

# WHO GETS TO BE AN AMERICAN?

## Citizenship in the United States, 1781–Present

1700s

1800s

1900s

2000s

## 1781

### States Were Empowered with Determining U.S. Citizenship and How a Person Becomes a Citizen

The Articles of Confederation empowered states to determine citizenship and naturalization.<sup>1</sup>

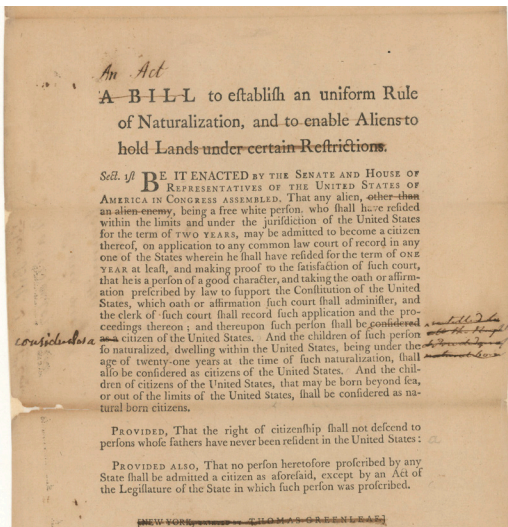


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: A Bill to Establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization, and Enable Aliens to Hold Lands under Certain Conditions. Scan of the original printed bill showing additional handwritten edits and strikethroughs. Records of the U.S. Senate, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

## 1790

### First Federal Statute Determined Which Individuals Could Become U.S. Citizens

The 1790 Naturalization Act excluded non-white people from naturalizing, limiting the right to become a citizen to “free white persons” who had resided in the United States for at least two years, demonstrated “good moral character,” and swore allegiance to the Constitution. The children of naturalized citizens who were under 21 years old could also become citizens, while the children of U.S. citizens born outside “the limits of the United States” were U.S. citizens, provided that their fathers were residents of the United States. Any “common law court of record” — federal, state, or local court — was able to naturalize new citizens..<sup>2</sup>

## 1795

### Congress Lengthened Residency Requirement to Qualify for Citizenship

The Naturalization Act of 1795 increased the residency period for citizenship from two to five years. It also required that all immigrants reject allegiance to any foreign government and disqualified British citizens who fought against the United States in the Revolutionary War.<sup>3</sup>

# 1798

## Congress Lengthened Residency Requirement to Qualify for Citizenship to 14 Years Briefly

Congress passed the first federal laws related to immigration in 1798 — collectively, the four laws are known as the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Naturalization Act of 1798 increased the residency period for citizenship from five to 14 years, until its expiration by 1802.<sup>4</sup>

# 1798

## Irish Immigrants Spoke Out against Alien and Sedition Acts

In response to the Alien and Seditions Acts, which was partly motivated by fear of radical Irish and Scottish political émigrés, a group of Irish immigrants took their concerns to Congress. They reminded legislators of a 1775 message sent by the Continental Congress to the people of Ireland, which claimed the American continent to be the “*safe asylum* [...] in which *many thousands* of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace and affluence, and become *united to us* by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest, and *affection* [emphasis in original].”<sup>5</sup>

# 1804

## States Began Passing “Black Laws” to Discourage the Migration of Free Black People

Ohio passed laws that discouraged Black migration to the state. “Black laws” limited travel in and out of the state, required white supervision of African American gatherings, barred Black men from certain trades, and required African Americans to seek court permission to possess guns or dogs. Illinois, Delaware, Maryland, and many midwestern states passed similar laws. By the eve of the Civil War, most slave states and the free states of Indiana, Illinois, and Oregon restricted the immigration of free Black people from overseas or migration from within the United States. Different policies sought to reduce the status of free African Americans to “denizens,” a category in English common law for people who occupy a middle status between native (full membership) and foreign (full exclusion).<sup>6</sup>

# 1812-15

## The U.S. Government Asserted Its Ability to Naturalize Immigrants

The United States declared war on Britain in the War of 1812 in part because of the desire to expand into Indigenous, British, and Spanish territories as well as to end British interference with U.S. trade and mitigate British influence in North America. Another contributing factor of the war was the U.S. government's insistence that naturalized Irish sailors on American ships were beyond the British government's reach and themselves American after the British Navy seized the sailors and pressed them into British military service.<sup>7</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Engraving of Paul Cuffee by Mason & Maas, from a drawing by John Pole, M.D. Image depicts a silhouette of an African American man against a white octagonal background. The text "Captain Paul Cuffee 1812" is in the border of the frame. Below the silhouette is a drawing of the shore of Sierra Leone and a sailing boat approaching with trees and people in the foreground. Prints and Photographs Division/Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

## 1815

### In Search of Equal Treatment, Delegation of Free African Americans Emigrated to Sierra Leone

Paul Cuffee (also spelled as Paul Cuffe, née Paul Slocum), a free man of Aquinnah Wampanoag and West African Ashanti descent, had traveled with nearly 40 free African Americans to settle Sierra Leone. They were the first African Americans who voluntarily migrated to the African continent, with the Haitian independence of 1804 serving as an early example of self-determination. Having founded the Friendly Society of Sierra Leone and the African Institution, Cuffee sought to create a Black-led emigration movement, believing that Black people would never receive equal treatment with white people in the United States and would be better off elsewhere. Cuffee's voyage to Sierra Leone was considered a success by some, with the colonists having

integrated into the small community of refugees from Nova Scotia and others in Sierra Leone. His travels also inspired the creation of the American Colonization Society.<sup>8</sup>

# 1816

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## American Colonization Society Aimed to Send Only Free African Americans to West Africa

Paul Cuffee envisioned a Black-led emigration movement to the African continent that would eventually include African Americans liberated from slavery, while the white-led American Colonization Society (ACS) proposed resettling only free African Americans without disrupting the institution of slavery. ACS appealed to those in the North seeking abolition and colonization to remove the challenges of integration with white people, as well as supporters in the South favoring the resettlement of free Black people to mitigate agitation amongst enslaved people. ACS also worked with state lawmakers, with many passing Black laws to make life difficult for African Americans, in hopes of pressuring free Black people to emigrate. ACS gave little consideration to the opinions of free African Americans, and was committed to preserving the United States as a white country by ensuring that Black Americans would not become U.S. citizens. Despite initially receiving federal support, ACS faced funding challenges and sent its last settlers in 1904 and dissolved by 1964.<sup>9</sup>

# 1816

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## Haiti Encouraged Immigration of Free African Americans and Offered Haitian Citizenship

After the Haitian Revolution decimated the Haitian population, Jean-Jacques Dessalines in 1804 wanted to offer 40 piasters (\$40 USD) per Haitian national to any ship captain who repatriated Haiti's enslaved and formerly enslaved people who had fled Haiti during the revolution. He also sought to recruit 500,000 Africans, Indigenous people, and African Americans to become citizens, provided they declared themselves Black. However, after the assassination of Dessalines two years later, the initiative was modified and adopted into Haiti's 1816 constitution, which stated in Article 44 that "all Africans and Indians, and the descendants of their blood, born in the colonies or in foreign countries, who come to reside in the Republic of Haiti will be recognized as Haitians, but will enjoy the right of citizenship only after one year of residence." Subsequently, Haitian leaders promoted the idea of free Black Americans resettling in Haiti, which led to the migration of tens of thousands of African Americans, particularly in the period between the 1820s and 1860s.<sup>10</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Portraits of Richard Allen and other African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) bishops, surrounded by scenes including Wilberforce University, Payne Institute, missionaries in Haiti, and the A.M.E. church book depository in Philadelphia. *Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 US*

# 1817

## First Mass Black Protest Meeting Rejected American Colonization Society's Plan to Resettle Free African Americans in West Africa

Nearly 3,000 Black men met at Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia and denounced the American Colonization Society's proposal to resettle free African Americans in West Africa. They publicly declared that the United States was their land as well and remembered the many African Americans that died fighting on both sides of the Revolutionary War for the principle of freedom and their own liberation.<sup>11</sup>

# 1820s-50s

## American Colonization Society Resettled Free African Americans in Modern-Day Liberia, Most Free African Black People Instead Declared that They were U.S. Citizens by Birth and Should Not Resettle Elsewhere

Paul Cuffee (also spelled as Paul Cuffe, née Paul Slocum), a free man of Aquinnah Wampanoag and West African Ashanti descent, had traveled with nearly 40 free African Americans to settle Sierra Leone. They were the first African Americans who voluntarily migrated to the African continent, with the Haitian independence of 1804 serving as an early example of self-determination. Having founded the Friendly Society of Sierra Leone and the African Institution, Cuffee sought to create a Black-led emigration movement, believing that Black people would never receive equal treatment with white people in the United States and would be better off elsewhere. Cuffee's voyage to Sierra Leone was considered a success by some, with the colonists having integrated into the small community of refugees from Nova Scotia and others in Sierra Leone. His travels also inspired the creation of the American Colonization Society.<sup>12</sup>

# 1821

## Missouri Passed Black Laws to Exclude or Restrict Free African Americans from Migrating to the State

The initial Missouri Compromise resulted in Missouri being admitted as a slave state, Maine as a

free state, and the prohibition of slavery in the Louisiana Territory north of the southern border of Missouri. A remaining issue was whether Missouri could keep a clause in its proposed constitution that banned the migration of free African Americans into Missouri. At the time, some states recognized the U.S. citizenship of free African Americans while others did not. The Second Missouri Compromise was that the new state's constitution could keep the controversial clause so long as the new state ensured that it would never interpret the clause as restricting the privileges and immunities of U.S. citizens. The ambiguity remained as to who was a "citizen" in Missouri. The new state went on to pass an 1835 law requiring Black residents to obtain licenses to be considered legal residents. This was one of a number of Missouri laws aimed at restricting the migration of free African Americans into the state, demonstrating that Missouri did not recognize free Black Americans as citizens of the United States.<sup>13</sup>

## 1829

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### Ohio's Black Laws Escalated Until Pushback Resulted in Partial Repeal

During rapid growth of African Americans in Cincinnati in 1829, city authorities announced they would enforce the Black laws and order them to comply with the bond requirement or leave within 30 days. In response, in 1830, some Black people migrated to Canada to establish free colonies there. Black communities and white communities — sometimes together and sometimes separately — began organizing to overturn black laws in Ohio. Newspapers such as *The Philanthropist* and the Black-owned *The Palladium of Liberty* wrote stories to amplify the problematic issues of Black laws. By 1849, Ohio had repealed some Black laws.<sup>14</sup>

## 1830

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### The Indian Removal Act Denied U.S. Citizenship to Indigenous Americans and Forcibly Relocated Five Indigenous Nations

After several attempts by the Southeastern tribal nations to appease the United States, the Indian Removal Act forcibly relocated Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muscogee Creek (Maskókî, but English speakers erroneously called them "Creeks"), and Seminole tribes from the U.S. Southeast (modern-day Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama) — dispossessing them of 25 million acres of land — to Indian Territory (modern-day Oklahoma). As many as 100,000 Indigenous Americans were forced to walk the Trail of Tears, a trek of more than 1,200 miles. Among them were 8,000-10,000 Black people whom the five Indigenous nations enslaved. These five nations settled in modern-day central and eastern Oklahoma alongside 21 other Indigenous nations. This land in Indian Territory was set aside for the five tribes for "as long as grass grows and water runs," but the federal government eventually opened portions of this territory for white settlement in 1889. In addition to forcibly removing the Indigenous tribes from their land, the Indian Removal Act denied them U.S. citizenship.<sup>15</sup>

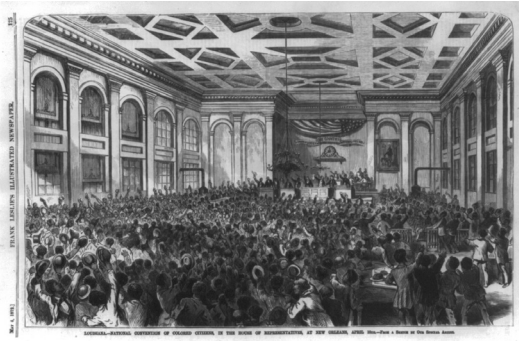


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Louisiana - National Convention of Colored Citizens, in the house of Representatives, at New Orleans, April 10th, wood engraving. Image depicts a large gilded meeting hall and a large crowd of African American people listening to a speaker. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

# 1835

## Free African Americans Started Formally Assembling to Discuss Strategies on Advocating for Their Sociopolitical Rights as Citizens of the United States

Starting in 1830, free African Americans gathered for state and national conventions — known as the Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour, the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, or the National Negro

Conventions — to strategize how to advocate for their sociopolitical rights. During the 1831 convention, the delegates realized that if the federal government could relocate tens of thousands of Indigenous Americans from the southeastern United States to Indian Territory, African Americans faced a similar threat of forced removal. During the 1835 national convention in Philadelphia, delegates recommended “the propriety of petitioning congress [sic] and their respective state legislatures to be admitted to the rights and privileges of American citizens, and that [they] be protected in the same.” Advocacy for recognition of African Americans as citizens continued, eventually leading to the formation of the National Equal Rights League (NERL) when delegates met at the 1864 convention in Syracuse.<sup>16</sup>

### 1837 Free African Americans in Ohio Petitioned the State to Revoke its Black Laws:

July convention of African Americans in Columbus, Ohio, attendees wrote a petition to the state of Ohio to revoke its racist laws, specifically the Black laws of 1804 and 1807. Because Ohio’s Constitution promised fundamental rights to *all men*, reserving the right to vote and hold office for *citizens*, the petition organizers used their residency in Ohio as the basis for their claims to the right to be free of racial discrimination.<sup>17</sup>

### 1863 Free African Americans in Kansas Declared that the White Majority Abused Their Power in Depriving African Americans the Rights of Citizenship:

Proceedings from the Colored Convention of the State of Kansas in 1863 read: “the white majority... have abused their power to the extent of not only depriving the black minority of the rights of citizenship, but too often the rights common to humanity.” Furthermore, “the black man... was made a soldier to RESTORE the Union. He must be made a voter to PRESERVE it.”<sup>18</sup>

# 1838

## Legal Treatise on *The Rights of Colored Men to Suffrage, Citizenship, and Trial by Jury*

In the first legal treatise on the rights of free African Americans, abolitionist William Yates

proclaimed that free African Americans could not be removed from individual states or from the United States – as citizens, they have a claim to the United States, to enter and stay within the United States, and be protected from expulsion. He argued that all free Americans were citizens who were entitled to the “privileges and immunities” provided for in the Constitution. His provision on citizenship relating to “persons and to things; his acquisitions of property by contract, and by inheritance; and even the soil which no alien inherits” was made the law in the 1866 Civil Rights Act as well as one of the fundamental principles of the first section of the 14th Amendment.<sup>19</sup>

## 1840s

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### Local Courts Provided Expedited and Free Naturalizations of Germans and Irish Immigrants

Before local elections, “friendly” judges would expedite naturalization documents for German and Irish immigrants free of charge in exchange for votes. Naturalization, until 1870, was open for white people, with no requirement that they know English or undergo background checks. In 1868, New York City courts naturalized 20,000-30,000 Irish immigrants in the six weeks before an election.<sup>20</sup>

## 1840s

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### States in the West Tried to Attract New Residents, Including Non-Citizens, by Granting Voting Rights

As the United States grew, territories, including Dakota, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, Oklahoma, Washington, and Wyoming, tried to attract new residents by permitting non-citizens who declared their intention to become citizens — “declarant aliens” — with voting rights. Nine states permitted declarants to vote, even though declaring did not automatically make them U.S. citizens. The South banned non-citizen voting during the Civil War — mostly because immigrants tended to oppose slavery — but the practice returned during Reconstruction and reached its peak in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>21</sup>

## 1843

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### Oregon Became the First and Only Free State to Enter the Union with a Black Exclusion Clause in its Constitution

In 1843, Oregon territory effectively expelled Black people once they were freed. Oregon’s 1844 Black exclusion law prohibited African Americans from entering Oregon and required all former enslaved people who had settled there to leave. In 1849, Oregon’s second exclusion law barred Black

people from entering or residing there, fearing “intermix with Indians, instilling into their minds feelings of hostility toward the white race.” Meanwhile, Oregon’s Donation Land Act (1850) offered up to 320 acres of free land in the territory to any white settler who would cultivate it, leading to the population increasing six times within a decade. In 1857, voters approved a constitutional clause that barred Black people from being in the territory, owning property, and making contracts. In 1859, Oregon became the first and only free state to enter the United States with a prohibition against Black people living in the state in its constitution. Oregon removed the Black exclusion clause in 1926, gave Black citizens the right to vote in 1959, and ratified the 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution in 1973.<sup>22</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Map of the United States of Mexico, 1847. Covers the United States southwest of Georgia and Iowa, and south of Oregon Territory. Image depicts a map of Central and North America, showing the states of Mexico prior to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, highlighting areas that are now part of the U.S. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA

## 1848

### Approximately 100,000 Mexicans Became U.S. Citizens

The U.S. government took 55 percent of Mexico (parts of modern-day Arizona, California, Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Nevada, Oklahoma, Utah, and Wyoming, and Mexico gave up all claims to Texas, approximately 525,000 square miles) in exchange for \$15 million at the end of the U.S.-Mexican War through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The United States had declared war on Mexico in 1846 after the latter refused to cede parts of modern-day California, New Mexico, and Texas for \$30 million.<sup>23</sup>

### 1853 The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase Divided Indigenous Nations and Did Not Offer Indigenous People Residing Along the U.S.-Mexico Border Dual U.S.-Mexican Citizenship:

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, along with the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, divided the lands of 36 Indigenous nations, including the Kumeyaay, Pai, Cocopah, Oodham, Yaqui, Apache, and Kickapoo. Tens of thousands of these Indigenous nations are estimated to still reside today in Baja California, Sonora, Coahuila, and Chihuahua in Mexico. The Tohono O’odham nation, for instance, was divided between those who live in modern-day southern Arizona in the U.S. and modern-day Sonora in Mexico. Indigenous peoples did not receive an offer of dual citizenship, unlike those along the U.S.-Canada border did according to the 1794 Jay Treaty.<sup>24</sup>

