(RE)VIEWS: FIVE-BOOK OVERVIEWS OF PUERTO RICAN HISTORY

Modern Puerto Rico
A First Reading List

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Puerto Rican Studies scholarship is rich and diverse. Authors from the island and the continental United States publish in English, Spanish, and (some poets) in Spanglish. In this article I recommend five key works to introduce nineteenth- and twentieth-century Puerto Rican history to nonspecialists. First, I have selected works that highlight particularities of race, gender, and class, and that transcend the geographic boundaries of the island to include the diaspora communities on the mainland. As these readings demonstrate, the historical scholarship on Puerto Rico and its people introduces nonspecialists to the long history of US colonialism and empire. Second, I choose readings from a variety of disciplines. Although most of the texts I have selected are historical, they were not all produced by historians. Rather, the books also incorporate insights from literary theories and methods, as well as the interdisciplinary perspectives of anthropology and sociology. Third, I have chosen English-language texts that will be accessible to Radical History Review readers new to Puerto Rican history. Although these authors write in English, they are representative of the rich scholarship produced in both Spanish and English.

Eileen Findlay’s *Imposing Decency* (2000) and Ileana Rodriguez-Silva’s *Silencing Race* (2012) introduce the reader to nineteenth- and early-twentieth century history.¹ Like Cuba, Puerto Rico was a Spanish colony until 1898. Early nineteenth-century colonial reforms had promoted the growth of the sugar industry and African slavery. By mid-century, coffee cultivation in the highlands had become increasingly important to the colonial economy. Puerto Rico’s expanding economy
attracted workers of all skill levels from the Caribbean region. Throughout the nineteenth century, the island’s population grew, regional economies took shape, and the cities of San Juan and Ponce emerged as political and cultural centers.²

At the same time, the United States was becoming increasingly assertive and domineering in the Caribbean. In the 1823 Monroe Doctrine, the US government warned European powers to stay away. After almost all of the Latin American nations had achieved independence (except Puerto Rico and Cuba), the United States declared that it would not allow any European power to establish colonies in the hemisphere. By the end of the nineteenth century, the United States coveted control of a Central American Isthmian canal and with it the promise of expanded trade with Asia.³ Merchants and landowners from the United States and the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico developed strong economic relationships and the United States became the largest consumer of sugar produced in both islands.⁴ With growing military strength, including a modernized navy, the United States moved to assert its power in the region. US intervention in the 1895 Cuban War of Independence proved a turning point for the political and economic history of both islands. In 1898, the United States began a military occupation in both locations.⁵ The US occupied Puerto Rico for two years and then oversaw the promulgation of successive colonial constitutions in 1900, 1917, and 1952.⁶ Puerto Rican and US political leaders have negotiated the terms of their colonial relationship since then and Puerto Rico has remained a territory of the United States up to the present.

In *Imposing Decency*, Eileen Findlay examines the politics of sexuality and race in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Focusing on the southern city of Ponce, Findlay documents how elites and workers understood their places in society, claimed honor and respectability for their respective classes, and asserted their rights as members of the island community. She begins with a careful discussion of the concepts of the *gran familia puertorriqueña* (“great Puerto Rican family”) and honor as the principal organizing values of local society. Each family member had clearly designated roles that reproduced patriarchal authority and were also defined by race and sexuality. Students in my introductory courses on Puerto Rican and Caribbean history have found chapter 1’s discussion of patriarchy, honor codes, class, and the social construction of race in nineteenth-century Puerto Rican society particularly helpful. What distinguishes *Imposing Decency* from other studies of gender and class in the nineteenth-century Caribbean and Latin America is the author’s attention to sources that reveal the perspectives of working and poor men and women. Findlay introduces the reader to the late nineteenth-century public debates and policies that targeted working women in particular. We learn how both male and female elites created privileged roles for themselves in part by surveilling and criminalizing working women. At the same time, Findlay explores the many ways working women rejected these assumptions, asserted their rights, and claimed honor for themselves.
As Findlay moves into the early twentieth century, she examines how the United States’ replacement of Spain as colonial authority changed the terms of debate around Puerto Rican national identity, but did little to improve the lot of working women. Elite women found some protection in the 1900 civil constitution, which was more liberal and egalitarian than the Spanish colonial one of the late nineteenth century. US colonial officials enacted new civil legislation that they hoped would entice working-class couples to “legitimize” their consensual unions into civil unions. Instead, elite women took advantage of the opportunity to petition for divorce from abusive or negligent husbands. Findlay also examines the male leadership of the early twentieth-century labor movement and how they tried to champion working-class women’s honor while also regarding them as economic competitors who undermined both their wages and their patriarchal authority in the home. During World War I, US military officials targeted Puerto Rican women as potential carriers of venereal diseases responsible for contaminating US soldiers. In response to this US attack on working-class Puerto Rican women, a new coalition emerged between Puerto Rican elites and working men. Male elites and working-class leaders united in their view of working women as victims of US colonialism who needed their protection. As in the late nineteenth century, working women in the early twentieth century were at the heart of Puerto Rican debates about national honor and respectability.

