PUERTO RICAN HERITAGE POSTER SERIES: A STUDY GUIDE

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SECTION I  Introduction to Poster Series

The Puerto Rican Heritage Poster Series exemplifies collective efforts undertaken since the 1970s to rescue, document, and preserve the long history of Puerto Rican migration, and the experiences and contributions of Puerto Ricans to U.S. society. For four decades, the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños at Hunter College, CUNY has been a leading contributor to these efforts. This Poster Series reflects several decades of historical recovery work by Puerto Rican Studies researchers at Centro and at many other higher education institutions in the United States and Puerto Rico, and by the dedicated team of professionals at the Centro Library and Archives.

The Poster Series provides an attractive visual educational tool for teachers and other professionals for use in the classroom and display in any suitable public space, and for individuals to be presented with and drawn to the historical information highlighted in the poster captions and accompanying photos or images. Eight posters were designed for these series; five of them constitute the Brief Historical Chronology of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Parts I-V), and the remaining three are demographic and historical maps summarizing different stages of the Puerto Rican migration experience in the United States.

Chronologies, based on locating past and recent events in a sequential timeline are a common tool for introducing readers to the study of the history of peoples and nations. Nonetheless, a chronology is not a replacement for more nuanced and complex historical narratives that capture a confluence of intersecting socioeconomic, cultural, and political processes. They rather are a useful guideline presented in a sequential manner to draw readers into a selection of significant events, notable individuals or organizations, and major social and political struggles and movements that, in this particular case, contributed to shaping the lives of stateside Puerto Ricans. A historical chronology only can provide a partial panoramic overview to guide and invite readers to further expand the fragments of historical knowledge presented in the poster captions by consulting other bibliographic references.

This Study Guide includes some learning goals for the Poster Series, topics to stimulate more detailed discussions on the content of each individual poster and, for each section, a selection of recommended readings, online sources, and films and documentaries that enhance the information introduced in the posters.

A major challenge in the development of the posters’ Brief Historical Chronology was recognizing that as researchers learn and become more aware of archival sources and other new knowledge on Puerto Rican communities other than New York, a more comprehensive view of the Puerto Rican diaspora will continue to evolve. The term diaspora is used herein to refer to the dispersion or exodus of Puerto Ricans from their native homeland of Puerto Rico to the United States. As a result of more than a century of migration from the island, there are now several generations of Puerto Ricans born or raised in the United States. In
2013, only about a third of the total U.S. Puerto Rican population of 4.7 million was born in Puerto Rico. Moreover, the stateside Puerto Rican population now surpasses the island population which stands at 3.7 million.

As holders of U.S. citizenship since 1917, Puerto Ricans are not immigrants but migrants, which allows them to travel and reside in the United States without visas. In fact, they have been able to do so as a result of a 1904 Supreme Court decision (González vs. Williams) affirming that since Puerto Rico was a U.S. territory, Puerto Ricans were neither aliens nor U.S. citizens. At the time, they were ascribed the ambiguous status of “noncitizen nationals,” a condition that did not change until 1917, when the U.S. Congress passed the Jones-Shafroth Act conferring U.S. citizenship to all Puerto Ricans.

For many decades New York City has been the main geographic location of the U.S. Puerto Rican population (around one fourth of stateside Puerto Ricans still live there). However, learning about other Puerto Rican communities and documenting their experiences and legacies not only has become more compelling, but still remains a work in progress. Because of an ongoing geographic dispersion and growth of Puerto Ricans to other old and new U.S. destinations, researchers are expanding the current body of knowledge on the history of Puerto Rican migration and the formation of many other communities (e.g. Chicago, Philadelphia, Orlando, Hartford). Puerto Rico’s current status as a U.S. territory means that migration to the United States persists and has been increasing at a faster pace in the last decade.

Moreover, stateside Puerto Ricans maintain strong transnational connections with Puerto Rico. This means that the history of their experiences, conditions, legacies, and productive lives in U.S. society is still intertwined in multiple ways with those of the island, and that the future effects of this over a century-old intricate colonial relationship are difficult to predict and will continue to unfold throughout the 21st century.

**Learning Goals for Users of the Puerto Rican Heritage Poster Series**

- **To understand Puerto Rican migration and the settlement and growth of Puerto Rican communities in the United States by introducing and expanding the information provided in a brief but comprehensive historical chronology or timeline of significant dates, periods, struggles, and landmark events. The items in the historical chronology offer a panoramic view of the formation and development of stateside Puerto Rican communities and the experiences and contributions of Puerto Ricans to U.S. society.**

- **Highlight through captions and images specific historical moments, events, organizations, and notable individuals to draw the interest of the reader in learning more about the Puerto Rican heritage in the United States.**

- **Recognize the leadership and contributions of individuals, groups, and movements to the**
formation and development of stateside Puerto Rican communities.

- Link Puerto Rican migration to the United States to ongoing socioeconomic, political, and cultural conditions and processes taking place in Puerto Rico at a given historical period, and to Puerto Rico's ties with the United States and the status of Puerto Ricans, both as colonial migrants and as a U.S. ethnic and racial minority.

- Draw a portrait of the current main demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the U.S. Puerto Rican population.

- Provide a visual historical cartography or mapping of Puerto Rican migration patterns of geographic settlement and dispersion throughout the United States, particularly population movements to and from Puerto Rico that have been key to the formation of the Puerto Rican people, and to the establishment of numerous Puerto Rican communities throughout the United States.

- Make available this Study Guide, which recommends readings and other reference sources, including reliable Internet sites, films, and documentaries that will allow the reader to expand the knowledge included in the condensed captions of historical information presented in the posters, and apply it to current experiences of different U.S. Puerto Rican communities.

- The Study Guide also provides a more extensive Historical Chronology on Puerto Ricans in the United States, with longer captions and a few additional entries that, because of space limitations, could not be included in the posters.

**Activities Based on Learning Goals**

- The Poster Series offers readers an historical and thematic periodization through the Brief Historical Chronology of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Parts I-V). The Historical Chronology is divided among five different posters and is intended to serve as a guideline for understanding the establishment and evolution of the Puerto Rican diaspora, and how Puerto Ricans have experienced their lives in U.S. society.

- Using maps, three additional posters offer a comprehensive overview of current Puerto Rican population information and changes in the United States and Puerto Rico; and a history of the different population movements that have contributed to the formation of the Puerto Rican people in Puerto Rico and in their stateside communities.

- In order to apply selected information from each poster to the teaching and learning process, the
following sample assessment activities are suggested:

1. **Brief Summaries**: Ask students to summarize each poster’s major themes in a sentence or two and relate their view of how certain landmark events have influenced the Puerto Rican community in the United States.

2. **Minute Paper**: Ask students to respond to two questions: (a) What was the most significant thing you learned from each poster?; and (b) What questions remain in your mind after studying each poster?

3. **The Muddiest Point**: Ask students to identify any issues, concepts, or information that remain unclear to them after studying each poster. Then, to describe how they can find additional information from the Study Guide’s recommended readings to enhance their knowledge and understanding.

4. **Application Cards**: On an index card or computer file, ask students to write down at least one possible, real-world application of newly learned concepts or generalizations from three selected themes described in the posters (e.g., community service, cultural enrichment, community empowerment, institution building, educational advancement, political participation, coalition building).

5. **Profiles of Notable Individuals**: Ask students to write a brief, focused profile of an individual, a group, or an organization or institution highlighted in any of the posters whose values, goals, or actions, the reader admires based on the provided poster content.

**Recommended Readings**


See individual poster sections for recommended readings on each poster.
SECTION II  Brief Historical Chronology of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Parts I-V)

Each one of the five posters that constitutes the Brief Historical Chronology of Puerto Ricans in the United States (Parts I-V) emphasizes those events and processes in the history of Puerto Ricans on the island closely related to migration and the formation of the Puerto Rican stateside communities. For each poster, the selected captions and images are intended to highlight some key historical periods and processes, both in Puerto Rico and the United States, that contributed to migration and the settlement and development of the various Puerto Rican communities in New York and other U.S. cities and states. The Poster Series also features the establishment of pioneering institutions created by the collective efforts of community activists to serve the cultural, educational, social, and political needs of Puerto Ricans, and facilitate the transition of migrants to their new places of settlement. In addition, it recognizes the outstanding contributions of a selective number of Puerto Rican individuals to the founding of different organizations, their leadership roles, and their notable achievements in public service and service to the community.

Part I: Puerto Rican Cultural Roots (c. 1200 to late 1700s) and the Beginnings of Puerto Rican Presence in the United States (1815 to 1897)

- **Puerto Rican Cultural Roots (c. 1200-late 1700s):** The first section of this poster briefly establishes the cultural roots of the Puerto Rican people. It begins with the development of Taino indigenous culture prevalent on the island at the time of the Spanish arrival and conquest; followed by the inflow of enslaved Africans brought by the Spanish to replace the rapidly declining Indian population. This section highlights the convergence and blend of Taino, Spanish, and African cultures on the island during the Spanish colonial period, and the various late 1700s and early 1800s immigrations to Puerto Rico of French, Corsicans, Italians, Germans, British, Irish, Dutch, and a few other nationalities that added to the formation of the Puerto Rican people.
The Beginnings of Puerto Rican Presence in the United States (1815-1897): The second section of this poster emphasizes Spain’s opening of trade between its colonies and other countries as a result of the Real Cédula de Gracias [Royal Decree of Graces] of 1815 granted by Spain to the island colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico. The Real Cédula de Gracias opened trade with countries that were friendly to Spain and eventually led to the expansion of Puerto Rico’s commercial ties with the United States in the 1820s. These new trade relationships turned Cuba and Puerto Rico into important U.S. partners in the export and import of goods. Merchants, students, sojourners, professionals, artisans (e.g., cigar workers, typographers), and other laborers began to come to the United States.

This section of the poster also emphasizes the presence and contributions of Puerto Rican separatists who advocated for the independence of the island from Spanish colonial rule and were forced to leave the country. Since separatists in Puerto Rico endured political persecution and exile, they are known in the present as the “pilgrims of freedom.” Many opponents of the Spanish colonial regime settled in New York and other cities and countries in the Americas and Europe, during the last few decades of the 19th century. From foreign destinations they continued to collaborate in the efforts to free Cuba and Puerto Rico, Spain’s last two colonies in the Americas.

Notable Puerto Rican separatist exiles participated in creating organizations in New York to advocate for their political ideals. During this period, a few other Puerto Ricans came to the United States in search of educational, professional, or business opportunities. This poster features the contributions of the most prominent “pilgrims of freedom” and the collaborations between Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the separatist movement. Although separatists promoted the liberation of Puerto Rico from Spanish colonial rule, there were two ideological trends within the movement: those promoting independence for the island and those supporting its annexation to the United States.
Among the most prominent political and intellectual figures who lived in New York during this period featured in this poster are:

- Ramón Emeterio Betances
- Eugenio María de Hostos
- Sotero Figueroa
- Francisco Gonzalo “Pachín” Marín
- Inocencia Martínez Santaella
- Lola Rodríguez de Tió
- Arturo Alfonso Schomburg

Discussion Topics

1. The individual lives and cultural and political contributions of the “pilgrims of freedom” and their activities in their countries of exile.

2. The ways in which individuals experienced being part of U.S. society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as exiles or immigrants and later on, as colonial migrants.

Recommended Readings


This poster (Part II of the Historical Chronology) starts with the U.S. takeover of Puerto Rico in 1898 that put an end to the Spanish colonial regime on the island. Less than a year before the U.S. intervention, Spain had granted a Charter of Autonomy to Puerto Rico that allowed self-government for the island as a province of Spain. The poster illustrates that from the onset, the new territorial relationship between Puerto Rico and the United States was a major contributing factor to Puerto Rican migration.

Ironically, migration became a frequent public policy tool used by Puerto Rico’s U.S.-appointed governors and other officials to deal with the island’s widespread poverty and unemployment, and what was perceived at the time to be an “overpopulation” problem. First, the poster highlights the pre- and post-World War I (1910s-1930s) steamship migratory waves to the United States—what is now known as the *pioneros(as)* [pioneers] migration. The captions describe early community organizations founded by Puerto Rican migrants and underscores some of the community’s activities, including efforts at cultural preservation, mutual aid, labor organizing, and civic and political engagement, as Puerto Ricans begin to build their communities and struggle for their rights, equal treatment, a better life, and making their presence more visible in New York and other geographic locations.