### Mexicans Became U.S. Citizens Unless They Declared They Wanted to

**Remain Mexican Citizens:** Unless Mexicans specifically declared their intention to remain Mexicans, the treaty promised U.S. citizenship to the 75,000-100,000 Mexicans that lived in the Southwest. Residents had one year to choose whether they wanted U.S. or Mexican citizenship. 90 percent chose to stay in the United States and the remainder moved to Mexico where they received land or stayed in New Mexico as Mexican citizens.<sup>25</sup>

**One Hundred Thousand Spanish-Speaking Residents Became U.S. Citizens:**  
With the annexation of Florida and Louisiana through the Adams-Onís Treaty, and the northern half of Mexico through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 100,000 Spanish-speaking residents became U.S. citizens.<sup>26</sup>

## 1848

### **Seneca Falls Convention Ignited the Movement for Women's Sociopolitical Rights in the United States**

U.S. citizens Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott as well as other women active in the abolitionist movement organized the first women's rights convention in Seneca Falls, NY. The convention produced 11 resolutions on women's social, civil, and religious rights; the ninth resolution demanded the right to vote, a right of citizenship that would take another seven decades to realize.<sup>27</sup>

## 1852

### **Martin Delany Declared African Americans To Be U.S. Citizens in *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered***

African American abolitionist Martin Delany's book was published in which he insisted, "We are Americans, having a birthright citizenship." In 1859, he led a delegation to West Africa to explore possible locations for a Black nation along the Niger River. After briefly serving as a judge in Charleston, SC, he became an official in the Liberian Exodus Joint Stock Steamship Company in 1878, renewing his calls for emigration.<sup>28</sup>

## 1853

### **Frederick Douglass Declared that Black People are American Citizens**

African American abolitionist Frederick Douglass declared in 1853, "By the principles of the Declaration of Independence, we are American citizens; within the meaning of the United States Constitution, we are American citizens; by the facts of history, and the admissions of American statemen, we are American citizens; by the hardships and trials endured; by the courage and fidelity displayed by our ancestors in defending the liberties and in achieving the independence of our land, we are American Citizens." He spoke against emigration and colonization in 1894, arguing: "It leads him to doubt the possibility of his progress as an American citizen.... It forces upon him the idea that he is forever doomed to be a stranger and a sojourner in the land of his birth."<sup>29</sup>

# 1855

## National Colored Convention Declared that African Americans Are U.S. Citizens by Birth

Delegates to the convention in Philadelphia declared, “By birth, we are American citizens; by the meaning of the United States Constitution, we are American citizens; by the principles of the Declaration of Independence, we are citizens; by the meaning of the United States Constitution, we are citizens.”<sup>30</sup>

# 1856

## U.S. Passports Started to Be Limited to Solely U.S. Citizens

Originally, U.S. passports were merely a form of identification — issued by the State Department, governors, and mayors — to gain entry to social events and other elite functions. While the Department of State had issued passports since 1789, it was not until 1856 that Congress granted the State Department the sole issuing power over passports and limited their use to U.S. citizens. Immigration policies since then became increasingly restrictive over time, and the use of passports evolved to become a way to identify U.S. citizens. The U.S. government required U.S. citizens to carry a U.S. passport while traveling overseas starting in 1941, though they were briefly required from 1918 to 1921, the period in which the United States was involved in World War I.<sup>31</sup>



# 1857

## The Supreme Court Ruled in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that African Americans Were Not U.S. Citizens

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that African Americans were not and could not be U.S. citizens.<sup>32</sup>

IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Eliza and Lizzie, children of Dred Scott ; His wife, Harriet. Top illustration shows portrait of daughters, Eliza and Lizzie. Bottom left illustration shows portrait of Dred Scott, after photograph by Fitzgibbon of St. Louis. Bottom right portrait shows portrait of Harriet Scott, after photograph by Fitzgibbon of St. Louis. Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

# 1862

## The Homestead Act Passed to Encourage Immigration to the United States

This law provided access to up to 160 acres of free land if individuals lived on the land for five years and made certain agricultural improvements. A U.S. citizen or a person who “intended” to naturalize could receive the title to the property after the five-year period and payment of a nominal fee of \$1.25 per acre. The proffered land was in Kansas, Nebraska, Indian Territory (modern-day Oklahoma), Dakota Territory, and other lands in the West — forcing Indigenous Americans to relocate to reservations. This was one of a pair of laws Lincoln signed to encourage immigration. By 1934, when the Taylor Grazing Act was signed, the U.S. government processed 1.6 million applications. Over 270 million acres — 10 percent of U.S.-held lands in 30 modern-day states — passed into the hands of individuals. One of the significant consequences of the law was the emergence of a mostly white rural middle class, which included many immigrants. About 46 million American adults today — 20 percent of all American adults — descended from those homesteaders.<sup>33</sup>

# 1864

## The National Equal Rights League (NERL) Formed to Promote the Citizenship of African Americans

This organization promoted the full citizenship for all Black persons, as compensation for their Revolutionary War and Civil War military service. NERL also advocated for the addition of a Fifteenth Point to Woodrow Wilson’s Fourteen Points at the Paris Peace Conference after WWI, calling for the “elimination of civil, political and judicial distinctions based on race or color in all nations.” NERL remained prominent until most of its leaders joined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1921.<sup>34</sup>

# 1866

## Congress Established Birthright Citizenship Through the Civil Rights Act of 1866

This is the first Congressional law that clearly defined U.S. citizenship and affirmed that the law protects all citizens equally. It established birthright citizenship, defined the rights of citizenship, and made it illegal to discriminate on the basis of race or color, except for Indigenous Americans. It reversed *Dred Scott v. Sanford* and overrode the Jim Crow laws in the South. The 14th Amendment

reinforced these rights two years later. However, the act did not protect the right to vote, sit on juries, hold office, attend the same schools, or ensure equal access to public accommodations. The law also did not provide any federal penalties for infringing on these rights, leaving it up to individual victims to seek legal relief. The Civil Rights Acts of 1964, the Fair Housing Act, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 incorporated provisions from the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875.<sup>35</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: John Minook Family and Home. Image depicts a large family of Indigenous Alaskans outside their home. The Alaska and Polar Regions Collections, Elmer E. Rasmuson Library, University of Alaska Fairbanks.

## 1867

### U.S. Government Conferred Citizenship on Russian and Creole Residents of Modern-Day Alaska, Limited the Status of Indigenous Alaskans to “National”

The U.S. government “purchased” Alaska from Russia for \$7.2 million without consulting the Unangan (Aleuts) or the Tlingit. 50,000 Indigenous people and nearly 2,000 “inhabitants” — 483 Russians and 1,421 Creoles (descendants of Russian men and Indigenous women) — lived in the

586,000 square mile territory, which is more than twice the size of Texas. The Indigenous Alaskans argued that the U.S. government did not buy the land but rather purchased the right to negotiate with the Indigenous population. While the treaty says the “inhabitants” could become U.S. citizens if they wished to stay, no Indigenous Alaskans (to whom the treaty refers as “uncivilized tribes”) were granted citizenship until the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924. In 1895, members of the Kenaitze Indian Tribe petitioned a federal judge for protection from traders, miners, and cannery bosses “from the incredible oppression of the local Americans.”<sup>36</sup>

## 1868

### Congress Provided U.S. Citizens the Ability to Renounce Their Citizenship

The Expatriation Act of 1868 enabled a U.S. citizen to opt out of citizenship. It declared “the right of expatriation is a natural and inherent right of all people” and provided that the U.S. government could extend the same protections offered to US-born citizens to naturalized citizens.<sup>37</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Scenes in Memphis, Tennessee, during the riot. Illustration from Harper's weekly, 1866 May 26, p. 321. Image depicts a group of African Americans fleeing armed combat with shadowed riflemen and homes burning in the far distance. *Library of Congress.*

# 1868

## The 14th Amendment Added Birthright Citizenship to the Constitution

Tensions in the South after the Civil War led to the Memphis Riot of 1866, but a report on the riot by a Joint Congressional Committee ultimately led to the rapid endorsement of the 14th Amendment. After passing Congress two years earlier, this amendment was ratified in 1868, extending U.S. citizenship to African Americans. Because of this amendment, the Constitution guarantees birthright citizenship as well as due process of the law and equal protection under the law regardless of citizenship.<sup>38</sup>

### The 14th Amendment Did Not Confer Birthright on Indigenous Americans:

The 14th Amendment was limited to persons “subject to the jurisdiction thereof,” thereby preventing Indigenous Americans from citizenship until the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 made them citizens by birth.<sup>39</sup>

**The United States Is in the Minority of Nations that Provides for Birthright Citizenship:** More than 30 nations, mostly in the Western Hemisphere, as well as countries such as Lesotho and Pakistan, have birthright citizenship, or *jus soli*, rather than citizenship that follows the nationality of the child’s parents, or *jus sanguinis*.<sup>40</sup>

**Nazi Germany’s Study of U.S. Law and Policies on Race as They Developed Anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws Struggled to Reconcile the 14th Amendment’s Guarantee of Birthright Citizenship and Equal Rights with Other U.S. Policies:** Nazi Germany was mystified by how the United States was so clearly dedicated to white supremacy, yet had the 14th Amendment, which guaranteed equal rights.<sup>41</sup>

# 1870

## Congress Extended Eligibility to Naturalize from White People to Include African Americans

The 1870 Naturalization Act limited the ability to naturalize to white people and “persons of African descent.”<sup>42</sup>

# 1878

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## A Federal Court Ruled that People of Chinese Descent Cannot Become U.S. Citizens

The Ninth Circuit ruled in *In re Ah Yup* that persons of Chinese descent were ineligible to naturalize, stating that a “Mongolian” is not a “white person.”<sup>43</sup>

# 1870s

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## U.S. Government Interpreted and Redefined Naturalization Rules for Different Ethnicities

Congress’s 1870 Naturalization Act expanded the ability to naturalize to also include “persons of African descent” in addition to white people. Eight years later, a federal court ruled that Chinese people could not become U.S. citizens, ruling in *In re Ah Yup* that persons of Chinese descent were ineligible to naturalize, stating that a “Mongolian” is not a “white person.”<sup>44</sup>

# 1882

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## U.S. Government Restricted Immigration from China and Made Individuals of Chinese Descent Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship

Following the Depression of 1873-79, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act, a ten-year law restricting immigration from China although Chinese people only comprised 0.002 percent of the nation’s population at the time. This was the first law that mandated new arrivals be inspected at a port of entry. In 1882, before this law took effect, more than 39,000 individuals of Chinese descent immigrated to the United States; in 1887, merely 10 Chinese people immigrated. The act also barred Chinese nationals from naturalizing, refusing them citizenship. The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of this law in *Chae Chan Ping v. United States* in 1889. By 1902, Congress made restrictions on Chinese immigration permanent. Between 1882 and 1905, people of Chinese descent filed more than 10,000 lawsuits, protesting Chinese exclusion and other laws and practices that limited their entry or otherwise harassed them.<sup>45</sup>

# 1884

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## **The Supreme Court Ruled that Indigenous Americans Were Not Entitled to Birthright Citizenship Under the 14th Amendment**

The Supreme Court ruled in *Elk v. Wilkins* that the 14th Amendment did not apply to Indigenous Americans with respect to birthright citizenship.<sup>46</sup>

# 1887

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## **U.S. Government Conferred U.S. Citizenship on Indigenous Americans Who Received Land Through the Dawes Severalty Act**

The Dawes Severalty Act ended tribal control of reservations by authorizing federal confiscation and redistribution of Indigenous lands. The U.S. government designated Indigenous people as “federally enrolled members” and assigned a “blood quantum” along with enrollment. The assignment of blood quantum incentivized them to underestimate their Indigenous ancestry, which also enabled white settlers to fraudulently enroll. The Indigenous Americans who received land through this law became U.S. citizens, subject to federal, state, and local laws. Lands that were not allotted to Indigenous individuals were “surplus” that were offered for sale to non-Indigenous individuals. The proceeds from these sales were used to establish Indian schools to assimilate Indigenous children. During this period, more than 60 percent of the remaining Indian land base passed into non-Indian hands (more than 86 million acres).<sup>47</sup>

# 1888

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## **Most Indigenous Women Who Married White U.S. Citizens Granted U.S. Citizenship**

Most Indigenous American women who married white U.S. citizens could become U.S. citizens.<sup>48</sup>

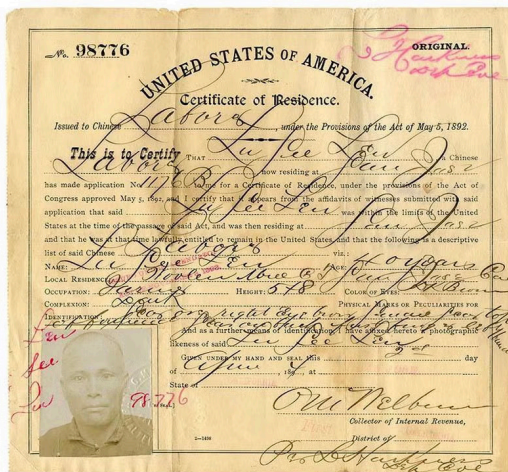


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Certificate of residence for Wong Hock Chung, a Chinese laborer. Image depicts a printed document with handwritten personal details filled in and an identification photo of a Chinese man, embossed with official seals. Courtesy of California Historical Society, MS 3642.

# 1892

## In Addition to Restrictions on Chinese Immigration, Congress Required Chinese Nationals to Carry “Certificates of Residence” in the United States or Face Deportation

The Geary Act renewed Chinese exclusion for 10 years and required that Chinese nationals obtain identification documents — “certificates of residence” — or face deportation. This provision required two white witnesses to testify about the applicant’s immigration status.<sup>49</sup>

**Chinese Americans Protested Against the Discriminatory Policy:** The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA) hired lawyers to challenge the Geary Act in court. New Yorkers of Chinese descent formed the Chinese Equal Rights League (CERL) in 1892, and they disseminated a pamphlet, *Appeal of the Chinese Equal Rights League to the People for the Equality of Manhood*, in which they argued that Chinese immigrants are entitled to equal rights. In 1893, the leader of CERL testified in support of a bill that would have repealed the Geary Act. Though the repeal was unsuccessful, the photograph requirement for the certificate of residence was removed, and the number of white witnesses required was reduced to one.<sup>50</sup>

**China Protested Against the Discriminatory Policy:** The Chinese community in the United States protested the Geary Act through civil disobedience and pressured the Chinese consul to speak on their behalf. The Chinese vice consul in San Francisco described the requirement of carrying around certificates of residence to a dog tag. In 1905, an international coalition of Chinese merchants and students coordinated boycotts of U.S. goods and services in China and parts of Southeast Asia.<sup>51</sup>

# 1897

## A Federal Court Ruled that a Person of Mexican Descent Could Naturalize

A federal court in Texas ruled in *In Re Rodríguez* that a man of Mexican descent could naturalize because the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo conferred U.S. citizenship on Mexicans residing in the territory after the U.S.-Mexico War.<sup>52</sup>

# 1898

## The Supreme Court Ruled that U.S.-Born Children of Immigrants Are Entitled to Birthright Citizenship Under the 14th Amendment

The Supreme Court in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* ruled that immigrants' U.S.-born children are entitled to citizenship — birthright citizenship. This was true even if the parents, parents of Chinese descent in this case, were not eligible to become citizens. The Court said that the 14th Amendment excludes children born to diplomats, children born to hostile occupying forces, and children born on foreign public ships. For Indigenous Americans who were born on reservations, they were not “subject to the jurisdiction” of the United States until the Nationality Act of 1940. An organization that assisted immigrants, the Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), had an attorney on retainer who represented Wong in the court case.<sup>53</sup>

# 1898

## Although Recognized by Other Nations as a Sovereign Nation, the United States Annexed the Kingdom of Hawai'i

Sugar planters, pineapple planters, and other businessmen aided the U.S. military in orchestrating the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893. Then, in part due to the strategic value of Hawai'i during the Spanish-American War, the United States annexed it in 1898 through the Newlands Resolution. Congress approved the Organic Act of 1900, giving Hawai'i territorial status, and declared that all persons born in Hawai'i before the United States annexed it in 1898 were U.S. citizens. In contrast to Indigenous nations in the continental United States, which the Supreme Court defined as “domestic dependent nations” in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Hawai'i was an independent sovereign recognized by other countries. Indigenous Hawaiians had (and some continue to have) claims to be citizens of a constitutional monarchy whose independence was recognized by other nations, including the United States.<sup>54</sup>

**Indigenous Hawaiians Opposed Annexation:** In order to prevent ratification of the treaty annexing the Republic of Hawai'i by the U.S. Senate, two Hawaiian groups, Hui Aloha 'Aina and Hui Kulai'aina, organized a mass petition drive in 1897 to demonstrate that the majority of native Hawaiians opposed annexation. While their efforts thwarted the treaty's ratification, pro-annexation forces in Congress used the “Newlands Resolution” to annex Hawai'i the next year. Following the 1898 annexation of Hawai'i to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress, the deposed queen, Queen Lili'uokalani, wrote to the House of Representatives to protest U.S. assertion of ownership without due process or just compensation.<sup>55</sup>

## Congress Apologized for the Illegal Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i:

Congress's adoption of the "Apology Resolution" in 1993 acknowledged that the Indigenous Hawaiians never relinquished their claims to sovereignty to the United States. While their citizenship or nationality may be American, due to the illegal overthrow of the kingdom's monarch in 1893 and eventual annexation of the islands, their ethnicity is Hawaiian or native Hawaiian, also known in the Native Hawaiian language as Kanaka 'Ōiwi or Kanaka Maoli.<sup>56</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Infographic depicting a world map and highlighted regions that the United States took control of at the end of the Spanish American War: Puerto Rico, Cuba, The Philippines, and Guam.

