programs specific to Puerto Rico. Factions split over support for Tydings legislation in 1936, calling for immediate and complete political and economic independence.[k]	N/A
Partido Popular Democrático (PPD or Popular Democratic Party)	1938–present	Organized by Luis Muñoz Marín shortly after he left the Partido Liberal. The PPD was a key supporter of a series of social and economic reforms in the 1930s and 1940s. Supported the formation of the Estado Libre Asociado (Free Associated State) in 1952 and thereafter supported autonomy within the commonwealth status. Dominant on the island from the 1940s to the late 1960s.[l]	Jesús T. Piñero[m]

ever become states.[64] An early Senate Report on the Foraker Act mentioned "the election of a Delegate to the House of Representatives," and although the suggestion "met with some objection," a Senate committee concluded, "It is certainly a modest representation for 1,000,000 people."[65] Senator John C. Spooner of Wisconsin reasoned, "No Congress gives a Delegate to a people except upon the theory that the time is come when they shall be admitted to statehood." He opposed Puerto Rican statehood, saying the island's residents "know nothing of us, nothing of our ways … nothing of our system, nothing of our institutions." He later vowed to support the Foraker Act only if Congress granted Puerto Rico "a commissioner, whose status shall enable him to represent their necessities and wants to the Congress."[66]

The final version of the Foraker Act provided for the election of a Resident Commissioner, whose position was defined in two sentences.[67] The Resident Commissioner served a two-year term and would earn the same salary as any other Member of Congress. Candidates had to be citizens of Puerto Rico and at least 30 years old—which was five years older than the constitutional requirement for Representatives—and literate in English.[68] After presenting his credentials to the State Department, the Resident Commissioner was recognized by Congress as the representative for Puerto Rico, who could lobby Members and government officials on the island's behalf. However, the act's

---

a General sources defining Puerto Rico's political parties, including visual interpretations, are available in Richard E. Sharpless, "Puerto Rico," in Robert J. Alexander, ed., *Political Parties of the Americas* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982): 611–623; César Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History since 1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007): 143 (see especially Figure 7.1); Truman R. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975): 77.

b Sharpless, "Puerto Rico": 617; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 52–55.

c Sharpless, "Puerto Rico": 621–622; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 52–55.

d Sharpless, "Puerto Rico": 623; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 55.

e Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 59; Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933*: 80–82.

f The last Socialist territorial senator, Bolívar Pagán, won his final term as a Socialist in 1948. See Fernando Bayron Toro, *Elecciones y partidos políticos de Puerto Rico, 1809–2000* (Mayagüez, PR: Editorial Isla, 2003): 212.

g Gonzalo F. Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times*: 134; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 61–68.

h Sharpless, "Puerto Rico": 617–618; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 105–107.

i Bayron Toro, *Elecciones y partidos políticos de Puerto Rico*: 161.

j Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times*: 231–232; Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933*: 144–145.

k Sharpless, "Puerto Rico": 617; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 100, 115–116; Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times*: 158.

l Sharpless, "Puerto Rico": 620–621.

m Other individuals who served as Resident Commissioner from the PPD served after 1945.

Sisifo (Sisyphus) excerpt

By Luis Muñoz Rivera (1902), *referencing Greek mythology in speaking of Puerto Rico's political position after the United States won control of the island from Spain.*

V.

Resigned
but indomitable, with the proud and rough
dignity of someone who is fulfilling his destiny
and that relies on his valor, little by little
the titan arrives at the plain and looks
for the crag that defies his strength.
He stares at it, walks around it,
studies its centuries-old caves
and puts his shoulder to the giant mass.
It's all useless. He is attacked by monsters
with infernal thunder and stung by reptiles
with their venomous tongues.
The crowd, doubtful of success,
applauds the whole time but from a distance
as if they were fearful of a fast collapse.
The block resists the bold push,
the beasts that hide in its cavities
redouble their enormous joy
and Sisyphus, breathless, stops,
reflects, and starts all over again.

The original Spanish is in Appendix J.

ambiguity, coupled with Congress' uncertainty about Puerto Rico's readiness for democratic government, led it to deny the Resident Commissioner speaking privileges and even access to the House Chamber.

The limits of Degetau's power were immediately apparent, but Degetau used committee testimony and the aid of sympathetic Members to push legislation beneficial to Puerto Rico. He also employed press interviews and lobbied executive branch officials. Members of Congress and the media realized the frustration Degetau experienced and, in May 1902, a *Baltimore Sun* editorial noted that John Lacey of Iowa had submitted a resolution to extend floor privileges to Degetau. "Mr. Degetau's official functions have begun and ended with this designation, and if he succeeds in getting even so far as across the threshold of one of the lobbies at the Capitol, where he may inspire but not exhale the legislative atmosphere, he is doing about all he can reasonably expect to do," it said. Degetau is "driven to the second-hand method of buttonholing members, just [as] any untitled lobbyist is privileged to do." Also noted by the *Sun* was the inconsistency in Degetau's position relative to that of the Delegate from Hawaii, Robert Wilcox, who could take a seat on the House Floor, make motions, and serve on committees.[69] "Both, according to the Supreme Court construction, are United States Territories," the editorial observed. "So that under this broad yet somewhat flexible ruling Porto Rico ought to have the same rights of representation as are accorded to Hawaii, which does not seem to bear to this country the same commercialist importance as does the island only a few hundred miles off the coast of the United States."[70]

On March 18, 1902, Henry Cooper of Wisconsin, chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, inserted the "Resident Commissioner" position into an amendment to the House Rules that would allow various people—from "private secretaries" to "judges of the Supreme Court"—access to the House Floor.[71] The House spent little time debating the resolution before adopting the final version on June 28; however, the victory was incomplete. Just before the bill passed, John Dalzell of Pennsylvania, who brought it to the floor, assured his colleagues that the amendments would not give the Resident Commissioner privileges that were equal to those of the Territorial Delegates; although the bill would allow the Resident Commissioner to be present on the House Floor, it would not allow him to speak on record or vote.[72] The Resident Commissioner "was put on a par with the clerks of House committees, heads of executive departments, foreign ministers, and the Librarian of Congress in having access to the House Chamber," notes a scholar.[73] Though several measures sought to enhance the privileges of the Puerto Rican Member, they remained unchanged until the passage of the Jones Act, which gave the Resident Commissioner the same rights as the other Members of the House, lengthening his term from two to four years; reducing the minimum age qualification to 25 years; and providing him franking privileges, stationery, and money to hire a clerk.[74]

The status of Resident Commissioners and Territorial Delegates was decidedly secondary compared with that of their voting colleagues. While Resident Commissioners and Territorial Delegates were eventually allowed to hold committee assignments and introduce legislation as third-party candidates, they did not receive support from the Democratic Caucus or the Republican

Conference. However, because statutory representatives lacked official ties to a major party, they could seek the support of both Democrats and Republicans. Many Resident Commissioners used their circumscribed office to the fullest extent possible by participating in committee debate, introducing amendments, testifying before House and Senate panels, and cajoling and lobbying Members from both chambers in private conversations and at social gatherings. Clarence Miller of Minnesota, a high-ranking Republican on the Insular Affairs Committee, recalled that Resident Commissioner Luis Muñoz Rivera was "persistent and solicitous" regarding the creation of a more democratic government in Puerto Rico. "I do not know of anyone who could have been more insistent than he has been during all these years," he said.[75]

Puerto Ricans in Washington

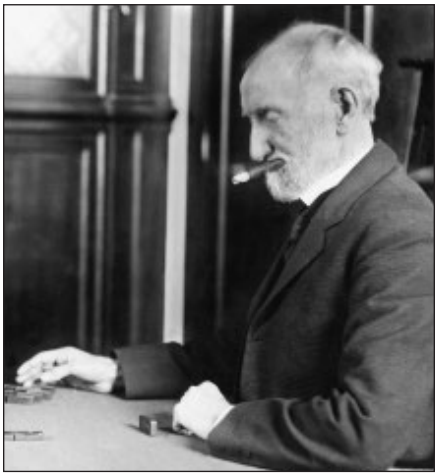
Hispanic Americans in Congress regularly experienced racial prejudice. Many white Members subscribed to decades-old beliefs that stereotyped Hispanics, especially Puerto Ricans, as "dark-skinned, childlike, poor, and primitive" and unfit to govern themselves.[76] When the United States acquired Puerto Rico in 1899, Secretary of War Elihu Root said, "Before the people of Porto Rico can be fully entrusted with self-government, they must first learn the lesson of self-control and respect for the principles of the constitutional government."[77]

Puerto Rico's first Resident Commissioner, Federico Degetau, challenged these assumptions by engaging those who held them, and he questioned their capacity for citizenship. Degetau discussed Puerto Ricans' "fitness" and "ability" to embrace a republican form of government in numerous interviews. He also responded to charges from "white supremacist" officeholders, including former Secretary of the Navy Hilary Herbert, who in 1901 classified Puerto Ricans as an "inferior race." As "a member of an 'inferior' race," Degetau wrote Herbert, "I suppose that your theory is the result of a careful study of the people of Puerto Rico."[78] "Americans think we have savages and Indians in Porto Rico," Degetau observed. "Why, we have no more Indians than you have in Chicago. People ask me where the natives in the party are. I tell them that I am a typical native."[79] Later Degetau defended an appropriation to maintain a "Porto Rican regiment" in the U.S. Army. When future Speaker James Beauchamp (Champ) Clark of Missouri cited racial stereotypes as a reason for nixing the funding, Degetau noted that after the regiment visited Washington, "the public in the capital expected to see men of an inferior race, of small stature and sallow complexion, and they found that by their physical appearance the Porto Ricans did not differ from the other soldiers.… On account of their military bearing and dexterity, they obtained continuous applause; their moral conduct won them unanimous praise." Supporting Degetau, Representative Frank Mondell of Wyoming asserted that Puerto Rico should have a regiment for its protection, and the House defeated Clark's amendment, 89 to 47.[80]

Luis Muñoz Rivera challenged the assumptions of cantankerous Speaker Joseph Cannon of Illinois. During debate over the Jones Act, Cannon objected to extending Puerto Ricans citizenship because he believed they were unfit for self-rule.[81] The cigar-chomping Illinoisan, who noted that Puerto Rico has "great tobacco and makes pretty good cigars," believed the "racial question"

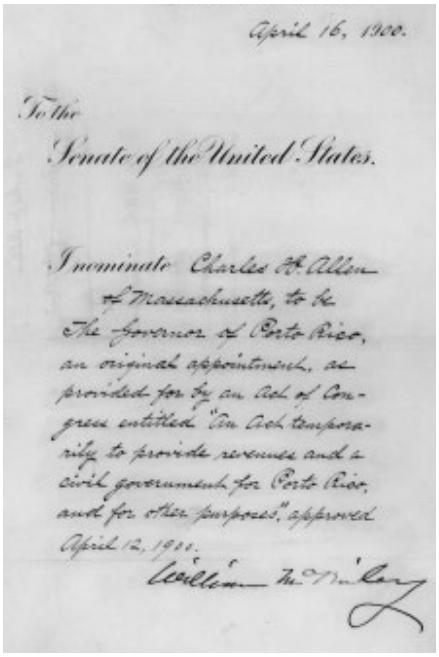
This 1905 image shows the "Porto Rican Battalion" marching in a procession along Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. Resident Commissioners Federico Degetau and Tulio Larrínaga prevented the dissolution of the regiment by preserving its funding in House appropriations bills.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress



As Speaker and chairman of the House Rules Committee, Joe Cannon of Illinois held an extraordinary amount of power until insurgent Republicans allied with Democrats to challenge his iron-fisted control of the House in 1910. Thereafter, Speakers were barred from holding committee chairmanships.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives, Photography Collection



April 16, 1900.

To the
Senate of the United States.

I nominate Charles H. Allen
of Massachusetts, to be
The Governor of Porto Rico,
an original appointment, as
provided for by an Act of Con-
gress entitled "An Act tempora-
rily to provide revenues and a
civil government for Porto Rico,
and for other purposes," approved
April 12, 1900.

William McKinley

In this April 1900 letter to the U.S. Senate, President William McKinley nominates Charles H. Allen to serve as the first civilian governor of Puerto Rico in accordance with the Foraker Act of 1900.