Because of Puerto Rico’s new colonial status as an “unincorporated” territory of the United States that belonged to the U.S. nation but was not granted a clear path to eventual statehood or independence, this poster also introduces some of the early legal challenges made by Puerto Ricans in order to determine which constitutional rights and protections enjoyed by U.S. citizens living in the states would apply to island residents. These legal challenges were related to areas such as immigration, citizenship status, trade tariffs, and civil rights. Essentially, these cases sought equal treatment for island Puerto Ricans. Those that ended with Supreme Court decisions are known as the “insular cases.” As an unincorporated territory of the United States, Puerto Rico’s representation in the U.S. Congress began in 1900 and is still limited to the election of a non-voting Resident Commissioner.

During the early 20th century, Puerto Rican migrants, the majority of working class background, built their larger communities in Brooklyn’s Navy Yard, Boro Hall, and Williamsburg neighborhoods, and in Manhattan’s East Harlem (what is known as Spanish Harlem or El Barrio) and Chelsea areas. It is during this early period that some prominent grassroots community leaders who left some written record of their experiences as migrants
come to New York. Among the most notable were **Bernardo Vega, Joaquín Colón, and Jesús Colón**—Vega and arrived in 1916, Joaquín Colón in 1917, and his brother Jesús Colón, in 1918. The three of them came from Puerto Rico’s mountain town of Cayey, a tobacco-growing region and a major center of artesanal cigar manufacturing.

This early migration period shows a clear presence of Puerto Rican artisans, mostly *tabaqueros* (as) [cigar makers] and typographers, and other working class migrants in the United States. Many of these early migrants had been involved in the labor movement struggles in Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican cigar makers stand out during this period and their socially and politically conscious work culture and activism were recreated in the early *colonias hispanas* [Hispanic neighborhoods] of New York City, and in the writings of several prominent community figures. Some of these writings are memoirs or autobiographical accounts, as is the case with Bernardo Vega and Joaquin Colón. Jesús Colón’s writings include journalistic articles, stories, and poems, some of which address his own experiences in New York, but also the collective lives of Puerto Rican migrants. Many other migrants frequently published plays, novels, poetry, journalistic articles, letters to the editor, and *crónicas*, narrative accounts that focus on events or notable personalities commonly found in the numerous Spanish-language newspapers that bourgeoned in the community during those years. A few of these historically neglected newspapers of the 1910s to the 1930s have survived the test of time and are now preserved in libraries and archival collections, testifying to the working conditions, social and political concerns, and the civil rights struggles of those who were ethnically and racially different than the U.S. white majority population.

The *tabaqueros* (as) began to arrive in U.S. cities—such as Tampa, Key West, New York, and Philadelphia—as early as the 1880s, and continued doing so up to the 1930s. These cities had large concentrations of tobacco factories and cigar making shops. A significant number of Spaniards, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans, as well as immigrants from other countries, came to the United States seeking employment in this expanding sector of the U.S. economy. The cigar workers were known as a self-educated militant sector of the labor movement and for their socialist ideals. Among them were also some anarchists who defended individual freedom and resented state control, and denounced the exploitation of workers and the injustices that they perceived to be inherent to the capitalist system.

One of the most prominent Puerto Ricans among the *tabaqueros* (as) coming to Tampa and New York during the 1910s was **Luisa Capetillo**. She was a labor organizer, reader in the tobacco factories (a job mostly dominated by men), and one of the most ardent defenders of women’s liberation. Capetillo left an impressive body of writings on feminism and women’s rights, and is now an important icon of the first wave Puerto Rican feminist movement.

The struggles of the working class in U.S. society during the early decades of the 20th century have been captured in **Bernardo Vega’s Memoirs** (first published in 1977 in Spanish and in 1984 in English). Vega’s *Memoirs*
represent a crucial text for understanding the formative years of New York’s Puerto Rican community of the 1920s and 30s. His book delivers a detailed account of the efforts of Puerto Rican migrants to survive and adapt to a less than welcoming environment—from dealing with all the urban complexities and inter-ethnic conflicts of New York City, to confronting the mistreatment of immigrant/migrant workers, and the racism and segregation that were so clearly demarcated in U.S. society during those years. The written legacy left by the brothers Joaquín and Jesús Colón, adds to Vega’s recollections by also introducing a vast array of early migrant experiences that offer a composite of the realities and challenges Puerto Ricans faced and endured during the formation of their communities. Those early generations of Puerto Rican migrants carried on their battles against racism and discrimination and their exploitation as migrant workers without the benefit of the civil rights protections that were later enacted by the U.S. Congress in the 1960s.

This second poster also underscores how early migrants began to create organizations to fight for their rights, serve the community, and assist other migrants in their transition and adaptation to U.S. society. Puerto Ricans developed cultural, social, and mutual aid organizations and networks, and strove to forge a sense of solidarity and unity within their early colonias (settlements). Those were not easy goals to achieve since there were several factors that contributed to marked divisions among Puerto Ricans themselves and among the various Hispanic national groups in the city. Some of the most obvious were based on social class and racial differences, despite the fact that, historically, racial mixture has been common practice and more accepted in Puerto Rican and other Caribbean and Latin American societies than it has been in the United States. However, the prevailing racial polarization and racial categories of the U.S. nation, which historically divided the U.S. population into whites and non-whites (now commonly referred to as people of color), only intensified racial prejudice and a consciousness of racial lines among Puerto Ricans and other Latinos(as) living in the United States.

Additionally, political divisions regarding the colonial status of Puerto Rico occurred among Nationalists and other pro-independence supporters, annexationists promoting statehood for Puerto Rico, and autonomists clamoring for a larger degree of self-government for the island without severing its ties to the United States. Since the beginnings of U.S. rule, a considerable sector of the population view Puerto Rico’s relationship to the United States as beneficial in reducing high levels of poverty and unemployment and propelling the socioeconomic development and modernization of Puerto Rican society. Additionally, political divisions produced by island partisan politics, were marked ideological divisions among socialists, anarchists, communists, anti-imperialists, and those who favored capitalism and bourgeois values.

The political repression and blacklisting against Nationalists and other independence advocates, and against labor activists in Puerto Rico, intensified in the 1920s and 1930s and continued in subsequent decades. This repressive environment propelled a significant exodus of Puerto Rican political migrants to the United States. A large number of Nationalists, some of whom
had spent time in federal prisons, made their presence felt through the political and cultural organizations and newspapers that later emerged within the diaspora, most notably in the Puerto Rican communities of New York and Chicago. It is then not surprising to see some of these migrants engage in political and cultural activities with a clear nationalistic tenor that fostered a strong sense of Puerto Rican identity reflected in the histories of these particular communities. Paradoxically, these expressions of Puerto Rican nationalism and anti-colonialism were largely suppressed in Puerto Rico by U.S. and island authorities for most of the 20th century, but found a less repressive environment within the communities of the diaspora. As Puerto Rican migrants endured racism and unequal treatment in U.S. society, and were excluded from the Anglo American mainstream, the affirmation of their puertorriqueñidad [Puerto Ricaness] was a powerful tool in their efforts to survive, provide for their families, protect their communities, and strive to make a better life for themselves and their offspring.

The pioneros(as) also left a wide-ranging legacy of Spanish-language community newspapers, theater and music, hometown social clubs, political clubs, cultural organizations, and service agencies, all aimed at enhancing the quality of life of the communities and upholding their identity as Puerto Ricans. Along with these efforts, they stated their claims for participation and representation in city and state politics, and contributed with their labor to the U.S. economy and to the building of their communities.

With the growth of El Barrio or Spanish Harlem, inter-ethnic conflicts due to territorial encroachment on older Harlem residents—which at the time included Italian, African American, and Jewish earlier settlers—began to occur leading to clashes and disturbances, later to be known as the Harlem riots. The first one was in 1926. A second riot ensued in 1935, due to the unequal treatment of Harlem’s population of color by the mostly white police, and the city’s neglect of poor neighborhoods during the years of the Great Depression. However, these confrontations were not unusual in U.S. society and have been occurring since the nineteenth century in New York City and other U.S. urban centers which share a long history of inter-ethnic conflict and neighborhood encroachments among old immigrant settlers and new arrivals, and between white and non-white populations.

Discussion Topics

1. The lives and contributions of the following individuals and organizations of the early community:
   - Pura Belpré
   - Luisa Capetillo
   - Jesús Colón
   - Joaquín Colón
   - Gilberto Concepción de Gracia
   - Antonia Denis
   - Oscar García Rivera
   - Gilberto Gerena Valentín
   - Vito Marcantonio (Italian-American)
   - Luis Muñoz Marin
   - Guillermo O’Neill
Antonia Pantoja  
Carlos Tapia  
Erasmio Vando  
Bernardo Vega  
Emelí Vélez de Vando

2. Specific factors that influenced each of these individual's decision to migrate to New York.

3. The ways in which each of these individuals experienced being part of U.S. society in the first half of the 20th century as migrants from Puerto Rico.

4. The role of some of the following early community organizations and groups:

- Alianza Obrera [Workers’ Alliance]
- Ateneo Obrero [Workers’ Atheneum]
- Liga Puertorriquena e Hispana [Puerto Rican and Hispanic League]
- Casita María
- Puerto Rican political clubs or groups
- Hometown clubs
- Vanguardia Puertorriquena [Puerto Rican Vanguard]
- Mutualista Obrera Puertorriquena [Puerto Rican Workers’ Mutual Aid Society]

Recommended Readings


Part III: The Great Migration Years (1940s to Mid-1960s)

This poster emphasizes the airborne Puerto Rican mass migration that dominated the post-World War II years. As the New York newspapers began to refer to the rapid influx of Puerto Ricans to the city as the “Puerto Rican problem” and spread negative stereotypes about the newcomers, Puerto Rico’s government created the Migration Division in 1948 (known as the Commonwealth Office after 1952). The creation of this unit was aimed at enabling and managing the large migration flows of Puerto Ricans to New York and other U.S. cities. Several Migration Division offices were established to assist migrants in seeking employment and other services that facilitated a smoother transition into U.S. society. The poster also focuses on the growth of Puerto Rican communities in various U.S. cities, Puerto Rican struggles for recognition, the founding of institutions and creation of new traditions, and the accomplishments of some prominent community members.

Since the beginnings of labor migration to the United States, some Puerto Rican migrants saw their journey to the United States as a temporary stay that would allow them to find better employment and higher wages, send remittances to their families in Puerto Rico, and improve their own socioeconomic status. Even after many decades of living in the United States, the nostalgic dream of returning to Puerto Rico is very much alive, most notably among first generation migrants. Puerto Ricans are often described as “a commuter nation” or “a nation on the move,” which means that historically, there always has been a back and forth commuting pattern between the island and the United States, facilitated by the U.S. citizenship status of Puerto Ricans. Many first generation Puerto Rican migrants keep alive the option of eventually returning to Puerto Rico, even after decades of living in the United States, and some degree of return migration to the island continues to occur, although migrants also continue to arrive to old and new U.S. points of destination in much larger numbers than those returning to Puerto Rico.
Some of the most prominent community figures during the Great Migration period include:

- Herman Badillo
- Julia de Burgos
- Juan Antonio Corretjer
- Gilberto Gerena Valentín
- Evelina López Antonetty
- Antonia Pantoja
- Clemente Soto Vélez

Some of the organizations founded during this period:

- Aspira
- Migration Division
- National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights
- Puerto Rican Forum
- Puerto Rican Day Parade

Discussion Topics

1. What are the specific contributions of the community figures mentioned above during the period of the Great Migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States?