# 1898

## The United States Assumed Control of Guam, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Temporarily Cuba at the End of the Spanish-American War

Upon signing the Treaty of Paris with the Spanish government, marking the end of the Spanish-American War, the United States took control of Guam and Puerto Rico as well as temporary control of Cuba as a protectorate after Spain relinquished its claims to it. To annex the Philippines, the United States paid Spain \$20 million. Until the Treaty of Paris, treaties involving ceded territory to the United States included provisions for how the residents of those ceded

territories would be admitted to U.S. citizenship, but this was the first time there was no promise of citizenship or eventual statehood. Filipinos, Guamanians, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans were not present at the signing of the treaty, though it determined the fates of hundreds of millions of people. The residents of these territories went on to have American "national" status, a status between citizen and non-citizen.<sup>57</sup>

**The United States Occupied Cuba Until 1902:** The U.S. military occupied Cuba until 1902.<sup>58</sup>

**The Treaty Stripped Residents of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines of Spanish Citizenship, But Did Not Confer U.S. Citizenship on Residents:** The Treaty of Paris stripped the residents of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines of Spanish citizenship but did not automatically confer U.S. citizenship on them. The language of the treaty provided that Congress would determine the "civil and political status of the native inhabitants."<sup>59</sup>

**Congress Conferred Non-Citizen National Status on Puerto Ricans, Designated Puerto Rico as an "Unincorporated Territory:"** In 1900, Congress deemed the inhabitants of Puerto Rico as "citizens of Porto Rico." Puerto Ricans received "nationality" status, and the island was designated an "unincorporated territory." As a result,

this barred Puerto Rican-born inhabitants from retaining their Spanish citizenship or acquiring U.S. citizenship.<sup>60</sup>

**Congress Conferred Non-Citizen National Status on Filipinos:** In 1902, after the United States had defeated Emilio Aguinaldo's army in the Philippine-American War, Congress deemed the inhabitants of the Philippines as "citizens of the Philippine Islands." Filipinos, specifically, were "nationals" ("wards" of the United States) and were never granted citizenship while colonized.<sup>61</sup>

**Congress Did Not Provide Clarity on the Status of Guamanians Until 1950:** The status of Guamanians remained unclear as the Treaty of Paris stipulated that the "political and civil rights of the native inhabitants will be determined by Congress." After years of agitation and Japanese occupation during WWII, Guamanians finally received U.S. citizenship via the Organic Act in 1950. However, they still cannot vote for the U.S. president and, like the citizens of Washington, D.C., have no voting representatives in Congress.<sup>62</sup>

**Non-Citizen Nationals Had Fewer Rights and Protections than U.S. Citizens:** U.S. citizens have certain rights — the right to vote in federal, state, and local elections, serve on a jury, bear arms, enter the United States, and the right to remain in the United States without fear of deportation. Non-citizen "nationals" similarly can freely enter the United States despite their alienage — considered insular travel — and have the right to stay in the United States. Nationals and residents of the territories could also travel overseas using a U.S. passport. As non-citizen nationals, they can also own land, notwithstanding alien land laws various states passed against foreign-born individuals who were ineligible for citizenship, such as individuals of Chinese descent and eventually other Asians. Some nationals could naturalize to become U.S. citizens, but others — such as Filipinos — could not naturalize as they were ineligible for citizenship. Unlike U.S. citizenship that is acquired at birth, Congress can take away national status.<sup>63</sup>

**U.S. Citizen-Non-Citizen National Distinctions Influenced Germany's Nuremberg Laws:** United States' designation of Indigenous Americans and Filipinos as non-citizens, even though they lived in the United States and its territories, influenced the citizenship portion of Nazi Germany's Nuremberg Laws, which stripped Jewish Germans of their citizenship and classified them as "nationals." In Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, he praised the United States for making progress toward a primarily racial conception of citizenship, by "excluding certain races from naturalization."<sup>64</sup>

# 1899

## The United States Assumed Control of Eastern Samoa, Conferred Non-Citizen National Status on American Samoans

In the Treaty of Berlin, an agreement between the United States, Germany, and Britain, the islands of Samoa were divided into German (Western) Samoa and American (Eastern) Samoa. In 1900,

the largest island in the American Samoa, Tutuila, became a U.S. territory when the matai, or local chiefs, ceded the island to the United States. Samoans, like Filipinos, were designated as “nationals” of the United States, and they continue to be U.S. nationals today.<sup>65</sup>

# 1901

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## **U.S. Citizenship Extended to Indigenous Americans of Ten Tribes Residing in Indian Territory Who Received Allotments Through the Dawes Severalty Act**

The Citizenship Act amended the Dawes Act to include the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek and five other tribes in Indian Territory, declaring all Indigenous people living in Oklahoma Territory who acquired allotments to be citizens.<sup>66</sup>

# 1901

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## **The Supreme Court Established in the Insular Cases that the “Alien” and “Foreign” Unincorporated Territories Did Not Have an Automatic Path to Statehood and Residents of Those Territories Were Not Entitled to the Full Protections of the Constitution**

The Insular Cases, starting with *Downes v. Bidwell*, were a set of Supreme Court cases regarding the “unincorporated” U.S. territories and the rights of the residents of those territories, specifically Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines and eventually, the U.S. Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Northern Mariana Islands. Until *Downes*, the federal government considered territories to have the protection of the Constitution and a path to statehood such as Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, and Alaska. *Downes* established that territories were either incorporated within the United States or unincorporated, with only the former having the full protections of the Constitution. Unincorporated territories, meanwhile, were “inhabited by alien races,” and they were “foreign in a domestic sense,” according to the Court. Because of this distinction, while individuals in all territories could enjoy fundamental or natural rights, individuals in unincorporated territories were not entitled to rights the Supreme Court considered specific to Anglo-American jurisprudence.<sup>67</sup>

**The Supreme Court Established the Territorial Incorporation Doctrine:** The Insular Cases led to the concept that the Constitution applied in full force only in territories headed for statehood. Only fundamental rights were protected in territories that were not on the path to statehood.<sup>68</sup>

**The Distinctions Between the Unincorporated Territories Are Inconsistent:** A U.S. citizen from the territories may move to one of the states and become a registered voter there. However, while a U.S. citizen from a state can vote by absentee ballot in the Northern

Mariana Islands or in a foreign country, the U.S. citizen cannot vote by absentee ballot if they move to Guam, Puerto Rico, or the U.S. Virgin Islands.<sup>69</sup>

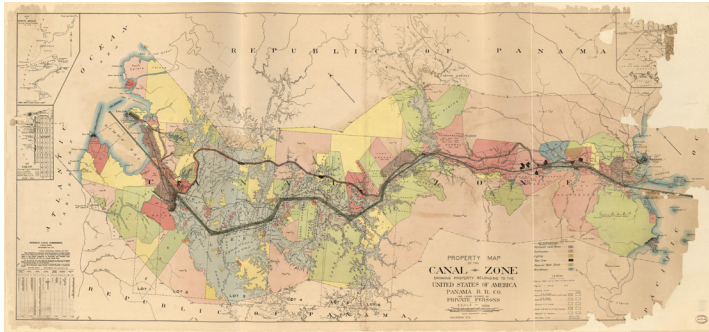


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Property map of the Canal Zone showing property belonging to the United States of America, Panama R. R. Co., and lands claimed by private persons. Image depicts a map of Panama, the Panama Canal, and various colored zones showing property lines. Library of Congress Geography and Map Division Washington, D.C. 20540-4650 USA dcu

## 1903

### The United States Recognized the Independence of Panama, Days Later Negotiated the Canal Zone

After the United States signed a treaty with Panama to build a railway across the Isthmus of Panama in exchange for compensation, the U.S. government bought rights to build the Panama

Canal and received control of the Canal Zone in perpetuity after it became fully independent from Colombia in 1903. This was a five-mile strip on each side of the canal for the construction, management, and defense of the canal. Militarily and economically, the U.S. government perceived the canal as imperative to managing the unincorporated territories in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Panama received \$1 million and an annuity of \$250,000 starting nine years later. The canal was completed in 1914, and Panama ceased to be a U.S. protectorate in 1939. The Panama Canal passed into Panamanian control in 1999.<sup>70</sup>

**Zonian Presence in Panama:** U.S. employees, including military, administered and lived in the Canal Zone and were called “Zonians.” Pursuant to the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, individuals born in the Panama Canal Zone on or after February 26, 1904 with at least one U.S. citizen parent employed by the U.S. government or the Panama Railroad Company were U.S. citizens. Between 1904 and 1979, a person who was born in the Canal Zone who did not have at least one U.S. citizen parent was a U.S. non-citizen national.<sup>71</sup>

### Panamanians Protested the Sovereign-Like Status of the United States in

**Panama:** Seventy percent of the civilian workforce the U.S. military employed were Panamanian nationals, and many Panamanians associated the U.S. military with “the control and suppression of civilian populations” rather than a defense of the Canal. There was a social hierarchy where “gold roll” workers were exclusively white while “silver roll” workers were mainly Black, most of whom were migrants from Caribbean nations. A wall was eventually constructed in the 1950s between Panama City and the Canal Zone, which escalated tensions. Protests against the United States having rights “as if sovereign” in the Panama Canal Zone came to a head in 1964, and the United States signed a treaty in 1977 committing the U.S. government to leave the zone by 2000. The Panama government received 60 percent of the Canal Zone in 1979, leading to U.S. children born in the Zone after that time to not be considered Zonians officially.<sup>72</sup>

# 1906

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## **Puerto Ricans, Who Were U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals, Could Become U.S. Citizens by Moving to the U.S. Mainland and Applying for Citizenship**

Congress passed the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization Act (BINA), allowing individual Puerto Ricans to acquire U.S. citizenship by traveling to the mainland and undergoing the naturalization process. In essence, they had to acquire citizenship in the same way as other eligible immigrants.<sup>73</sup>

# 1906

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## **Congress Standardized the Naturalization Process and Provided for Denaturalization for the First Time**

The Basic Naturalization Act of 1906 streamlined the naturalization process which, until that point, consisted of more than 5,000 state naturalization courts operating without central supervision and little guidance from Congress. It was the first act to require documentation of lawful entry or admission as a prerequisite for naturalization. This led to a number of challenges five years later when numerous immigrants could not provide such records, leading to the Registry Act of 1929. The 1906 law also created the Federal Naturalization Service, placed it within the Bureau of Immigration, and expanded the latter to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization. This was the first law to provide for denaturalization and listed fraud, racial ineligibility, and lack of “good moral character” as grounds for denaturalization.<sup>74</sup>

# 1906

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## **The U.S. Government Began Denaturalizing U.S. Citizens on a Variety of Grounds**

Federal government officials began to denaturalize immigrants who obtained citizenship through fraudulent means, often targeting new U.S. citizens who were later discovered to have “un-American” characteristics, but they were often allowed to reapply.<sup>75</sup>

**Federal Courts Revoked the Citizenship of U.S. Citizens:** Between 1906 and the 1970s, government courts denaturalized 145,000 U.S.-born and naturalized citizens. Many others lost their citizenship without any judicial process for various reasons including because of their association with communists, moving abroad after naturalizing, voting in foreign elections, serving in foreign armies, or marrying foreign men.<sup>76</sup>

### 1943 U.S. Government Could Revoke Citizenship if the Acts Took Place

**Before the Person Naturalized:** The Supreme Court held in *Schneiderman v. United States* that a person could only be denaturalized for acts that took place before they became a citizen. The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, formed in 1933, sought to defend the rights of immigrants, including William Schneiderman.<sup>77</sup>

### 1943 U.S. Government Could Revoke Citizenship if the Acts Took Place

**Before the Person Naturalized:** In *Baumgartner v. United States*, the Supreme Court reversed the denaturalization of a German immigrant who supported the Nazis and made anti-Semitic statements.<sup>78</sup>

### 1967 The Supreme Court Ruled that the U.S. Government Could Not Revoke U.S. Citizenship of an Individual Who Voted in a Foreign Election:

The Court held in *Afroyim v. Rusk* that citizenship was a nearly unassailable right and ruled that a naturalized U.S. citizen who had voted in an Israeli election could not be denaturalized. Individual citizens, not the state, had sovereignty over their citizenship. The Court stated that the U.S. government could not take away a U.S.-born person's citizenship unless that person voluntarily relinquished it.<sup>79</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Japanese immigrants at work in a laundry, ca. 1900. Photographer unknown. Image depicts a large factory work room with laundry and ironing machines and a large group of Japanese male workers. Courtesy Oakland Library, History Room.

## 1907

### The United States Reached an Agreement with Japan to Reduce the Level of Japanese Worker Migration to the United States, Federal Court Ruled a Person of Japanese Descent Could Not Naturalize

The Gentlemen's Agreement was a bilateral agreement between the United States and Japan that ended the immigration of Japanese laborers to the United States in exchange for the city of San Francisco rescinding its policy of segregating Japanese students from white students.

Thousands of wives — “picture brides” — were able to continue to immigrate. The previous year, police had documented nearly 300 attacks on people of Japanese descent in San Francisco alone. In 1894, Shebata Saito, a Japanese man, tried to naturalize, but a federal court refused his petition because he was neither white nor Black. By 1920, in response to pressure from the United States, Japan agreed to prohibit the migration of “picture bride” wives.<sup>80</sup>

# 1907

## Congress Revoked the Citizenship of U.S. Citizen Women if They Married Non-Citizens

The Expatriation Act declared that the citizenship of U.S. citizen women was revoked if they married non-citizens. U.S. citizenship could be restored if the marriage was terminated. Thousands of women lost their U.S. citizenship in this way, though most did not know until a situation arose in which they needed to establish their citizenship. In 1915, the Supreme Court unanimously held in *Mackenzie v. Hare* that the citizenship of women could be revoked if they married non-citizens.<sup>81</sup>

# 1913

## A Federal Court Ruled a Syrian Immigrant Could Not Naturalize

In *Ex Parte Shahid*, a federal court in South Carolina denied a Christian immigrant (from modern-day Lebanon) citizenship because of his “darker” and “walnut” skin complexion.<sup>82</sup>

# 1915

## Federal Courts Ruled that Syrian Immigrants Could Naturalize

A federal court in the Fourth Circuit determined in *Dow v. United States* that a Christian Syrian Arab immigrant could become a U.S. citizen. The opinion states that Syrians “were so closely related to their neighbors on the European side of the Mediterranean that they should be classed as white, they must be held to fall within the term ‘white persons.’” This was consistent with a federal court’s ruling in 1909 in *In Re Najour*, which stated that the applicant’s skin was “not particularly dark” and that he had “none of the characteristics or appearance of the Mongolian race,” a federal court’s ruling in 1910 in *In re Mudarri*, and a federal court’s ruling in 1910 in *In re Ellis*.<sup>83</sup>

# 1917

## Japanese Nationals and Filipinos, Who Were U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals, Were Exempt from the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, Which Barred Nationals from the Asia-Pacific Triangle

The Immigration Act of 1917 was another restrictive immigration law, barring entry from nations in the Asia-Pacific triangle, except for Japanese nationals per the Gentlemen’s Agreement and Filipinos

who were U.S. nationals. The law implemented a number of the recommendations of the Dillingham Commission, which was created by the U.S. Congress in 1907, such as a literacy test, the “limitation of the number of each race arriving each year,” and the total exclusion of Asians as “undesirable.”<sup>84</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Portrait of Luis Muñoz Rivera, Puerto Rican poet, journalist and politician. Image depicts a Puerto Rican man with a mustache wearing a suit in a formal, portrait setting. Library of Congress.

# 1917

## Congress Granted Limited U.S. Citizenship to Residents of Puerto Rico through the Jones Act

The Jones-Shafroth Act granted limited U.S. citizenship to Puerto Ricans but did not extend citizenship to the U.S. territorial residents in American Samoa, Guam, and the Philippines. In the lead up to the passage of the Jones Act, Puerto Rico Representative Luis Muñoz Rivera endorsed the bill on the House floor in 1916 but also explained why many Puerto Ricans opposed it: “My countrymen... refuse to accept a citizenship of an inferior order, a citizenship of the second class, which does not permit them to dispose of their own resources nor to live their own lives nor to send to this Capitol their proportional representation.”

U.S. citizens in Puerto Rico could not vote for president, Puerto Rico did not have a voting representative in Congress, the

U.S. president and Congress had the power to veto Puerto Rican laws, and men in Puerto Rico were subjected to the military draft as men were in the United States. This was the first time that citizenship was granted to a population without the promise that the territory would eventually become a state. The law enabled Puerto Rican residents to choose to keep their Puerto Rican or other citizenship or acquire U.S. citizenship. Those born in Puerto Rico after the act were considered U.S. citizens by blood, *jus sanguinis*. Puerto Ricans who were now U.S. citizens were able to travel freely between the mainland and the island without a passport. The Nationality Act of 1940 provided for *jus soli*, or U.S. birthright citizenship, for those born in Puerto Rico.<sup>85</sup>

# 1917

## The United States “Purchased” the U.S. Virgin Islands from Denmark

The U.S. government purchased the Danish West Indian Islands (modern-day U.S. Virgin Islands), a chain of more than 50 islands, from Denmark for \$25 million without consulting the Virgin Islanders. The U.S. had attempted to buy the islands twice before: in 1870 for \$7.5 million and in 1902 for \$5 million. U.S. officials conferred inconsistent status on Virgin Islanders until 1920, when the U.S. Secretary of State clarified that they had “American nationality” status but not the “political status of citizens.”<sup>86</sup>

# 1918

## U.S. Government Made Filipinos Who Served in the Armed Forces Eligible to Naturalize

The Act of May 9, 1918, made any Filipino who had served in the U.S. Navy, Marine Corps, or Naval Auxiliary Service for three years eligible to naturalize. In *Toyota v. United States* (1925), the Supreme Court declared that the decision to allow Filipinos to naturalize in no way challenged the long history of “national policy to maintain the distinction of color and race” since Filipinos were only allowed to naturalize because they were non-aliens, and even then, only with military service.<sup>87</sup>

# 1919

## U.S. Government Made Indigenous Americans Who Served During WWI Eligible to Naturalize

Indigenous WWI veterans, through the Citizenship Act of 1919, could become citizens. An estimated 9,000-12,000 Indigenous Americans served in the military during WWI.<sup>88</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: United States Attorney General Mitchell Palmer captures headlines with the “Red” raids. January 3, 1920. Image depicts a newspaper clipping with the headline “Revolution Declared Aim of Radicals” and portrait of Mitchell Palmer. *New-York Tribune* (New York, NY), *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*.