Findlay’s work, therefore, introduces the reader to the complex relationships between Puerto Rican elites and the working class in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While the colonial ruler changed from Spain to the United States, the focus of the book remains on how workers and women were racialized, how elites and working men claimed authority over working women, and how working women insisted on speaking for themselves and claiming their own rights. Findlay helps the reader understand how race “worked” in Puerto Rico—how it was inextricable from sexuality and class; how a multiracial people created hierarchies that were informed by race, class, and gender; and how perceptions of race always influenced these processes. Ileana Rodríguez-Silva further develops these insights.

For Rodríguez-Silva, blackness has always been central to Puerto Rican history. In Silencing Race, the author looks behind the veil and dismantles Puerto Rico’s myth of racial harmony. Although both elites and workers struggled to downplay issues of race, the specter of blackness and the black ancestry of the Puerto Rican population always threatened to surface at some point in political and labor debates. Silencing Race looks closely at the years from the abolition of slavery in 1873 through the 1920s. With the emancipation of the slaves, conservative and liberal creole elites focused on the need to secure and control other sources of labor. At the same time, urban workers and artisans, many of whom were freedmen, freedwomen, and descendants of slaves, were also debating their rights and identities as workers. Urban workers advocated for economic justice and demanded that the
value of their labor be recognized. Late-nineteenth-century liberal ideology was not racially inclusive, but hierarchical and informed by scientific racism. Accordingly, liberals struggled to promote their vision of a future nation with a multiracial citizenry. Although they avoided discussions of race, liberals were willing to debate the role of labor. In postemancipation Puerto Rico, elites and workers negotiated through the language of labor. That language, however, was deeply racialized. Through a close reading of newspapers, work contracts, medical texts, and other sources, Rodríguez-Silva documents how the debate over labor was always informed by usually unspoken considerations of race and blackness. In addition, labor was defined not only in racial but in gendered terms, through discussions of health, disease, sexuality, morality, industry, and modernity.

Public debate might have focused on labor, but every now and then, inevitably, the conspiracy of silence over race was ruptured. Elites and subalterns forged fragile alliances in the public sphere that depended on ignoring the realities of race and racism. But when elites slipped up and claimed their wealth and privilege as natural consequences of whiteness, or denigrated working-class blacks as lazy or dangerous, race took center stage in the heated debates that followed. Black leaders recalled the historical contributions of black labor to the island and the “nation” and pointedly excoriated the immorality of white slave masters and property owners. In the course of these debates, elites and workers redefined the terms of their alliance, but soon open discussion of race came to an end and the conspiracy of silence was reestablished. But these momentary ruptures in the silencing of race always changed the terms of debate, if only slightly. Rodríguez-Silva uncovers those moments of rupture. They allow her to speak to the varied ways that race, racism, and racial inequality were always at the center of labor debates.

Rodríguez-Silva explores how colonialism and empire also shaped debates over labor and workers’ power. Elites and workers employed the language of labor differently when they spoke to each other in Ponce, than when they spoke with Spanish colonial officials on the island or the metropole, or US colonial officials after 1898. In addition, as the United States built its empire at the turn of the century, debates over labor, race, and citizenship in Puerto Rico were informed by events in other colonial territories, especially Cuba and the Philippines. In this way, Rodríguez-Silva also reorients the discussion of race and blackness in the Americas. Race mattered differently in Cuba than it did in the Dominican Republic, the United States, or Puerto Rico. The ideologies of race, nation, and labor that emerged in these different locations fell on a common spectrum throughout the Americas but were always first informed by local histories. Silencing Race is required reading for understanding race relations on the island and the Americas.