2. What were the main goals and activities of each of the community organizations mentioned above?

Recommended Readings


Part IV: The Puerto Rican Movement and Its Outcomes (1960s-2010s)

As the New York Puerto Rican ethnic barrios began to grow in the 1920s and 30s, issues of educational and citizenship rights, equal treatment, and electoral participation, incorporation, and representation in the U.S. political system gradually gained more visibility in later decades. Like some other U.S. ethnic groups, identity politics and community mobilization were common strategies in making inroads into the political sphere, and in overcoming existing political barriers and negotiating with the power structures.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act by the U.S. Congress in 1964 forbade segregation and discrimination based on race, color, gender, and religion. This was an important legal and symbolic milestone for the struggles carried out by several prior generations of African
Americans, Latinos(as), Native Americans, women, gays and lesbians, and other disenfranchised groups. The new Civil Rights legislation galvanized these populations into continuing their social and political battles and demands for equality and the empowerment of their communities. In their demands they often adopted the militant and socially transforming outlook of the mid-1960s and 70s, including mass demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, occupation of buildings, and other forms of civil disobedience that in several instances ended in mass arrests, violent confrontations with the police, or the death of a few activists.

Within the Puerto Rican community the period of activism that occurred during the late 1960s and 70s is known as the Puerto Rican Movement. A myriad of social, cultural, educational, and political outcomes stemming from this movement paved the way and opened new possibilities for younger generations of Puerto Ricans to continue struggling for equal treatment and inclusion, creating organizations and institutions to serve their communities, and contributing individually and collectively to their advancement. The movement also gave continuity to a long history of community activism and social and political struggles that had engaged prior generations of migrant pioneros(as).

Two posters of the Brief Chronology (Parts IV-V) are organized thematically to highlight different aspects of the Puerto Rican Movement. The two main themes of Part IV are: Striving for Equality and Community Empowerment and Political Participation and Public Service. The two main themes of Part V are: Educational Struggles and Institution Building and New Traditions. Some key examples are provided in the posters aimed at capturing the essence of the four thematic categories.

Key major outcomes of Puerto Rican civil rights struggles are illustrated by the number of leading institutions and organizations that Puerto Ricans created to service the community in areas such as education, social and health services, public policy, politics, and cultural preservation and enrichment. These institutions and organizations came to fruition from the vision and determination of their individual leadership, as much as from the collective resourcefulness and resilience of the many community members who participated in these initiatives. But despite these outcomes, numerous challenges and obstacles remain ahead for the new generations of Puerto Ricans to continue the social and political battles for equality and inclusion, in a U.S. society still divided by prejudice and intolerance based on issues of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, and extremist partisan ideologies.

Striving for Equality and Community Empowerment

The organizations and individuals on the two lists below are examples of Puerto Ricans playing an active role in advocating for the rights and the welfare of their various communities, and in galvanizing community members to organize for collective action around specific issues and concerns. The outcomes of increased political participation also are illustrated in the examples of individual Puerto Rican women and men with prominent careers in public and community service provided below.
Aspira (New York)
Concilio (Philadelphia)
Las Casitas (New York; Chicago)
Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (New York)
Inquilinos Boricuas en Acción (IBA) (Boston)
Institute of Puerto Rican Arts and Culture and Paseo Boricua (Chicago)
National Association for Puerto Rican Rights (New York)
National Conference of Puerto Rican Women (NACOPRW)
National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR)
National Puerto Rican Coalition (NPRC; Washington, DC)
Puerto Rican Studies Association (PRSA)
Boricua Gay and Lesbian Forum (New York)
The Young Lords (New York; Chicago)

Antonia Pantoja (New York)
Sonia Sotomayor (New York; Washington, DC)
Irma Vidal Santaella (New York)
José Serrano (New York; Washington, DC)
Nydia Velázquez (New York; Washington, DC)
Raúl Labrador (Idaho; Washington, DC)

Discussion Topics

1. In what ways did the organizations mentioned in the Striving for Equality and Community Empowerment section of this poster contribute to advancing Puerto Rican claims for equal treatment in U.S. society?

2. Summarize concrete ways in which the founding of the organizations mentioned in this section were the result of people organizing for collective action, and how they contributed to the empowerment of Puerto Rican communities in specific geographic locations.

Political Participation and Public Service

Herman Badillo (New York; Washington, DC)
Maurice Ferré (Miami)
Luis Gutiérrez (Chicago; Washington, DC)
Part V: The Puerto Rican Movement and Its Outcomes (1960s-2010s)

Educational Struggles

An important part of the Puerto Rican Movement was the crusade to improve the quality of schools in poor neighborhoods, establish community control of local schools, demand open admissions and increased access to higher education for underrepresented students, provide bilingual education to students with limited English language skills, reduce dropout rates, and develop inclusive curricula that reflected the neglected history of Puerto Rican and other minority communities in the United States, and the overall multicultural/multiracial character of American society. An important challenge was to rectify prevalent stereotypes, problem-oriented or deficit perspectives, and distorted views or omissions about the presence, productive roles, and contributions of Puerto Ricans and other ethnic racial populations in U.S. history. Recovering and documenting the overlooked histories of these communities and producing more inclusive knowledge that captured their experiences as marginalized citizens were also important components to these efforts.

Institution Building and New Traditions

Among the forerunner organizations created by U.S. Puerto Ricans in the 1960s and 70s are:

- Aspira (New York; national)
- Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (New York)
- Comité Noviembre (New York)
- Institute for Puerto Rican Policy (now National Institute for Latino Policy) (New York, national)
- Museo del Barrio (New York)
- National Conference for Puerto Rican Women (NCOPRW)
- National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR)
- National Puerto Rican Coalition (NPRC) (Washington, DC)
- National Puerto Rican Day Parade (New York)
- Nuyorican Poets Cafe (New York)
- Paseo Boricua (Chicago)
- Puerto Rican Forum (New York)
- Puerto Rican Traveling Theatre (New York)
Discussion Topics

1. What are some of the educational battles that engaged Puerto Ricans during the years of the U.S. Civil Rights movement and what were the main goals of the organizations listed under the Educational Struggles section of this Puerto Rican Movement poster?

2. Summarize the specific conditions in the 1960s and 70s that led to the creation of the Puerto Rican institutions and traditions listed in the Institution Building and New Traditions section, their role within the community, and some of their concrete accomplishments.

Recommended Readings


SECTION III  Map Posters

Demographic Map Where Do Puerto Ricans Live?: Population by State in 2010

This demographic map indicates the Puerto Rican population of each state and highlights (in darker blue) those states that had more than 100,000 Puerto Ricans in the year 2010. The poster also includes a section and chart on population growth, followed by a section on major facts about the U.S. Puerto Rican population based on U.S. Census 2010 data and more recent Current Population Survey (CPS) and American Community Survey (ACS) reports.

The most notable patterns found within the U.S. Puerto Rican population are:

- that the migration and population increases that characterized the 20th century continue into the present;
- that the increasing stateside Puerto Rican population (4.7 million) is now larger than the decreasing population of Puerto Rico (3.7 million);
- that there is more geographic dispersion away from the cities where Puerto Ricans traditionally have resided (e.g. New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Newark) into other larger and smaller cities (e.g. Orlando, FL; Springfield, MA; Hartford, CT).

Discussion Topics

1. Major shifts in Puerto Rican migration to the United States and characteristics of migrants at the various historical periods listed below:
   - Migration to New York City after the U.S. takeover of Puerto Rico (1898) to the early 1940s, and the socioeconomic profiles of migrant pioneers during this period.
   - Migration during the post-World War II era (mid-1940s to early 1960s), known as the Great Migration, and from the 1970s to the 1990s, including the socioeconomic profiles of migrants, and the formation of large Puerto Rican communities in New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Newark.
   - Migration during the 21st century, the socioeconomic profile of migrants, and the geographic dispersion and growth of different Puerto Rican communities throughout the United States, particularly in the states of Florida, Massachusetts, Connecticut, California, and Texas.

2. Discuss some of the implications of the significant population growth of the stateside
Puerto Rican population for U.S. society and for Puerto Ricans.

Recommended Readings


Studies Focused on Different U.S. Puerto Rican Communities


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**Map Poster**

**Taino, Spanish, and African Roots (c. 2000 B.C.-1898)**

This world map shows the Americas in the center of the poster and a portion of the European and African continents to the right. This map uses arrows to illustrate different population migratory movements to and from an encircled zoomed view of the island of Puerto Rico. These population flows to the island contributed to the formation of the Puerto Rican people and are part of their cultural roots and historical experience.

The earlier population influxes to the island date back to around the year 2000 before the Christian era with the indigenous migrations from South and North America to the Caribbean islands. The Taino indigenous phase began around the year 1200 of the Christian era.

The **Spanish** colonial era (1493-1898) begins with the arrival of Christopher Columbus on November 19, 1493 during his second voyage to the New World. The island that the Tainos called Borikén was renamed **Isla de San Juan Bautista** [Island of St. John the Baptist] by Columbus and its main port in the northern coast was later named **Puerto Rico** [Rich Port]. During the colonial period the two names were interchanged and the island eventually became known by the name of its largest port. Conquest and colonization began in 1508 under the command of **Juan Ponce de León** who was appointed governor of the island.

The **African** presence in Puerto Rico dates back to the early years of Spanish conquest and colonization, when the Spaniards brought with them some black African servants from Spain. The island’s indigenous population rapidly declined due to forced labor, epidemics, suicides, war, the violence and brutality of Conquest, and the system of forced labor known as the **encomiendas** [grants of land and Indians to work the parcels were apportioned among Spanish colonists]. Around 1519, large numbers of black Africans from the slave trade began to be brought to Puerto Rico to replace the declining indigenous labor in mining, agricultural activities, and domestic tasks.

After three centuries of colonial neglect, Spain began to pay more attention to the development of its island colonies towards the late 1700s. In 1765, Field Marshall Alejandro O’Reilly was sent to the island to assess its conditions and make recommendations to the Crown that would foster economic development and trade. Encouraged by land grants, many immigrants from
different provinces of Spain (primarily Cataluña, Valencia, Asturias, Andalucia, Galicia, Santander, and the Canary and Balearic islands) came to Puerto Rico to participate in an expanding agricultural economy. Over half a century later, in 1815, Spanish authorities conferred the Real Cédula de Gracias [Royal Decree of Graces] that for the first time allowed trade with other countries besides Spain and encouraged immigration to Puerto Rico from over a dozen different European countries: France, Corsica, Great Britain, Ireland, Italy, Germany, and Holland, among them.

Increased commercial ties between Puerto Rico and the United States began to thrive in the 1820s, eventually turning the island into one of the U.S.’s major trading partners in the Americas. Puerto Rico exported sugar, molasses, and rum to the United States and, to a lesser degree, coffee and tobacco. Most of the crop for the latter products was exported to Spain. In turn, the island became a major consumer of imported goods from the United States. Puerto Rican businessmen, merchants, students, professionals, laborers, and other sojourners began to travel to the United States during those years. Back in Puerto Rico, the creole propertied class was charmed with the prosperity and lifestyle of the U.S. bourgeoisie and with the American nation’s industrial and modernizing drive. At the same time, the U.S. geopolitical and economic expansionist aspirations in the Caribbean region became more evident. In 1898, the United States invaded Cuba and Puerto Rico and, after Spain’s defeat in the Spanish-Cuban-American War (also known as the Spanish-American War or War of 1898), Puerto Rico was turned into an unincorporated U.S. territory while Cuba was granted independence. According to the 1900 U.S. Census, the Puerto Rican population in the United States was less than 1,000 people.

The Taino, Spanish, and African roots represent the three main cultures and races that through centuries of racial mixture and culture contact contributed to the formation of the Puerto Rican nation. European immigrants from over a dozen countries added substantially to the cultural and socioeconomic lives of island Puerto Ricans during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Since the second half of the twentieth century, large numbers of Cuban exiles (early 1960s) and immigrants from the Dominican Republic (1970s-present) settled in Puerto Rico (see Map Poster: Diasporas in the History of the Puerto Rican People: A Cartography, Part II), and made their economic and cultural presence felt in Puerto Rican society.

**Recommended Readings**


Puerto Rican migrations to different parts of the United States and indicates the growth of various Puerto Rican communities at different historical periods.