Image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

and "climatic conditions" disqualified most of the islanders from governing themselves. Cannon further suggested that the infrastructure improvements and reforms to education and business that had been enacted on the island since the Spanish-American War resulted largely from American "enterprise and capital" and vehemently opposed statehood. "God forbid that in [Muñoz Rivera's] time or my time, there should be statehood for Puerto Rico as one of the United States," he said.[82]

Muñoz Rivera rejected Cannon's belief that Puerto Ricans should be denied U.S. citizenship. "Mr. Chairman, Porto Rico, deprived of its natural sovereignty, depends upon the generosity and chivalry of American lawmakers," he said from the well of the House shortly after Cannon's speech. "I consider it very unfortunate that a Porto Rican is obliged to hear on this floor remarks offensive to the dignity of his native land … it is not our fault that we are compelled to come here and ask for the enactment of legislation, of a constitution, which should be our undeniable right to make, according to American principles, ourselves. I must conclude, declaring emphatically that I am as proud to be a Porto Rican as the gentleman from Illinois is proud of being an Illinoisan, and as every gentleman on this floor is proud of being an American."[83] The House Floor and galleries erupted in applause when Muñoz Rivera finished speaking.

The Language Barrier

Many Hispanic Members of this era were bilingual or learned English so they could work with U.S. government officials. Santiago Iglesias was a translator for American forces during the Spanish-American War, and improved his English while working and attending school in New York. He spoke prolifically on the House Floor.[84] Octaviano Larrazolo, like many New Mexican politicians, and Tulio Larrínaga of Puerto Rico were fluent in both English and Spanish. Larrínaga headed the English department in the cultural center of the Puerto Rican Arts and Sciences Association starting in 1876, and Ladislas Lazaro often used both French and English while campaigning in Louisiana.

Resident Commissioners continued to study English after they assumed office. A brilliant orator in Spanish and a longtime resident of New York City, Muñoz Rivera began to study English at age 50 in preparation for his service in Washington, D.C. "I will go to a mountain or a beach, with my books, practice English without speaking another language," he confided to a friend in 1911. "When I master it, I will feel better prepared.… I have progressed a lot. I need much more," he said.[85] José Pesquera studied English in Pennsylvania from 1901 to 1902, but still had difficulty communicating with President Herbert Hoover's administration in 1932. In an effort to defend himself against Pesquera's charge that the War Department neglected Puerto Rico after the 1932 San Cipriano hurricane, Deputy Chief of Staff George Van Horn Moseley said he preferred to communicate with an administration official who often accompanied the Resident Commissioner, since Pesquera "sometimes has a little difficulty communicating in English over the phone."[86]

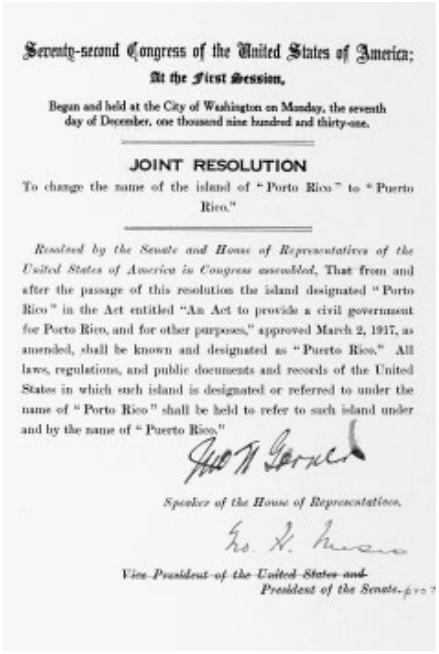
Córdova Dávila spoke for many in Puerto Rico when he noted, "Language is a factor of unquestioned importance. English has not yet reached the heart of the [Puerto Rican] people, nor is it reasonable to expect this ever to come

about." "The language of a people constitutes the voice of its soul, the means of expressing its feelings, and its personality. Love for the vernacular is ingrained in the individual. To deprive him of his native tongue would be heartless and cruel."[87] Nearly two decades later, Bolívar Pagán promoted increased English language instruction in Puerto Rico by supporting a $300 million proposal to rehabilitate the Puerto Rican school system. Pagán, assuaging fears that Puerto Rican children were not learning enough English, testified that English was taught as a separate subject in the early years of primary school but thereafter became the main language of instruction.[88]

"Porto Rico" to "Puerto Rico"

Maintaining Puerto Rico's Spanish heritage included changing its official name from "Porto Rico" back to the original Spanish, "Puerto Rico." The United States used "Puerto Rico" in diplomatic correspondence before the Spanish-American War but used the anglicized spelling "Porto Rico" in the Treaty of Paris, which ended the conflict. Gervasio Luis Garcia traces the origin of the phonetic English spelling to a *National Geographic* article, published in 1899 by journalist Robert T. Hill. His use of "Porto Rico" went against the wishes of the *Geographic*'s editors, who printed the following disclaimer: "The form 'Puerto Rico' is that commonly used by the people of the island itself and by those of other Spanish-speaking countries, and is good Spanish.… The Editors wish it to be understood that in this trifling matter they are not establishing a precedent."[89] Hill's decision to use the anglicized name was based on arguments that were entrenched at the turn of the century: that "Porto Rico" had been used internationally for more than 300 years and provided English speakers a way to pronounce the island's Spanish name and that "Puerto Rico" was "un-American." Concluding that the change in Puerto Rico's name was an extension of the United States' geographical conquest, Gervasio Garcia noted in 2000 that, "Naming was a form of domination; the imperial appetite was not sated until it appropriated every bit of the island, even its name."[90]

Puerto Ricans did not consider the name change "trifling." On December 18, 1931, Félix Córdova Dávila introduced a joint resolution (H.J. Res. 149) that would change "Porto Rico" back to "Puerto Rico," and submitted a petition from the Puerto Rican senate to the House Committee on Insular Affairs deeming "Porto Rico" an "impure idiomatic compound" and requesting reversion of the territory's official name so "full justice will thus be done to our history, our language, and our traditions."[91] Resident Commissioner José Pesquera steered the bill after succeeding Córdova Dávila in April 1932, but the seemingly innocuous legislation met with sturdy resistance. On May 11, in a debate that was riddled with interruptions regarding unrelated issues, opponents of the bill maintained that "Porto" was the standard English spelling. Changing the name would create unnecessary "expense of changing dies for postage stamps, for [Puerto Ricans'] currency, for their bonds, and many other things merely to gratify the sentimental whim of the local inhabitants."[92] But most Members defended the change. Ralph Lozier of Missouri noted Puerto Ricans "are now loyal American citizens," arguing, "There is no reason, either in the history, language or traditions of these Spanish-speaking people to support



Seventy-second Congress of the United States of America;
At the First Session,
Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the seventh day of December, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-one.

JOINT RESOLUTION
To change the name of the island of "Porto Rico" to "Puerto Rico."

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this resolution the island designated "Porto Rico" in the Act entitled "An Act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917, as amended, shall be known and designated as "Puerto Rico." All laws, regulations, and public documents and records of the United States in which such island is designated or referred to under the name of "Porto Rico" shall be held to refer to such island under and by the name of "Puerto Rico."

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate.

On December 7, 1931, Congress passed S.J. Res. 36, which changed the spelling of "Porto Rico" to "Puerto Rico" in official U.S. records, documents, and communications.

Original joint resolution to change the name of the island of "Porto Rico" to "Puerto Rico"; image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

the legitimacy of the foreign term 'Porto,' used in connection with their island habitation."[93] The House eventually passed S.J. Res. 36 (in lieu of H.J. Res. 149) 88 to 31; without debate, the Senate concurred, changing the name in May 1932.[94]

The passage of the resolution was a symbolic victory in the battle to maintain Puerto Rico's cultural heritage. Speaking for Córdova Dávila after his departure from the House, Resident Commissioner of the Philippines Camilo Osias said to his colleagues, "Never underrate the importance of individual and national sentiment in human affairs.… The change of the spelling of the name of Porto Rico may seem trivial to some, but to the inhabitants of that island it is fundamental, priceless, all important." By voting for the measure, "you are investing in friendship" and working to "evoke the eternal gratitude" of the Puerto Rican people," he said.[95]

Political and Ethnic Shifts in New Mexico

The issue of cultural heritage was also important for New Mexican Hispanics during this era as changing racial demographics shifted New Mexican politics, upsetting traditional political alliances between Anglos and *nuevomexicanos*.

Since the mid-19th century, three groups of settlers with divergent interests had had an understanding that characterized the territory's politics. According to a historian of turn-of-the-century New Mexico, "a Spanish-speaking elite, backed by New Mexico's majority population of [poor Hispanic] voters, shared power with an outnumbered but well-organized and growing Anglo minority."[96] At the root of this arrangement were the state's demographics. Hispanics, with their shrinking but still large majority, dominated elections at the town and county level, giving them influence over many of the state's everyday affairs in the territorial legislature. Meanwhile, given their disproportionate wealth

Octaviano Larrazolo's three-decade political career in New Mexico culminated with his election to the U.S. Senate in November 1928.

THE CANVASSING BOARD OF THE

STATE OF NEW MEXICO

To All to Whom These Presents Shall Come, Greeting:

This is to Certify, that OCTAVIANO A. LARRAZOLO

was duly and regularly elected in accordance with law to the office of UNITED STATES SENATOR(SHORT TERM ENDING MARCH 4, 1929) at the General Election held in the said State of New Mexico on the Sixth day of November, in the year One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-eight, as shown by the returns of said election on file in the office of the Secretary of State, and as declared and determined by the State Canvassing Board, consisting of the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the Chief Justice of the State of New Mexico.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, We have hereunto set our hands and caused to be affixed the Great Seal of the State of New Mexico, this Third day of December A. D. 1928 and of the Independence of the United States the One Hundred and Fifty-Second.

R. C. Dillon
GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO.

Frank W. Parker
CHIEF JUSTICE OF NEW MEXICO.

Jessie Evans
SECRETARY OF STATE OF NEW MEXICO.

Octaviano Larrazolo's original election certificate; image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

and federal connections, Anglos controlled many of New Mexico's appointed positions, including the office of territorial governor.[97] As a result of this arrangement, neither group of New Mexicans sustained influence over the other throughout the 19th century.[98] But with the majority of Anglo and Hispanic voters registered as Republicans, this resulted in an era of "Republican domination."[99] Pedro Perea benefited from this agreement; bolstered by the territory's Republican machine in his 1898 election campaign, he ousted an Anglo incumbent in an election that mirrored the parties' national platforms but reflected racial stereotypes of the time.

The long-standing political dynamic that dominated New Mexico's territorial period began to dissolve as Anglo migrants from Texas and Oklahoma flocked to the cheap, oil-rich land in eastern New Mexico. Their arrival upset the demographic structure that had sustained the territory's balance of power; from 1900 to 1910, New Mexico's population grew from 195,310 to 327,301.[100] Many of the Anglo newcomers were middle-aged, financially secure Democrats who brought their racial and ethnic prejudices to New Mexico. Ignoring the genealogical, class, and regional distinctions among their *nuevomexicano* neighbors, they labeled many as "Mexican," a derogatory term. These settlers resuscitated the Democratic Party and subverted the political arrangement between Anglos and Hispanics that had defined the territory for six decades.[101] Their predominance in territorial politics led Octaviano Larrazolo in 1911 to leave the Democratic Party, to which he had been loyal since first entering politics in 1885. In a public letter of resignation, he noted this treatment "forced me to the humiliating conviction that in the Democratic party of New Mexico there exists an element of intolerance that should not be countenanced or encouraged." Moreover, he wrote, that element "is strong enough … to make me apprehensive of the future welfare of a very large number of people in New Mexico."[102]

In addition to reinvigorating the Hispanic electorate, scholars generally credit Larrazolo with helping to develop a political arrangement between Anglo and *nuevomexicano* leaders from both parties.[103] A "gentlemen's agreement" had segregated political contests so that Anglos ran only against Anglos and Hispanic candidates faced only Hispanics at the nominating conventions. As a result, more *nuevomexicano* politicians ran for local offices in the 1910s and 1920s. Regarding congressional elections, the record is mixed. Benigno Cárdenas Hernández, who belonged to the Republican Old Guard of Rio Arriba County, benefited both from the "native son movement," which encouraged *nuevomexicanos* to run for local political office, and from his party connections. He defeated a three-term Anglo incumbent in 1914, lost to an Anglo opponent in 1916, and was re-elected against an Anglo opponent in 1918. Hernández's successor, Néstor Montoya, ran against a prominent local politician, Antonio Lucero, in 1920, but lost the nomination to *nuevomexicana* Adelina Otero-Warren in 1922. Larrazolo was elected governor in 1918.[104]

Dennis Chavez's political career coincided with a shift in New Mexico's ethnopolitical culture, following the national trend favoring the Democratic Party and resulting in more-competitive elections; although his father was a Republican, Chavez joined the Democratic Party because of the GOP's

perceived abuse of patronage. After serving one term in the New Mexico state house and working as a loyal party operative, Chavez won a House seat in 1930 and served for two terms. In 1934 Chavez took on progressive Republican Bronson Cutting for a U.S. Senate seat.[105]

In this undated photograph, Senator Dennis Chavez (left) and a constituent from New Mexico (right) participate in a Senate committee hearing.