# 1919-20

## The Palmer Raids Targeted Immigrants and Arrested 10,000 People Across 70 Cities for Alleged Communism and Anarchism, Ultimately Deporting Hundreds

Following the Russian Revolution, the U.S.

Attorney General, A. Mitchell Palmer, led efforts to deport alleged anarchists, communists, and others. Palmer maintained that 90 percent of communist and anarchist agitation was “traceable to aliens.” This led to the deportation of nearly 250 non-citizens of Russian descent — including Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman — from Ellis Island and the arrest of 10,000 in 70 cities. Many of the deportees were questioned without being informed of their Fifth Amendment rights or access to counsel. The arrests from the raids exceeded the number of judicial warrants, and many of those who were arrested were targeted for being immigrants rather than for engaging in any criminal activity. By 1920, when public opinion had shifted, Palmer deported nearly 600 immigrants out of the more than 6,000 deportation cases the Department of Justice had prepared. The Acting

Secretary of Labor reversed 70 percent of the 1,600 deportation warrants, and organizations such as the National Civil Liberties Bureau challenged the raids and other federal actions.<sup>89</sup>

**U.S. Government Deported Emma Goldman Because of How She Obtained U.S. Citizenship Through Her First Marriage:** In 1909, the federal government did not recognize Emma Goldman's naturalized U.S. citizenship derived from her first marriage. During this period, the government's posture was that any radical political activity after becoming a U.S. citizen was demonstrative of disloyalty that applied retroactively when the person was naturalized, rendering their naturalization fraudulent. This was the first politically motivated stripping of citizenship of an American based on perceived views.<sup>90</sup>

**U.S. Government Denaturalized 1,000 Per Year:** Between 1935-41, the government denaturalized 1,000 people annually.<sup>91</sup>

## 1920

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### U.S. Citizen Women Gained the Right to Vote Through the 19th Amendment

Theoretically, U.S. citizen women gained the right to vote with the passing of the 19th Amendment. Practically speaking, the ability to vote was still largely limited to white U.S. citizen women, while advocates such as Black activists Mary Church Terrell and Fannie Lou Hamer, Gertrude Simmons Bonnin (Zitkala-Sa) of the Yankton Sioux Nation and Marie Louise Bottineau Baldwin of the Chippewa Nation, Chinese immigrant activist Mabel Ping-Hua Lee, and others continued the struggle for all women's right to vote. The amendment partially repealed the Expatriation Act of 1907, which stripped U.S. citizen women of their citizenship if they married non-citizens.<sup>92</sup>

## 1922

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### The Supreme Court Ruled Individuals of Japanese Descent Could Not Naturalize

The Supreme Court in *Ozawa v. United States* unanimously ruled that Japanese nationals could not become U.S. citizens.<sup>93</sup>

**Hundreds of Individuals of Japanese Descent Naturalized Until 1910:** Due to ambiguity as to who was "white," 420 Japanese people were able to naturalize until 1910. Ozawa tried to naturalize in 1914, and the Supreme Court ruled he was neither a "free white person" (Caucasian) nor an African by birth or descent so he could not become a U.S. citizen. The Court said a "white person" was "only a person of what is popularly known as the Caucasian race."<sup>94</sup>

## Federal Courts Across the United States Ruled Inconsistently on Who Could Become U.S. Citizens Based on Notions of Who Was Considered “White”

**Under the Law:** A series of court rulings held that people who were a quarter white were not white, Hawaiians were not white, Mexicans were not white, Burmese were not white, Syrians and Arabs were white based on scientific evidence but subsequently were not white based on common knowledge, and Indigenous Americans were not white.<sup>95</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Couples stand in line to obtain their marriage licenses at a marriage bureau in the 1920s. Image depicts several couples in line behind a sign that reads “Marriage License Fee \$1.00.” George Grantham Bain Collection/Library of Congress.

# 1922

## U.S. Citizen Women Were Able to Keep Their Citizenship Unless They Married Non-Citizens of Asian Descent

The Cable Act repealed the Expatriation Act. However, U.S. citizen women who married non-citizens of Asian descent could still be stripped of their citizenship. This was amended in 1931, allowing women to retain their U.S. citizenship even if they married a person ineligible for citizenship. The Cable Act did not automatically grant citizenship back to women who lost their citizenship under the Expatriation Act; instead, they had to reapply for citizenship.<sup>96</sup>

# 1923

## The Supreme Court Ruled that Indian Immigrants Could Not Naturalize

The Supreme Court unanimously ruled in *U.S. v. Bhagat Thind* that Indian nationals could not become U.S. citizens. This was after Thind enlisted in the U.S. army in 1917 and served during WWI. There were about 8,000 South Asian immigrants in the United States at the time that Thind applied for citizenship, in a country of approximately 100 million people.<sup>97</sup>

### As a Result of *Thind*, the U.S. Government Revoked the Citizenship of Individuals of Indian Descent:

A U.S. district court actually approved Thind’s application for citizenship, but the Bureau of Naturalization appealed the decision and successfully stripped him of his citizenship. Thind argued that he was Caucasian, unlike Ozawa, but the Supreme Court ruled that Caucasian was synonymous with “white.” Many Indians’ U.S. citizenships were rescinded as a result of this case, with the Department of Justice claiming they had naturalized “illegally.” The U.S. government denaturalized at least 65 South Asians between 1923 and 1927. By 1927, the Supreme Court refused to hear the case against a

naturalized Indian man, implying that the lower courts should stop denaturalizing on the basis of race.<sup>98</sup>

**U.S. Government Revoked the Citizenship of Felons, Traitors, War Criminals, and Alleged Communists During this Time Period:** During that period, the U.S. government denaturalized those who fraudulently obtained their citizenship or were felons, traitors, or war criminals. The government also denaturalized alleged communists.<sup>99</sup>

# 1924

## Congress Severely Limited the Immigration of Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe and Completely Excluded Immigrants from Asia

The National Origins Act of 1924 solidified a quota system for immigration that limited the number of visas available to two percent of the total number of people of each nationality in the United States as of the 1890 national census, which favored immigrants from northern Europe. Asians were completely excluded because they were ineligible for citizenship, and southern and eastern Europeans were limited as immigrants. Between 1880 and 1914, an average of 650,000 people per year from those parts of Europe had entered the United States. The new system also required immigrants to apply for and receive visas before arriving, which gave the U.S. government a way to limit entries. The act reduced the annual cap from 350,000 to 165,000. The law had a profound impact on immigration rates and the foreign-born composition of the United States for decades. The law also required that all immigrants pass through a port of entry.<sup>100</sup>

**New Yorkers, Including New York Policymakers, Protested the Discriminatory Nature of this Law:** As Congressional debate began on the Johnson-Reed bill, thousands of New Yorkers, many of them immigrants, took to the streets in protest against the bill's prejudicial stance toward immigrants from southern, central, and eastern Europe. In addition to public protests, many religious communities in New York came together to condemn the bill as discriminatory. New York policymakers also opposed the bill, with 20 out of New York State's 22 Democratic House members releasing a statement against it, arguing against its discriminatory nature and that the bill would exacerbate labor shortages.<sup>101</sup>

**Japan Protested the Discriminatory Nature of this Law:** As a result of the law, the American Ambassador to Japan resigned, the Japanese government lodged a formal complaint, and anti-American protests and boycotts took place in Japan.<sup>102</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Portrait of Wassaja (Carlos Montezuma) c. 1905-1910. Image depicts an Indigenous American man wearing a white bow tie and black jacket in a formal portrait setting. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

# 1924

## The United States Conferred Citizenship on Indigenous Americans

The Indian Citizenship Act conferred U.S. citizenship on all Indigenous Americans born in the United States. However, the law did not provide for the right to vote, which was left to the states. Previously, citizenship had been limited, depending on what percentage of Indigenous ancestry a person had, whether they were veterans, or, if they were women, whether they were married to a U.S. citizen. Dr. Carlos Montezuma, née Wassaja, was one of the Indigenous Americans who advocated for Indigenous rights including citizenship. Meanwhile, some Indigenous people, such as the Onondaga Tribe of the Six Nation Confederacy, argued that accepting U.S. citizenship would be “treason” and a violation of previously agreed-upon treaties with the United States. They implored the president to honor the sovereignty as stipulated in previous treaties.<sup>103</sup>

### **U.S. Citizenship Did Not Automatically Grant the Right to Vote:** As

Congressional debate began on the Johnson-Reed bill, thousands of New Yorkers, many of them immigrants, took to the streets in protest against the bill’s prejudicial stance toward immigrants from southern, central, and eastern Europe. In addition to public protests, many religious communities in New York came together to condemn the bill as discriminatory. New York policymakers also opposed the bill, with 20 out of New York State’s 22 Democratic House members releasing a statement against it, arguing against its discriminatory nature and that the bill would exacerbate labor shortages.<sup>104</sup>

**Some Indigenous Americans Rejected U.S. Citizenship:** While the United States continued to deny citizenship to vast segments of the population, the federal government imposed citizenship on Indigenous Americans en masse. Subsequently, some rejected U.S. citizenship, as they each belonged to independent nations, such as the Haudenosaunee. The Haudenosaunee travel internationally with their own passports, and they force the U.S. government to renew their treaties annually.<sup>105</sup>

# 1926

## Arkansas Was the Last State to Ban Non-Citizen Voting in State Elections

Non-citizen voting was permissible throughout the 19th century, serving as one way to encourage

immigrants and other arrivals to move to western territories. Since before the American Revolution, white men who owned property could vote, and many non-citizens did so. In fact, non-citizens were able to vote in federal, state, and local elections in at least 16 states — or approximately two-thirds of the country — until 1926. However, as opposition to immigration grew in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, especially against immigrants from southern and eastern Europe who were predominantly Catholic and Jewish, states started barring non-citizen voting, and Arkansas became the last state to ban non-citizen voting at the state level.<sup>106</sup>

## 1927

### The Federal Government Conferred Citizenship on Most Virgin Islanders

The U.S. government conferred U.S. citizenship to most Virgin Islanders in 1927, and conferred citizenship on all Virgin Island-born individuals five years later.<sup>107</sup>

## 1927

### A Federal Court Denied the Naturalization of an Afghan Immigrant

The federal court in California ruled in *In re Feroz Din* that an Afghan immigrant could not naturalize because he was not white or Black.<sup>108</sup>

## 1929

### The Registry Program Provided a Pathway to Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1921 and Lacked an Admission Record

The Registry Act of 1929 applied to immigrants who entered the United States before July 1, 1921, (and as early as June 29, 1906) and lacked entry or admission records. This Registry Program permitted immigrants who met those two conditions to have an arrival record created after-the-fact — giving these immigrants the required document they needed to process their naturalization applications. Congress created, in essence, the first legalization program or pathway towards legalization for immigrants. The U.S. government subsequently updated the cutoff date of entry to July 1, 1924; June 28, 1940; June 30, 1948; and January 1, 1972.<sup>109</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Relatives and friends wave goodbye to a train carrying 1,500 persons being expelled from Los Angeles back to Mexico on August 20, 1931. Image depicts a large group of Mexican Americans waving at a train station with train tracks in the foreground. Getty Images.

## 1930s

### The Federal, State, and Local Governments Expelled as Many as 2 Million People of Mexican Descent, 60 Percent of Whom Were U.S. Citizens, throughout the Great Depression

By the late 1920s, agricultural producers in the South began to advocate for immigration quotas for Mexican nationals. In 1930, the federal government

initiated the “repatriation” program, and between 1929-1935, the Immigration and Naturalization Service removed 82,000 through deportation and voluntary departure proceedings. The U.S. Secretary of Labor helped pass local laws and arranged agreements that prevented people of Mexican descent from holding jobs (e.g. Ford, U.S. Steel, and Southern Pacific Railroad agreed to lay off thousands of workers of Mexican descent). Workplaces, parks, and public squares were not safe for people of Mexican descent, and federal immigration authorities even turned local charity agencies into an arm of immigration enforcement. Though the federal program ended in 1933, state and local governments continued these efforts throughout the decade. Throughout the Great Depression, the American Southwest and Midwest expelled 500,000 to 1.8 million individuals of Mexican descent from the United States. As many as 60 percent of deportees were U.S. citizens. In 2005, California passed the Apology Act for the 1930s Mexican Repatriation Program for the 400,000 people that it alone had removed.<sup>110</sup>

## 1932

### The United States Designated Inuit and Unangan (Aleuts) as U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals

The U.S. determined the Inuit and Unangan (Aleuts) of Alaska are “wards of the Nation.” The United States determined they are entitled to the benefits of, and subject to, the laws and regulations governing “the Indians of the United States.”<sup>111</sup>

## 1932

### The United States Conferred U.S. Citizenship on Virgin Islanders

After only having “American nationality” but not the “political status of citizens” since 1917, all Virgin Islanders obtained U.S. citizenship in 1932. However, they did not gain the right to vote for their

governor until 1970. Virgin Islanders — like U.S. citizens in Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, and Puerto Rico and U.S. nationals in American Samoa — cannot vote for members of Congress or the president of the United States.<sup>112</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Manuel Luis Quezon, (center), with representatives from the Philippine Independence Mission. Image depicts a group of six Filipino men wearing suits and hats standing outside a building. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA

## 1934

### Congress Stripped Filipinos of the U.S. Non-Citizen National Status and Declared Them Aliens

The Tydings-McDuffie Act provided for the eventual transfer of government from the U.S. government to the Philippine government. This law stripped Filipinos of their national status, declaring them aliens. It also subjected them to the exclusionary National Origins Act of 1924, limiting their immigration quota to 50 per year.<sup>113</sup>

**The Tydings-McDuffie Act Followed Years of Violence Targeting Filipinos:** In 1927, white mobs attacked Filipino farmworkers in Toppenish, WA, and demanded that they leave the area or be killed. In 1930, mobs of mostly white men terrorized Filipino communities in Watsonville, CA for nearly a week, resulting in 50 injured and the death of Fermin Tobera. Similar violence subsequently erupted in Stockton, San Francisco, Salinas, and San Jose, including the bombing of the headquarters of the Filipino Federation of America in Stockton, CA. In 1934, white rioters shot at Filipino farmworkers and burned their labor camp down in Salinas, CA.<sup>114</sup>

### The U.S. Government Also Promised the Philippines Independence in 1946:

The law created a self-governing Philippine Commonwealth, with Manuel L. Quezon as the first elected president, but the Commonwealth's legislature still required approval of the U.S. president. It also promised the Philippines independence in 1946.<sup>115</sup>

**The U.S. Government Repatriated 2,000 Filipinos to the Philippines:** Filipinos were also subject to repatriation, with more than 2,000 Filipinos returned to the Philippines per the Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935 until the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional in 1940. The Repatriation Act offered Filipinos free passage back to the Philippines if they promised to never return to the United States.<sup>116</sup>

## 1934

### The Children of U.S. Citizen Mothers Could Claim Citizenship

More than 12 years of lobbying by women's organizations led to the passage of the Equal Nationality

Act of 1934, which provided that children born outside of the United States to U.S. citizen mothers could claim U.S. citizenship.<sup>117</sup>

## 1935

### Congress Permitted Asian WWI Veterans to Apply for U.S. Citizenship

Congress, through the Alien Veteran Naturalization Act, or Nye-Lea Act, made foreign national Asian veterans (veterans not eligible to become citizens) who served during WWI for the United States eligible for naturalization. Twelve years after the Supreme Court unanimously denied him citizenship based on race, Bhagat Singh Thind, a WWI veteran, was able to naturalize after this law passed, nearly two decades after he initially petitioned for naturalization. Congress reversed the Nye-Lea five years later with the Nationality Act of 1940, limiting naturalization once again to white and Black individuals as well as descendants of people indigenous to the Western Hemisphere and Filipino veterans.<sup>118</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Pedro Albizu Campos raising his hat to a crowd. Image depicts a Puerto Rican man wearing a suit waving his hat in front of a crowd of people. Library of Congress.