During the early years of the U.S. regime in Puerto Rico, the military government encouraged U.S. companies to recruit Puerto Rican agricultural laborers to work in their sugar plantations in Hawaii and Cuba. Promoting contract labor migration was used by U.S. authorities as a government policy tool for dealing with the high levels of unemployment and poverty that overwhelmed Puerto Rico’s population, and for securing low wage labor for U.S. companies.

In 1910, there were only about 2,000 Puerto Ricans living in the United States, but migration accelerated after U.S. citizenship was conferred to Puerto Ricans in 1917 and the population increased to 11,811 by 1920. In the following decades, the migrant population significantly grew from 52,774 in 1930 to 301,375 by 1950, the early years of the post-World War II Great Migration (mid-1940s to mid-1960s).

From the 1930s to the 1950s, some Puerto Ricans also migrated to the U.S. Virgin Islands, especially St. Croix, to work in the sugar fields. Many of these migrants came from the nearby island of Vieques, a municipality of Puerto Rico, and were displaced from their land when the U.S. government expropriated more than half of Vieques'
Migration to the United States intensified during the Great Migration period and, since then, continues at a steady pace into the 21st century. The continuous influx of new migrants has led to the formation or expansion of numerous stateside Puerto Rican communities, mostly located in large U.S. urban centers and suburban vicinities. In 2008, the population of the Puerto Rican diaspora for the first time surpassed that of the island of Puerto Rico. The U.S. Census estimates a stateside Puerto Rican population of 4.7 million in 2013, compared to 3.7 million island residents.

The arrows in this map poster point to the geographic dispersion of the Puerto Rican migrant population to the United States. This geographic dispersion became a more evident trend in the post-World War II Great Migration period and continues into the present. In the 1960s, over 80 percent of the Puerto Rican population was concentrated in the New York metropolitan area and a few other cities in the Northeast. In 2010, only about 23 percent of the total stateside Puerto Rican population resided in the state of New York. Eighteen percent of Puerto Ricans now live in Florida, 9 percent in New Jersey, 8 percent in Pennsylvania, and about 6 percent in each of the states of Connecticut and Massachusetts. Some population estimates show that within a few years, the Puerto Rican population of the Orlando metropolitan area in Central Florida may surpass that of the New York metropolitan area. The cities of Chicago, Philadelphia, and Hartford, CT also have high concentrations of Puerto Ricans (over 200,000 each).

As Puerto Rican migration to the United States was taking place, large numbers of immigrants from the Hispanic Caribbean islands of Cuba and the Dominican Republic came to Puerto Rico during the second half of the twentieth century. First, was a major wave of Cuban exile immigration to Puerto Rico and several other Spanish-speaking countries, and to the states of Florida and New Jersey propelled by the 1959 Cuban Revolution. Thousands of Cuban exiles settled in Puerto Rico in the early 1960s. A decade later, Dominicans also began to immigrate to Puerto Rico and notable increases occurred in the 1970s and 80s. Documented and undocumented immigration from the Dominican Republic to Puerto Rico continues to a lesser degree into the present.

**Discussion Topics and Questions for the Cartography Posters**

1. Discuss the specific role of Indians, Spaniards, and black Africans in the formation of the Puerto Rican nation and how their presence is evident in today’s Puerto Rican culture.
2. In what specific ways is immigration to Puerto Rico an important part of its history?

3. In what specific ways is migration to the United States a persistent reality throughout the 20th and 21st centuries?

4. What are some of the implications of the contemporary geographic dispersion of Puerto Ricans and their significant population growth in several new U.S. cities and states, other than their traditional places of early settlement?

Recommended Readings


SECTION IV  Historical Chronology of Puerto Ricans in the United States

PART I

Puerto Rican Cultural Roots (c. 1200-1700s)

**c. 1200** Aboriginal groups from South America settled in the Antilles around the year 2000 B.C. The Taíno indigenous culture on the island now known as Puerto Rico, developed over three thousand years later, around the year 1200 of the Christian era. According to Spanish chroniclers, Taíno Indians called the island Borikén. After the beginning of Spanish colonization, the name was adapted into Spanish as Borinquen and native islanders came to be identified as *borinqueños* or *boricuas*.

Evidence of Taíno culture can be found in preserved petroglyphs (stone carvings) in Puerto Rico, located in towns or cities such as Utuado, Jayuya, Ponce, Arecibo, Fajardo, and Vieques. Puerto Rican Spanish is also filled with *indigenismos* [words of indigenous origin], such as *huracán* [hurricane], *hamaca* [hammock], and *barbacoa* [barbecue], and some names of island towns or cities, such as Caguas, Loíza, Mayagüez, and Utuado, are also of indigenous origin.

**1492** A fleet of three Spanish ships commanded by Christopher Columbus left Spain in search of a new commercial route by navigating west through the Atlantic Ocean and around the globe to reach the lands of the Far East or Orient. Instead, Columbus reached a whole new continent that less than two decades later was to be named America. His first voyage opened a New World to the European monarchies and to their process of conquest and colonization. The Spaniards first arrived on the island that Columbus christened San Salvador and the indigenous population called Guanahaní, part of today’s Bahamas. Days later, he reached the island he named Española (Hispaniola), now the Dominican Republic, the site of the first settlements in the territories that were to be collectively identified as *las Indias* [the Indies].

**1493** On November 19, 1493 during his second voyage to the Indies, Christopher Columbus disembarked on the island he named Isla de San Juan Bautista [Island of St. John the Baptist]. The island’s main bay port on the northeast coast was subsequently named Puerto Rico. Less than three decades later, the two names were interchanged and the port city became San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico.

**1508** Spanish colonization began under the command of Juan Ponce de León. In 1509, he established the first island settlement, Villa de Caparra, and was appointed governor of the colony. Conquest and colonization
produced a rapid decline in the island’s indigenous population. Driven by war, mistreatment, hard labor, illnesses, and suicide, the Taíno population dramatically declined by the end of the first century of the arrival of the Spaniards.

1519 Although the Spaniards brought Hispanicized black Africans to the island from Spain during the early years of conquest and colonization, the importation of large numbers of enslaved Africans to Puerto Rico began to increase after the first decade of Spanish rule and, by the 1530s, the African population outnumbered the Spanish population.

1511-1513 Major Taíno rebellions against the Spaniards occurred during this period before the Spaniards were able to defeat the Indian leader Agüeybaná II and establish complete control of the island.

1530s-1700s For over two centuries Puerto Rico remained a neglected colony of the Spanish empire. Although massive fortifications began to be built in the 1530s, the island colony was not part of the Spanish commercial circuit. However, because of its strategic location in the Caribbean, the island was gradually converted into a military garrison for protecting the convoys coming to the Spanish colonies in North and South America from pirates and buccaneers sponsored by other competing European monarchies. San Juan was turned into a walled city in the 1630s, and throughout the Spanish colonial period the island underwent attacks by the French (1528), British (1595, 1598, 1797), and Dutch (1625) who tried but ultimately failed to wrest control of the island from Spain.

1765-1800s In 1765, Field Marshall Alejandro O'Reilly was sent by the Spanish Crown to visit Puerto Rico and assess its social and economic conditions. As a result, he recommended reforms to develop the island’s agricultural economy and reduce the ongoing contraband trade between Puerto Rico and neighboring non-Hispanic Caribbean islands. In order to foster Puerto Rico’s agricultural production and commerce, the Spanish colonial government began to relax its trade protectionism and welcome immigrants from Spain, who could make investments and revitalize the island’s economy and increase its population.

The influx of runaway enslaved Africans from other Caribbean islands and from the swelling importation of slaves to support the expanding agricultural production, mainly the sugar industry, also added to Puerto Rico’s population during this period.

By the end of the 18th century, the Taíno Indian, Spanish, and black African populations represented the three cultural and racial roots of the Puerto Rican nation and of its racially mixed profile.
Beginnings of Puerto Rican Presence in the United States (1820s-1898)

1815 Spain grants Puerto Rico the Real Cédula de Gracias [Royal Decree of Graces] which introduces reforms for further promoting agricultural economic growth and the opening of trade with other countries besides Spain. Spanish immigrants primarily from the Canary Islands, Cataluña, Majorca, Galicia, and several other peninsular provinces received land grants to come to Puerto Rico and contribute to agricultural production and local and international commerce. In the following decades, immigrants from more than a dozen countries—France, Corsica, Ireland, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Holland, and the United States, among them—also received land grants, if they pledged loyalty to the Spanish Crown and were Catholic. These new reforms also were meant to discourage the revolutionary sentiment against Spanish colonial rule which had fueled the wars of independence and the loss of most of Spain’s colonial empire. In the early 1820s, Puerto Rico and Cuba were Spain’s last two colonies in the Americas, and during the following decades turned into major trade partners with the United States.

1821-1848 Numerous rebellions of Puerto Rico’s enslaved Africans take place during these years; one of the largest in 1841. These rebellions were all suppressed by the Spanish government.

1850 Journalist Julio Vizcarrondo (1830-1889) was exiled from Puerto Rico by Spanish authorities because of his liberal and anti-slavery views. He lived in New York and Boston and married Henriette Brewster, a North American who also shared his abolitionist ideals. After a few years in the United States, Vizcarrondo returned to Puerto Rico, started a newspaper, liberated his own slaves, and, once again, was forced to leave the island. This second time, he went to Madrid where he joined other abolitionists in founding the Sociedad Abolicionista Española [Spanish Abolitionist Society] in 1866. This organization was initially influential in passing new laws to grant freedom to the offspring of slaves and, a few years later (1873), in completely abolishing slavery in Puerto Rico.

1865 The Sociedad Republicana de Cuba y Puerto Rico [Republican Society of Cuba and Puerto Rico] is established in New York by Antillean expatriates to fight for the independence of both islands. New York came to be one of the chosen destinations for Cuban and Puerto Rican exiles. Independence advocates were known as separatists and are now commonly referred to as “the pilgrims of freedom.”

1867 The Comité Revolucionario de Puerto Rico [Revolutionary Committee of Puerto Rico] was formed in New York City by Puerto Rican independence patriot and abolitionist Ramón Emeterio Betances (1827-1898) and others. Its main goal was to support an insurrection and
liberate Puerto Rico from its Spanish colonial bondage. After leaving New York for the island of St. Thomas to arrange a delivery of a cargo of weapons to revolutionary cells in Puerto Rico, Betances released his proclamation “Los Diez Mandamientos de los Hombres Libres” [Ten Commandments of Free Men], encouraging his compatriots to take up arms against the Spanish colonial government and declare independence. The shipment of weapons was confiscated by the authorities before the vessel left port and Betances had to flee to Paris to avoid arrest.

1868 On September 23, 1868 an armed revolt in the mountain town of Lares proclaimed Puerto Rico’s independence from Spain. This event is known as the Grito de Lares [Cry of Lares or the Lares Revolt]. The revolt was crushed by Spanish troops within a few days. In Cuba, the Grito de Yara armed revolt of October 10 marks the beginning of the island’s Ten Year’s War (1868-1878) of independence.

Months before Puerto Rico’s Grito de Lares, poet Lola Rodríguez de Tió (1843-1924) had written the poem “La Borinqueña,” which was adapted to the music of a popular danza [ballroom dance] and embraced as the revolutionary hymn of the island’s independence movement.

1869 After completing a law degree in Spain, Puerto Rican separatist Eugenio María de Hostos (1839-1903) arrives in New York City where he joins the Antillean separatist movement. In the city, he becomes editor of the newspaper Revolución [Revolution]. In later years, he traveled to many Latin American republics, seeking their support for Puerto Rico and Cuba’s liberation. He also made important intellectual contributions to those Latin American countries where he lived for long periods—Venezuela, Chile, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic—where he had a distinguished career as an educator, journalist, and prolific writer on many social, political, and ethical issues. In his writings, Hostos continued to advance his vision of a federation of free Antillean republics. After the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico in 1898, Hostos returned to New York and started the Liga de Patriotas [Patriots League] to garner support to persuade the U.S. government to allow Puerto Ricans to decide their political future. He engaged in similar efforts in Puerto Rico, but the changing political climate on the island was at the time dominated by those promoting its annexation to the United States. For his numerous intellectual and political contributions, Hostos has been attributed the appellation of Ciudadano de América [Citizen of the Americas]. Hostos Community College, the first and only bilingual college of the City of New York (CUNY) system, founded in 1968, was named after this prominent Puerto Rican.