Image courtesy of the Dennis Chavez Pictorial Collections (PICT 000-394-0433), Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico

LEGISLATIVE INTERESTS

Committee Assignments

Hispanic Members held far more committee assignments in this era than they did during the 19th century. Seven sat on Insular Affairs, four on Public Lands, four on Indian Affairs, and three on Territories. In part this trend reflected more-liberal House Rules concerning standing committees. Pedro Perea of New Mexico, who served a single term in the 56th Congress (1899–1901), became the first Hispanic Delegate from that territory to hold an assignment on a committee other than the obscure Coinage, Weights, and Measures panel. Perea held four committee assignments, including seats on the important Post Office and Post Roads Committee and the Territories Committee.

Resident Commissioners experienced a trajectory in their committee assignments that was similar to that of New Mexico's Delegates. From 1900 to 1904, the Resident Commissioner received no committee assignments. After 1904 Federico Degetau received a seat on one panel on the Insular Affairs Committee, which had legislative jurisdiction over Puerto Rico's administration. In 1933 Santiago Iglesias became the first Resident Commissioner to sit on additional committees. He and Bolívar Pagán both served on four panels: Agriculture, Insular Affairs, Territories, and Labor. Pagán, who represented Puerto Rico during World War II when the United States constructed a major naval facility on the island, added two more prominent committee assignments—Naval Affairs and Military Affairs—to his considerable workload.[106]

These more numerous assignments reflected the broad legislative agendas of their constituencies, and meant they held more desirable and more powerful committee positions than their predecessors. In the aggregate, Pedro Perea's assignments were impressive; Post Office and Post Roads was a top-tier committee assignment in the 56th Congress, and his assignment on Military Affairs was a good one. Also, in the decade after the Spanish-American War, the Insular Affairs Committee ranked among the top third in terms of desirability among House Members. When Iglesias served on the Agriculture Committee in the 1930s, amid the Great Depression, the Dust Bowl, and the flood of New Deal legislation, that panel was the third most desirable in the House.[107] Without a doubt, the Hispanic Member who secured the most plum assignments was Representative Joachim Fernández, Huey Long's New Orleans-based lieutenant. As a freshman, Fernández received a top-tier assignment, the Naval Affairs Committee. After serving three terms on Naval Affairs, he left for the exclusive Appropriations Committee, which was the second-most-powerful committee in the House and the panel charged with allocating federal money.[108]

However, the ascendancy of Hispanic Members to committee leadership positions remained slow. Before 1970, Resident Commissioners, like Delegates, could not attain seniority on committees; as a result, no matter how many years they served on a committee, they were still outranked by voting Members.

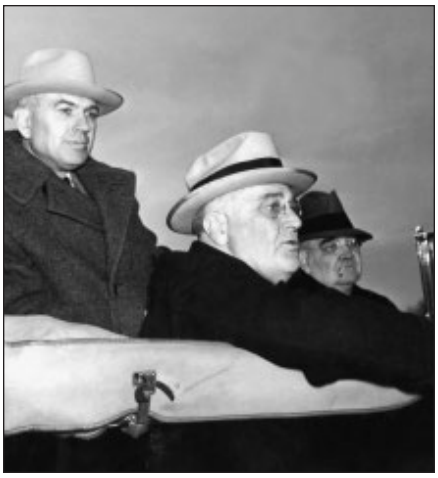
Although House Rules stipulated that the Delegates and the Resident Commissioner would receive the same powers and privileges as other Members, the tradition of seniority applied only when the Delegates and the Resident Commissioner determined rank among themselves.[109] In this era, only two Hispanic Members, Dennis Chavez of New Mexico and Ladislas Lazaro of Louisiana, chaired House committees. During the 73rd Congress (1933–1935), his second and final term in the House, Chavez led the Irrigation and Reclamation Committee, a panel of immense importance to Western Members whose states depended on their ability to access water. Lazaro held the gavel on the minor Enrolled Bills Committee, which standardized the legislative language of approved bills and prepared them for the President's signature, and became the Ranking Member on the influential Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee before his untimely death in 1927. Chavez eventually chaired two Senate panels, including the influential Public Works Committee. Antonio M. Fernández of New Mexico, elected to the House late in this era, chaired the Memorials Committee for a single term before it was disbanded in 1947.

The Great Depression and the New Deal

The economic collapse marking the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929 hit Puerto Rico especially hard because it highlighted the island's dependence on U.S. economic policy and on a single cash crop: sugar. "The coming of the Great Depression simply made manifest the severity of conditions that debilitated the island economy," writes economic historian James Dietz. "It did not create or invent them."[110] Declines in manufacturing and agricultural output were not as severe as those on the mainland because production had faltered throughout the 1920s.[111] Two hurricanes in 1928 and 1932 had decimated entire economic sectors. The tobacco industry, which was the second-largest industry on the island, had grown steadily through the early part of the century under American trade barriers; however, the 1928 San Felipe hurricane nearly leveled production.[112] The 1932 San Cipriano hurricane also caused upwards of $30 million in damage, some of which Resident Commissioner José Pesquera sought to repair with federal aid. Dietz likens the storms' effect to those of the Dust Bowl drought that devastated the Midwestern United States in the early 1930s.[113]

Moreover, purchasing power on the island declined severely during the 1930s. In the 1920s, Puerto Rico received as much as 94.1 percent of its goods from the United States, more than 39.5 percent of which was food.[114] Dependent on imports from the mainland for basic necessities, including rice, beans, lard, and milk, the average Puerto Rican spent 94 percent of his or her income on food in 1930.[115] The situation worsened between 1930 and 1933; with wages already at their lowest level since the United States occupied the island in 1898, Puerto Ricans saw a 30 percent decline in per capita income. A similar, if not more severe, rise in the cost of living mirrored this drop; prices for necessities rose by a third from 1932 to 1933.[116]

Extending New Deal benefits to Puerto Rico tested the Resident Commissioners' ability to balance desires for local control with the distribution of federal aid on the island. Early in the economic crisis, Félix Córdova Dávila and José Pesquera attempted to stem losses by appealing to President Herbert Hoover



Rexford Guy Tugwell (left) was one of the principal architects of the New Deal. Here he is seen riding with FDR in a car through Greenbelt, Maryland, a federally built planned community that Tugwell conceived. He would serve as governor of Puerto Rico from 1941 to 1945.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

to extend to Puerto Rico the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a program that funneled federal tax revenue to local banks.[117] When Franklin D. Roosevelt ascended to the presidency in 1933, he urged a series of emergency economic policies and social welfare programs known collectively as the New Deal, and sought to include Puerto Rico in much of this legislation."One thing that seemed to be very clear was that your problems here on the island are very much the same kind of problems that we have in many other parts of the United States," Roosevelt noted on a 1934 visit to San Juan. "They are social problems and economic problems, and the same methods that we use to solve them in other parts of the country will be applied here in Puerto Rico."[118] In the early 1930s, Santiago Iglesias spent nearly his entire congressional career balancing the needs of Puerto Ricans vis-à-vis New Deal legislation. Iglesias successfully sought Puerto Rico's inclusion in the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC), a program to regulate banking. Though unsuccessful at including Puerto Rico in the initial Social Security Act of 1935, Iglesias managed to extend some of the legislation's benefits to children and rural communities in a 1937 amendment.[119]

Not all New Deal programs aided displaced Puerto Ricans. The Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), passed in May 1933, inflated the cost of living as federal policy subsidized mainland farmers, who then produced less, driving up the costs of goods and services for Puerto Rican consumers. Additionally, under the AAA, the island's farmers were exempt from the provisions of the law and the insular government lost its right to save a percentage of the tax revenue con exports.[120] Iglesias attempted to remedy the legislation's damaging effects byretaining the taxes on agricultural products as originally set forth in the Jones Act.[121]

Most notably, the economic collapse highlighted the island's dependence on the cultivation of sugarcane and the production of its only export crop: sugar. Nearly 95 percent of all Puerto Rican exports went to the continental United States. Accounting for nearly 15 percent of the entire U.S. market, Puerto Rican sugar was hugely profitable during World War I with little competition from warring European nations, but the industry collapsed after Europe returned to its pre-war production in the 1920s.[122] The economic pressures accompanying the onset of the Depression, combined with the decline of the sugarcane industry, were felt island-wide. Already hovering at 36 percent in December 1929, unemployment rates soared to 65 percent by 1933.[123] As a result, the years 1933 and 1934 saw widespread labor unrest, and thousands of workers from every economic sector went on strike.[124]

The Sugar Act, or Jones–Costigan Act, of 1934 (48 Stat. 670–679) proved to be particularly damaging, and amending it became a focus for Resident Commissioners Santiago Iglesias and Bolívar Pagán. As part of the Department of Agriculture's efforts to further regulate American sugar in light of plummeting prices, the legislation established quotas for each sugar-producing region based on output from 1925 to 1933. As demanded by the State Department, Cuba, which had been subjct to American trade barriers, received the largest quota for sugar cane after the market declined. Beet producers in the mainland

United States lobbied Congress to gain a significant share of the quota. As an incorporated territory, Hawaii also received a substantial quota, leaving Puerto Rico and the soon-to-be-independent Philippines with the greatest reductions in production allotments.[125] The legislation passed after Puerto Rico was assigned an insufficient 800,000-ton quota, with expected production exceeding more than a million tons.[126]

A year after the Sugar Act's passage, Iglesias submitted a resolution from the insular legislature attesting to the act's devastating effect on the island's sugar industry. "The Puerto Rican sugar industry is not only suffering from an abnormal situation but also is being punished by not as yet having received a satisfactory agreement whereby the sugar employers and the workers in general are compensated by the terrible cuts in production in the island," read the resolution.[127] In 1937, when the Sugar Act was up for reauthorization, Iglesias pleaded, "It seems to me this great Nation should not consider treating citizens of one part of the United States differently from citizens of other parts of the United States."[128] But instead of providing Puerto Rico with a sugar quota for export to the continental United States, the law limited the island to providing only for its own consumption.[129]

"The Great Social Laboratory"

Roosevelt and his academic advisors, known as the Brains Trust, also orchestrated a series of micromanaged relief projects on the island, which proved to be a turning point in Puerto Rico's colonial relationship with the United States. The island's dire economic situation demonstrated severe weaknesses in the colonial system. Members of the Roosevelt administration, notably Ernest Gruening and Rexford Guy Tugwell, determined that historically there had not been enough federal intervention in Puerto Rico. Referred to as "the great social laboratory," the island became an experiment in localized government reform as well as a jumping-off point for American diplomacy in Latin America.[130] While this policy fostered a previously absent professional class, it also had the unintended effect of radicalizing the Nationalist movement.