From 1900 to 1930, massive US investment in the sugar industry transformed labor relations and working conditions along the island’s coastline. Multi-million dollar US- and Puerto Rican–owned sugar mills processed cane grown and
cultivated by colonos. In Worker in the Cane (1960), anthropologist Sidney W. Mintz recorded the life history of Anastacio Zayas Alvarado, known as Don Taso, a sugar cane worker from Barrio Jauca in Santa Isabel, a municipality on the south central coast. Through Don Taso’s life story, Mintz shows the reader how the lives of sugar workers and their families changed dramatically in the first half of the twentieth century. Don Taso and his wife, Elisabeth Villarronga Colón de Zayas (known as Doña Elí) recall their youth and adolescence, how they met and became partners, the economic responsibilities of each in the field and the home, and their struggles to provide housing and health care for their young children. Through their life stories, we learn how Don Taso and Doña Elí define family, both the nuclear family and extended family, as well as the role of god parentage and community support. Don Taso’s work history introduces the student to sugarcane work: the demands of the harvest and the desperation of the dead time, the place of skilled labor and piece work, the process of breaking the land and installing irrigation, and the collection of wages and shopping in the company store. It also introduces the reader to changes in land use for sugar cultivation. Don Taso, like others, joined a sugar workers’ union and became involved in politics with the goal to improve working conditions. He became disillusioned with the Socialist Party and his participation in party politics led to unemployment and hardship when Don Taso was blacklisted. He and other workers welcomed the Popular Democratic Party in the 1940s, but even then, Don Taso was suspicious of the corruption of local party members. In their forties, Don Taso and Doña Elí joined the Pentecostal Church, a religious conversion that took Mintz by surprise and seemed uncharacteristic.

Worker in the Cane is a classic reading in early twentieth-century Puerto Rican history. At the same time, it is an ethnography that reflects Mintz’s interpretation and organization of material. Mintz is frank about his method and relationship with Don Taso. They were more than anthropologist and informant; they were friends. Mintz provides different versions of the life stories. We can read Don Taso and Doña Elí’s testimonies, plus additional interview material that Mintz organized topically and that provides broader context and analysis. In addition to introducing readers to the changing social life and working conditions of agricultural workers and their families in the first half of the twentieth century, the book will allow new readers to reflect on the role of oral testimony, life stories, historical memory, ethnographic methods, and the ways anthropologists shape narratives.

Like other Caribbean and Latin American societies, after the Great Depression of the 1930s and World War II, Puerto Rico saw economic reconstruction, political realignments, and the emergence of new actors on the political scene. National leaders implemented a combination of import-substitution-industrialization and import-substitution-agricultural policies in an effort to recover from the crash in world commodity prices, to produce previously imported manufactured items, and to improve the island’s infrastructure. These policies required strong state support.
and state protection of the new national industries and markets. Initially the Puerto Rican colonial state devoted attention to agricultural production. That attention was quickly abandoned during the second phase of the program, which focused more intensively and narrowly on industrialization. That industrialization depended on and was shaped by the colonial relationship with the United States. The island's colonial state offered incentives to attract US capital and investments. The concentration of foreign investments in urban industries, especially in the San Juan metropolitan area, and the concurrent neglect of agriculture generated a great migration of rural families to urban areas in search for work. Rural families who migrated in search of employment found only poor housing in the shantytowns of San Juan and other urban centers like Ponce and Mayagüez. The state industrialization program produced too few jobs to accommodate the large number of new rural migrants settling in urban areas. The colonial state saw migration to the United States as one possible strategy to relieve unemployment on the island. US employers, in collaboration with the Puerto Rican Department of Labor, recruited rural and urban workers for seasonal and long-term work on the US mainland. Between 1945 and 1965, a full 25 percent of the island's population migrated to the continental United States.

The number of Puerto Ricans migrating to the United States continued to grow throughout the twentieth century, with some fluctuation. Rising migration reflected economic conditions on both the island and the mainland. Many migrants to the United States settled permanently in northeastern cities, while others traveled as seasonal laborers to agricultural areas throughout the US mainland. Both groups maintained relationships with family and friends on the island. Even those who did not migrate themselves adopted a transnational understanding of labor, family, and nation. Juan Flores's *Divided Borders* (1993) and Jorge Duany's *The Puerto Rican Nation on the Move* (2002) introduce the reader to the history of migration and the formation of the Puerto Rican diaspora. In particular, both readings explore how Puerto Ricans in the diaspora crucially changed Puerto Rican understandings of cultural nationalism and belonging.