1873 African slavery and the libretas de jornaleros [workers’ journals], a forced labor system for landless
peasants, are abolished by the Spanish colonial regime in Puerto Rico.

**1875** José Celso Barbosa (1857-1921), a Puerto Rican of African descent, traveled to New York to improve his education. He studied English for two years and left the city to attend medical school at the University of Michigan. After graduating at the top of his class, he returned to Puerto Rico to practice medicine, and years later becomes involved in politics. Shortly after the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico, Barbosa founded the Partido Republicano Puertorriqueño [Puerto Rican Republican Party] (1899), the main supporter of the U.S. colonial regime and of statehood for Puerto Rico.

**1887** Supporters of autonomy or independence from Spain continued to face persecution, imprisonment, or exile under the *Compontes*—government measures to punish those who engaged in any activities against the Spanish colonial regime. Many Puerto Ricans were exiles or chose to emigrate to New York and other U.S. cities, as well as to countries in Latin America and Europe.

**1880s-1920s** This is a period of expansion of the tobacco manufacturing industry in various U.S. localities, such as Tampa, Key West, New York City, and Philadelphia. Along with other immigrant workers, large numbers of Spaniards, Cubans, and Puerto Ricans worked in U.S. tobacco factories and shops. Tobacco workers belonged to a militant and progressive artisan class of self-educated workers. They used to hire lectores [lectors or readers] at the factories, turning their workplaces into places of learning.

**1889** Afro-Puerto Rican journalist, writer, and typographer Sotero Figueroa (1851-1923) and his wife, Inocencia Martínez Santaella (1866-1957), leave Puerto Rico and settle in New York City. Figueroa starts a printing press and they both join the separatist movement. A few years later, Figueroa becomes administrative editor of the newspaper *Patria*, founded in New York in 1892 by Cuban patriot, José Martí.

**1891** Francisco Gonzalo “Pachín” Marín (1863-1897) and Arturo Alfonso Schomburg (1874-1938) arrive in New York and join the Antillean separatist movement. Marín, an artisan typographer, journalist, and poet, revives in New York his previously censored island newspaper *El postillón* [The Messenger], and turns it into an advocate of revolution against Spanish colonial rule.

Schomburg did typographic work at a printing shop in San Juan before he migrated to New York and befriended cigar makers, typographers, and other artisans active in the separatist movement. He participated in the founding of the Puerto Rican separatist *Club Borinquen* and later held the post of secretary of the *Club Dos Antillas* [The Two Antilles Club]. In the early 1900s, Schomburg, who was of African descent, moved to the black sector of Harlem and turned into a
fervent member of the Pan-Africanist movement. He also became an avid collector of books and other materials that documented the African experience around the world. In 1937, he sold his valuable collection to the New York Public Library and was hired as curator of his own collection. The Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture of the New York Public Library bears his name.

1892 A group of separatist male expatriates start the Puerto Rican Club Borinquen and also joined Cuban separatists in founding the Club Las Dos Antillas [The Two Antillean Islands]. A group of Antillean women form the Club Mercedes Varona, named after the Cuban revolutionary woman killed in the Ten Years’ War (1868-1878). Inocencia Martínez Santaella was among the founding members of this separatist women’s club.

1895 The Sección de Puerto Rico [Puerto Rico Branch] of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano [Cuban Revolutionary Party] (PRC) is founded in New York. This year also marks the outbreak of Cuba’s Second War of Independence from Spain (1895-1898).

1897 Another women’s separatist group, Club Hermanas de Ríus Rivera, is established in New York, bearing the name of a Puerto Rican General who fought in the wars for Cuban independence from Spain. The Club was headed by Inocencia Martínez Santaella.

Lola Rodríguez de Tió is exiled from Cuba and arrives in New York. She is elected vice president of this club.

1897 Spain approves a Charter of Autonomy that granted self-government to Puerto Rico, but the island remained a Spanish province. The new government was in effect for less than a year when it came to an end as a result of the Spanish-Cuban-American War and the U.S. invasion of Puerto Rico.

PART II

Pioneros(as): Migrant Pioneers to the United States

1898 The period of U.S. territorial, military, and economic expansionism impelled by nineteenth century Manifest Destiny policies, enters a new stage when, on February 21, 1898, an explosion destroys the North American naval vessel USS Maine stationed at the Port of Havana. Encouraged by a sensationalist national press, the United States declares war against Spain and invades Cuba and Puerto Rico. This conflict is known as the Spanish-American War or Spanish-Cuban-American War, since for almost three years before the invasion, Cubans had been fighting their second war of independence (1895-1898) against the Spanish colonial regime.
The Treaty of Paris is signed putting an end to the Spanish-Cuban-American War. Spain was forced to cede the territories of Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and the Ladrones islands (Guam) to the United States. Cuba remained under U.S. occupation until 1902, when it was granted independence.

Under the leadership of Spanish immigrant Santiago Iglesias Pantín (1872-1939), the Federación Libre de los Trabajadores de Puerto Rico [Free Federation of Puerto Rican Workers; FLT) is founded. Two years later, the island’s FLT became associated with the stateside American Federation of Labor (AFL). During the early decades of the 20th century, island workers began migrating to the United States to seek better working conditions, particularly after the U.S. Congress decreed U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans in 1917.

Two years after the U.S. takeover and the initial military regime, the Foraker Act is enacted by the U.S. Congress to implement a civil government in Puerto Rico. However, Puerto Rico’s governor and high level officials continued to be appointed by the U.S. President and Congress. The Foraker Act stated that all Spanish subjects living on the island and their offspring would become citizens of Puerto Rico, entitled to the protection of the United States, but not accorded the full constitutional rights shared by U.S. citizens residing in the states. Legal challenges related to citizenship, civil rights, immigration, and trade tariffs were made in later years, aimed at demanding equal treatment for Puerto Ricans. The cases that were resolved by U.S. Supreme Court decisions are known as the “insular cases.”

A non-voting Resident Commissioner, Federico Degetau (1862-1914), a Puerto Rican lawyer who favored future statehood for the island, was the first to occupy this post and represent Puerto Rico in the U.S. Congress.

One of the earliest insular cases, Downes v. Bidwell, challenged the imposition of trade tariffs on exports from Puerto Rico to the United States. The Supreme Court ruled that duties on exports from the island were legal and constitutional. Since the newly acquired territories were possessions of the United States, but not part of the American Union, the Supreme Court reasserted the constitutional authority of the U.S. Congress to enact legislation and exert plenary powers over Puerto Rico and its people.

New U.S. immigration guidelines issued in 1902, had changed the immigration status of all Puerto Ricans. That status was challenged when Isabel González, a young, single woman who was expecting a child, was detained at Ellis Island as an “alien” and a potential “burden” to the state. Her case was taken to the courts claiming that since she had been born in Puerto Rico, a territory of the United States, she should not be considered an immigrant alien. The González v. Williams case eventually reached the Supreme Court.
After hearing the case, the Court ruled that Puerto Ricans were not aliens and could travel to the United States without restrictions. In this insular case, the Supreme Court also reaffirmed that Puerto Ricans were not U.S. citizens and should be regarded only as “noncitizen nationals.” The ambiguity of being “noncitizen nationals” did not change until the 1917 U.S. citizenship decree.

1912 The Club Puertorriqueño de San Francisco is established. Some Puerto Rican workers contracted to go to the Hawaiian islands stayed in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and others contracted to work in Arizona farms also settled in California in later years.

1912 Puerto Rican women’s rights advocate, labor organizer, tobacco factory reader, and feminist writer Luisa Capetillo (1879-1922) travels to New York City and then to Tampa to organize tobacco workers. She was a frequent contributor to the Spanish-language labor press in New York and Tampa, and also wrote some of her best known feminist essays while living in the United States. She returned to New York in 1920 and ran a boarding house there for a brief period.

1916 Tabaquero [cigar maker] Bernardo Vega (1885-1965) migrates to New York and becomes a leading community activist and journalist for almost forty years. During his early years in New York, Vega worked in a weapons factory and as a cigar maker, before purchasing the Spanish-language weekly, Gráfico [Illustrated] in 1927, and initiating a career as newspaper editor, journalist, and advocate of Puerto Rico’s independence. For many years, he continued to write for other community newspapers in the city. Along with other early migrant labor activists, Vega participated in the founding of the socialist workers’ organizations Alianza Obrera Puertorriqueña [Workers’ Alliance] (1922) and Ateneo Obrero [Workers’ Athenaeum] (1924). The book Memorias de Bernardo Vega [Memoirs of Bernardo Vega] (Spanish version 1977; English version 1984)—one of the most important sources for documenting the history of the New York Puerto Rican community during the early 20th century—was published over a decade after his death.

1917 The Jones-Shafforth Act is enacted by the U.S. Congress decreeing U.S. citizenship for Puerto Ricans, which further facilitates Puerto Rican migration to the United States. Conferral of U.S. citizenship, however, did not provide island Puerto Ricans the same rights enjoyed by stateside U.S. citizens, such as electing a governor, voting in presidential elections, or having voting representatives in the U.S. Congress. But the Act provided a degree of self-government and Puerto Ricans were able to elect members to the island’s Senate and House of Representatives.

1917 Deemed an excess population in a territory of widespread poverty, U.S. officials continued to promote labor migration from Puerto Rico to the United States.
Puerto Ricans traveled from the island to New York and other U.S. destinations by steamship. Laborers and other migrants helped established the early Puerto Rican communities in East Harlem and in Brooklyn’s Navy Yard, Boro Hall, and Williamsburg areas.

1917 The United States joins European allies and enters World War I. As new U.S. citizens, Puerto Rican men were drafted into the U.S. armed forces for the first time.

During World War I, prominent Puerto Rican composer and musician Rafael Hernández (1892-1965) and his brother Jesús Hernández enlist in the U.S. Army’s Harlem Hell Fighters musical band, after spending some time working in North Carolina. Along with other members of their family, they settled in New York City after the war. Rafael Hernández spent most of the 1920s composing and playing his music with other Latino(a) performers in New York and traveling to other U.S. and Latin American cities. His sister Victoria Hernández opened the first Latino music store in the city, which became a hospitable place of gathering and booking agency for many aspiring Puerto Rican and Latino(a) composers and performers living in the city.

1917 Joaquín Colón (1896-1964), leaves Puerto Rico for New York. After working as a porter at a subway station and doing factory work, he finds career employment at a Brooklyn post office. Since his early years in the city, Joaquín Colón, along with his brother Jesús Colón, played a leadership role in the creation of several civic and labor organizations, and was an editor and writer for a few Spanish-language newspapers. Joaquín Colón was among the founders of the Puerto Rican Democratic Club (1923); a club organized to encourage the community to participate in the U.S. political process. An autobiographical account of his experiences in New York was published in 2002, over four decades after his death, under the title of Pioneros puertorriqueños en Nueva York (1917-1947) [Puerto Rican Pioneers in New York (1917-1947)].

1918 Following the footsteps of his older brother Joaquín, Jesús Colón (1901-1974) migrates to New York as a stowaway in a steamship. He initially works at a factory scrapping labels from old bottles, at the docks unloading cargo from ships, and at an army clothing factory. He completed his high school diploma and later enrolled in some college courses, and also found employment with Brooklyn’s postal service. Through the years, he became a community activist, labor organizer, and prolific journalist. In addition, he played a leadership role in launching several key Puerto Rican community organizations in Brooklyn and Manhattan from the 1920s-1970s, such as the civic group Liga Puertorriqueña e Hispana (1926) and the labor organizations Alianza Obrera Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican Workers’ Alliance] (1922), Ateneo Obrero [Workers Athenaeum] (1926), the labor lodges Vanguardia Puertorriqueña [Puerto
Rican Vanguard] (1935) and Mutualista Obrera Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican Workers Mutual Aid Society] (1939), and the Hispanic Section of the International Workers Order (IWO; 1936). Colón authored and published A Puerto Rican in New York and Other Sketches (1961), a book about his experiences in New York, and the first book written in English by a first generation Puerto Rican migrant from the working class.