From left, Puerto Rican Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell chats with Elmer Ellsworth, a PPD official, and naval officer Vernon de Mars at La Fortaleza, the governor's residence in San Juan. Tugwell's successor, Resident Commissioner Jesús T. Piñero, became the first native-born Puerto Rican to serve as governor of the island.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Luis Muñoz Marín was elected as the first governor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1948. His party colleague (and appointed gubernatorial predecessor) Jesús Piñero helped to push the Elective Governor Act of 1948 through Congress.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

A major change in the U.S. government's oversight over Puerto Rico involved transferring the island's jurisdiction from the War Department to the Interior Department, establishing the Division of Territories and Island Possessions (DTIP) on May 29, 1934. The move placed the management of all U.S. territories in a single office and, more significant, moved Puerto Rico out of the military's jurisdiction.[131] Embracing the change, two local leaders, Puerto Rican agronomist Carlos Chardón and Liberal Party leader Luis Muñoz Marín—the son of former Resident Commissioner Luis Muñoz Rivera—proposed an economic aid plan that focused on breaking up the sugar conglomerates. Published as the *Report of the Puerto Rico Policy Commission*, the provision was popularly known as Plan Chardón.[132] The Roosevelt administration initially embraced the plan and, in an effort to implement it, Roosevelt also created the Puerto Rican Reconstruction Administration (PRRA) in 1936.[133] Gruening was named the agency's administrator, and led a bureaucracy of 53,000 employees at its peak, making him "the political and economic czar over Puerto Rican affairs," in the words of one historian.[134] The PRRA eventually "grew into a vast apparatus, staffed by a new generation of reform-minded professionals," according to other historians.[135]

Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias offered qualified opposition to the creation of the PRRA and the implementation of Plan Chardón. While noting that the plan was "expected to inaugurate a new era of social justice," he disapproved of its failure to address the needs of the cane workers. "A large percentage of our population is composed of peasants whose only source of livelihood is derived from their work in the cane fields," he observed. "The standard of living and education among the poorer classes, although constantly improving, is not as high as we should like to see it, and there is a dire need for improvement."[136] Additionally, as a Coalitionist, he rejected the PRRA's tendency to favor the Liberal Party in filling its patronage positions, accusing Muñoz Marín and Chardón of creating a "supergovernment" beyond the scope of the local legislature.[137] Indeed, led by Coalitionists in the insular legislature, the PRRA soon succumbed to the battle for local control. Puerto Rican administrators, including Chardón, resigned following administrative differences with Gruening, depriving the agency of a local face. Gruening resigned from the PRRA under a cloud in 1939.[138]

Gruening's oversight over the PRRA, described by one observer as "one of the most repressive periods in U.S. rule," centered on larger foreign political implications rather than on altruistic concerns to alleviate Puerto Rican suffering.[139] Economic intervention on the island was linked to Latin America generally and served as a way to test the "Good Neighbor" Policy. In his first inaugural address, President Roosevelt promised to intervene to help alleviate the effects of economic depression on the United States' Latin American neighbors. Interpreted as an "early version of foreign aid," U.S. policy in Puerto Rico was a means to establish a better relationship with Latin America.[140]

Government intervention in the form of the PRRA also drastically shifted the makeup of the Puerto Rican economy. Agriculture's share of the island's economy dropped from nearly 50 percent in 1929 to 30 percent a decade later. However, an increase in the number of government workers mirrored this

decline. The number employed by the federal or insular government in 1939 was more than double the number in 1929 (making up 32 percent versus 14 percent of the national income).[141] The result was a new, politically minded, white-collar class of Puerto Rican men and women who helped transform the island's politics later in the 20th century.[142]

Puerto Rican Independence

The economic upheaval of the Great Depression initiated a wave of anti-Americanism in Puerto Rico that crested in the mid-1930s. Formed in 1922 when the dominant Partido de Unión (Union Party) dropped independence from its platform, the Partido Nacionalista (Nationalist Party), who called for complete Puerto Rican independence, were never a significant force in their own right, but an electoral alliance with the Partido Liberal (Liberal Party) in the 1932 election as well as an increase in deadly protests catapulted them into the public eye. On February 23, 1936, members of the Nationalist Youth Movement, Hiram Rosado and Elías Beauchamp, assassinated insular police commissioner Francis Riggs. The two young men were arrested at the scene and taken to a police station. Claiming the youths had attempted to steal their weapons, the arresting officers shot both assassins dead while they were in custody. Puerto Ricans of all political stripes condemned the outburst of violence and agreed with Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias, who on the House Floor called the act a "tragic and brutal assassination" and a "dastardly crime" and demanded an independent investigation.[143] Among others, Nationalist leader Albizu Campos was indicted for murder. After the initial trial ended in a hung jury, a new panel found all the defendants guilty. Campos received a sentence of 10 years but was paroled after six.

The increase in violence attracted attention in the U.S. Congress, but congressional reaction reflected a callousness toward issues regarding Puerto Rican status. On April 23, 1936, Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland, chairman of the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs and a personal friend of the deceased Riggs, introduced S. 4529. The bill granted Puerto Rico independence if the island's voters approved it in a plebiscite but provided little political or financial aid for such a transition. Moreover, the bill levied a draconian 25 percent tariff on goods exported from Puerto Rico to the United States, a move that would choke an already ailing economy. "Senator Tydings' presentation of the bill was the act of an angry man," notes a scholar. "There was no statesmanship about it."[144] Puerto Ricans denounced the bill as an attempt to discredit independence and some city halls, plazas, and schools lowered the American flag at the news of its introduction.[145] Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias swiftly condemned the Tydings Bill. "I certainly am sorry that I have lived to see the day the great American Government would ask our people to commit suicide," he chided. "That is what independence, as it has been offered, means."[146]

The bill did not gain much traction and eventually died; however, it generated much congressional ire. Tydings introduced a version of his bill five times over the next decade.[147] The legislation also incited Nationalist violence. While campaigning in October 1936, Santiago Iglesias suffered a gunshot

Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland, a World War I veteran elected to the Maryland house of delegates, later served in the U.S. House for two terms and in the Senate for four terms.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

In this 1898 cartoon, Uncle Sam offers a suit of "stars and stripes" to a young Puerto Rican. The question of Puerto Rico's assimilation and status remained a constant source of political disagreement on the island and in Congress.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

This 1899 image, "Uncle Sam's Burden," shows a U.S. soldier carrying three dark-skinned children (representing the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba) in a backpack made out of the U.S. flag.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

The Puerto Rico Governor's office was used as a reward for political supporters, as was the case when President Warren G. Harding appointed Emmet Montgomery Reily, of Kansas City, to the post in 1921. Reily's tumultuous tenure as governor lasted for less than two years.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

wound during an assassination attempt. Five suspects were apprehended, and Iglesias continued his campaign event with a bandaged arm. On March 21, 1937, Nationalists planning to demonstrate in Ponce as part of Palm Sunday festivities had their parade license revoked. After they demonstrated anyway, armed police officers fired into the crowd, killing 21 people and wounding more than 100. Two police officers were among the dead.[148] The violence, which peaked with the disaster in Ponce, and Senator Tydings's extreme reaction to it were symptomatic of Puerto Rico's nebulous relationship with the United States. It was Tydings's attempt to address the island's legal status directly on the Senate Floor that transformed a local matter to an issue of national prominence.

Puerto Rico's Continental Governors

The attempts by Resident Commissioners to balance home rule with federal intervention created numerous political battles with Puerto Rico's continental governors. The Foraker and Jones Acts empowered the U.S. President to appoint a territorial governor for Puerto Rico, with the advice and consent of the U.S. Senate.[149] There were 19 appointees from 1900 to 1946, with mixed results.[150] Many Puerto Ricans considered continental governors illegitimate and treated them accordingly. Appointees were beholden only to their presidential patrons and therefore were not directly accountable to those they governed. "As long as the governor kept in the good graces of a president, there was little likelihood that even the opposition of some members of Congress would put his job in jeopardy," observes a scholar.[151] Most had little familiarity with the island before they were appointed. Puerto Ricans often reflexively dismissed the governor's authority. Governor Theodore Roosevelt, Jr. (1929–1932) quipped that unless an appointee had been born in Puerto Rico, he could be the "Archangel Gabriel" and still fail to win the "backing of the community."[152] The son of the "Rough Rider" and the U.S. President was one of the more popular appointees. Upon accepting his post, he read as much as he could about Puerto Rico and attempted to learn Spanish; throughout his tenure, he earned Puerto Ricans' respect by speaking, however brokenly, in their native tongue.[153] However, most governors were frequently at odds with the local political elites. Two in particular clashed with Resident Commissioners, who called for their removal, revealing another fault line between local and federal forces.

E. Mont Reily

Emmet Montgomery Reily, or E. Mont Reily, as he preferred to be called, was a Kansas City newspaper editor and a Republican political operative who was appointed territorial governor of Puerto Rico by President Warren G. Harding in May 1921. While Harding sought to reward Reily for supporting him early in his campaign, he wanted to keep the abrasive Missourian far from Washington, D.C. Even before Reily arrived on the island in midsummer of 1921, his "tactlessness and ineptitude" had alienated many Puerto Ricans.[154] The governor's post required the deft hand and managerial agility of a seasoned statesman, but Reily behaved as though he was a city ward boss, inserting into prominent civil offices Kansas City cronies who had no knowledge of Spanish or basic administrative experience. Most vexing to Puerto Ricans, Reily advocated

"100% Americanism," meaning he expected island residents to speak English, salute only the U.S. flag, and adopt the mainland's culture, excluding their Spanish heritage.

Resident Commissioner Félix Córdova Dávila led the campaign to oust Reily from office, appealing to Congress to investigate the governor for malfeasance and gross incompetence. On March 2, 1922, Córdova Dávila delivered a lengthy speech asking colleagues "to protest against and ask relief from the acts of an unprincipled, un-American, and altogether unfitted administrator."[155] He listed Reily's numerous violations of the letter and the spirit of the Jones Act, chief among them disregarding the legislative powers of the insular senate and removing judiciary and executive officials arbitrarily and without cause. To underscore the power and importance of regional perceptions of U.S. rule in Puerto Rico, Córdova Dávila reminded Members that Puerto Rican relations with "the Latin-American people are very close, and the success of the United States in the policy of friendship and brotherhood with our neighbors of the Latin race will depend to a great extent on the success in Porto Rico." In this respect the Resident Commissioner deemed Reily "more an enemy of the people of the United States than of the island."[156] Less than a week later, Córdova Dávila presented to the House a resolution adopted by the Puerto Rican senate by a 15 to 3 majority, declaring Reily to be "a vulgar agitator and an irresponsible despot." The resolution requested that Congress formally investigate the governor and asked President Harding to remove him from office.[154]

Benjamin G. Humphreys of Mississippi, a Democrat and a former chairman of the Committee on Territories, took to the House Floor in April 1922 to argue for a House investigation into Reily's tenure as governor. The chairman of the

An eight-term House incumbent, Horace M. Towner of Iowa had a cordial relationship with Resident Commissioner Félix Córdova Dávila. Governor Towner supported two bills that Córdova Dávila submitted in 1924 and 1928 to enable the island to select its own governor.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Horace M. Towner of Iowa was inaugurated as governor of Puerto Rico after he resigned from the House in April 1923.

Image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

Appointed by Governor William B. Leahy to serve the remainder of Santiago Iglesias's term as Resident Commissioner, Bolivar Pagán, Iglesias's son-in-law, sought New Deal programs for Puerto Rico. Pagán also had a contentious relationship with appointed Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell for the remainder of his congressional career.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Rules Committee, Philip Campbell of Kansas, interjected that the President should decide the matter or that Reily should request an inquiry to clear his name; while the House had the power to impeach Reily, Campbell noted that doing so would be "wholly impracticable" because it would take too long.[158]

The House never launched an inquiry, but Reily resigned in February 1923, citing health issues. Evidence suggests that President Harding's patience had been exhausted and that Reily was prodded to leave. The President named Reily's successor in short order, tapping House Insular Affairs Committee chairman Horace Towner of Iowa in early March. Towner immediately set about conciliating the dominant Union Party. During a brief tribute to Towner on the House Floor, Córdova Dávila read a cable from the president of the Puerto Rican senate expressing the island's "great enthusiasm" for Towner's appointment.[159]

World War II and Rexford Tugwell

For the United States, World War II reinforced the importance of Puerto Rico's location. "Puerto Rico is in a strategic position from the defense standpoint of the Nation and will play an important role in America's defense program," Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes informed speaker of the Puerto Rican house Miguel Angel García Méndez in June 1940. "A high degree of loyalty and willingness to make great personal sacrifices are demanded of each of us.… It seems to me incumbent upon every Puerto Rican, as it is upon every citizen of the United States, to set aside prejudices and selfish interests in order to meet the challenge that confronts us as a result of the European situation."[160] The construction of the Roosevelt Roads military base on the eastern tip of Puerto Rico in 1943 not only highlighted federal interest in the island's strategic importance, but also led to an improved infrastructure such as new facilities including airports, harbors, docks, highways, and housing developments. Resident Commissioner Bolívar Pagán noted Puerto Rico's role as the "Gibraltar of the Caribbean … the American watchdog at the entrance of the Panama Canal."[161] Pagán addressed Puerto Rico's combat role in a speech just before the vote declaring war on Japan on December 8, 1941: "On behalf of these 2,000,000 American citizens of Puerto Rico I can pledge the fortunes, the lives, and the honor of my people to fight and die for this great country," he intoned.[162]

Puerto Rico's economic recovery was short-lived due to German U-boat activity during the war which limited shipping traffic in the Caribbean.[163] By 1942 Puerto Rico was virtually without basic goods, including beans, milk, eggs, meat, and cattle feed.[164] The inability to export local products compounded food shortages. A record low of 7,263 tons of cargo reached the island in September 1942—representing 7 percent of the monthly average for 1940.[165] Throughout the war, prices for imported food rose by more than 90 percent.[166] The only meat for sale in Puerto Rican markets was pigs' ears and tails and soaring prices on these products forced the Office of Price Administration, the agency charged with organizing wartime rationing, to intervene and fix prices.[167] Though few people died of starvation, malnourishment, particularly among the poor, proved to be a lasting problem.[168]

Puerto Rican Governor Rexford Guy Tugwell soon came under attack for Puerto Rico's wartime distress. Described as "too handsome to get any sympathy," Tugwell was a "brainstruster" hired from Columbia University in 1932 by the newly elected President Roosevelt, and served in the Department of Agriculture for most of his federal career. Tugwell's outspoken defense of the New Deal often made him the "whipping boy" for Roosevelt's detractors and a lightning rod for the media. Tugwell's advocacy of government land use planning eventually earned him the moniker "Rex the Red" from critics who equated his approach with that of Communist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union.[169] Known for his lofty vocabulary, soft-spokenness, and direct action, Tugwell was eventually forced to leave the Roosevelt administration in 1936 because of his controversial reputation. In July 1941, Roosevelt named Tugwell chancellor of the Universidad de Puerto Rico (University of Puerto Rico). After Governor Guy Swope resigned the following August, the President tapped him to fill the vacancy.