## 1935-50

### Puerto Rican Nationalists Argued for Puerto Rican Independence

Pedro Albizu Campos, the leader of the Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico, asserted that the Treaty of Paris “is null and void in so far as it concerns Puerto Rico.” He argued that Puerto Rico should be independent because it had become a sovereign nation prior to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War by virtue of the Charter of Self-Government (*Carta Autonómica*), which Spain could not amend without the consent of Puerto Rico. From 1948 until 1957, the Puerto Rican legislature approved and the U.S.-appointed governor signed into law *La Ley de la Mordaza* (Law 53) to target the independence movement, which made it illegal to display or own a Puerto Rican flag, even in one’s home, criminalized singing

Puerto Rico’s anthem “La Borinqueña” and writing about or engaging in public displays about independence from U.S. rule. In 1952, the United States granted Puerto Rico commonwealth status.<sup>119</sup>

## 1936

### Guam Delegates Advocated for Citizenship for the Chamorro People

The Guam Congress sent Delegates Baltazar J. Bordallo and Francisco B. Leon Guerrero to

Washington, D.C. to petition for U.S. citizenship for the Chamorro people of Guam. Although they were positively received by the president and members of Congress, the Navy convinced the federal government to reject the petition, citing “the racial problems of that locality” and asserting that “these people have not yet reached a state of development commensurate with the personal independence, obligations, and responsibilities of United States citizenship.”<sup>120</sup>

# 1940

## Congress Codified U.S. Non-Citizen National Status for the First Time, Declaring Nationals to be Subordinate to U.S.

The Nationality Act established a comprehensive nationality law, including the codification of American national status, for the first time. It defined “national” as “a person owing permanent allegiance to a state.” “Nationals” were those born in designated U.S. territories or people born to U.S. nationals. Outside the United States, “nationals” would be treated as if they were citizens, but within the territory of the United States, “nationals would be treated differently and subordinate to citizens.”<sup>121</sup>

**U.S. Non-Citizen National Status Continued to Apply to the Individuals in the Panama Canal Zone, American Samoa, and Guam:** “National” status pertained to “natives of the Panama Canal Zone, and inhabitants of American Samoa and Guam owing permanent allegiance to the United States.”<sup>122</sup>

**White, Black, and Indigenous Americans as well as Filipinos Who Served Honorably in the Armed Forces Could Naturalize:** The law also limited naturalization to white, Black, Indigenous American, and Filipino individuals who served honorably in the U.S. Army, Navy, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard.<sup>123</sup>

**Puerto Ricans Gained Birthright Citizenship:** Until this act, people born in Puerto Rico acquired U.S. citizenship if their parents were U.S. citizens through the concept of *jus sanguinis*, but this law conferred U.S. birthright citizenship — *jus soli* — to people born in Puerto Ricans.<sup>124</sup>

**The U.S. Government Could Revoke Citizenship for Political Activity that Occurs After Naturalization:** When this law went into effect in January 1941, it changed naturalization law to allow for denaturalization based on political activity that occurred post-naturalization. This provision was used to denaturalize German Americans suspected of organizing for a pro-Nazi group, specifically “the Bund” and other fascist groups. Being a member of the Communist Party could also lead to denaturalization.<sup>125</sup>

**The Registry Program Was Updated to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1924 and Lacked an Admission Record:** The Nationality Act updated the cutoff date of entry for the Registry Act of 1929 to July 1, 1924s.<sup>126</sup>

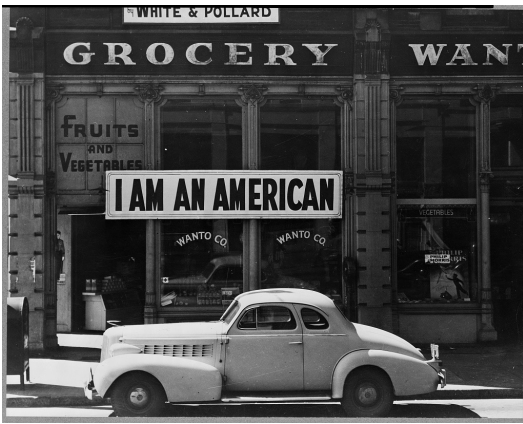


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Japanese-American owned grocery store, Oakland, California, March 1942. Image depicts a street view of a grocery store called Wanto Co. with a large banner reading "I AM AN AMERICAN." *Library of Congress.*

# 1942

## The Presidential Administration Forcibly Removed and Incarcerated Individuals of Japanese Descent, Two-Thirds of Whom were U.S. Citizens, Without Due Process During WWII

In 1942, the president issued Executive Order 9066, forcibly removing 125,000 people of Japanese descent, two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, from their homes and incarcerated them in camps across the country without

convicting them of any crimes or offering any means to appeal. About 47,000 were born in Japan (*Issei*) and legally barred from becoming U.S. citizens under federal immigration laws, and 80,000 (*Nisei*) were U.S.-born. While the population of people of Japanese descent in California was less than two percent, they were sent to 10 internment camps in California, Arizona, Arkansas, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and Wyoming. In Hawai'i, people of Japanese descent comprised more than one-third of the population and were subjected to lower rates of incarceration, but the U.S. Army issued hundreds of military orders, some applicable only to persons of Japanese ancestry. They lost their homes and belongings. Internment ended in 1944, with no Japanese American ever found guilty of espionage.<sup>127</sup>

### Border Patrol Agents Relocated Individuals of Japanese Descent to Internment Camps, Served as Guards:

Border Patrol agents transported Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans to internment camps. They also served as guards in eight of the camps operated by the Department of Justice, before detainees were transferred to more permanent U.S. Army camps.<sup>128</sup>

### Immigration and Naturalization Service Operated Several Internment Camps:

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, under the purview of the Department of Justice, operated internment camps for enemy aliens. In all, INS held nearly 32,000 Japanese, German, and Italian "enemy aliens."<sup>129</sup>

### The U.S. Government Offered Japanese Americans Incarcerated During WWII the "Option" of Renouncing Their Citizenship:

The U.S. government gave interned Americans the "option" to renounce their American nationality. A number of Japanese Americans, lacking faith in the U.S. after being incarcerated without due process, refused to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States on the loyalty questionnaires they received. By 1944, about 16 percent of the incarcerated population requested repatriation or expatriation. The Denaturalization Act of 1944 created a process by which U.S. citizens could renounce their citizenship, and about nearly 6,000 Japanese Americans, 5,500 of which were interned at the Tule Lake camp alone, consequently sought to renounce their

citizenship. The American Civil Liberties Union represented a number of the renunciants and argued that a number of those renunciation requests were made under duress. Nearly all who wanted their U.S. citizenship restored were able to do so after 15 years of litigation, and the number that returned to Japan was reduced to 1,327.<sup>130</sup>

**The U.S. Government Incarcerated 300 Italian Nationals and More than 5,000 Individuals of German Descent, Including U.S. Citizens:** About 3,200 Italian nationals were arrested and 300 were interned under Executive Order 9066. 11,000 people of German descent, including U.S. citizens, were arrested, and over 5,000 were interned.<sup>131</sup>

**1976 Repeal of Executive Order 9066:** The U.S. government officially recognized that it had denied the rights of and unjustly incarcerated Japanese Americans, calling Japanese relocation a “national mistake.”<sup>132</sup>

## 1942

### A Federal Court Ruled Muslim Yemeni Immigrant Ineligible to Become U.S. Citizen

A federal court in Michigan ruled in *In Re Ahmed Hassan* that a Muslim Yemeni immigrant was ineligible for citizenship because he was “undisputedly dark brown in color.” The judge, conflating Arabs with Muslims, said that “Arabs” could not “readily intermarry with our population and be assimilated into our civilization,” his nation of origin was “outside the zone from which Asiatic immigration is excluded,” and Arabs “are a part of the Mohammedan world and that a wide gulf separates their culture from that of the predominantly Christian peoples of Europe.”<sup>133</sup>

## 1943

### With China as U.S. Ally During WWII, the United States Repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, But Still Set a Numerical Cap

After 61 years, the U.S. government repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act through the Magnuson Act and allowed persons of Chinese descent to be eligible to naturalize when China was a U.S. ally during WWII in the Pacific theater. However, it limited Chinese immigration to only 105 individuals per year. One of the reasons for repealing the exclusionary law was to limit the effectiveness of Japanese propaganda, which attempted to erode China’s alliance with the United States by emphasizing the United States’s racism.”<sup>134</sup>

# 1944

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## A Federal Court Is the First to Grant a Muslim Immigrant's Application to Naturalize

A federal court in Massachusetts was the first court to grant the citizenship application of a Muslim immigrant (from present-day Saudi Arabia) in *Ex Parte Mohriez*, determining that “the Arab people belong to that division of the white race speaking the Semitic languages.”<sup>135</sup>

# 1945

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## The War Brides Act Enabled U.S. Citizen Veterans of WWII to Reunite with Their Spouses and Children in the United States

The War Brides Act, which was in effect for three years, allowed the immigration of foreign-born spouses and children of U.S. citizens who served in the armed forces during WWII. These family members were exempted from the 1924 Immigration Act's quotas and granted them free passage. The law only applied to spouses of white and Black soldiers until Congress passed another law nearly a year later. The War Brides Act was in effect for three years. The Alien Fiancées and Fiancés Act of 1946 granted three-month visas for fiancées of U.S. military to get married during that period.<sup>136</sup>

# 1946

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## Congress Permitted Indian and Filipino Immigrants the Opportunity to Naturalize

Jagjit “JJ” Singh, leader of the Indian League of America, and others advanced the plight of Indian immigrants in addition to promoting India's independence. The Luce-Celler Act effectively repealed the Immigration Act of 1917, allowing 100 Indians and 100 Filipinos per year to enter and naturalize. This law was signed two days before the signing of the Treaty of Manila on July 4, which established Philippine independence.<sup>137</sup>

# 1950

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## The Federal Government Conferred U.S. Citizenship on Guamanians

Guam had been petitioning for U.S. citizenship since WWII, with the Guam Congress submitting petitions in 1947 and 1949. The Guam Congress adjourned in 1949 until the U.S. government passed

the Guam Organic Act, which Congress eventually did in 1950, conferring U.S. citizenship to Guamanians. Similar to the citizens of Puerto Rico, the Northern Mariana Islands, and the U.S. Virgin Islands as well as the U.S. nationals of American Samoa, they could not (and still cannot) vote for the president. The U.S. citizens of these colonies and the citizens of Washington, D.C., also lack voting representatives in Congress.<sup>138</sup>

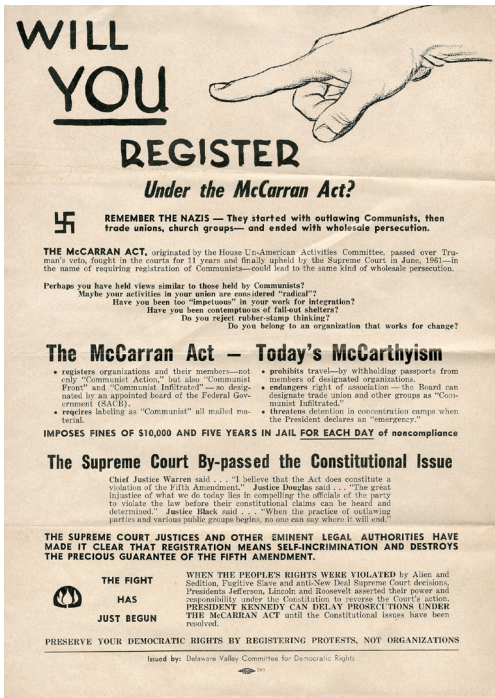


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Poster listing details about the McCarran Act. Image depicts a printed poster with the phrase “WILL YOU REGISTER” as a headline and a finger pointing to it. Various details about the dangers of the act are listed. Delaware Valley Committee for Democratic Rights.

## 1952

### Congress Reinforced Its National Origins Quota System

Through the McCarran-Walter Act, Congress set the annual quota for each country outside the Western Hemisphere at one-sixth of one percent of the number of persons of that ancestry living in the United States as of 1920. This law retained the national origins quotas with 85 percent allotted for people from western and northern Europe. Asians were the only population tracked by race, with 2,000 slots per year allotted for the Asia-Pacific Triangle. In other words, an individual with at least one Asian parent, born anywhere in the world and possessing citizenship of any country, would be counted toward the national quota of the Asian nation of their race. Notably, the law ended restrictions that made non-citizens – i.e. Asians – ineligible for citizenship.<sup>139</sup>

**U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals Were Able to Naturalize if They Moved to a U.S. State:** This law provided the ability for U.S. nationals, such as American Samoans, to naturalize through an expedited process if they lived in a U.S. state through an “expedited” process. American Samoans born in the territory who have at least one parent who is a U.S. citizen can claim U.S. citizenship.<sup>140</sup>

**Resistance to the Denaturalization Provisions for Alleged Communist Activities:** The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (ACFPB) defended individuals who were facing denaturalization or deportation for alleged communist activities under the McCarran-Walter Act in the 1950s. ACPFB lobbied for the repeal of the McCarran-Walter Act as well as a statute of limitations on denaturalization and deportation proceedings in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>141</sup>

**Women Gained Primary Status to Bring Spouses and Minor Children to the United States:** Women gained status as primary immigrants who could bring spouses and minor children.<sup>142</sup>

**Temporary “Guestworker” Program Created:** This law made the temporary “guestworker” visa program official law, creating the H-2 category for foreign agricultural and non-agricultural temporary workers. Unlike previous temporary programs, this law permitted U.S. employers to recruit directly from any country once the Attorney General accepted their petitions. Poor working conditions were widespread, and employers exploited their position of power by threatening protesting workers with deportation.<sup>143</sup>

**The U.S. Attorney General Could Parole Refugees to the United States:** This law allowed the U.S. Attorney General to admit refugees on a parole basis.<sup>144</sup>

## 1954-55

### **Federal, State, and Local Governments Conducted More than One Million Expulsions of People of Mexican Descent, Including U.S. Citizens, from the United States Without Due Process**

Under the pejoratively-named “Operation Wetback” program, the federal government together with local law enforcement expelled anywhere from 800,000 to 2.1 million people of Mexican descent, including U.S. citizens, to Mexico. They operated without court-issued orders of deportation or due process of law. The program authorized 1,000 Border Patrol agents, along with local law enforcement, to target people of Mexican descent in California, Arizona, and Texas. It used Border Patrol resources with military tactics, such as the racial profiling of Mexican-appearing individuals, demanding of identification, and raiding of Mexican businesses to remove people of Mexican descent. In Chicago, three planes a week were flown to Mexico while 25 percent of all the deportees were packed onto boats from Texas to Mexico. Deportations were done at deportees’ expense. In Los Angeles (where labor leaders were especially targeted), groups such as CIO trade unions, the California Legislative Conference, Jewish organizations, the National Lawyers Guild, and the Los Angeles Committee for the Protection of the Foreign-Born coordinated protests against the Immigration and Naturalization Service and tried to help the deported.<sup>145</sup>

## 1958

### **The Registry Program Was Updated to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1940 and Lacked an Admission Record**

The cutoff date of entry for the Registry Act of 1929 was updated to June 28, 1940, through Public Law 85-616. Immigrants who entered the United States without inspection or overstayed their visa became eligible for registry adjustment of status to lawful permanent residency.<sup>147</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Large flag of Puerto Rico above the street in the city center of San Jan. Image depicts a transparent banner of the Puerto Rican flag flying against a blue sky and the colorful architecture of the capital of San Juan. Shutterstock.

## 1959-67

### Puerto Ricans Moved Towards Self-Determination

In 1959, Puerto Rico Resident Commissioner Antonio Fernós-Isern introduced a bill with Senator Murray that would have transferred some powers from the U.S. government to Puerto Rico, but the bill died in committee. In the mid-1960s, a joint U.S.-Puerto Rican Status Commission formed to develop a process by which the federal government would consult Puerto Ricans about the island's status, but the U.S. government rejected the

proposal that called for a “compact of permanent union” providing “maximum self-government and self-determination” to Puerto Rico in 1975. Puerto Rico held its first plebiscite, or vote on a type of government, to determine whether Puerto Ricans supported commonwealth status, statehood, or independence, but pro-statehood and independence parties boycotted the referendum. 60 percent of the electorate supported commonwealth status, 39 percent supported statehood, and less than one percent voted for independence.<sup>147</sup>

## 1965

### Congress Finally Ended the National Origins Quota System, Prioritized Family Reunification, and Updated the Registry Program to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1948 and Lacked an Admission Record

Following the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of the Civil Rights Movement, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 eliminated the national origins quota system. The act established a seven-category preference system. As a compromise to nativist lawmakers, the new system prioritized family reunification, with the assumption that most immigrants who were seeking to reunify would be white, skilled immigrants. The act also set numerical restrictions by hemisphere — 170,000 from the Eastern Hemisphere and (for the first time) 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere. Up until this point, as a matter of foreign policy, migration to and from Latin America and Canada was unlimited. This law also updated the cutoff date of entry for the Registry Act of 1929 to June 30, 1948, enabling immigrants who arrived before that date and met other criteria to adjust their status to lawful permanent status.<sup>148</sup>

# 1968

## U.S. Virgin Islanders Founded the Independent Citizens Movement Party

Viridin C. Brown and Steve O'Reilly founded the Independent Citizens Movement Party in the U.S. Virgin Islands to advocate for grassroots participation in politics and more autonomy. The party held gubernatorial office briefly in 1969 and between 1974 through 1987.<sup>149</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Non-citizen servicemen receive citizenship. Image depicts a group of servicemen in uniform being congratulated by another man in a dark suit in an army office. National WWII Museum. US Army Signal Corps photographs, Gift in Memory of Maurice T. White, 2011.065

# 1968

## The U.S. Government Enabled Non-Citizen Veterans Who Served During Military Hostilities to Naturalize

Non-citizen veterans who served during a period of military hostility were able to naturalize under the Armed Forces Naturalization Act.<sup>150</sup>

# 1969

## New York City Permitted Anyone to Vote, Including Non-Citizens, in School Board Elections

While non-citizens could not vote in state elections, non-citizens were able to vote in school board elections in New York City from 1969 until the school board disbanded in 2002.<sup>151</sup>

# 1970

## U.S. Citizens of Washington, D.C. Gained Limited Vote

Congress gave U.S. citizens of Washington, D.C. a non-voting delegate in the House of Representatives, seven years after gaining the right to vote for president and vice president pursuant to the 23rd Amendment. They elected their first mayor and city council in 1974. D.C. residents were able to elect a city council and mayor throughout much of the 1800s, but that system was replaced by the president appointing a territorial governor and a commission until the mid-1900s.<sup>152</sup>

# 1976

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## The Supreme Court Ruled It is Permissible to Discriminate Against Non-Citizens

The Supreme Court in *Mathews v. Diaz* said it was legally permissible to discriminate against non-citizens in a variety of ways.<sup>153</sup>

# 1977

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## American Samoa Elected Its First Governor

After Samoans agitated for control of their affairs, a Samoan became the territory's first elected governor in 1977. In 1981, they elected their first nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.<sup>154</sup>

# 1978

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## Northern Mariana Islands Became a Commonwealth

In 1950, the legislature of the Northern Mariana Islands petitioned the United Nations Visiting Mission to request that the Northern Marianas be incorporated into the United States either as a possession or a territory, and that its people be given U.S. citizenship. However, the mission advised them to decide on their political status in unison with the rest of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which also included the Marshall Islands, Caroline Islands, and Palau Islands. Together they had been incorporated as the Trust Territory after WWII under the administration of the U.S. Navy. The Northern Mariana Islands decided to seek political association with the United States, gaining territory status in 1976 and its first constitutional government in 1978. The islands had full commonwealth status by 1986, at which point Congress conferred U.S. citizenship to eligible residents of the islands. However, residents cannot vote for president, and they merely have a non-voting delegate in the U.S. House of Representatives. At the time, there were 14,000 people living on the 17 islands, most of whom spoke Chamorro.<sup>155</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: New naturalized US citizens take Oath of Allegiance at special naturalization ceremony at New York Public Library. Image depicts a group of various ethnicities being sworn in as citizens in an auditorium. Image courtesy of Shutterstock.