*Divided Borders* is a collection of essays written from 1979 to 1991. Each essay makes a powerful contribution to Flores's argument—that a class analysis must be at the heart of the debates over Puerto Rican national identity, both on the island and the US mainland. In the introduction to the collection, Jean Franco notes: “[C]lass is the axis on which the entire argument around identity rests.” In the first essay, Flores reevaluates Antonio Pedreira's contribution to the debate over national identity through an extended analysis of *Insularismo* (1934). Flores rejects Pedreira's view that “Puerto Ricans are characteristically a weak, complacent, ignorant and confused people” rooted in a history of “colonial isolation and subjugation.” Instead, Flores notes that Pedreira's melancholy reflected his class trappings—the nostalgia of the elitist Hispanophile. Flores laments Pedreira was unable to incorporate into his vision of Puerto Rican heritage the history of landless
laborers and urban workers, and unable to look beyond the island’s borders. In the second essay, Flores moves forward to José Luis González’s seminal book, *El país de cuatro pisos* (1980). Flores celebrates that González acknowledges what other authors before him had often ignored or minimized—that the foundational culture of Puerto Ricans was African descended and Afro-Caribbean. González moves away from Pedreira’s elitist interpretation of Puerto Rican culture and heritage as a colonial version of a Hispanic world. Instead, he highlights an African heritage and acknowledges the central role of popular culture in national identity. While Flores considers this a significant contribution and step forward in the academic debate over Puerto Rican national identity, he regrets that González replaces “a class analysis with a framework of ethnic relations.” In the first two essays, Flores revisits two classic and seminal texts in Puerto Rican studies and in both cases asks the reader not to forget how class and migration have shaped national identity, even when some prominent authors on the island have ignored the topics. In this way, *Divided Borders* provides students new to Puerto Rican studies with an introduction to the historical debates over Puerto Rican identities in the writings of island-based authors and US-based writers and poets.

In addition, Flores’s collection of essays examines Puerto Rican popular culture (primarily literature and music) on the island and the diaspora. For Flores, a focus on popular cultural production is a necessary corrective to elite interpretations. Popular culture offers an opportunity to critically investigate class relations on the island and the colonial roots of worker exploitation on the island and the United States. Flores revisits the roots of plena music, as well as the 1988 debates over popular music and Rafael Cortijo. In a coedited essay with Ricardo Campos, Flores moves his focus to the history of working-class migration in 1920s and 1930s New York City, highlighting the writings of Bernardo Vega and Jesus Colón. The testimonials and publications written by the two labor leaders allow Flores and Campos to argue that the radical working-class history of the Puerto Rican diaspora in the city did not begin with the great post–World War II migration. Rather, workers had settled in the city throughout the early twentieth century. Flores also discusses the historical stages of diaspora literature and focuses on the poets of the 1970s and 1980s, like Tato Laviera, to examine how Nuyorican literature engages multiple aspects of the experience of Puerto Ricans in the United States. In the concluding essay, coauthored with George Yúdice, the authors reflect on the shared language and historical experiences of Puerto Ricans and Chicanos in the United States. In this essay, Flores restates a position that emerges in his other publications, that the Puerto Rican experience in New York City, in particular, has always been informed and shaped by the community’s relationship with African Americans. Puerto Ricans and African Americans shared space in the city (housing and schools) and together generated new forms of popular culture and identity. *Divided Borders* is a foundational text about Puerto Rican identity. After reading *Divided Borders*, a student of...
Puerto Rican history cannot deny the centrality of class and migration. The histories of working-class communities in the northeast and the diaspora’s cultural production have made significant contributions to Puerto Rican history and identity.

After Flores, Duany’s *Puerto Rican Nation on the Move* (2002) is a required reading. Like Flores, Duany also explores historical narratives, national identities, and the diaspora. However, his conclusions move the conversation in a different direction. In *Puerto Rican Nation on the Move*, Duany argues that you cannot separate a discussion of national identities from the history of migration and diaspora. He examines the “tenacity” of Puerto Rican national identities, both on the island and the US mainland. Despite the decline in support for political nationalism, sovereignty and independence, Puerto Ricans display a strong sense of cultural nationalism. Duany examines the relationship between these two forms of nationalism throughout the twentieth century. He argues that the colonial reformers of the mid-century (Luis Muñoz Marín, the Popular Democratic Party, and state-sponsored cultural institutions) recast the island’s colonial relationship to the United States through a promotion of the commonwealth status and the idea of political autonomy. The state discourse that promoted cultural nationalism was also linked to working-class migration from the island to the US mainland. Duany explores the “cultural impact of the massive migration of Puerto Ricans to the mainland over the past five decades.” He argues that diasporic communities are integral to the Puerto Rican nation and that both communities (island and diaspora) have historically been linked through the circular movement of people. In particular, Duany proposes that “the Puerto Rican nation is no longer restricted to the island but instead is constituted by two distinct yet closely intertwined fragments: that of Puerto Rico itself and that of the diasporic communities settled in the continental United States.”