Tugwell's appointment drew howls of protest, especially from Resident Commissioner Bolívar Pagán, whose opposition stemmed primarily from local political rivalries. Tugwell favored Pagán's political rival, Luis Muñoz Marín, and the Partido Popular Democrático (Popular Democratic Party). Yet the Resident Commissioner also had allies in Congress, who disapproved of the governor's work during the New Deal, including the powerful House Rules Committee, whose members accused Tugwell of engaging in communist activities while administering the Farm Subsidy Administration (FSA).[170] Detractors also noted that congressional committees led by Democrats and tasked with overseeing the governor's performance, were generally ignorant of the island's current events.[171] Senator Arthur Vandenberg, a Michigan Republican, submitted a bill in January 1943 to remove Tugwell as part of a larger investigation of Roosevelt's New Deal initiatives.[172] Vandenberg described him "as a starry eyed crystal gazer whose reddish dreams have already cost us hundreds of millions of dollars," adding that Puerto Rico had a "Tugwell crisis" as well as a food crisis.[173] The Senate Committee on Territories approved the legislation on January 18, 1943.[174] Representative Fred Crawford of Michigan introduced a House resolution threatening to annul seven laws passed under Tugwell's administration, calling the governor "a dictator over the agriculture and the sugar industry."[175]

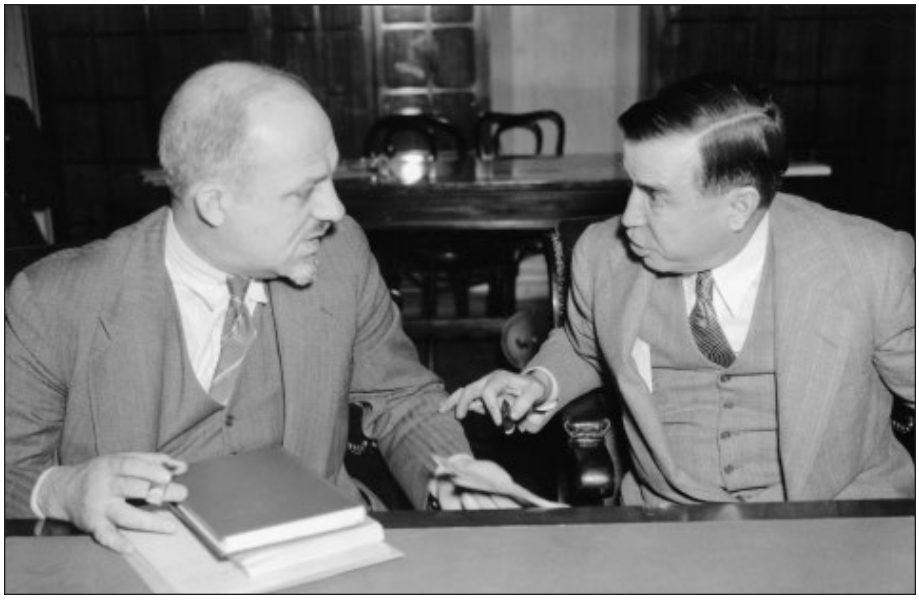
Bolstered by congressional support, Pagán and his attacks on the governor soon made headlines during Puerto Rico's food crisis. A proposed and desperately needed $15 million emergency food program, which Pagán supported with the stipulation that Tugwell resign, brought the situation to a head. Primarily out of disdain for Tugwell, conservative elements in Congress allied with Pagán. In a House Agriculture Committee hearing on the food aid bill, Representative Harry Coffee of Nebraska accused Tugwell of conducting "experiments in national socialism," and the hearing soon dissolved into a forum to critique Tugwell's leadership. The ongoing battle over food aid inspired two congressional committees, one of them headed by New Mexico Senator Dennis Chavez, to investigate the situation in Puerto Rico.[176]

The Chavez and Bell Committees

The desperate situation in Puerto Rico, allusions to communism, and the underlying partisanship exacerbated the problems in America's colonial relationship with Puerto Rico, and on January 28, 1943, the Senate passed a resolution authorizing the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs to create an investigatory subcommittee to explore the situation on the island. The vote limited the study to Puerto Rico's economic and social considerations rather than a full investigation into its political machinations, and Senator Chavez was selected to chair the committee. Using a political strategy that political scientists later dubbed "surrogate representation," the New Mexican Senator took responsibility for the welfare of Hispanic Americans beyond his state's borders.[177] "Suppose we do let them starve," Chavez said to the Senate. "Congress is responsible for those people," he noted. "I want to feed those people … and that's all."[178]

The Subcommittee on Senate Resolution 26, as it was formally known, flew to Puerto Rico in early February 1943. "We have no preconceived ideas nor bring any conclusions on the subject matter of our study, and only want to visit the Island with the idea of helping Puerto Rico," Chavez said after landing.[179] The Chavez committee toured Puerto Rico, concluding that the island had an "almost unsolvable" crisis wherein population growth outstripped its capacity for food production.[180] The subcommittee recommended that the United States begin transporting the unemployed to the mainland to alleviate work shortages and bolster the wartime labor force throughout the country.[181] More to the point, the Chavez committee, and eventually the Senate, supported $50 million in funding over two years for public works programs on the island.[182]

Five months later, the House of Representatives sent an equivalent subcommittee to Puerto Rico to conduct its own investigation. Led by Democrat Representative C. Jasper Bell of Missouri, the panel dissected the island's political culture, especially Governor Tugwell's leadership, often excluding from its consideration the wartime food shortage. According



Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico (right) discusses the installation of government radio stations with law professor Herbert Wright of The Catholic University of America during a Senate Interstate Commerce Committee hearing in May 1938.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

to Tugwell, the House subcommittee had "prejudged the entire situation" and was conducting hearings to expose graft and corruption rather than exploring the underlying economic problems. Moreover, Tugwell said, "the majority of the Committee was obviously interested in discrediting the Chavez Committee's work."[183] The House investigation, with its broader jurisdiction, was indeed more critical than Chavez's hearings, which early on placed responsibility with the War Shipping Administration, but eventually refused to directly assign blame.[184] Ultimately, the subcommittee report concluded, "Political leaders in Puerto Rico have chartered a course which will eventually destroy individual liberties of the people and enslave them eventually by setting up a form of government wholly alien to our own."[185] Though the subcommittee recommended more study, its members clearly wanted Tugwell dismissed. "We have no experiences from circumstances and conditions on the mainland which can be used as the basis for solving Puerto Rico's problems," the committee report said.[186] The subcommittee's wish had nearly come true in early 1943, when the Senate's Territories Committee voted 9 to 3 in favor of terminating Tugwell's tenure.[187]

CONCLUSION

The investigations by the Chavez and Bell committees were a prelude to a new era in which Puerto Ricans took greater control over their local affairs. While the committees' recommendations provided the framework for a modified set of insular guidelines, Puerto Rico retained its uncertain status in the annals of American policy. It remained stuck between annexation and independence, and much of the confusion stemmed from diplomatic and cultural misunderstandings between lawmakers and the island's inhabitants.[188] "Puerto Rico is a Protean affair," said Senator Homer Bone of Washington, who sat on the Chavez committee. "Just as you think you have sized it up, it turns into something else." He spoke for many in Congress when he concluded, "I am slightly confused." [189] Even Senator Chavez had once called Puerto Rico's situation "baffling."[190]

Congressional action regarding Puerto Rico for the first half of the 19th century proved to be a series of experiments in colonial policy. Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners navigated these waters from a position of relative isolation and little power, in an attempt to protect the needs and the heritage of their constituents while appealing to American markets and protection. Like other statutory representatives, Resident Commissioners were limited; their ability to legislate was in the hands of their colleagues. One such colleague, Senator Chavez, sought to aid and clarify the mainland's relationship with Puerto Rico. Chavez promoted increased autonomy for the island, and surprised many Puerto Ricans when he advocated incorporating the territory into the national narrative. "I want Puerto Rico to take a place in the American scheme of things as Americans," he told the press. "On independence, as far as I'm concerned, you can forget about it." Puerto Rico's economy, he believed, would be better served if Puerto Rico remained a U.S. affiliate rather than an independent country.[191] "I would like to see Puerto Rico run her own affairs—as Americans," Chavez said.[192]

"A place in the American scheme of things as Americans" was the impulse behind the post–World War II Hispanic civil rights movement, as returning veterans sought to advance Hispanic political participation to promote a more egalitarian society. Dennis Chavez himself would turn away from Puerto Rican issues to focus on national concerns and the needs of his New Mexican constituents. The island would undergo a significant political transformation under the dominant Popular Democratic Party. Advancing in the ever-present struggle between local and federal control, Puerto Ricans would win by 1950 the right to elect their own governor and write their own constitution. Though the establishment of the Puerto Rican commonwealth in 1952 would provide Puerto Ricans a measure of autonomy, many of the difficulties that arose from the island's arbitrary relationship with the United States in the first half of the century would persist. And though Resident Commissioners would experience only incremental changes in their ability to participate in Congress, an increasing overall number of Hispanic Members would result in better organization. The creation of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in 1976 would partially alleviate the "tomb-like isolation" lamented by Luis Muñoz Rivera more than a half-century before.[193]

NOTES

1 "El representante debe merecer la confianza del representado: esa confianza ha debido obteneria con su historia, en la cual estén consignados los hechos que ha realizado en la lucha por el bien de la patria, justificadas sus condiciones intelectuales, demostrado su carácter, y evidenciado su amor a la libertad." Un Imparcial, "Gatell y Degetau: A elegir." *La correspondencia* (San Juan, PR), 15 October 1900: 2. Translated as "Gatell and Degetau: To the Polls," by Translations International, Inc. (May 2009).

2 *Congressional Record*, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess. (28 February 1900): 2420.

3 Many historians consider this era the age of "scientific racism," that is, the systematic exclusion of nonwhites due to white supremacism, from participation in America's politics, economy, and society. For an overview, see Devon G. Peña, "Scientific Racism," in Suzanne Oboler and Deena J. González, eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*, vol. 4 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005): 87–93. Eric T. L. Love thoroughly examines the historiography of race and empire in *Race over Empire: Racism & U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004): 1–26.

4 For a discussion of surrogate representation using modern examples, see Jane Mansbridge, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes,'" *Journal of Politics* 61 (1999): 628–657.

5 Quoted in Mack Reynolds, *Puerto Rican Patriot: The Life of Luis Muñoz Rivera* (New York: Crowell-Collier Press, 1969): 87.

6 "Appoints Bolivar Pagan," 27 December 1939, *New York Times*: 9; "Memorial Services Held in the House of Representatives of the United States, Together with Remarks Presented in Eulogy of Santiago Iglesias, Late a Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941): 33.

7 On average, 78 percent of House Members from 1900 to 1950 had some postsecondary education. Roughly half (56 percent) practiced law. See Allan G. Bogue et al., "Members of the House of Representatives and the Processes of Modernization, 1789–1960," *Journal of American History* 63, no. 2 (September 1976): 275–302.

8 Senator Octaviano Larrazolo was one of these individuals, having served as a state representative and as governor of New Mexico before his Senate service.

9 "Louisiana Beauty Who Is to Enter Washington Society This Winter," 19 November 1913, *Washington Post*: 4.

10 For information on living arrangements and on Muñoz Rivera's son's office position, see A. W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan, PR: La Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006): 31–33.

11 Gonzalo F. Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times* (Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1993): 271.

12 CLXXVI Cannon's Precedents § 245 (p. 417); *Congressional Record*, House, 61st Cong., 2nd sess. (7 January 1910): 406; *House Journal*, 61st Cong., 2nd sess. (7 January 1910): 131.