1919 Erasmo Vando (1896-1988) arrives in New York, after spending a brief time as a construction contract worker in South Carolina. In the city, he worked as a theater actor, producer, creative writer, journalist, and community activist. He co-founded the Juventud Nacionalista Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican Nationalist Youth] (1919) and the Asociación de Escritores y Periodistas Puertorriqueños [Puerto Rican Writers and Journalists Association] (1939), was involved in many theater productions, wrote frequently for the Spanish-language press, and was active in several other community organizations.

After many years of living in Washington, D.C., Luis Muñoz Marín (1898-1980) moves to New York with his North American wife, feminist activist and poet Muna Lee. He spent the 1920s moving between Puerto Rico and New York and finally settles on the island in 1931 to pursue what would be a prominent political career. In 1948, he became the first elected governor of Puerto Rico and the leader behind the creation of the Estado Libre Asociado [Associated Free State] or Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in 1952.

1920 Pura Belpré (1899-1982) migrates to New York and becomes the first Puerto Rican librarian to be hired by the New York Public Library. Her career as a librarian inspired her to also become a storyteller and write children’s books based on Puerto Rican folkloric traditions. She published her own version of a well-known children’s story, Pérez and Martina: A Puerto Rican Folk Tale [El Ratoncito Pérez y la Cucarachita Martina] in 1932. The storybook turned into favorite reading of Latino(a) students in elementary school classrooms.

1920s-1930s Puerto Ricans and other Latinos(as) begin to settle in East Harlem in large numbers. The neighborhood came to be known as Spanish Harlem or El Barrio. They also began to settle in communities in the Lower East Side and Washington Heights.

1922 Founding of the Partido Nacionalista Puertorriqueño [Puerto Rican Nationalist Party] in Puerto Rico. Nationalist groups also began to be organized in New York by Puerto Rican migrants.

1922 The Alianza Obrera Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican Workers’ Alliance] is established in New York City by Bernardo Vega, Jesús Colón, Luis Muñoz Marín, and other socialist labor activists to fight for workers’ rights and encourage them to unionize.
The Liga Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican League] is established by members of New York’s Puerto Rican professional elite. Among them, was Nationalist playwright Gonzalo O’Neill, author of Bajo una sola bandera [Under Just One Flag], a play staged in Harlem’s Park Palace in 1928.

The Club Caborrojeño is founded by Ramón Pabón Alves marking the beginning of a tradition of island hometown clubs in New York. Hometown clubs, such as Club Caborrojeño, Mayagüezanos Ausentes, Hijos de Patillas, and many others, were important in promoting civic, social, and cultural cohesion and nurturing networks among Puerto Rican migrants in New York.

1923 The Porto Rican Brotherhood of America is created in New York City to foster mutual aid and unity within the community.

The Ateneo Obrero [Workers’ Athenaeum] was founded by Bernardo Vega, Jesús Colón, Joaquín Colón, and other workers to foster popular cultural education within the working class Puerto Rican community.

1926 As the Puerto Rican population increases in Harlem, there is an outbreak of violent inter-ethnic clashes between old residents and newcomers. Later known as the Harlem Riots, one reason for these clashes was the establishment of Hispanic-owned stores and small businesses in areas previously controlled by Jewish and Italian merchants. The negative press coverage of the Puerto Rican community resulting from the rioting, served as a catalyst for the founding of the Liga Puertorriqueña e Hispana [Puerto Rican and Hispanic League], aimed at dealing with such conflicts and other challenges faced by the community, and at promoting solidarity among the city’s various Puerto Rican and Hispanic organizations.

1927 The Betances Democratic Club is established in Brooklyn by Puerto Rican community activists. Among them were Carlos Tapia (1885-1945) and Antonia Denis (1892-19??), both of African descent. Tapia had migrated to New York around 1920 and Denis just a few years before. Political clubs were organized in different Puerto Rican neighborhoods to encourage the community to register to vote and increase their political participation.

1928 While living in New York, Puerto Rican composer Rafael Hernández, releases his popular musical composition “Lamento Borincano” [Puerto Rican Peasant’s Lament also known as “El Jibarito”]. The song captured the poverty and desolation in Puerto Rico during the Great Depression that led many workers to migrate to the United States.

1930 Pedro Albizu Campos (1891-1965) takes on the leadership of the Nationalist Party in Puerto Rico. Because of their opposition to U.S. territorial control over
Puerto Rico, political persecution against Nationalists by island and U.S. colonial authorities increases, forcing many Nationalists to migrate to the United States during the following two decades.

**1934** Casita María is established in East Harlem as a charitable organization that offered support services to needy members of the Spanish-speaking community. During the Great Depression, this organization strived to provide shelter and food to homeless families, was a strong advocate of social and educational services for the poor, and offered translation assistance and spiritual guidance. Puerto Rican Trinitarian nun Sister Carmelita Bonilla (1905-2003) who had worked at a Brooklyn mission helping Puerto Rican and immigrant children from other nationalities, participated in the founding of Casita María. She dedicated some of her time to fundraising efforts by appealing to neighborhood businesses and more prosperous members of the community.

Emelí Vélez Soto arrives in New York and works in a curtain factory. The persecution of her brother and other Puerto Rican Nationalists in Puerto Rico led her to join Nationalist groups in New York. She collaborated in the creation of El Comité Femenino del Partido Nacionalista [Women's Committee of the Nationalist Party]. She married Erasmo Vando in 1942. In later years, she pursued a career in acting and politics.

1935 Another Harlem Riot exposes the segregation and discrimination experienced by Puerto Ricans and blacks, the racial tensions between Harlem’s white population and groups of color, and police abuses against members of the community.

Vito Marcantonio (1902-1954), is elected to represent Harlem’s 18th District in the U.S. Congress. The Italian American Congressman was a strong advocate for workers and unions, and supported the Puerto Rican community in many of its causes, including the independence of Puerto Rico.

1936 The Hispanic Section of the International Workers’ Order (IWO) is established thanks to the leadership of the brothers Jesús and Joaquín Colón to foster a sense of solidarity and unity among Hispanic workers in New York and other parts of the United States. The brothers also organized two of the most active IWO-affiliated Puerto Rican labor lodges: Vanguardia Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican Workers Vanguard] (1935), which had a Women’s Auxiliary, and Mutualista Obrera Puertorriqueña [Puerto Rican Workers’ Mutual-Aid Society] (1939).

1936 Puerto Rican lawyer Gilberto Concepción de Gracia (1909-1968) moves to New York and later to Washington, D.C. He defended Pedro Albizu Campos and other Nationalists in their legal appeals, after they were found guilty of conspiring to overthrow the U.S.
government in Puerto Rico and were sent to prison. He also collaborated with Congressman Vito Marcantonio on Puerto Rican issues. Concepción de Gracia was the founder of the Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño [Puerto Rican Independence Party] (PIP) in 1946. Due to political repression and blacklisting of Nationalists and pro-independence advocates in Puerto Rico, many migrated to the United States between the 1930s-1960s.

1936 The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) brings large numbers of Spanish exiles to New York. Many Puerto Ricans and other Latinos(as) denounced the fascist dictatorship of General Francisco Franco, who took over the reins of the Spanish government and was in power until his death in 1975.

1936 The Hispanic Section of the International Workers’ Order (IWO) is established under the leadership of Jesús and Joaquín Colón. The IWO was a fraternal organization that offered mutual aid and life and health benefits to workers.

1937 Elected by a coalition of Democrats, Republicans, Independents, and labor unions, Puerto Rican lawyer Oscar García Rivera (1900-1969) becomes the first Puerto Rican to be elected to the New York State Assembly, and the first Puerto Rican in the United States to win an election for public office. As a legislator, he sponsored bills to protect workers and wages, provide unemployment insurance, ban child labor, and against discrimination. In 1956, he was elected President of the Puerto Rican Bar Association of New York.

1938 Founding of the Partido Popular Democrático [Popular Democratic Party] (PPD) by Luis Muñoz Marín. The PPD’s populist logo, “pan, tierra, y libertad” [bread, land, and liberty] and its promise of social and economic reforms appealed to the impoverished majority population of Puerto Rico. Two years later, the PPD, a reform-oriented party, won control of Puerto Rico’s legislature.

PART III

The Great Migration Years (Mid-1940s to Early 1960s)

Mid-1940s-1960s Puerto Rican migration to the United States intensifies during this period. This considerable population exodus was impelled by U.S. and island government policies that facilitated the recruitment of low wage contract workers by American companies, and by a rapid decline of Puerto Rico’s agricultural economy to one focused on attracting U.S. export manufacturing industries to the island. The new industrialization drive, however, could not fully absorb the large number of unemployed agricultural workers. High levels of poverty and unemployment, and a growing island population also contributed to migration. This population exodus is known
as the Great Migration, the first major airborne migration to the United States.

Large numbers of island male and female contract workers were brought to the United States to work in manufacturing industries and agricultural fields. Others followed the path of relatives or friends and made the journey to the United States in search of work and opportunities for a more prosperous life. Most Puerto Rican migrants settled in large cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Newark. Others settled in smaller cities, such as Hartford, Connecticut, Lorain, Ohio, and Paterson, Camden, or Dover, New Jersey.

1942 Puerto Rican Nationalist and feminist poet Julia de Burgos (1914-1953) arrives in New York, after working as a rural school teacher in Puerto Rico. She wrote many of her poems while living in the city and collaborated with the newspaper Pueblos hispanos, founded in 1943 by Juan Antonio Corretjer, another Puerto Rican Nationalist poet, who had been in prison for his political activities in Puerto Rico.

1943 Poet Clemente Soto Vélez (1905-1993), who in the late 1930s had been incarcerated in a federal prison along with his Nationalist compatriots, Pedro Albizu Campos and Juan Antonio Corretjer (1908-1985), sets up residence in New York. Upon his arrival, he became active in the political campaigns of Harlem Congressman Vito Marcantonio and those of the American Labor Party.

He also wrote for a few of the city’s Spanish-language newspapers, published several books of poetry, started a small business, and presided over the Puerto Rican Merchants Association.

1944 Antonia Pantoja (1922-2002), an Afro-Puerto Rican teacher, arrives in New York. After working in factories, she continued to advance her education by completing a degree in social work. One of the most prominent Puerto Rican community organizers and institution builders of the 1950s and 1960s, some of the institutions founded under her leadership continue to serve current generations of New York Puerto Ricans and other Latinos(as). Among these are ASPIRA and Boricua College. For her many contributions to the community, Pantoja was the first Puerto Rican woman to receive the prestigious Presidential Medal of Freedom from President Bill Clinton in 1996.

1946 New York’s Union Square becomes a public stage for Puerto Rican migrant Jorge Brandon (1902-1995) to recite his poetry. In his performances, Brandon played the role of an old trovador [troubadour] recreating the oral poetic forms and traditions of his native culture, and giving voice to the history of his people, and to what it meant to be a Puerto Rican migrant in the alienating environment of the U.S. metropolis. In the early 1970s, Brandon was an inspiration to the Nuyorican callejerismo or street poetry trend and is now recognized as “the father of Nuyorican poetry.”
In reaction to the massive influx of Puerto Ricans to New York, newspapers begin to refer to the strains caused by this migration on the city’s various social and public services, schools, and housing as the “Puerto Rican problem,” often reinforcing negative stereotypes about the growing presence of Puerto Ricans in the city.

Puerto Rico’s legislature approves the Industrial Incentives Act (1947) granting tax exemptions to private companies for a period of ten years for establishing their operations on the island. These investment opportunities, along with low salaries and the lack of minimum wage labor laws attracted numerous U.S. manufacturing companies and contributed to the rapid industrialization of the island. A year later, the massive industrial development program Operación Manos a la Obra [Put Your Hands to Work], known in English as Operation Bootstrap, would begin to transform Puerto Rico into a modern industrial society. However, industrialization also produced a dwindling of agricultural production, widespread unemployment among rural workers, and a swelling of migration to the United States.