For the early twentieth century, the author examines how US Americans represented Puerto Rico and its people in photographs, scientific literature, museum displays, and other texts. American representations supported the US state position that colonial peoples were unable to govern themselves. The midcentury chapters examine the rise of cultural nationalism. Duany examines how Muñoz Marín, other members of the Popular Democratic Party, and cultural institutions worked together to recast the PR-US colonial relationship. After World War II, when decolonization in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean emerged, the Puerto Rican leadership instead promoted the commonwealth, autonomy, and cultural nationalism while minimizing the value of political nationalism. In the last third of the book, Duany examines the diaspora communities, the practice of circular migration, the emergence of transnationalism, and the racial and ethnic self-definitions of diaspo-Ricans.

Duany concludes that colonialism, nationalism, and transnationalism “coexist uneasily” in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico, “a nation on the move,” redefines the concept of nation. “The nation [is] not as a well-bounded sovereign state but . . . a translocal community based on a collective consciousness of a shared history, lan-
Puerto Rico, then, is also a “stateless nation . . . a geographically, politically, linguistically, and culturally splintered country.” In this way, Puerto Rican Nation on the Move offers the possibility of shifting the way scholars approach the history of Puerto Rican national identities. When Divided Borders was published, Flores needed to recognize and assert the history and consciousness that existed within the diaspora, particularly in the northeast. The early-twentieth-century workers that Flores discussed (Vega and Colón) had been ignored or erased from Puerto Rican history by some island-based scholars who chose to exclude workers in the diaspora from the broader narrative. At the same time, writers and poets of the diaspora, like Tato Laviera, might have been dismissed and excluded from the Puerto Rican literary canon and relegated to the category of a US-ethnic studies. It was a necessary intervention for Flores to emphasize that the diaspora was linked to and contributed to Puerto Rican national identities. He was recovering and demanding an acknowledgement of the diaspora’s rich and diverse history. However, Duany’s redefinition of the Puerto Rican “nation” as one that is constituted by two fragments, takes it one step further. For Duany, the question is not whether Puerto Rico is a nation or whether the diaspora is part of that nation. Rather, Puerto Rican Nation on the Move establishes that a foundational understanding of “Puerto Rico” must take seriously that, in fact, the nation is composed of two equal fragments that are shaped by a transnational field. Duany is asking that scholars move beyond the authenticity debates. Instead of asking whether the diaspora matters, he examines the “fluid” and “tenacious” ways that nation, migration, and identity have emerged throughout Puerto Rican history.

Together these five texts introduce the reader to modern Puerto Rican history. However, I would recommend two additional readings: Edna Acosta-Belén and Carlos E. Santiago, Puerto Ricans in the United States (2006), and César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, Puerto Rico in the American Century (2007). Both are accessible textbooks that provide a broader historical narrative about the island and the diaspora. Individually neither can fully capture the wide-ranging history and experiences of Puerto Ricans, but reading them together the reader can develop an understanding of how the two fragments of the Puerto Rican nation overlap and inform each other. In addition, the reader can turn to the useful bibliographies in both texts to identify additional readings of interest in both Spanish and English.

Puerto Rican historiography offers models of exceptional scholarship for nonspecialists and US historians in particular. First, the readings I have selected reflect some of the ways historians can approach the study of workers and the poor in colonial societies, while maintaining a focus on the relationship between race, class, and gender. Findlay, Rodríguez-Silva, Mintz, and Flores provide histories of working-class people. At the same time, in her discussion of how gender and colonialism works in Puerto Rican society, Findlay highlights how race and gender have shaped the lives of working women. Meanwhile, Rodríguez-Silva examined the
ever-present, yet understated, racial consciousness of politicians, writers, and labor leaders. Together, these two scholars foreground the experiences of workers and nonelites in colonial Puerto Rico, but do so without ignoring the ways race, class, and gender affect them. Meanwhile, Mintz and Flores highlight the experiences of Puerto Rican working men on the island and the diaspora. While the authors do not necessarily acknowledge gender as an analytical concept, their research demonstrates how gender and masculinity fashioned the lives of working men (and women in the case of Doña Elí). While the relationship between race, class, and gender emerges unevenly in the scholarship, this combination of readings provides examples of the historical methods that allow for those stories to emerge.