13 "Yo fuí asignado las oficinas No. 145, en el edificio de Miembros de la Cámara … Este edificio que esta dos cuadras del capitolio, contiene oficina del teléfono y telégrafo, restaurantes especiales y todo lo necesario para la comodidad." Néstor Montoya, "Notas de Washington," *La bandera americana* (Albuquerque, NM), 18 March 1921: 2. Translated as "Notes from Washington" by Translations International, Inc. (July 2009).

14 *Downes v. Bidwell*, 182 US 244 (27 May 1901).

15 Gervasio Luis Garcia, "I Am The Other: Puerto Rico in the Eyes of North Americans, 1898," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (June 2000): 44.

16 See Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire,* rev. ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991). For a comprehensive account of 19th-century territorial expansion, see George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

17 The classic work on American imperialism at the turn of the 20th century remains Walter LaFeber, *New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898,* 35th Anniversary ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998). See also Jeannette P. Nichols, "The United States Congress and Imperialism, 1861–1897," *Journal of Economic History* 21, no. 4 (December 1961).

18 Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*, 304–309; George Thomas Kurian, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Republican Party*, vol. 2 (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1997): 457–462.

19 For more information on the buildup to the war and its effects on America's political culture, see Herring, *From Colony to Superpower*; LaFeber, *New Empire*; Robert L. Beisner, *From the Old Diplomacy to the New, 1965–1900* (Wheeling, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1986); and Charles S. Campbell, *Transformation of American Foreign Relations, 1865–1900* (New York: HarperCollins, 1976).

20 John L. Offner, *An Unwanted War: The Diplomacy of the United States and Spain over Cuba, 1895–1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992): 122–123. For example, the *New York Times* reported that "the Maine's 250 perished through the treachery and murderous ingenuity of the Spanish." See "National Capital Topics," 6 March 1898, *New York Times*: 13.

21 Historians debate the role of the *Maine* incident in provoking the war. See Louis A. Perez, Jr., "The Meaning of the Maine: Causation and the Historiography of the Spanish-American War," *Pacific Historical Review* 58 (Aug. 1998): 293–322.

22 *Congressional Record*, House, 55th Cong., 2nd sess. (13 April 1898): 3820–3821; "Congress Tells Spain to Go," 14 April 1898, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 1. The Senate had concurred with the House in a 51 to 37 vote earlier in the evening of April 16. *Congressional Record*, Senate, 55th Cong., 2nd sess. (16 April 1898): 3993; "The Senate for Free Cuba," 17 April 1898, *New York Times*: 1.

23 "Cuba Free," 19 April 1898, *Boston Globe*: 1; "An Act Declaring that War Exists Between the United States of American and the Kingdom of Spain," 30 Stat. 364. See also Lewis L. Gould, *The Presidency of William McKinley* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1980): 84–88.

24 Luis Martínez-Fernández, "Puerto Rico in the Whirlwind of 1898: Conflict, Continuity, and Change," *OAH Magazine of History* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1998): 26.

25 Luis Martínez-Fernández, "Political Culture in the Hispanic Caribbean and the Building of U.S. Hegemony, 1868–1945," *Revista Mexicana del Caribe* 6, no. 11 (2001): 14.

26 Martínez-Fernández, "Political Culture in the Hispanic Caribbean and the Building of U.S. Hegemony, 1868–1945": 14–15.

27 Ibid., 19.

28 Ibid., 17.

29 Tomás Sarramía Roncero, *Los gobernadores de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, PR: Publicaciones Puertoriqueñas, Inc., 1993); Roberto H. Todd, *Desfile de gobernadores de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, PR: Imprenta Baldrich, 1943).

30 Luis Muñoz Rivera, *Tropicales* (New York: H. M. Call Printing Company, 1902): 147–152.

31 Jose A. Cabranes, *Citizenship and the American Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979): 26–35.

32 Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, *Temporary Civil Government for Porto Rico*, 56th Cong., 1st sess., 1900, S. Rep. 249, 14–15.

33 *Congressional Record*, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess. (28 February 1900): 2429–2430. See debate on the bill on pp. 2401–2430, especially the quotations on pp. 2402–2407, 2410–2412, 2414, 2424, and 2426; William R. Tansill, "The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico," *Revista Juridica de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 47, nos. 1–2 (1978): 69–72.

34 See, for example, Hearing before the Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, *Industrial and Other Conditions of the Island of Puerto Rico, and the Form of Government Which Should be Adopted for It*, 56th Cong., 1st sess. (5 February 1900): 176–182. R. B. Horton, ed., House Committee on Insular Affairs, *Committee Reports, Hearings, and Acts of Congress Corresponding Thereto*, 56th Cong., 1st and 2nd sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904): 337.

35 "Puerto Rico Is Able to Support Itself," 22 March 1900, *New York Times*: 5.

36 "An Act Temporarily to Provide Revenues and Civil Government for Porto Rico, and other Purposes" (Foraker Act), 31 Stat. 77–86, 1896–1901; Stephen W. Stathis, *Landmark Legislation 1774–2002: Major Acts and Treaties* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2003): 148–149.

37 For an account of Muñoz Rivera's reaction to the Foraker Act in the context of his son's coming of age in a political family, see Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*: 27–28.

38 Hon. Luis Muñoz Rivera, "Are the Porto Rican People Prepared for Self-Government," extract from remarks of Hon. Tulio Larrínaga in the House of Representatives, 8 May 1908 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908): 7.

39 Northwest Ordinance, Section 12, Article 5. For a description of the evolution of territorial incorporation, the classic study is Max Farrand, *Legislation of Congress for the Government of the Organized Territories of the United States, 1789–1895* (Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 2000; reprint of 1896 edition). A more recent study is James E. Kerr, *The Insular Cases: The Role of the Judiciary in American Expansionism* (Kennikat, NY: Kennikat Press, 1982): 3–13. For a succinct overview, see Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, "Between the Foreign and the Domestic: The Doctrine of Territorial Incorporation, Invented and Reinvented," in Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, eds., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001): 1–36. For a recent interpretation, see Burnett, "Untied States: American Expansion and Territorial Deannexation," *University of Chicago Law Review* 72, no. 3 (Summer 2005): 797–879.

40 Bartholomew Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006): 10, 40–55.

41 Efrén Rivera Ramos, "Insular Cases," in Oboler and González eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*, vol. 2: 386–387.

42 Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire*: 5, 257. Sparrow cites the number of cases as 35, whereas Pratt cites it as 14. Another study cites the number of cases as 22. Regardless of the number, the three studies agree on the important cases that defined the concepts of "incorporation" and "nonincorporation" of territories; Walter F. Pratt, Jr.,"Insular

Cases," in Kermit L. Hall, ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005): 500–501.

43 Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire*: 86.

44 Roland I. Perusse, *The United States and Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Equality* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1990): 19–20; Alfredo Montalvo-Barbot, *Political Conflict and Constitutional Change in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997): 63–64.

45 Perusse, *The United States and Puerto Rico*: 20.

46 Donald A. Yerxa, "The United States Navy in Caribbean Waters during World War I," *Military Affairs* 51, no. 4 (October 1987): 182, 185; Burnett, "Untied States: American Expansion and Territorial Deannexation": 797–879; César J. Ayala and José L. Bolívar, *Battleship Vieques: Puerto Rico from World War II to the Korean War* (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2011).

47 "La palabra lealtad tendrá mayor significado si lo admitimos al conglomerado de nuestra ciudadanía. De lo contrario, siempre habrá elementos descontentos que agitarán a favor de la cuptura del lazo." Quoted in María Eugenia Estades Font, *La presencia militar de Estados Unidos en Puerto Rico, 1898–1918: Intereses estratégico y dominación colonial* (Río Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracán, 1988): 209. Translated as *The Military Presence of the United States in Puerto Rico 1898–1918: Strategic Interests and Colonial Domination* by Translations International, Inc. (May 2010).

48 For Córdova Dávila's complete committee testimony regarding the bill, see Hearings before the Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions, *The Civil Government of Porto Rico, Part 2*, 68th Cong., 1st sess. (9 March 1924): 87–92.

49 Ibid.

50 The governor and the President also retained veto power over legislation. Stathis, *Landmark Legislation*: 174.

51 José E. Rios, "The Office of Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico," unpublished M.A. thesis, Georgetown University (9 May 1969): 11–12.

52 *Congressional Record*, House, 64th Cong., 1st sess. (5 May 1916): 7471, 7473.

53 Martínez-Fernández, "Political Culture in the Hispanic Caribbean and the Building of U.S. Hegemony, 1868–1945": 33.

54 Ibid., 29.

55 Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*: 35.

56 Héctor Luis Acevedo, "Luis Muñoz Rivera and the Foundations of Contemporary Autonomism," in *Perspectivas sobre Puerto Rico en homenaje a Muñoz Rivera y Muñoz Marín* (San Juan, PR: Fundación Luis Muñoz Marín, 1997): 36.

57 "Territories and Statehood," 23 June 1924, *Washington Post*: 6.

58 Truman R. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975): 76; see especially chapter 4.

59 Hearings before the House Committee on Insular Affairs, *Popular Election of the Governor of Porto Rico*, 70th Cong., 1st sess. (16 May 1928): 22.

60 Harwood Hull, "Puerto Rico Facing Doubtful Election," 18 September 1932, *New York Times*: E8.

61 Though the position of Resident Commissioner was initially created for Puerto Rico, the Philippines also sent Resident Commissioners to Congress from 1902 until it achieved independence in 1946.

62 Foraker Act, 31 Stat. 77, 86.

63 R. B. Horton, ed., Committee on Insular Affairs, House of Representatives, *Committee Reports, Hearings, and Acts of Congress Corresponding Thereto* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903): 34.

64 Tansill, "The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico": 69.

65 Senate Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, *Temporary Civil Government for Porto Rico*, 56th Cong., 1st sess. (5 February 1900), S. Rep, 249: 14–15.

66 *Congressional Record*, House, 56th Cong., 1st sess. (2 April 1900): 3632.

67 According to the Foraker Act, "qualified voters" in Puerto Rico were those "who have been bona fide residents for one year and who possess the other qualifications of voters under the laws and military orders in force on the first day of March, nineteen hundred." Such qualifications were subject to change per executive council restrictions. (31 Stat. 77, 83).

68 Foraker Act, 31 Stat. 77–86.

69 Starting in 1850, Territorial Delegates were first allowed to make motions, except for the motion to reconsider, which is dependent on the right to vote on the House Floor. See XLIII *Hinds' Precedents* § 1292 (pp. 862–863); *Congressional Globe*, House, 31st Cong., 1st sess. (20 August 1850): 1607.

70 "Commissioner in Name Only," 17 May 1902, *Baltimore Sun*: 4.

71 H. Res. 169, amending House Rule XXIV, 57th Cong., 1st sess.; Tansill, "The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico": 72.

72 *Congressional Record*, House, 57th Cong., 1st sess. (28 June 1902): 7608.

73 Tansill, "The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico": 72–73.

74 Ibid., 79–82.

75 *Congressional Record*, House, 64th Cong., 2nd sess. (5 May 1916): 7473.

76 Jorge Duany, "Race and Racialization," in Oboler and González, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*, vol. 3: 535. See pp. 537–538 for a detailed discussion of racial stereotypes about Puerto Ricans.

77 Elihu Root, *The Military and Colonial Policy of the United States: Addresses and Reports* (Cambridge, MA, 1916). Quoted in Gervasio Luis Garcia, "I Am The Other: Puerto Rico in the Eyes of North Americans, 1898," *Journal of American History* 87, no. 1 (June 2000): 39–40.

78 "Not an Inferior People," 30 June 1901, *Washington Post*: 5.

79 "Seek Statehood for Porto Rico," 31 October 1901, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 2.

80 *Congressional Record*, 58th Cong., 3rd sess. (19 January 1905): 1088–1090; "Porto Rican Heard in House," 20 January 1905, *San Francisco Chronicle*: 13.

81 For more on the relationship between Cannon and Muñoz Rivera, see Hon. Luis Muñoz Rivera, "Are the Porto Rican People Prepared for Self-Government," extract from remarks of Hon. Tulio Larrínaga in the House of Representatives, 8 May 1908 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1908): 7.

82 *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 64th Cong., 1st sess. (5 May 1916): 1036–1037.

83 *Congressional Record*, House, 64th Cong., 1st sess. (5 May 1916): 7484.

84 "Memorial Services Held in the House of Representatives of the United States, Together with Remarks Presented in Eulogy of Santiago Iglesias, Late a Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico," (Government Printing Office, 1941): 32.

85 Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín*: 32.

86 George Van Horn Moseley to Walter H. Newton, 19 October 1932; Presidential States File; Puerto Rico, General Correspondence; Herbert Hoover Papers; Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, IA.