The same year, Puerto Rico’s legislature also approves the Migration Law which established that the island government was to play a decisive role in cooperating with federal government in managing mass migration to the United States. One way of accomplishing this goal was to create a Bureau of Employment and Migration in San Juan and New York. A year later, the New York Bureau became the Migration Division. The Puerto Rican government’s official position was that they neither encouraged nor discouraged migration, and that these offices were intended to provide information on employment opportunities, ease migrant incorporation into U.S. society, and channel migrants to other geographic destinations besides New York where labor was needed. But the Migration Division also played a role in influencing public opinion by having the island’s government officially involved in dealing with New York City’s so-called “Puerto Rican problem.”

The Mendez vs. Westminster landmark case made school segregation of Mexican children illegal in California. This case was an important legal precedent to the Brown v. Board of Education (1954) Supreme Court decision that banned school segregation throughout the United States. Among the case’s plaintiffs were Gonzalo and Felicitas Méndez, a Mexican-Puerto Rican married couple, owners of an asparagus farm who had met as migrant workers in Arizona, and four other Mexican families whose children were not allowed to attend a local school in the Westminster District in California because of their color and ethnicity. In 1997, the Gonzalo & Felicitas Méndez Fundamental Intermediate School in Santa Ana, California was named in their honor.

Luis Muñoz Marín becomes the first elected governor of Puerto Rico. The new government continues
to promote the industrialization of Puerto Rico under the **Operation Bootstrap** economic development program. Migration to the United States continues to increase at a rapid pace.

The **Migration Division** is established in New York in response to the negative media reactions to the massive influx of Puerto Rican migrants into the city and to facilitate their transition into the host society.

**1950s-1960s** Puerto Ricans settle in Washington Heights and the South Bronx in large numbers.

**1952** Inauguration of the Constitution of the **Estado Libre Asociado (ELA)** or **Commonwealth of Puerto Rico**. The new status was meant to boost the notion of self-government for the island but, fundamentally, it did not change U.S. territorial jurisdiction over Puerto Rico nor did it recognize Puerto Rican citizenship.

**1955** Gilberto Genera Valentín organized the **Congreso de Pueblos** [Council of Hometown Clubs], an umbrella organization that became a major force in the community's struggle for political recognition and empowerment from the mid-1950s to early 1970s. He also played a key role in the founding of important community organizations, such as the **Puerto Rican Day Parade** (1958) and the **National Association for Puerto Rican Civil Rights** (1976).

**1957** The **Puerto Rican Forum, Inc.** is founded in New York City under the leadership of **Antonia Pantoja**. The organization was aimed at offering assistance to individuals entering the job market and fostering their professional development.

**1958** First **Desfile Puertorriqueño** in New York, the beginning of the Puerto Rican Day Parade tradition.

**1960** The **Puerto Rican Family Institute** was started by a group of Puerto Rican social workers to extend services to the migrant community. In the present, the Institute runs Head Start programs, provides assistance to victims of child abuse, offers mental health and counseling services, and promotes healthy family relationships.

**1961** **ASPIRA** is established in New York under the leadership of **Antonia Pantoja** to promote the education of Puerto Rican youth. Its Spanish name means to aspire. **ASPIRA** became a national organization with headquarters in Washington, D.C. and offices in New York City and other cities and states, including Puerto Rico. In later years, the organization expanded its mission and is now serving Puerto Rican and other Latino youth.

The organization **Congreso de Pueblos** [Congress of Puerto Rican Hometowns], under the leadership of community activist **Gilberto Gerena Valentín** and the
Association of Puerto Rican Lawyers, begin to fight for the elimination of an English proficiency test required for voting.

1961 First Puerto Rican Day Parade celebration in Philadelphia.

PARTS IV-V

The Puerto Rican Movement and Its Outcomes (1960s-2010s)

1963 A Puerto Rican contingent to Martin Luther King’s historic August 23, 1963 March on Washington is organized by Puerto Rican community leaders and coalition builders Gilberto Gerena Valentín and Manny Díaz, among others.

1963 As a result of community advocacy, the Board of Education of the City of New York decides that Public School 120 in Williamsburg, Brooklyn to begin construction the following year, was to be named after Puerto Rican community leader Carlos Tapia. The American Committee for Puerto Rican Civic Integration, presided over by Ramón Colón, a committee that also included community activist Antonia Denis among its members, was key in persuading the New York City Board of Education to name the school after Tapia. It is the first school in the city named after a Puerto Rican migrant.

1963 First Puerto Rican Day Parade in Hartford, CT.

1964 The U.S. Congress approves the Civil Rights Act which forbids segregation and discrimination based on race, color, gender, and religion. The new legislation inspired social and political movements for racial, gender, socioeconomic, and educational equality and empowerment among Puerto Ricans and other minorities. The period of community activism that followed is known as the Puerto Rican Movement.

1964 A demonstration of Puerto Rican parents, teachers, students, and other community members, organized by the Council of Puerto Rican and Latino Community Organizations of the Lower East Side, crosses the Brooklyn Bridge and ends in front of New York’s City Hall. The demonstrators were demanding an end to school segregation and a more effective education for Puerto Ricans and other Latino(a) students. This event is now known as the March for a Better Education.

1964 Close to half a million African American and Puerto Rican students participate in a one-day protest and boycott of classes at New York’s public schools that
paralyzed the system. The protestors were demanding an end to prevalent segregation and discrimination practices in many of the city’s public schools, which deprived them of a quality education.

**1964** The city of Philadelphia had been attracting Hispanic immigrants since the late 1800s and early 1900s. Among them were a sizable number of Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Spanish cigar makers. The most significant increase in the Puerto Rican population occurred during and after World War II with the recruitment of workers to support the city’s industrial sector. There also was some influx of Puerto Rican migrants moving from New York City to Philadelphia during those years. In 1962, the **Council of Spanish-Speaking Organizations (Concilio)** was founded to focus on the community’s socioeconomic and political concerns, foster cultural and educational programs, and provide human services to a growing Puerto Rican and Latino population. The Concilio initiated the annual **Puerto Rican Festival** celebration in 1964. The **Puerto Rican Day Parade** of Philadelphia is regarded as “the Crown jewel” of the Festival.

**1965** Puerto Rican community leaders urge the U.S. Congress to amend the Voting Rights Act by eliminating the literacy test that disenfranchised many individuals with limited English proficiency. Among the leaders addressing Congress were future Congressman **Herman Badillo**, South Bronx community activist and future New York City Council member **Giberto Gerena Valentín**, and attorney **Irma Vidal Santaella**. Ten years later, Congress approved Section 203 to protect the voting rights of minority language groups in certain jurisdictions.

**1965** Puerto Ricans often supported African Americans in demonstrations against racial segregation. An example is a march in New York by Local 23-25 of the **International Ladies’ Garment Workers’ Union** (ILGU).

**1966** Outbreak of the first major Puerto Rican riot in the United States in the Division Street neighborhood of Chicago (today’s **Paseo Boricua**). The disturbances began during the holding of the first Puerto Rican Parade in reaction to the police shooting of a Puerto Rican youngster. These conflicts were a manifestation of the urban unrest that afflicted many U.S. cities in the late 1960s, due to pervading racism and discrimination, police brutality against groups of color, the neglect by city governments of deteriorating conditions in poor ethnic neighborhoods, and the urban renewal projects that displaced and forced these communities to relocate. In the following years, rioting spread to other Puerto Rican communities in New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia.

**1966** Founding of **United Bronx Parents, Inc.**, under the leadership of **Evelina López Antonetty**. This organization fought for more community control of schools, the hiring of minority teachers, bilingual
education, and a more effective educational experience for children in the public schools of the South Bronx.

1967 The Puerto Rican Traveling Theater is created by Puerto Rican actress Miriam Colón to bring bilingual theater to the Puerto Rican and Latino(a) communities, and the general public. Its first production, *La carreta* [The Oxcart], a classic play about a Puerto Rican rural family’s migratory journey, was shown for free to New York City audiences. The Puerto Rican Traveling Theatre provided a pioneering cultural model for connecting the arts to the community and stimulating Latino(a) youngsters’ interest in playwriting and acting.

1968 Hostos Community College is established in the South Bronx as part of the City University of New York (CUNY) system. It is the only bilingual college within the CUNY system and it serves a primarily Latino(a) population.

1969 Puerto Rican students in New York created the Puerto Rican Student Union (PRSU) to mobilize the Bronx communities in denouncing racism, socioeconomic exploitation, and the government’s failure to improve public schools and housing, and to raise political consciousness through grassroots education and advocate for the liberation of Puerto Rico. Many of these students later joined the Young Lords Organization.

1969 Chapters of the Young Lords Organization (later the Young Lords Party), emerge, first in Chicago, then New York. The organization was successful in getting Puerto Rican and other youth involved in demanding city governments provide adequate services and pay more attention to the needs of poor communities in areas such as housing, health, and education. Other chapters were established in various U.S. cities and in Puerto Rico in subsequent years.

1969 Students at City College, CUNY organize a takeover of the institution. Among their demands were an open admissions policy for Puerto Rican students to attend colleges in the CUNY system, the establishment of Puerto Rican Studies programs, and increasing the hiring of Puerto Rican faculty and staff.

1969 Puerto Rican Studies programs are established at City College and Lehman College, CUNY. Later on, programs were established at other CUNY system institutions, such as Brooklyn, Queens, John Jay, and Baruch Colleges. Programs were also initiated at Fordham University and the Livingston College and New Brunswick campuses of Rutgers University in New Jersey, and at the Albany and Buffalo campuses of the State University of New York (SUNY) system.

1969 El Museo del Barrio was founded in East Harlem under the leadership of Puerto Rican visual artist Raphael Montañez Ortiz and members of different
sectors of the community. The Museum promotes public cultural education and the work of Puerto Rican and other Latino(a) artists.

1970 Herman Badillo (b. 1929) becomes the first Puerto Rican elected to the U.S. Congress. He was a member of the Democratic Party representing the 21st District of the South Bronx. He had been the first Puerto Rican to be elected Bronx Bureau President in 1965.

1971 The Taller Boricua [Puerto Rican Workshop] is established in New York to promote the arts within the community. The Taller is now located at the Julia de Burgos Latino Cultural Center.

1971 Under the editorship of Samuel Betances, The Rican: Journal of Contemporary Puerto Rican Thought begins to publish creative work and scholarship focused on U.S. Puerto Ricans.

1971 The Revista Chicano-Riqueña is started by Puerto Rican/Hispanic literature scholar Nicolás Kanellos. The journal focused on creative writing by U.S. Puerto Rican and Chicano authors.

1972 Puerto Rican lawyers Jorge Batista, Víctor Marrero, and César Perales create the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund (PRLDEF) in New York to offer legal support to the Puerto Rican community. Two years later, they won the landmark case Aspira v. New York City Board of Education that mandated bilingual education for non-English speaking students in public schools.

1972 A group of professional women establish the National Conference of Puerto Rican Women (NACOPRW) to advocate for equal rights and improve the status of Puerto Rican women.

1973 The Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños [Center for Puerto Rican Studies] is founded at CUNY under the leadership of Frank Bonilla (1925-2010). Born in New York in 1925 to Puerto Rican migrant parents, Bonilla served in the U.S. armed forces during World War II. After the war he went to college and received a doctoral degree from Harvard University. In the 1950s, he participated with other Puerto Rican professionals in the creation of the Puerto Rican-Hispanic Leadership Forum and was the first Director of the Puerto Rican Forum. He became a prominent scholar and teacher at MIT and Stanford University during the 1960s. He returned to New York in 1972 to join the CUNY faculty and, shortly thereafter, became the founding Director of Centro.

Centro’s motto is Aprender a Luchar, Luchar es Aprender [Learn to Strive, To Strive is to Learn]. Affiliated with Hunter College, CUNY, Centro is the leading institution in “researching, preserving, and sharing the Puerto Rican experience in the United States.” Shortly after its founding, the Centro Library and Archives began to collect information and records that document the history
of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Currently, the Library and Archives holds the largest repository of documents in the world on the Puerto Rican diaspora. The Centro Library and Archives were named after Bronx community leader Evelina López Antonetty.