Second, for nonspecialists, Puerto Rican history also serves as an introduction to the way scholars might explore the pervasiveness of colonialism and cultural nationalism in the Caribbean and the United States. Since the nineteenth century, generations of Puerto Rican men and women have dedicated themselves to and sacrificed their lives in the pursuit of political sovereignty and independence. Since the mid-twentieth century, this pursuit of political independence occurred alongside the emergence of cultural nationalism. While Puerto Rico has never achieved independence, the majority of Puerto Ricans on the island and the diaspora embrace cultural nationalism and assert national identities. As scholars examine the varied incarnations of cultural nationalism, we must always emphasize that its evolution has occurred within the confines of US colonialism.

Finally, although it is not always at the center of the scholarship, Puerto Rican history requires scholars reflect on the integral role of migration and diaspora in national histories. Historians will continue to produce rich histories of the island and its people. They may choose to focus on the island or specific communities throughout the US mainland. Few will be able to write histories that can fully provide a comprehensive or integrated narrative across locations. Nevertheless, as Flores and Duany remind us, all must be aware of the transnational field, the circulation of people and ideas throughout and within the broader Puerto Rican nation (inclusive of island and diaspora).

At the same time, historians of the United States can also continue to widen the theoretical and geographic understanding of the “American nation” by critically engaging with the foundational history of the United States as an empire. Economic and political colonial arrangements were responsible for the migration of Puerto Rican workers to Hawaii at the turn of the century, of the post-World War II seasonal agricultural workers to the US Northeast and Midwest, of factory workers to New York City, and of domestic servants to Chicago. In addition, the post-1990s migration to central Florida, which was layered onto an earlier history of 1940s migration to the region, is a reflection of the contemporary colonial relationship between the island and the United States. While the varied local histories of the diaspora throughout the US mainland are part of the comparative race and ethnic
studies historiography of the United States, they are also shaped by US colonialism and empire. For US historians, the relationship between US colonialism and the history of the United States must be as undeniable as the relationship between island and diaspora is for Puerto Rican scholars.

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Notes
1. Findlay, Imposing Decency; Rodriguez-Silva, Silencing Race.
2. Dietz, Economic History.
3. LaFeber, New Empire.
4. Dietz, Economic History; Ayala, American Sugar Kingdom.
5. On the expansion of US military might and economic control in the region, see Kramer, Blood of Government; Pérez, War of 1898; and Silva, Aloha Betrayed.
6. Trías Monge, Puerto Rico; Rivera Ramos, Legal Construction; Venator-Santiago, Puerto Rico.
7. Mintz, Worker in the Cane.
8. Dietz, Economic History; Scarano, Puerto Rico.
9. On the housing conditions of recently arrived rural migrants to the San Juan area, see Safa, Urban Poor.
10. A founding text on the history of working-class migration from Puerto Rico to the United States is History Task Force, Labor Migration under Capitalism. A main resource is the Center for Puerto Rican Studies website, centropr.hunter.cuny.edu. See also sources listed in note 25.
11. 500,000 out of a total population of two million. Duany, Puerto Rican Nation, 13.
12. Flores, Divided Borders; Duany, Puerto Rican Nation.
15. Ibid., 65.
16. Nevertheless, others have also examined the silencing of migration in Puerto Rican history. Divided Borders can be read alongside Díaz Quiñones, Memoria rota, and Álvarez Curbelo, Un país del porvenir.
17. Flores, From Bomba to Hip-Hop; Flores, Diaspora Strikes Back.
19. Ibid., 5.
20. Ibid., 5.
21. Ibid., 284.
22. Ibid., 3.
23. Ibid., 282–83.
24. Ibid., 285.
25. Acosta-Belén and Santiago, Puerto Ricans in the United States; Ayala and Bernabé, Puerto Rico in the American Century. For the most recent list of readings, see Totti, “Essential Boricua Reading.”

27. Silver, “‘Culture Isn’t Just Bingo and Salsa.’”

References