# 1986

## Congress Provided a Pathway for Naturalization for Nearly Three Million Immigrants

The Immigration Reform & Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) authorized a pathway towards legalization for nearly 3 million undocumented immigrants, including 1.1 million undocumented farmworkers. It also established employer sanctions and increased border security.<sup>156</sup>

### The Statute Limited Eligibility to Immigrants Who Arrived by or before 1982:

It established a 1982 cutoff date for eligibility, making it the most restrictive legalization timeframe adopted by any country up to that time by excluding half of the unauthorized population.<sup>157</sup>

**The Registry Program Was Updated to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States before 1972 and Lacked an Admission Record:** This law updated the registry date of the Registry Act of 1929, making the cutoff date January 1, 1972. Immigrants who arrived before that date, continuously lived in the United States since then, had “good moral character,” were not “inadmissible,” did not qualify for other pathways for naturalization, and filed the appropriate forms could qualify for registry adjustment of status and have a pathway to legalization. Between 1985 and 1989, more than 58,000 immigrants received registry adjustments of status.<sup>158</sup>

### Congress Provided Certain Cuban and Haitian Entrants a Pathway to

**Naturalization:** An adjustment of status provision was included in IRCA that enabled Cuban-Haitian Entrants, whom the U.S. government paroled and admitted during the 1980 Mariel Boatlift, to become lawful permanent residents.<sup>159</sup>

### The U.S. Government Could Not Revoke Citizenship Unless Citizens

**Voluntarily Engaged in Certain Activities:** The law also noted that Americans could not lose their citizenship unless they voluntarily performed certain acts, such as naturalizing in another country or serving in the military of another nation. In 1996, the first year IRCA beneficiaries were eligible to naturalize, about 250,000 immigrants became citizens.<sup>160</sup>

### The Law Established a Temporary Program for Farmworkers with No Cap Limitations and a Distinct Temporary Program for Non-Agricultural Workers

**with an Annual Cap:** IRCA created the H-2A visa for temporary, seasonal agricultural workers with no cap limitations. This also created the H-2B program for non-agricultural workers, setting an annual cap. The H-2A and H-2B programs were separated due to increased pressure to protect farmworkers..<sup>161</sup>

## **Government Databases Used to Determine a Person's Eligibility to Work**

**with Federal Authorization:** IRCA created the E-Verify program that uses a variety of government databases to confirm whether an employee is eligible to work with authorization in the United States. This program and proposals to expand it threaten to violate the personal privacy of workers, particularly as it relates to gender for trans and gender-nonconforming immigrants.<sup>162</sup>

# 1990

## **Authority for Naturalizations Transferred from the Courts to the U.S. Attorney's Office, Temporary Protected Status Created for Nationals Unable to Return to their Origin Countries, and a Temporary Visa Created for Occupations Requiring a Bachelor's Degree**

The Immigration Act of 1990 raised the annual cap on immigration to 700,000 per year in the early 1990s and 675,000 per year as of 1995. This represented a 50 percent increase over pre-IRCA levels. The act created five categories of employment-based visas, including H-1B visas, a temporary (nonimmigrant) visa category that allows employers to petition for highly educated foreign professionals to work in “specialty occupations” that require at least a bachelor's degree or equivalent. It also created Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for nationals from countries suffering from armed conflicts, natural disasters, or other extraordinary and temporary conditions and provided for expedited removal of non-citizens who commit “violent criminal acts.” It transferred the authority for naturalizations from federal and state courts to the U.S. Attorney's Office, and it waived the English language requirement for applicants for naturalization who were over 55 years old and residing in the United States for at least 15 years.<sup>163</sup>

# 1992

## **Takoma Park, MD Approved of Non-Citizen Voting in Local Elections**

After a non-binding referendum in 1991 narrowly voted in favor of non-citizen voting, the Takoma Park City Council granted non-citizen voting in local elections, aligning Takoma Park with Somerset, Barnesville, Martin's Additions, and portions of Chevy Chase, MD. Garrett Park, Hyattsville, and Mt. Rainier, MD also permitted non-citizens to vote in local elections in 1999, 2016, and 2017, respectively.<sup>164</sup>

# 1993-2020

## Puerto Rico Held Referenda on Its Political Status with the Last Three Votes in Support of Statehood

The Puerto Rican electorate voted five more times in 1993, 1998, 2012, 2017, and 2020 following the initial plebiscite, or vote on a type of government, in 1967. The 2012, 2017, and 2020 votes supported statehood for Puerto Rico.<sup>165</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Portrait of Tereza Lee. Image depicts an Asian woman wearing glasses in a formal portrait setting. Courtesy of Manhattan School of Music.

## 1998

### The “Original Dreamer” Inspired the Introduction of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act

15-year-old Tereza Lee was in a mixed-status family when her U.S. citizen brother was struck by a car and her family feared how they would be able to keep the undocumented members of the family safe. Lee’s experience inspired the introduction of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act in 2001, a bill that would provide undocumented immigrant youth a pathway to U.S. citizenship. Between 2001 and 2021, the Dream Act has been introduced in Congress at least 11 times. After the bill languished in Congress for a decade, the president announced a deferred action program in 2012 — Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) — for some members of this population. Another version was introduced in the Senate in 2023, given the challenges the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals faces in the courts.<sup>167</sup>

## 2000

### Denaturalization Cases Need to be Adjudicated

After Immigration and Naturalization Service created a process to unilaterally denaturalize 369 naturalized citizens who had been convicted of certain crimes, the Ninth Circuit ruled that federal officials had to take denaturalization cases to court. 50 of those denaturalization cases were able to proceed through the courts in 2001.<sup>166</sup>

# 2003

## The Presidential Administration's "Terrorist Watchlist" Had More than One Million People, including 4,600 U.S. Citizens and Lawful Permanent Residents, the Majority of Whom Were Muslim

The federal government created the Terrorist Screening Database, a watch-listing system for tracking individuals suspected of being national security threats. The FBI Terrorist Screening Center maintains the database and shares a copy with the Department of Homeland Security. By 2013, there were hundreds of thousands of names. In 2017, the federal government disclosed that 1.2 million people were on the watchlist, including 4,600 U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents. This list was used to construct other lists, including the no-fly list, which bars individuals from traveling by air, and the selectee list, which identifies individuals for intensified scrutiny at airports and border crossings. In a 2013 lawsuit, the ACLU alleged that the no-fly list had more than 47,000 names. The majority of those names were Muslim, and a federal district court ruled that the watch listing process was unconstitutional in 2019. The Supreme Court ruled unanimously in 2020 that Muslims put on the no-fly list could sue federal officials under the Religious Freedom Restoration Act.<sup>168</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: San Jose, California May Day March, 2006. Image depicts a group of Mexican Americans waving Mexican flags at a protest. Wikipedia/Creative Commons.

# 2006

## Six Million People Protested in Opposition to a Bill that Would Have Criminalized Immigrants Present in the United States without Authorization and Criminalized Anyone Who Helped Them

In the spring of 2006, some 400 protest actions took place in 200 cities and towns across the United States to demand immigrant rights, particularly for the roughly 11.5 million undocumented migrants at the time. An estimated six million people participated, including 1.5 million alone on May Day, which that year was dubbed "A Day Without Immigrants" as people walked out of work and school in order to join marches on the street. The demonstrations

were a response to a proposed congressional bill, HR 4437, which would have made it a felony for undocumented individuals to be present in the United States and criminalize anyone who helped them. Advocates advanced proposals for a pathway to legalization and eventual citizenship for undocumented immigrants, an end to the militarization of the U.S.-Mexico border, and protection of workers' rights.<sup>169</sup>

# 2010

## Undocumented Youth Engaged in Walking Protest — the Dream Walk — in Support of a Pathway to Naturalization

Frustrated by the standstill on immigration reform and inspired by the history of the Civil Rights Movement, four students staged a walking protest from their home in Miami, FL to the White House. There, they demanded a solution that would eventually lead to Deferred Action for Child Arrivals (DACA).<sup>170</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Unidentified participants protesting Trump rescinding DACA. Approximately 200 demonstrators gathered in UC Berkeley's Sproul Plaza and marched down Telegraph Avenue. Photo by Sheila Fitzgerald.

# 2012

## The Presidential Administration Issued a Memorandum on Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), Protecting Undocumented Youth from Deportation

Through a presidential memo regarding Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA), the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) deferred deportation for undocumented young adults who entered the United States by their 16th

birthday. The program also granted work permits in two-year increments to beneficiaries of the program. To apply, they had to attain a high school diploma or equivalent and work at a higher education level. More than 830,000 Dreamers received deferred action. "Dreamers" is a term that came from the Development, Relief and Education of Alien Minors (DREAM) bill that was first proposed in 2001. In 2022, DHS replaced the 2012 DACA memo with a DACA Rule. A federal court found that the 2012 DACA memo was unlawful, sent the case back down to the lower court to determine the legality of the 2022 DACA Rule, and that court again ruled the program unconstitutional in 2023. The case is on a path back to the Supreme Court.<sup>171</sup>

# 2012-13

## The U.S. Embassy in Yemen Confiscated the U.S. Passports of Yemeni Americans, Depriving Them of Documentation and Stranding them in Yemen

The U.S. government began confiscating the U.S. passports of Yemeni Americans at the embassy in Sana, Yemen, stranding some U.S. citizens in Yemen for months. A group of civil rights and community organizations submitted a report to the United States Human Rights Network, alleging

that the passports were revoked without due process. In some cases, these individuals were only able to receive provisional passports to return to their families in the United States. Even though Yemen did not have a civil department that recorded births and deaths until the mid-1980s, the State Department treated this lack of documentation as a sign of fraud and said that passports would not be returned or renewed until these U.S. citizens could prove who they were. The State Department Inspector General concluded that the revocations of passports from at least 31 U.S. citizens did not follow procedure.<sup>172</sup>

## 2014

### **The Supreme Court Blocked the Implementation of a Presidential Effort to Protect Nearly Four Million Immigrants from Deportation**

Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA) was an executive action that would have deferred deportation for the foreign-born parents of U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents — a population estimated to be close to four million undocumented immigrants — but the Supreme Court blocked the implementation of DAPA in 2016.<sup>173</sup>

## 2014

### **Racial Profiling Continued at the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico**

The Department of Justice prohibited federal law enforcement authorities from discriminating on the basis of race or ethnicity. This guidance, however, excluded border and transportation security screening and inspection and Border Patrol “interdiction activities” at the border. Data showed disproportionately higher rates of arrest for people with black and brown complexion in the U.S.-Canada border zone between 2006-09. U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents of Mexican descent in the Arizona border region reported mistreatment by immigration officials between 2006-08. In 2014, in Arivaca, AZ, vehicles with Latinx passengers were 26 times more likely to be required to show identification while passing through a single Border Patrol checkpoint.<sup>174</sup>

## 2016

### **Filipino American Veterans of WWII Were Able to Reunite with their Spouses, Adult Children, Grandchildren Under Age 21, and Siblings While They Waited for Immigrant Visas to Become Available**

For years, advocates had been advancing the idea that the U.S. government should fulfill its promises of providing benefits to Filipinos who joined the U.S. Armed Services during WWII. The

Filipino WWII Veterans Parole Program allowed WWII veterans, who were granted citizenship in recognition of their service to the United States during WWII, to reunite with their adult children, their spouses, grandchildren under age 21, and siblings able to parole into the United States while they waited for an available immigrant visa.<sup>175</sup>

**The U.S. Government Reinstated the Program in 2021 After It Was Terminated in 2017:** The U.S. government terminated the program in 2017. As of 2019, there were 6,000 veterans still living and waiting to reunify with family. The federal government reinstated this program in 2021.<sup>176</sup>

**2009 Filipino American Veterans Received One-Time Payments for Benefits Promised Them after Japan Attacked the Philippines the Day before the Attack on Pearl Harbor:** The American Recovery and Reinvestment Act provided for one-time payments of \$15,000 to surviving Filipino veterans who were U.S. citizens and \$9,000 to non-citizens. While 18,000 claims were approved, nearly 24,000 were denied.<sup>177</sup>

## 2016

### The Presidential Administration Targeted U.S. Citizens from Muslim-Majority Countries for Denaturalization

Operation Janus was a program whose purpose was to identify people who might create a risk to national security, specifically individuals who “naturalized under false identities to hide their criminal past.” However, according to a report from Department of Homeland Security’s Office of Inspector General, this program targeted individuals from “special interest” countries – such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and adjacent countries as nations of concern to the national security of the United States. By early 2017, the presidential administration planned to refer 120 cases to the Department of Justice for potential federal charges. This program was subsequently used as pretext for the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service’s Denaturalization Task Force, which grew into Operation Second Look. Both Janus and Second Look sought to identify cases in which people naturalized in spite of deportation orders or past fraud or criminal charges, flagging 2,500 cases for denaturalization by the end of 2018.<sup>178</sup>

**The Presidential Administration Sought to Revoke the Citizenship of U.S. Citizens Convicted of Sex Crimes:** The administration also started filing denaturalization suits against people who committed other crimes that were not included in their naturalization applications, such as sex crimes against children and aggravated sexual assault. By fall 2017, the government filed denaturalization suits against individuals who had been convicted of sex crimes against children after they had already been naturalized.<sup>179</sup>

**The Presidential Administration Launched Denaturalization Investigations Against More Than 700,000 U.S. Citizens:** The administration ultimately launched investigations against over 700,000 naturalized citizens.<sup>180</sup>

**2017** The Supreme Court Ruled that Revocation of Citizenship Depends on Whether the Naturalization Application Should Have Been Approved in the First Place and Whether the Applicant Made Material False Statements : The Supreme Court ruled in *Maslenjak v. United States* that denaturalization hinges on whether citizenship should have never been granted to begin with. Simple lying (or lying by omission) on a citizenship application is not sufficient as the lie must be material.<sup>181</sup>

## 2018

### The Supreme Court Ruled that the Presidential Administration Could Not Include a Question Inquiring About Citizenship in the Census

The administration announced its intention to include a question about U.S. citizenship in the 2020 Census. After several lawsuits, the Supreme Court ruled in 2019 that there could be no citizenship question on the 2020 Census.<sup>182</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Newly naturalized citizens are sworn in at a ceremony. Image depicts a diverse group of new citizens waving american flags in an auditorium. Photo by Kerwin Elias / Unsplash.

## 2018

### The Presidential Administration Created a Task Force to Revoke the Citizenship of More than 300,000 People

The Denaturalization Task Force was a U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services team of investigators established to identify people who obtained citizenship under false pretenses. The task force focused on 315,000 people who naturalized without proper fingerprint checks, due to a government mistake. This task force grew out of Operation Janus and expanded under Operation Second Look, targeting Muslim and other minority communities. The Department of Justice announced a new section focused on denaturalizations in 2020. Immigrant justice groups and others have opposed the task force, with the Movement for Black Lives advocating for the BREATHE Act, which would eliminate the Denaturalization Task Force as well as Immigration and Customs Enforcement and the Justice Department's anti-gang groups. When immigrants lose their U.S. citizenship, they revert back to lawful permanent residents. As such, they can lose their legal status and be deported without a court hearing if they are found to violate the terms of their status.<sup>183</sup>

# 2019

## The Supreme Court Permitted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) to Continue

Multiple groups moved to challenge the federal government's 2017 termination of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). Their efforts eventually reached the U.S. Supreme Court. Outside the court, pro-DACA supporters filled the streets. Ultimately, in a split decision, the Court blocked the presidential administration's plan to end DACA.<sup>184</sup>

# 2019

## Shutdown of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service's Overseas Offices

In spring 2019, the presidential administration set out to close all but seven of the nation's 24 Citizenship and Immigration offices in 21 countries by summer 2020. The only USCIS offices scheduled to remain open were in Guatemala City, Mexico City, San Salvador, Beijing, Guangzhou, Nairobi, and New Delhi. While the administration argued that the closures would provide more staff resources to address the backlog of asylum applications at the U.S.-Mexico border, critics charged that the closures came at the expense of the legal migration backlog. The backlog for naturalization applications in fall 2019 was 16 percent higher than the end of 2016. The combination of immigration policies during this presidential administration doubled the time it takes to adjudicate employer-sponsored green cards, increased the citizenship application backlog 80 percent since 2014 (over 900,000 cases), and lengthened the time for approval of U-visas from five months to five years.<sup>185</sup>

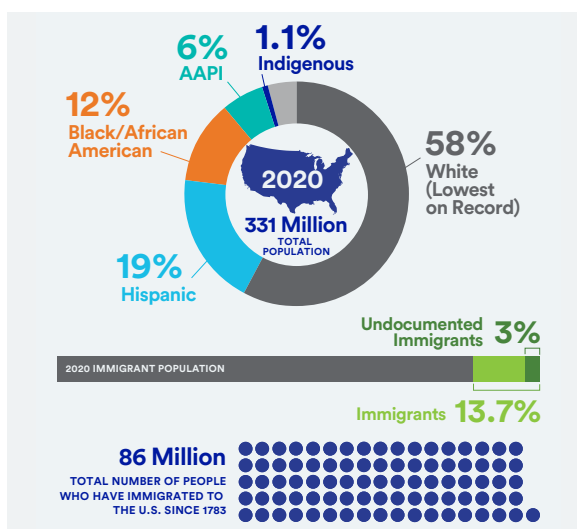


IMAGE DESCRIPTION: Infographic depicting the U.S. population distribution in 2020: 331 Million people total, 58% White, 19% Hispanic, 12% Black/African American, 6% Asian or Pacific Islander, 1.1% Indigenous/Native American or Alaskan Native, 13.7% immigrants, 3% undocumented immigrants, 86 million total number of people who have immigrated to the U.S. since 1783