1973 **Maurice Ferré** (b. 1935) is elected mayor of Miami, Florida, becoming the first Puerto Rican mayor of a large U.S. city. A Democrat, he occupied this post for twelve years.

1974 The **Nuyorican Poets Cafe** is founded in New York by writer and university professor Miguel Algarín. Other Nuyorican poets, such as Miguel Piñero, Pedro Pietri, Tato Laviera, Jesús Papoleto Meléndez, and Sandra María Esteves were among the most prominent of this artistic movement.

1974 As a result of a legal challenge, the **Aspira Consent Decree** (*Aspira v. New York City Board of Education*) is granted by the courts requiring the city’s public school system to provide bilingual education to non-English speaking students.

1974 Founding of **Boricua College**, a private arts and sciences higher education institution aimed at serving the needs of Puerto Rican and other Latinos(as). The idea of a Boricua higher education institution was originally envisioned by community leader Antonia Pantoja.

1977 The **National Puerto Rican Coalition, Inc.** (NPRC) is founded in Washington, D.C. as an advocacy organization representing the needs of U.S. Puerto Ricans. The organization was created by the collective efforts of forty Puerto Rican community leaders.

1977 A group of Puerto Rican independence supporters displayed a Puerto Rican flag across the forehead of the Statue of Liberty to demand the release of Puerto Rican Nationalist political prisoners incarceraded in federal prisons. Most of them were finally released two years later by President Jimmy Carter.

1979 **Pregones Theater** is established in the South Bronx to promote the work of Puerto Rican and Latino(a) writers and performers.

1979 **Arte Público Press** is founded at the University of Houston by Nicolás Kanellos to promote the publication of Latino(a) literature from the United States.

1980s As the New York Puerto Rican population declines, it increases significantly in other states, such as Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Florida.

1980s-2010s From the 1980s to the present, the magnitude of the Puerto Rican population growth in the state of Florida--particularly in Orlando, Kissimmee, Miami, Fort. Lauderdale, and other parts of Central and South Florida--exemplifies the changing patterns of settlement and geographic dispersion of Puerto Ricans.
from New York City to other old and new locations of settlement throughout the United States. Smaller numbers of Puerto Ricans had been arriving in Central Florida since the 1940s. After New York, Florida is the second largest state in terms of Puerto Rican population, and Central Florida is a preferred destination for migration of island professionals, and service and trade sector workers. The Asociación Borinqueña de la Florida Central (ABFC), founded in 1977, has been a leader in promoting and delivering family services to the community and becoming a major center of cultural activity. In South Florida, the Puerto Rican Professional Association (PROFESA) was created in 1999. Focusing on networking, community empowerment, and cultural awareness, PROFESA also promotes links with the professional and business sectors.

1981 The National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights was created in the South Bronx as a grassroots organization that advocated for the human and civil rights of Puerto Ricans.


1982 The Institute for Puerto Rican Policy (now the National Institute for Latino Policy) is established in New York under the leadership of Angelo Falcón. The Institute is an independent nonpartisan policy-focused enterprise aimed at identifying the needs of the Puerto Rican/Latino community.

1983 The Puerto Rican Heritage Society is founded in Hawaii by Blase Camacho Souza to document and preserve Puerto Rican migration and contributions to Hawaiian society that began in the early 1900s.

1986 Beginning of the Comité Noviembre Puerto Rican Heritage Month commemoration in New York to foster Puerto Rican cultural awareness and recognize the accomplishments and contributions of prominent Puerto Ricans to their communities.

1987 The Boricua Gay and Lesbian Forum is founded in New York City to give visibility to their civil rights and liberation struggles, and create awareness of the concerns and discrimination experienced by this sector of the community. Its founding was inspired by the Lesbian and Gay March on Washington earlier that year.

1992 The Puerto Rican Studies Association (PRSA) is created as a professional organization that promotes research, teaching, and community advocacy.

1995 The Humboldt Park-Division Street Puerto Rican neighborhood in Chicago is officially named Paseo Boricua. Two big metal flags of Puerto Rico were installed across Division Street at the beginning and end of the strip.
1989 Establishment of the Department of Puerto Rican Community Affairs in New York to replace the Migration Division. Nydia Velázquez was appointed as the new Department’s first Director.

1992 Under the leadership of Nicolás Kanellos, the Recovering the Hispanic Literary Heritage Project brought together over a dozen Latino scholars to work on documenting the literary legacies of U.S. Latino communities from colonial times to 1960.

1992 Nydia Velázquez becomes the first Puerto Rican woman to represent New York in the U.S. Congress. Luis Gutiérrez is elected representative for the state of Illinois. They joined New York’s representative José Serrano who has been serving in Congress since 1990. In 2006, another Puerto Rican, Raúl Labrador, was elected to represent the state of Idaho.

1996 Antonia Pantoja becomes the first Puerto Rican woman to receive the Presidential Medal of Honor from President Bill Clinton. Other Puerto Rican women to share this honor in later years are film and stage performers Rita Moreno and Chita Rivera, and Sor Isolina Ferré (1914-2000), a Catholic nun known for her humanitarian work on behalf of needy communities.

1999 David Sanes Rodríguez (1954-1999), a security guard at a U.S. Navy training facility in the island of Vieques, Puerto Rico, is killed by a stray bomb during target practices. This incident fostered an international solidarity movement to get the U.S. Navy to stop bombing exercises and withdraw from Vieques, in order to bring peace to its population and put an end to decades of bombing-related health problems and contamination of the island’s environment.

2003 The U.S. Navy withdraws from the island of Vieques.

2008 The Puerto Rican population in the United States surpasses the Puerto Rican population of Puerto Rico.

2009 Puerto Rican Appellate Court judge Sonia Sotomayor (b. 1954) becomes the first Latina to be appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by President Obama. A graduate from Princeton University and Yale University Law School, she served in a U.S. District Court and a U.S. Court of Appeals in New York, before her Supreme Court appointment. Her published autobiographical account, My Beloved World (2013), recounts the hardships of losing her father at a young age and being raised by a hard working mother in a Bronx housing project, and the blessings of what can be attained with resolve, self-assurance, and hard work; qualities that ultimately led her to completing an Ivy League education and achieving a successful judicial career.
2011 The Centro Library and Archives moves to Hunter College’s Silberman School of Social Work building in East Harlem. The opening at new site is marked by the art exhibition Labor, curated by Susana Torruella Leval, a former Director of El Museo del Barrio, and artist Antonio Martorell. The exhibit celebrates the building of a Puerto Rican community by generations of working migrants and featured the work of Puerto Rican artists Antonio Martorell, Juan Sánchez, Nitza Tufiño, Miguel Luciano, and Melissa Calderón.

Internet Resources

Center for Latin American, Caribbean, and Latino Studies (CLACLS), CUNY Graduate Center. Latino Data Project Reports can be accessed at: web.gc.cuny.edu/lastudies/pages/latinodataprojectreports.html. CLACLS provides data on Latino groups compiled from a variety of sources. Information is provided on population by region, state, and metropolitan areas; economic and occupational characteristics; educational attainment, and other subjects.

Center for Puerto Rican Studies (Centro) Centro’s Data Center provides Data Sources, Data Sheets, and Data Briefs on the Puerto Rican Population at: www.centropr/hunter.cuny.edu/library/library-and-archives. The Centro Library and Archives hold numerous papers collections of community leaders and organizations, as well as the Archives of the Puerto Rican Diaspora.

Fundación Puertorriqueña de las Humanidades (FPH), Enciclopedia de Puerto Rico en Línea/Online Encyclopedia of Puerto Rico. www.encyclopedia.pr.org. This online Encyclopedia has a section in English and Spanish on the Puerto Rican Diaspora with a general overview, essays on history, literature, education, and biographical entries on many prominent members of the U.S. Puerto Rican community.


Latinas in History: An Interactive Project at: http://depthome.brooklyn.cuny.edu/latinahistory/latinahistory.html Offers profiles and bibliographies of prominent Latinas and information on teaching resources in English and Spanish, as well as bibliographies.

National Institute for Latino Policy (formerly the Institute for Puerto Rican Policy) at: www.latinopolicy.org. Offers reports and data notes on various Latino population and policy issues and studies.

Pew Hispanic Center at: www.pewhispanic.org. Periodic reports on a wide range of Hispanic population topics (e.g. demography, work and employment, education,
immigration) and a data and resources publication series that includes demographic profiles, statistical portraits, state and county databases, and election fact sheets. An interactive section offers Hispanic Origin Profiles on different national groups, including Puerto Ricans and survey results on how Hispanics describe themselves and view their identity, identify by race, and a mapping the Latino electorate.

**U.S. Census Reports** at: [www.census.gov/www/socdem/hispanic/reports.html](http://www.census.gov/www/socdem/hispanic/reports.html). For the most recent data, use the American Fact Finder, American Community Survey (ACS), and Current Population Survey (CPS) links of the Census website.

### Films and Documentaries on Puerto Ricans in the United States

*Almost a Woman: Memoir.* 2006. New York: PBS. 97 minutes. Based on the 1998 novel by Esmeralda Santiago, the book narrates her life growing up in rural Puerto Rico, moving to New York with her mother and brother, and struggling as a young adult to find a balance between her native cultural norms and her conflicted acculturation into U.S. culture and language.


*Every Child is Born a Poet: The Life and Work of Piri Thomas.* 2003. New York: When in Doubt Productions. 59 minutes. Combining poetry, documentary, and drama, this film explores the life and work of Afro-Puerto Rican poet and author, Piri Thomas, the first writer of Puerto Rican ancestry to receive national recognition in the United States.

*Los dos mundos de Angelita.* 1982. New York: American Independent Future Film Market. 90 minutes. A Puerto Rican man comes to New York uprooting the lives of his wife and young daughter, Angelita. In New York, the family confronts some of the same issues of poverty and unemployment they faced in Puerto Rico, and tackle the new difficulties of adapting to a different culture and language and experiencing prejudice.

*Palante, Siempre Palante: The Young Lords.* 1996. New York: Latino/a Education Network Service (LENS). 49 minutes. Produced by Iris Morales. This documentary focuses on the community activism of the Young Lords, one of the most visible organizations of the Puerto Rican movement.

*Pura Belpré.* 2012. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY. Relying on interviews, this documentary captures the spirit and
contributions of Pura Belpré, storyteller, pioneer librarian, and author of Puerto Rican folktales for children.

*The House of Ramón Iglesia*. New York: PBS, 1982. 56 minutes. Based on the play by Puerto Rican author José Rivera, this film revolves around a first generation Puerto Rican migrant who after many years of living in the United States wants to return to the island with his family. His desire clashes with that of his Americanized son who struggles to come to terms with his parents and his own cultural heritage.

*The Legacy of Frank Bonilla*. 2012. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, Hunter College, CUNY. This documentary honors the life and work of educator and scholar Dr. Frank Bonilla, and attests to his leadership and contributions to the fields of Puerto Rican and Latin American Studies and to the New York Puerto Rican community.

*Válvula de Escape: Stories of the Puerto Rican Diaspora*. 2012. San Juan: Producciones Zaranda. This ten part documentary introduces a historical overview of the factors that contributed to Puerto Rican migration to the United States and the formation of the stateside diaspora.

¡*Yo soy Boricua, pa’que tu lo sepas!* (I’m Boricua, Just So You Know). 2006. Directed by Rosie Pérez. New York: Magnolia Home Entertainment. 86 minutes. The film explores Puerto Rico’s colonial relationship with the United States, the migration experience, and how a sense of Puerto Ricanness is maintained within the diaspora.
About the Author

**Edna Acosta-Belén** is a Distinguished Professor Emerita and an O’Leary Professor of Latin American, Caribbean, and US Latino Studies, and of Women’s Studies at the University at Albany, SUNY. She has published nine books and over 60 articles in journals and edited volumes. Among her book publications are the award-winning book, *Puerto Ricans in the United States: A Contemporary Portrait* (with C.E. Santiago), and “Adiós, Borinquen querida”: *The Puerto Rican Diaspora, Its History, and Contributions* (with M. Benitez et al.). She received her doctoral degree from Columbia University and has been a Visiting Professor at Cornell University and a postdoctoral fellow at Princeton and Yale Universities.