87 Hearings before the House Committee on Insular Affairs, *Popular Election of the Governor of Porto Rico*, 70th Cong., 1st sess. (16 May 1928): 23.

88 "Ickes Assails School Policy in Puerto Rico," 8 April 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 13.

89 Robert T. Hill, "Porto Rico," *National Geographic* 10, no. 3 (March 1899): 112n.

90 Garcia, "I Am the Other:" 49–51.

91 House Committee on Insular Affairs, *Correct the Spelling of the Name of the Island of Porto Rico,* 72nd Cong., 1st sess., 1932, H. Rep. 585, 2.

92 *Congressional Record*, House, 72nd Cong., 1st sess. (11 May 1932): 10031.

93 Ibid., 10028.

94 *Congressional Record*, House, 72nd Cong., 1st sess. (13 May 1932): 10074.

95 *Congressional Record*, House, 72nd Cong., 1st sess. (11 May 1932): 10030.

96 As quoted in Charles Montgomery, "Becoming 'Spanish-American': Race and Rhetoric in New Mexico Politics, 1880–1928," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 20, no. 4 (Summer 2001): 60.

97 Carolyn Zeleny, *Relations between Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico* (New York: Arno Press, 1974; reprint of 1966 edition): 203–207; Ernest B. Fincher, *Spanish Americans as a Political Factor in New Mexico, 1912–1950* (New York: Arno Press, 1974): 101–109.

98 Charles Montgomery, "The Trap of Race and Memory: The Language of Spanish Civility on the Upper Rio Grande," *American Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (September 2000): 490.

99 Regarding the Republican voting base, see Jack E. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967): 148–153; Fincher, *Spanish-Americans as a Political Factor in New Mexico*: 101, 103.

100 Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*: 9; Montgomery, "The Trap of Race and Memory: The Language of Spanish Civility on the Upper Rio Grande": 480–481.

101 Phillip B. Gonzales, "The Political Construction of Latino Nomenclatures," *Journal of the Southwest* 35, no. 2 (Summer 1993): 161. Regarding the new settlers, see Gerald D. Nash, "New Mexico in the Otero Era: Some Historical Perspectives," *New Mexico Historical Review* 67, no. 1 (January 1992): 4. Regarding the changing definition of "Mexican," see Montgomery, "The Trap of Race and Memory": 491–493. See especially, Montgomery, "Becoming 'Spanish-American'": 59–84. Fincher describes the period from 1911 to 1930 as a "Republican-Democrat balance of power." See Fincher, *Spanish-Americans as a Political Factor in New Mexico*: 101.

102 As quoted in Paul F. Larrazolo, *Octaviano A. Larrazolo* (New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1986): 76–77.

103 Montgomery, "The Trap of Race and Memory": 481, 488.

104 Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico:* 227–231. There is still debate as to whether a "gentlemen's agreement" existed from 1911 to the end of New Mexico's nominating convention system in 1938. Political scientist Jack Holmes attempts to quantify convention nominations issued to *nuevomexicano* candidates for both the Democratic and Republican parties. More important, he has estimated the number of interparty matches that resulted in these nominations. Holmes surmises that out of the "thirteen state conventions of each party from 1911 through 1938, the Democrats allotted fifty-one nominations to candidates of Hispanic surname, and the Republicans, fifty-nine.… Just short of 63 percent of the fifty-nine Republican Hispanic nominations went to candidates for congress, secretary of state, auditor, and corporation commissioner; 75 percent of the fifty-one Democratic Hispanic nominations were for the same offices; and most of the occurrences of matching in the convention era are found in those nominations." He also estimates that out of a possible "fifty-one matched or Hispanic versus Hispanic candidacies … a total of thirty-five matches did occur."

105 Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Roots of Chicano Politics, 1600–1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994): 331–333; For a detailed discussion of the effects of the Democratic-Republican realignment on the 1934 U.S. Senate race, see Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*: 170–174.

106 It is unclear why Resident Commissioners received the additional assignments. See R. Eric Peterson, "Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico," 16 January 2009, Report RL31856, Congressional Research Service, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.: 3; Tansill, "The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico": 83; Rios, "The Office of Resident Commissioner of Puerto Rico": 44–45.

107 Charles Stewart III, "Committee Hierarchies in the Modernizing House, 1875–1947," *American Journal of Political Science* 36 (1992): 845–846.

108 Stewart, "Committee Hierarchies in the Modernizing House, 1875–1947."

109 Tansill, "The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico": 86–87.

110 James L. Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986): 136.

111 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 137.

112 Thomas G. Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960): 6–7; see also Teresita A. Levy, "The History of Tobacco Cultivation in Puerto Rico, 1899–1940," PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2007.

113 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 137.

114 Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times*: 285; Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States*, *1917–1933*: 109–110.

115 Manuel R. Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics: Puerto Rico during the Depression Era, 1932–1935* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2010): 23.

116 Statisics on the Puerto Rican economy following the stock market crash in 1929 can be found in Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 1–2; Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 136–143; and Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 96.

117 *Congressional Record*, House, 72nd Cong., 1st sess. (10 May 1932): 9966–9967.

118 "Remarks in San Juan, Puerto Rico," 7 July 1934, in John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* (Santa Barbara, CA), http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=14722 (accessed 15 February 2011).

119 See Marietta Morrissey, "The Making of a Colonial Welfare State: U.S. Social Insurance and Public Assistance in Puerto Rico," *Latin American Perspectives* 33, no. 1 (January 2006): 23–41.

120 The only commodity protected under the AAA and produced in Puerto Rico was tobacco, a shrinking industry. See Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 147; Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 32–33.

121 *Congressional Record*, House, 74th Cong., 1st sess. (28 February 1935): 2748.

122 For more information on the sugar industry under the Foraker Act, see Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century:* 33, 35, 38; Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 108–109; Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal*: 4–5.

123 Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 23; Henry Wells, *The Modernization of Puerto Rico: A Political Study of Changing Values and Institutions* (Harvard University Press, 1969): 114.

124 Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 96.

125 Ibid., 100–101; Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times*: 305; "The Sugar Act of 1937," Yale *Law Journal* 47, no. 6 (April 1938): 984–985.

126 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 171; see especially Table 3.8. Despite receiving a larger quota, Cuban sugar producers were hindered by continued trade barriers in the Jones–Costigan Act that affected Cuban sugar but not domestic sugar. See Ayala, *American Sugar Kingdom: The Plantation Economy of the Spanish Caribbean, 1898–1934* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999): especially chapters 3 and 8.

127 *Congressional Record*, House, 74th Cong., 1st sess. (21 February 1935): 2430.

128 *Congressional Record*, House, 75th Cong., 1st sess. (5 August 1937): 8317; see also Santiago Iglesias "Puerto Rico Talks Back," *Congressional Record*, Appendix, 75th Cong., 1st sess. (8 July 1937): A1708–1710.

129 Sugar Act of 1937, P.L. 75-414, 50 Stat. 905. Pagán took up Iglesias's mantle on sugar quotas after the former's death. Yet his request went unheeded. See "Increase Sought in Sugar Quota for Puerto Rico," 6 January 1940, *Wall Street Journal*: 9; Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico:* 171–172; see especially Table 3.8.

130 Pedro Cabán, "Puerto Rico, Colonialism In," in Oboler and González, eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*, vol. 3: 518.

131 For more on Gruening, see Robert David Johnson, "Anti-Imperialism and the Good Neighbour Policy: Ernest Gruening and Puerto Rico Affairs, 1934–1939," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29, no. 1 (February 1997): 89–110. See also Robert David Johnson, *Ernest*

Gruening and the American Dissenting Tradition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), especially chapter 4.

132 Several sources provide detailed outlines of the Chardón Plan. See, for example, Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 101–103; Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico:* 149–150; Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal*: 157–158; Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 128–135; and Johnson, "Anti-Imperialism and the Good Neighbour Policy": 98–99.

133 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 147; Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal*: 130; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 97.

134 Johnson, "Anti-Imperialism and the Good Neighbour Policy": 96.

135 Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 102.

136 *Congressional Record*, House, 74th Cong., 1st sess. (7 February 1935): 1676.

137 Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal*: 169; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 104; Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 136.

138 The Chardón Plan collapsed due to lack of funding by 1941, and the agency limped along until its liquidation in 1955. Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 136–137; Johnson, "Anti-Imperialism and the Good Neighbour Policy": 99, 109–110.

139 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 148.

140 Johnson, "Anti-Imperialism and the Good Neighbour Policy": 98.

141 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 138; see especially Table 3.1.

142 "Justo Pastor Rivera explica los planes de la PRERA," 6 January 1935, *El mundo*: 89. The article is quoted in Rodríguez, *A New Deal for the Tropics*: 71.

143 *Congressional Record*, House, 74th Cong., 2nd sess. (24 February 1936): 2716; "Puerto Rico Probe of Killings Begun," 25 February 1936, *Baltimore Sun*: 2.

144 Frank Otto Gatell, "Independence Rejected: Puerto Rico and the Tydings Bill of 1936," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 38, no. 1 (February 1958): 36, 44. Representative Marion Zioncheck of Washington claimed that with U.S. Marine protection, he could clean up the "Puerto Rican mess" in a week. See Gatell, "Independence Rejected: Puerto Rico and the Tydings Bill of 1936:" 36.

145 Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 112.

146 *Congressional Record*, House, 74th Cong., 2nd sess. (19 May 1936): 7522.

147 Perusse, *The United States and Puerto Rico*: 29. See Gatell, "Independence Rejected: Puerto Rico and the Tydings Bill of 1936": 36.

148 Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 116. According to Ronald I. Perusse, 19 people were killed. See Perusse, *The United States and Puerto Rico*: 24–25.

149 Foraker Act, 31 Stat. 81.

150 Sarramía Roncero, *Los gobernadores de Puerto Rico*. This figure includes Jesus Piñero, who was appointed by President Harry S. Truman and served from 1946 to 1949 as the first native governor. See also Todd, *Desfile de gobernadores de Puerto Rico*.

151 Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933*: 163.

152 Ibid., 164.

153 Ibid., 135, 140–141.

154 Ibid., 48–75; quotation on p. 74.

155 *Congressional Record*, House, 67th Cong., 2nd sess. (2 March 1922): 3301–3310; quotation on p. 3301.

156 Ibid., 3301, 3306.

157 *Congressional Record*, House, 67th Cong., 2nd sess. (8 March 1922): 3583–3584.

158 *Congressional Record*, House, 67th Cong., 2nd sess. (12 April 1922): 5406–5410.

159 *Congressional Record*, House, 67th Cong., 4th sess. (1 March 1923): 5037–5038.

160 Harold Ickes to Garcia Mendez, 4 June 1940, Doc 9-9-82- Politics-Elections-1940; Classified

Files, 1907–1951; Office of Territories, Record Group 126; National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD (hereinafter referred to as RG 126; NACP).

161 *Congressional Record*, House, 77th Cong., 1st sess. (8 December 1941): 9528.

162 Ibid.

163 "Sugar Storage Space in Cuba, Puerto Rico Adequate for Present," 13 April 1942, *Wall Street Journal*: 10.

164 "Moves in Congress to Oust Tugwell," 18 November 1942, *New York Times*: 16.

165 Office of Statistics, Office of the Governor and Division of Territories and Island Possessions, Department of the Interior, *The Puerto Rican Economy during the War Year of 1942*, June 1943: 2, Notes and Publications File, Box 19, William A. Brophy and Sophie Aberle Brophy Papers, Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, MO.

166 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 203.

167 Howard M. Norton, "Pig Tails, Ears, Only Meats in Puerto Rico Last Month," 18 December 1942, *Baltimore Sun*: 3.

168 Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico*: 204.

169 Michael V. Namorato, "Tugwell, Rexford Guy," *American National Biography*, 21 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 923–925 (hereinafter referred to as *ANB*).

170 "'Red Activities' of FSA Assailed by House Group," 11 March 1942, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 5.

171 "Dr. Tugwell in Puerto Rico," 20 November 1942, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 14.

172 John Fisher, "Vandenberg Bill Urges Ending of Tugwell Regime," 8 January 1943, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 9.

173 Chesly Manly, "Senate Blocks Quiz of Tugwell Rule on Island," 28 November 1942, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 9.

174 "Senate Group Votes Bill to Oust Tugwell," 19 January 1943, *Chicago Daily Tribune*: 1; "Senators Back Bill to Remove Tugwell," 19 January 1943, *New York Times*: 17; "Senate Committee Favors Ousting of Tugwell," 19 January 1943, *Washington Post*: 5.

175 "Tugwell: Give Puerto Rico More Self-Rule," 12 February 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 3.