# 2020

## 2020 Census Significantly Undercounted the Number of Non-Citizens in the United States

The total population was 331 million, an increase of just 7.4 percent since 2010, marking the slowest growth since the 1940 Census. Nearly 58 percent were white (the lowest on record), 12 percent were Black or African American, and "Hispanics" accounted for nearly 19 percent of the population. Native American or Alaskan Natives comprised 1.1 percent of the population. 6 percent were Asian or Pacific Islander. This marked

the first time the white population constituted less than 60 percent of the population since the 1790 Census, and population growth was driven primarily by growths in the Asian and Hispanic populations. Despite opposition in 2019 to a proposed citizenship question on the 2020 census questionnaire and a presidential order in 2020 for the Census Bureau to exclude undocumented immigrants that resulted in the Supreme Court blocking the citizenship question on the census, advocates believe that those policy proposals still had a chilling effect that deterred immigrants, Latinx, and others from participating in the 2020 census. A 2023 simulation from the U.S. Census Bureau suggests a significant undercount of non-citizens.<sup>186</sup>

**More than Half of Immigrants Were U.S. Citizens:** An estimated 44.9 million immigrants lived in the United States in 2019, or 13.7 percent of the overall population. More than half of these immigrants were naturalized U.S. citizens.<sup>187</sup>

**More than 86 Million People Have Immigrated to the United States Since 1783:** Over 86 million people had immigrated with authorization to the United States between 1783 and 2019.<sup>188</sup>

**The Undocumented Population Declined Between 2010 and 2020:** In 2019, 10.4 million undocumented immigrants resided in the United States, or 3 percent of the total U.S. population. This is a decline of 12 percent since 2010, with nearly 2 million residents of Mexican descent leaving and people from Central America and Asia increasing their rates of arrival during that period.<sup>189</sup>

**The Census Potentially Underestimated the Size of the Afro-Latinx Population:** Over 1.3 million people identified as both Black and Hispanic — a nearly 12 percent increase over the course of a decade — according to census data. Pew Research Center, however, estimated the number of Afro-Latinx adults to be closer to 6 million, or 12 percent of the adult Latinx population.<sup>190</sup>

**Four Million People Living in the Unincorporated Territories, All Territories Had Population Declines Between 2010 and 2020 with At Least One-Third Living in the 50 United States:** As of 2019, around four million people lived in the U.S. colonies (American Samoa, Guam, Northern Marianas, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands), equivalent to the combined populations of Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. All of the residents of U.S. territories have birthright U.S. citizenship, except for American Samoans who continue to be U.S. nationals. (As nationals, they cannot vote for president, run for office outside of American Samoa, hold certain jobs, or ascend to certain positions in the military. They can elect a nonvoting representative in the House.) As citizens in unincorporated territories, most people in Puerto Rico, for instance, do not pay federal income taxes but they pay Social Security, Medicare, import, export, and commodity taxes. They are ineligible for Supplemental Security Income or the Earned Income Tax Credit. While Puerto Rico receives 50 percent of the federal healthcare funding, Puerto Ricans pay the same Medicare tax rate. They have a non-voting delegate in the House of Representatives (similar to Washington, D.C.'s representation in Congress). They continue to have their

fundamental rights protected but not rights considered specific to Anglo-American jurisprudence per the Insular Cases. The American Civil Liberties Union, the New York State Bar Association, and others have lobbied Congress to reject the Insular Cases. American Samoans have challenged their unique status through litigation in cases such as *Tuaua v. United States* and *Fitisemanu v. United States*. The position of the government of American Samoa, meanwhile, has been that it opposes automatic citizenship, saying it would threaten their traditional cultural and religious practices. From 2010 to 2020, the population of the U.S. Virgin Islands declined by 18 percent, that of Northern Mariana Islands and Puerto Rico by 12 percent each, that of American Samoa by 11 percent, and that of Guam by four percent. Many territorial residents moved to the 50 states and Washington, D.C., with at least one-third now living in the Union. More people of Puerto Rican ancestry and Virgin Islanders live in the Union than on the island(s), concentrated in the Northeast and Florida. Guamanians and Samoans in the Union are concentrated along the West Coast.<sup>191</sup>

**U.S. Military Bases in Territories and Beyond:** In 2020, the U.S. had 800 military bases overseas, including in the territories of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands, and in more than 70 countries.<sup>192</sup>

**As Many as Nine Million U.S. Citizens Live Overseas, Thirty Thousand Wanted to Renounce Their Citizenship:** Of the 5-9 million U.S. citizens living overseas, 30,000 are seeking to renounce their citizenship but have not been able to begin the process because of pandemic-related closures of expatriation services at U.S. consular missions. The United States and Eritrea are the only two nations that tax people based on citizenship rather than where they live.<sup>193</sup>

## 2020

### The U.S. Government Excluded Undocumented Immigrants and U.S. Citizens Married to Undocumented Immigrants from a Federal Stimulus Package During the COVID-19 Pandemic

The CARES Act (Coronavirus Aid, Relief, and Economic Security) was a federal stimulus law that provided \$1,200 per adult earning up to \$75,000 and \$500 for each child. It specifically excluded undocumented immigrants and U.S. citizens married to undocumented immigrants. Several states, including California in partnership with Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees, launched the California Immigrant Resilience Fund and other programs to provide cash assistance to undocumented immigrants and mixed status families.<sup>194</sup>

# 2021

## The State of Texas Engaged in Racial Profiling Under the Rationale of Enforcing Criminal Trespass Laws

With a \$1.8 billion budget, Texas created an early framework of a state-based border patrol, Operation Lone Star, targeting Black and brown men, regardless of citizenship, and expanded this operation by using state criminal trespass laws against migrants and working with landowners to prosecute asylum seekers. In Starr County, law enforcement issued 1,060 percent more citations for having anything on the driver's car windshield between when the operation took effect in Spring 2021 and Fall 2021. Between March and October 2021, Texas law enforcement officers have arrested over 70,000 asylum seekers, including 7,700 migrants whom the National Guard helped detain.<sup>195</sup>

# 2022

## Judge Blocked Non-Citizens and Dreamers in New York City from Voting in Municipal Elections

While federal law barred non-citizens from voting in federal elections in 1996, 11 towns in Maryland, two towns in Vermont, and Oakland and San Francisco in California permitted non-citizens to vote in municipal elections. New York City allowed non-citizens to vote for mayor and other local positions in 2022 until a judge blocked the statute a few months later. Washington, D.C.'s City Council passed the D.C. Noncitizen Voting Act in 2022, but seven D.C. voters filed a suit to block implementation. Seven states, such as Ohio and Florida, prohibited non-citizen voting in local elections. In a review of 42 jurisdictions where nearly 24 million votes were cast in 2016, election officials found merely 30 cases of potential non-citizen voting in federal elections, or 0.000128 percent of all votes cast.<sup>196</sup>

# 2022

## Equal Protection and the Right to Self-Determination for Unincorporated Territories

The territorial leaders of American Samoa, Guam, Northern Mariana Islands, Puerto Rico, and the U.S. Virgin Islands called on Congress to take action to address the many inequities that the territories have faced under decades of U.S. colonial rule. At least ten civil rights groups called on House leadership to pass a resolution that condemns the Insular Cases and the doctrine of "territorial incorporation."<sup>197</sup>

# 2022

## Civil Rights of the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian American Communities and Advocacy Against Unjust Revocations of Citizenship

Several advocacy organizations submitted a statement to the Judiciary Subcommittee on the Constitution, Civil Rights, and Civil Liberties addressing government policies and practices that have subjected Black, African, Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian (BAMEMSA) communities to unjust policing, surveillance, and criminalization under the guise of national security and counterterrorism. In particular, they highlighted denaturalizations and their effects on family members, as well as passport denials and revocations.<sup>198</sup>



IMAGE DESCRIPTION: A group of Asian Americans protest Bill 147 in Texas. Image depicts a group of Asian Americans outside a government building protesting with handwritten placards. Photo by Jason Leung / Unsplash.

# 2023

## Asian Americans Successfully Opposed a Texas Bill that Echoed the Alien Land Laws of the 19th Century Which Barred Asians from Owning Land

Asian American activists organized a successful opposition to Texas Senate Bill 147, which would have banned all property ownership by citizens of China, Iran, North Korea, and Russia and made no exceptions for dual citizens or visa holders. The proposed law, which died in the Texas House of Representatives, is similar to the Alien Land Laws that several states passed between the 1880s and 1920s that barred Asian people from owning land until the Supreme Court ruled that California's law violated the 14th Amendment in 1952.<sup>199</sup>

# 2023

## Immigrants Advocate for The Registry Program to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 2015 and Lack an Admission Record

Given Congress' inability to pass meaningful pathways for undocumented immigrants living in the United States, a number of advocacy groups have promoted a legislative fix that would involve

updating the Registry Act of 1929, which has not had a cutoff entry date updated since 1986. The bill, Renewing Immigration Provisions of the Immigration Act of 1929, was introduced to update the cutoff date of entry to 2015, enabling eight million immigrants to apply to adjust their status to lawful permanent residency through the registry. Beneficiaries of the bill would include Dreamers, Temporary Protected Status holders, and many others currently living in the United States without authorization.<sup>200</sup>

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This lists other criteria for citizenship, which remain part of modern American law.

## <sup>4</sup> Congress Lengthened Residency Requirement to Qualify for Citizenship to 14 Years Briefly (1798)

Migration Policy Institute. (2013, March). *Timeline: Major US immigration laws, 1790 – Present*.  
<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/CIR-1790Timeline.pdf>

Ewing, W. A. (2012, January). *Opportunity and exclusion: A brief history of U.S. Immigration Policy*. Immigration Policy Center. [https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/opportunity\\_exclusion\\_011312.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/opportunity_exclusion_011312.pdf)

Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *The Alien and Seditions Act*. PBS.  
<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/adams-alien-and-seditions-act/>

But see Glass, A. (2009, June 18). *Adams signs Naturalization Act: June 18, 1798*. Politico. <https://www.politico.com/story/2009/06/adams-signs-naturalization-act-june-18-1798-023850>

The U.S. government never enforced the law in practice.

#### <sup>5</sup> Irish Immigrants Spoke Out against Alien and Sedition Acts (1798)

Pani, E. (2008). Saving the Nation through Exclusion: Alien Laws in the Early Republic in the United States and Mexico. *The Americas*, 65(2), 217–246. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25488106>

Library of Congress. (1798). *The plea of Erin. or, The case of the natives of Ireland in the United States, fairly displayed in the fraternal address of the first congress, in the year; and in the respectful memorial of the republican Irish, who had, consequently, sought “an asylum” in America, addressed by them to the congress of the year 1798* [PDF]. <https://www.loc.gov/item/rbpe.14901200/>  
This includes the direct quote from Irish immigrants.

#### <sup>6</sup> States Began Passing “Black Laws” to Discourage the Migration of Free Black People (1804)

Harper, D. (n.d.). *Exclusion of free Blacks*. Slavery in the North. <http://slavenorth.com/exclusion.htm>.

Smith, V. C. (n.d.). *American anti-slavery and civil rights timeline*. UShistory.org. <https://www.ushistory.org/more/timeline.htm>

See also Harper, D. (n.d.). *Exclusion of free Blacks*. Slavery in the North. <http://slavenorth.com/exclusion.htm>  
This lists exclusion laws in other states.

Inskeep, S. (2021, August 4). ‘Until justice be done’ examines northern free states’ so-called Black laws [Transcript of author interview]. *Georgia Public Broadcasting*. <https://www.gpb.org/news/2021/08/04/until-justice-be-done-examines-northern-free-states-so-called-black-laws>

#### <sup>7</sup> U.S. Government Asserted Its Ability to Naturalize Immigrants (1812-15)

National Portrait Gallery. (n.d.). *1812: A nation emerges: Causes of war*. Smithsonian. <https://npg.si.edu/exhibit/1812/causes.html#:~:text=The%20United%20States%20had%20many,America%3B%20and%20upholding%20the%20nation's>

Salter, L. E. (2019, March 21). *The Irish-American social club whose exploits in their homeland sparked a new understanding of citizenship*. Zócalo Public Square. <https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2019/03/21/irish-american-social-club-whose-exploits-homeland-sparked-new-understanding-citizenship/ideas/essay/>

Bessette J. (2005, December 1). *Congress and the Naturalization of Immigrants*. The Heritage Foundation. <https://www.heritage.org/report/congress-and-the-naturalization-immigrants>

#### <sup>8</sup> In Search of Equal Treatment, Delegation of Free African Americans Emigrated to Sierra Leone (1815)

See Jennings, J. (2018, September 12). The tragic history of African slaves and Indians. *Indian Country Today*. <https://indiancountrytoday.com/archive/the-tragic-history-of-african-slaves-and-indians>.

See also Katz, W. (2015, April 17). *African America’s first protest meeting: Black Philadelphians reject the American Colonization Society plans for their resettlement*. BlackPast.org. <https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/african-america-s-first-protest-meeting-black-philadelphians-reject-american-colonizati/>  
This describes Cuffee’s initial visit to Sierra Leone in 1811.

Gates, Jr., H. L. (n.d.). *Who led the first back-to-Africa effort?* PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/who-led-the-1st-back-to-africa-effort/>

Guyatt, N. (2016, December 22). *The American Colonization Society: 200 Years of the “colonizing trick.”* African American Intellectual History Society. <https://www.aaihs.org/the-american-colonization-society-200-years-of-the-colonizing-trick/>

Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.). *Colonization and emigration*. <https://coloredconventions.org/ohio-organizing/colonization-and-emigration/>

Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *Africans in America narrative: Colonization*. PBS. [https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3narr4\\_txt.html](https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part3/3narr4_txt.html)

See also Founders Online. (n.d.). *From Thomas Jefferson to Rufus King, 13 July 1802* [text of original letter]. National Archives. <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-38-02-0052>  
Thomas Jefferson inquired with American Minister to Great Britain, Rufus King, about setting up a colony in Sierra Leone in 1802, but that idea was rejected.

See also Museum of the American Revolution. *Big idea 3: African American freedom and community, 1780-1813*. <https://www.amrevmuseum.org/big-idea-3-african-american-freedom-and-community-1780-1813>  
While the Massachusetts legislature denied Cuffee’s petition to have the right to vote in 1780, his petition may have influenced the state constitution, which granted equal rights to all male citizens later that year.

Grinde Jr., D. (2007, January 18). *Paul Cuffe Sr. (1759-1817)*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/cuffe-paul-sr-1759-1817/>

<sup>9</sup> **American Colonization Society Aimed to Send Only Free African Americans to West Africa (1816)**

Katz, W. (n.d.). *Jan. 15, 1817: The vote on colonization of free Blacks in West Africa*. Zinn Education Project.

<https://www.zinnproject.org/news/tdih/the-vote-on-colonization-free-blacks-africa/>

Katz, W. (2015, April 17). *African America's first protest meeting: Black Philadelphians reject the American Colonization Society plans for their resettlement*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/african-america-s-first-protest-meeting-black-philadelphians-reject-american-colonizati/>

Han, Y. (2022, August 8). In the 1800s, the American Colonization Society relocated thousands of freed Black Americans to West Africa. It led to the creation of Liberia. *Insider*. <https://www.insider.com/american-colonization-society-resettlement-black-african-history-liberia-segregation-2022-8>

In the 1800s, the American Colonization Society relocated thousands of freed Black Americans to Cape Montserrado in West Africa. Cape Montserrado was later renamed Liberia, and its capital was renamed Monrovia in honor of James Monroe, an ardent supporter of ACS.

<sup>10</sup> **Haiti Encouraged Immigration of Free African Americans and Offered Haitian Citizenship (1816)**

Fouron, G. E. (2020, August 19). *Haiti's painful evolution from promised land to migrant-sending nation*. Migration

Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/haiti-painful-evolution-promised-land-migrant-sending-nation>

This quotes Haiti's 1816 constitution.

Ruiz, J. G. (2021, October 6). Haiti is a source of refugees today, but it was once a haven for them. *The Washington*

*Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/10/06/haiti-refugee-haven/>

<sup>11</sup> **First Mass Black Protest Meeting Rejected American Colonization Society's Plan to Resettle Free African Americans in West Africa (1817)**

Katz, W. (2015, April 17). *African America's first protest meeting: Black Philadelphians reject the American Colonization Society plans for their resettlement*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/african-america-s-first-protest-meeting-black-philadelphians-reject-american-colonizati/>

In a second gathering later that year, James Forten and the Black leaders who had previously supported ACS's proposal had shifted their position to oppose colonization.

Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church was also known as Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal.

See also National Humanities Center Resource Toolbox. *Emigration & colonization: The debate among African Americans, 1780s-1860s*. National Humanities Center. <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai/identity/text10/emigrationcolonization.pdf>

Excerpts from documents demonstrating the debate among African Americans on the issue of emigration and colonization.

Katz, W. (n.d.). *Jan. 15, 1817: The vote on colonization of free Blacks in West Africa*. Zinn Education Project.

<https://www.zinnproject.org/news/tdih/the-vote-on-colonization-free-blacks-africa/>

<sup>12</sup> **American Colonization Society Resettled Free African Americans in Modern-Day Liberia, Most Free African Black People Instead Declared that They were U.S. Citizens by Birth and Should Not Resettle Elsewhere (1820s-50s)**

Thirteen/WNET New York. (2004). Time and place [Timeline]. *Slavery and the making of America*.

<https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/timeline/1803.html>

Lewis, D. (2014, October 08). *Monrovia, Liberia (1822- )*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/places-global-african-history/monrovia-liberia-1821/>

Monrovia was originally known as Christopolis. Cape Montserrado was also known as Cape Mesurado.

Price, N. (2022, January 7). *Bicentennial of the arrival of the first free Black Americans to Providence Island, Liberia*

[press release]. U.S. Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/bicentennial-of-the-arrival-of-the-first-free-black-americans-to-providence-island-liberia/>

Robinson, M. (n.d.). *The American Colonization Society*. The White House Historical Association.