176 Robert F. Whitney, "Puerto Rico Asks for Food," 13 December 1942, *New York Times*: E10.

177 Mansbridge, "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes.'" See also Representative Edward Roybal of California's eulogy of Chavez: *Congressional Record*, House, 88th Cong., 1st sess. (31 January 1963): 1536.

178 "Puerto Rican Aid Sought," 30 October 1942, *Baltimore Sun*: 9; Paul W. Ward, "Ickes Opposes Plan to Probe Puerto Rico," 19 November 1942, *Baltimore Sun*: 1.

179 As quoted in Enrique Lugo-Silva, *The Tugwell Administration in Puerto Rico, 1941–1946* (Rios Piedras, PR: self-published): 96. The subcommittee never seems to have adopted an official name. The name "Subcommittee on Senate Resolution 26" comes from Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, *Economic and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico*, 78th Cong., 1st sess. (15 December 1943) S. Rep. 628.

180 As quoted in "Senators Question Tugwell in San Juan," 14 February 1943, *New York Times*: 28.

181 Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, *Economic and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico*, 78th Cong., 1st sess., 1943, S. Rep. 628, 35.

182 "Puerto Rican Aid Backed in Senate," 3 April 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 3; "Passes Puerto Rico Bill," 13 May 1943, *New York Times*: 4.

183 Tugwell to Ickes, 18 June 1943, San Juan, PR, 9-8-59- Social & Economic Conditions-Investigations-Bell Committee General; RG 126; NACP.

184 The subcommittee report did, however, express frustration with federal officials' inability to coordinate their efforts or work together. "Chavez Report Thus Far Gives OK to Tugwell," 8 January 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 9; "Chavez Group Decries Rifts on Puerto Rico," 17 July 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 7.

185 House Committee on Insular Affairs, *Investigation of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico*, 79th Cong., 1st sess., 1945, H. Rep. 497: 36.

186 House Committee on Insular Affairs, *Investigation of Political, Economic, and Social Conditions in Puerto Rico*: 42. See also Pete McKnight, "Puerto Rico Split in Bell Hearing," 21 June 1943, *Baltimore Sun*: 1.

187 "Senate Committee Favors Ousting of Tugwell," 19 January 1943, *Washington Post*: 5.

188 Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 208.

189 Homer T. Bone to B. W. Thoron, 17 May 1944, Bethesda, MD., 9-8-59- Social & Economic Conditions- Investigations- Bell Committee (Part No. 1); RG 126; NACP.

190 Chavez Subcommittee to William A. Brophy, unknown date, 9-8-68 (Part No. 4)- Government- Organic Act- Amendments- Advisory Committee to the President- General; RG 126; NACP.

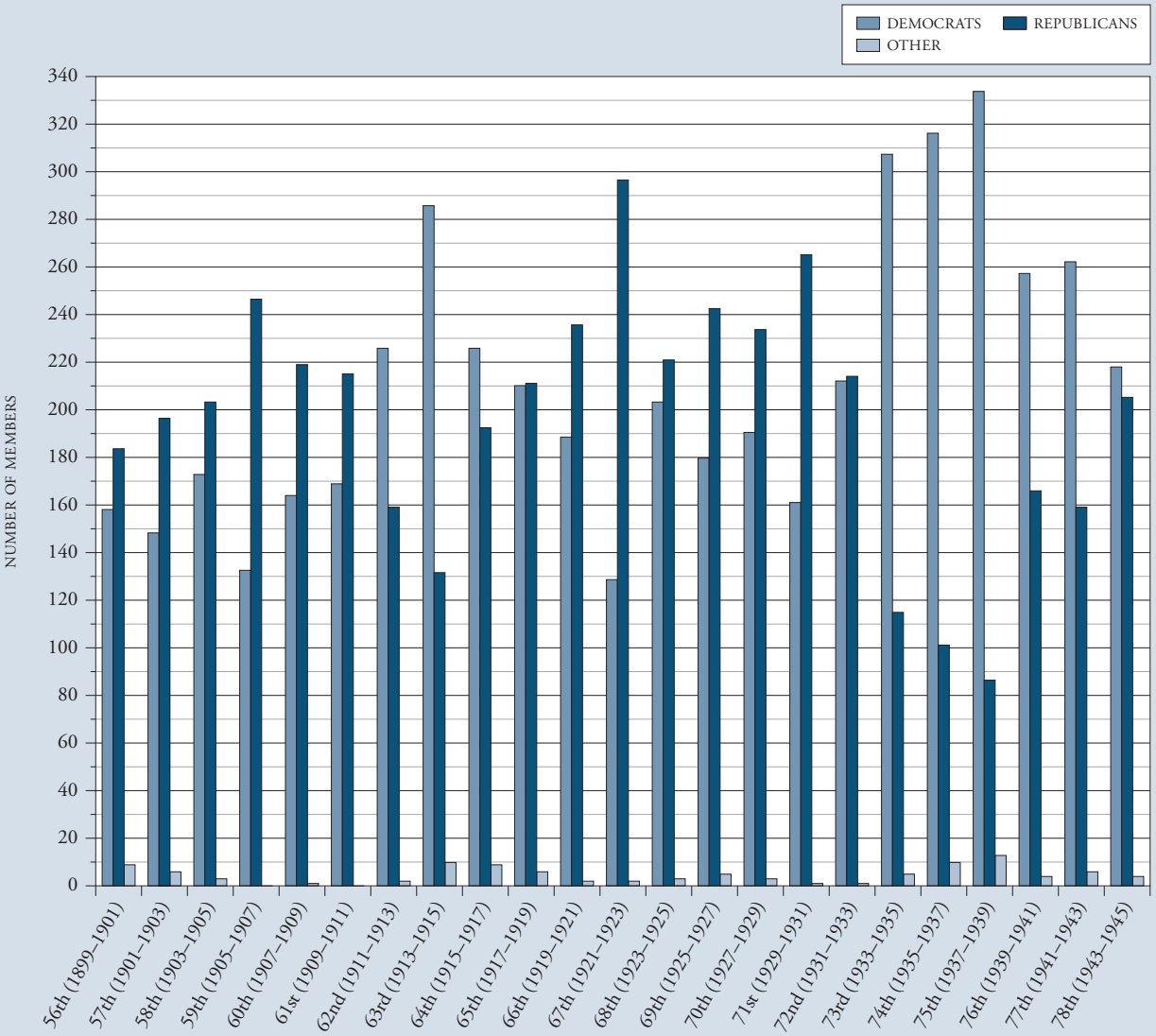
191 "Puerto Ricans Hail Prospect of Self Rule," 10 March 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 3; Ayala and Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century*: 150.

192 "U.S. Senate Investigators in Puerto Rico," 10 February 1943, *Christian Science Monitor*: 3.

193 Quoted in Reynolds, *Puerto Rican Patriot*: 87.

Party Divisions in the House of Representatives

56th–78th Congresses (1899–1945)*

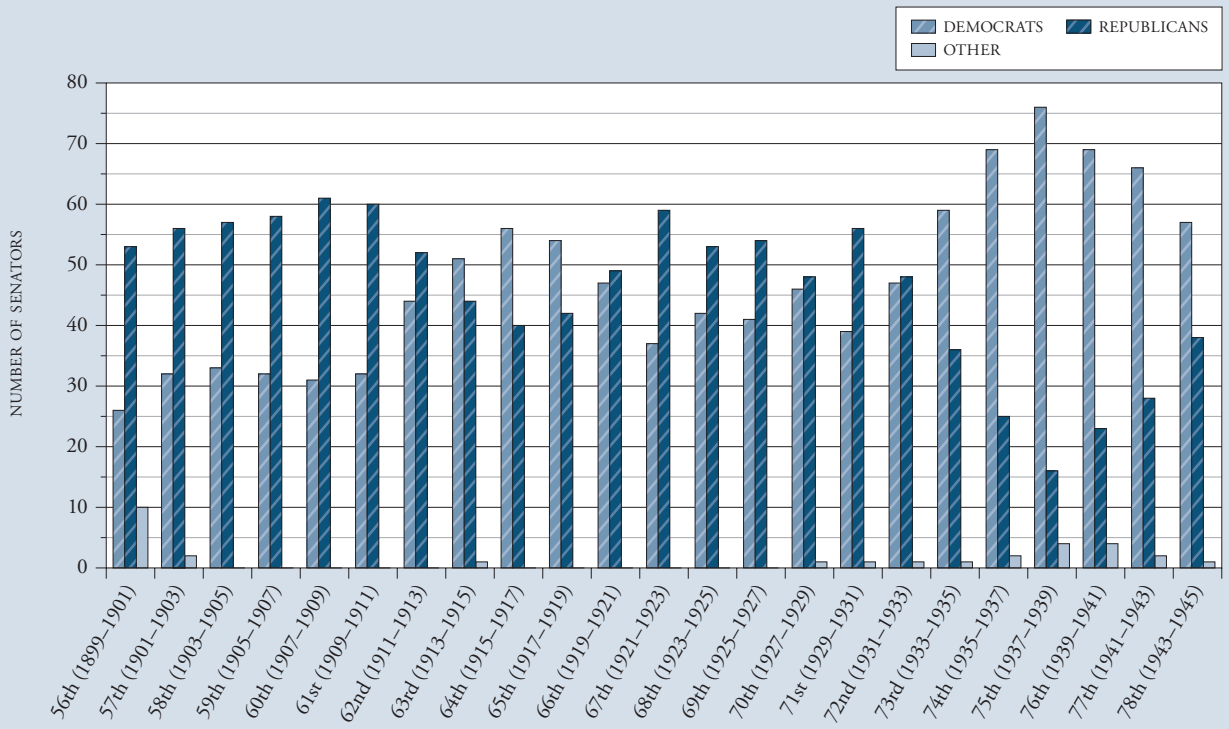


Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–2005 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2005); also available at http://bioguide.congress.gov.; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives.

*Party division totals are based on election day results.

Party Divisions in the Senate

56th–78th Congresses (1899–1945)*

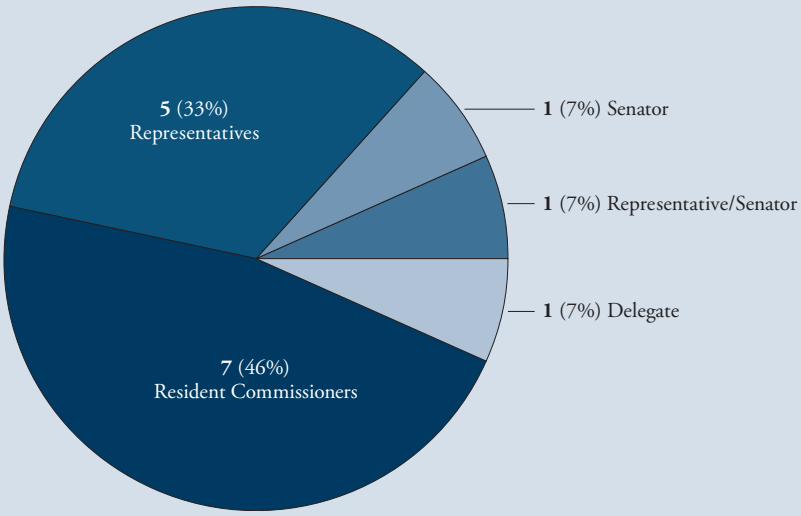


Source: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–2005 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2005); also available at http://bioguide.congress.gov.

*Party division totals are based on election day results.

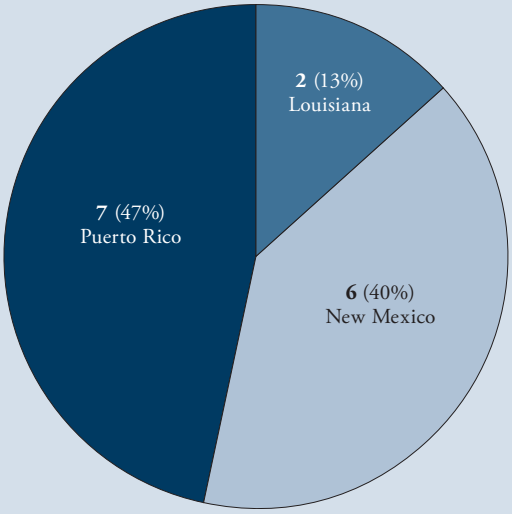
Hispanic-American Members by Office

1898–1945



Hispanic-American Members by State and Territory

First Elected 1898–1943



Source: Appendix A: Hispanic-American Representatives, Senators, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners by Congress, 1822–2012; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives; U.S. Senate Historical Office.

Congressional Service

For Hispanic Americans in Congress First Elected 1898–1942