<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-american-colonization-society>

This lists Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Lincoln as all supporters of colonization and ACS.

Hannah-Jones, N. & The New York Times Magazine. (2021). *The 1619 Project: A New Origin Story* (Roper, C., Silverman, I., & Silverstein, J.). One World.

Every Northern state legislature had passed resolutions endorsing colonization by 1832.

Brenton, F. (2008, December 30). *American Colonization Society (1816-1964)*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/american-colonization-society-1816-1964/>

Thirteen/WNET New York. (2004). Time and place [Timeline]. *Slavery and the making of America*.

<https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/timeline/1803.html>

See also Magness, P. W. (n.d.). *Lincoln and colonization*. Essential Civil War Curriculum. <https://www.essentialcivilwarcurriculum.com/lincoln-and-colonization.html>

Lincoln became a member in 1856.

Lewis, D. (2014, October 08). *Monrovia, Liberia (1822- )*. BlackPast.org. <https://www.blackpast.org/global-african-history/places-global-african-history/monrovia-liberia-1821/>

Hollander, C. (n.d.). Princeton and the colonization movement. Princeton & Slavery. <https://slavery.princeton.edu/stories/princeton-and-the-colonization-movement>

See also Public Broadcasting Service. *The lone star: The story of Liberia*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/globalconnections/liberia/essays/history/>

This describes how Liberia's economy worsened after the ACS withdrew its support, and the Liberian government went bankrupt in 1909 forcing it to borrow further from the United States.

See also Han, Y. (2022, August 8). *In the 1800s, the American Colonization Society relocated thousands of freed*

*Black Americans to West Africa. It led to the creation of Liberia*. Insider. <https://www.insider.com/american-colonization-society-resettlement-black-african-history-liberia-segregation-2022-8>

This details the growing tensions between the African American colonists and Indigenous Liberians, with the former wielding more socioeconomic and political power over the latter, eventually led to the Liberian Civil War in 1989.

Robinson, M. (n.d.). *The American Colonization Society*. The White House Historical Association.

<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/the-american-colonization-society>

### <sup>13</sup> Missouri Passed Black Laws to Exclude or Restrict Free African Americans from Migrating to the State (1821)

History.com Editors. (2023, June 27). *Missouri Compromise*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/slavery/missouri-compromise>

Kinder Institute on Constitutional Democracy. (n.d.). *Recap: "The Missouri Compromise, Black Americans, and the*

*Question of State Citizenship in the Antebellum United States," colloquium w/ Northwestern prof. Kate Masur*. <https://democracy.missouri.edu/news/recap-the-missouri-compromise-black-americans-and-the-question-of-state-citizenship-in-the-antebellum-united-states-colloquium-w-northwestern-prof-kate-masur/#:~:text=In%20spite%20of%20the%20congressional,African%20Americans%20into%20the%20state>

No federal court ever ruled on whether state laws banning or discouraging the migration of free African Americans into states violated the privileges and immunities clause.

Eddleman, B. (2021, March 4). *Missouri bicentennial minutes: Second Missouri Compromise*. KRCU Public Radio.

<https://www.krcu.org/education/2021-03-04/missouri-bicentennial-minutes-second-missouri-compromise>

This quotes the "solemn public act."

New World Encyclopedia. (n.d.) Missouri Compromise. In *NewWorldEncyclopedia.com*. Retrieved August 17, 2023,

from [https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Missouri\\_Compromise](https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Missouri_Compromise)

### <sup>14</sup> Ohio's Black Laws Escalated Until Pushback Resulted in Partial Repeal (1829)

Thirteen/WNET New York. (2004). Time and place [Timeline]. *Slavery and the making of America*.

<https://www.thirteen.org/wnet/slavery/timeline/1803.html>

Ohio History Connection. (n.d.). *Black laws of 1807*. Ohio History Central.

[https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black\\_Laws\\_of\\_1807](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black_Laws_of_1807).

See Lodge, D. (1998, June). *Ohio as a non-slave state*. Shelby County Historical Society.

<https://www.shelbycountyhistory.org/schs/blackhistory/ohioasanonslave.htm>

Ohio barred Black people from serving on juries and testifying against white people in court cases and barred Black people from settling in the state without a certificate of freedom. Black people already living there had to register and pay a registration fee. White people were barred from employing Black people unless the latter had a certificate of freedom. In 1807, Ohio required Black people coming to the state to post a \$500 bond (more than \$13,000 in 2023 currency according to inflation calculator officialdata.org).

See also Ohio History Connection. (n.d.). *Black laws of 1807*. Ohio History Central.

[https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black\\_Laws\\_of\\_1807](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black_Laws_of_1807)

See also Ohio History Connection. (n.d.). *African Americans*. Ohio History Central. [https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/African\\_Americans](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/African_Americans)

Ohio partially repealed its Black laws in 1849.

See also Harper, D. (n.d.). *Exclusion of free Blacks*. Slavery in the North. <http://slavenorth.com/exclusion.htm>

Jones, M. S. (2018, July 9). *Citizens: 150 years of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment*. Public Books.

<https://www.publicbooks.org/citizens-150-years-of-the-14th-amendment/>

Office of the Illinois Secretary of State. (n.d.). *First Black Law (1819)*. Ilsos.gov.

[https://www.ilsos.gov/departments/archives/online\\_exhibits/100\\_documents/1819-first-black-law.html](https://www.ilsos.gov/departments/archives/online_exhibits/100_documents/1819-first-black-law.html)

Dalleo, P. T. (1997, June 27). *The Growth of Delaware's Antebellum Free African American Community*. University of Delaware. <https://www1.udel.edu/BlackHistory/antebellum.html>

1831-1884: *Abolition and emancipation*. (n.d.). Baltimore's Civil Rights Heritage. <https://baltimoreheritage.github.io/civil-rights-heritage/1831-1884/>

Hannah-Jones, N. & The New York Times Magazine. (2021). *The 1619 Project: A New Origin Story* (Roper, C., Silverman, I., & Silverstein, J.). One World.

See also Bridges, R. D. (n.d.). *The Illinois Black Codes*. Northern Illinois University Libraries. <https://www.lib.niu.edu/1996/ih329602.html>

See also Everingham, K. E. (n.d.). *African Americans in Illinois*. Illinois Department of Natural Resources. <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Research/Pages/AfAmHist.aspx>

See also Masur, K. (2021, April 6). *Op-ed: Lessons from the civil rights struggle that began before the Civil War*. Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/opinion/story/2021-04-06/civil-rights-1866-act-black-laws-northern-states>  
Indiana also had black laws to discourage African American migration.

See also Middleton, S. (1993) *The Black Laws in the old Northwest: A documentary history*. Bloomsbury  
Michigan also adopted Black laws.

See also National Park Service. *Connecticut Abolitionists*. (n.d.). <https://www.nps.gov/articles/connecticut-abolitionists.htm>

In response to Prudence Crandall opening a school for Black girls in 1833, Connecticut's 1834 Black Law restricted African Americans from coming into the state to get an education and forbade anyone from opening a school to educate African Americans from outside the state without permission.

Chin, G. J. & Finkelman, P. (2021, April 8). Birthright Citizenship, Slave Trade Legislation, and the Origins of Federal Immigration Regulation. *UC Davis Law Review*, 54, 2215-2265. [https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/54/4/articles/files/54-4\\_Chin\\_Finkelman.pdf](https://lawreview.law.ucdavis.edu/issues/54/4/articles/files/54-4_Chin_Finkelman.pdf)

See also Harper, D. (n.d.). *Exclusion of free Blacks*. Slavery in the North. <http://slavenorth.com/exclusion.htm>

Perl-Rosenthal, N. (2020, June 2). *The lottery: The two faces of birthright citizenship*. The Nation. [https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/opportunity\\_exclusion\\_011312.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/opportunity_exclusion_011312.pdf)

#### <sup>15</sup> The Indian Removal Act Denied U.S. Citizenship to Indigenous Americans and Forcibly Relocated Five Indigenous Nations (1830)

Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *Africans in America narrative: Indian removal*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2959.html>

Eshet, D. (2020, December). *Teaching American Indian history with primary sources*. National Park Service. <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/teachingwithhistoricplaces/upload/Teaching-American-Indian-History-with-Primary-Sources-Compliant-1-2.pdf>.

See also Hirst, K. K. (2020, November 18). *How Black Seminoles found freedom from enslavement in Florida*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/black-seminoles-4154463>

Hirst writes, "Seminole in Florida were a new tribe that formed, comprised mostly of Muskogee or Creek people, who fled the decimation of their own tribes by disease and violence."

Pauls, E. P. (2023, August 18). Trail of Tears. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 23, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Trail-of-Tears>

James, D. (2021, February 20). 5 THINGS TO KNOW: Who are the freedmen?. *McAlester News-Capital*. [https://www.mcalesternews.com/news/5-things-to-know-who-are-the-freedmen/article\\_691744dc-730d-11eb-ab03-7f88c12c7349.html](https://www.mcalesternews.com/news/5-things-to-know-who-are-the-freedmen/article_691744dc-730d-11eb-ab03-7f88c12c7349.html).

Roberts, A. E. (2018, December 27). How Native Americans adopted slavery from white settlers. *Al Jazeera*. <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2018/12/27/how-native-americans-adopted-slavery-from-white-settlers>

Roberts describes how the Five Tribes began enslaving Black people in the late 1700s.

See also Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Native Americans and slavery. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved August 17, 2023, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/applied-and-social-sciences-magazines/native-americans-and-slavery>

See also Garrison, T. A., & Haefeli, E. (2006, December 01). Native Americans and African Americans. *Oxford African American Studies Center*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780195301731.013.44914>  
By 1860, African Americans comprised 18 percent of the population of the Five Tribes.

Blakemore, E. (2020, August 25). *Sequoya, the U.S. state that almost existed*. National Geographic. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/sequoyah-american-state-almost-existed>

Native Americans in Philanthropy. (n.d.). *First Oklahoma land rush*. <https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/events/first-oklahoma-land-rush/>  
This provides the quote, "for as long as grass grows and water runs."

This Day in History. (n.d.). *1893: Settlers race to claim land in Oklahoma*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/settlers-race-to-claim-land>

National Public Radio. The men on the roof [Interview transcript]. NPR, *White Lies*.  
<https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1149875059>

<sup>16</sup> **Free African Americans Started Formally Assembling to Discuss Strategies on Advocating for Their Sociopolitical Rights as Citizens of the United States (1835)**

Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.). *Conventions by year*.  
<https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/convention-by-year>

Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.) *Constitution of the American Society of Free Persons of Colour, for improving their condition in the United States; for purchasing lands; and for the establishment of a settlement in upper Canada, also, the proceedings of the convention with their address to free persons of colour in the United States*. <https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/70>

Holness, L. (n.d.). *National Negro Convention Movement*. The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia.  
<https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/essays/national-negro-convention-movement/>

Perl-Rosenthal, N. (2020, June 2). *The lottery: The two faces of birthright citizenship*. The Nation.  
[https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/opportunity\\_exclusion\\_011312.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/opportunity_exclusion_011312.pdf)  
Free African American leaders in Baltimore in 1831 declared that the United States was the “land in which [they] were born” and it was their “true and appropriate home.”

See also Garrison, W. L. (2010). *Thoughts on African Colonization* [eBook edition.] Gutenberg. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/31178/31178-h/31178-h.htm>.

Jones, M. S. (2018, July 9). How the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment’s promise of birthright citizenship redefined America. *Time*.  
<https://time.com/5324440/14th-amendment-meaning-150-anniversary/>

Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.) *Minutes of the fifth annual convention for the improvement of the free people of colour in the United States; Held by adjournments, in the Wesley Church, Philadelphia; from the first to the fifth of June, inclusive; 1835*.  
<https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/277>  
This quotes the 1835 national convention.

Jones, M. S. (2018, July 9). *Citizens: 150 years of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment*. Public Books.  
<https://www.publicbooks.org/citizens-150-years-of-the-14th-amendment/>

Smith, C. (2009, December 18). *National Equal Rights League (1864-1921)*. BlackPast.org.  
<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/national-equal-rights-league-1864-1915/>

<sup>17</sup> **Free African Americans in Ohio Petitioned the State to Revoke its Black Laws (1837)**

Blackpast.org. (2010, December 06). (1804) Ohio Black Codes. BlackPast.org.  
<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/1804-ohio-black-codes/>

Ohio History Connection. (n.d.). *Black laws of 1807*. Ohio History Central.  
[https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black\\_Laws\\_of\\_1807](https://ohiohistorycentral.org/w/Black_Laws_of_1807)

Zinn Education Project. Oct. 17, 1837: *Petition to repeal Black codes in Ohio*.  
<https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tidih/petition-to-repeal-black-codes-in-ohio/>

<sup>18</sup> **Free African Americans in Kansas Declared that the White Majority Abused Their Power in Depriving African Americans the Rights of Citizenship (1863)**

Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.) *Proceedings of the Colored Convention of the State of Kansas, Held at Leavenworth, October 13th, 14th, 15<sup>th</sup>, and 16<sup>th</sup>, 1863*. <https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/270>

<sup>19</sup> **Legal Treatise on *The Rights of Colored Men to Suffrage, Citizenship, and Trial by Jury* (1838)**

National Constitution Center. *The rights of colored men (1838)* [historic document summary].  
<https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/historic-document-library/detail/william-yates-the-rights-of-colored-men-1838>  
This quotes Yates directly.

See also Jones, M. S. (2018, July 2). *A definition of citizenship: The story of two writers named William Yates*. Lapham’s Quarterly.  
<https://www.laphamsquarterly.org/roundtable/definition-citizenship>

See also Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.). Proceedings of the first state convention of the state of California. Held at Sacramento Nov. 20<sup>th</sup> 21<sup>st</sup>, and 22d, in the colored Methodist Church [sic]. <https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/items/show/265>  
William Yates was a white abolitionist from upstate New York, whereas William H. Yates was the president of the First State Convention of Colored Citizens of the State of California in 1855.

Jones, M. S. (2018). *Birthright citizens: A history of race and rights in antebellum America* (1-15). Cambridge University Press.  
This work also states that Yates argued that the mistreatment of free African Americans was a companion to slavery, and his abolition work led to questions about the status of free African Americans.

<sup>20</sup> **Local Courts Provided Expedited and Free Naturalizations of Germans and Irish Immigrants (1840s)**

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). *Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States*.  
<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Young, P. (2018, February 16). *Breaking the naturalization color bar in 1870, but only for some immigrants*. Long Island Wins. <https://longislandwins.com/es/columns/immigrants-civil-war/breaking-naturalization-color-bar-1870-immigrants/>

National Public Radio. (2008, April 3). *In honor of Tweed, the soul of modern New York* [Transcript]. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=89333730>  
“Boss” Tweed arranged for as many as 40K immigrants to be naturalized two or three weeks before election day in the 1860s.

See also McNamara, R. (2019, July 3). *Thomas Nast’s campaign against Boss Tweed*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/thomas-nasts-campaign-against-boss-tweed-4039578>  
This indicates that the 1868 election year was “highly suspect,” leading to a House investigation.

See also On This Day. (n.d.). *Making an example of two naughty boys*. The New York Times Learning Network.  
<https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/learning/general/onthisday/harp/0525.html>  
This alludes to the rate of naturalizations in 1866.

See also Bloemraad, I. (2006, December). Citizenship lessons from the past: The contours of immigrant naturalization in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Social Science Quarterly* 87(5), 927-953. [https://sociology.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/faculty/bloemraad/Bloemraad\\_SSQ\\_Historic\\_Natz\\_2006.pdf](https://sociology.berkeley.edu/sites/default/files/faculty/bloemraad/Bloemraad_SSQ_Historic_Natz_2006.pdf)

See also National Public Radio (2014, March 5). *The case for Tammany Hall being on the right side of history* [Transcript]. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2014/03/05/286218423/the-case-for-tammany-hall-being-on-the-right-side-of-history>  
Detailing how New York City’s Tammany Hall had a “Naturalization Bureau” that paid court fees and fraudulently claimed that newly-arrived immigrants had been present in the United States for the requisite five years in order to naturalize them in exchange for their vote on Election Day.

But see also Golway, T. (2014, January 17). The forgotten virtues of Tammany Hall. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2014/01/18/opinion/the-forgotten-virtues-of-tammany-hall.html>  
Tammany Hall provided social services to primarily Irish, Southern Italian, and Russian Jewish immigrants when New York City and the state government did not. Services included finding employment; providing defense counsel; and advocating for workers’ compensation, minimum wage, a federal income tax, public pensions, and more government regulation of the workplace and private property.

See also Britannica. (2022, September 19). Political machine. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.),  
*Britannica*. Retrieved August 18, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/political-machine>

## <sup>21</sup> States in the West Tried to Attract New Residents, Including Non-Citizens, by Granting Voting Rights (1840s)

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Alien suffrage. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved August 17, 2023, from  
<https://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/alien-suffrage>.

See, e.g., Gunter, R. M. (2021, December 29). You didn’t always have to be a citizen to vote in America. *Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/12/29/you-didnt-always-have-be-citizen-vote-america/>  
Wisconsin allowed declarant immigrants to vote in 1848; Michigan and Indiana subsequently permitted non-citizens to vote; and Kansas, Minnesota, and Oregon provided for non-citizens to vote in the 1850s.

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *History of the Declaration of Intention*.  
<https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/history-office-and-library/featured-stories-from-the-uscis-history-office-and-library/history-of-the-declaration-of-intention-1795-1956>

Misra, T. (2016, November 7). The long, strange history of non-citizen voting. *Bloomberg*.  
<https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2016-11-07/the-curious-history-of-non-citizen-voting>

## <sup>22</sup> Oregon Became the First and Only Free State to Enter the Union with a Black Exclusion Clause in its Constitution (1843)

Nokes, G. (n.d.). *Black exclusion laws in Oregon*. Oregon Encyclopedia.  
[https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/exclusion\\_laws/](https://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/articles/exclusion_laws/)  
Detailing how the small white population in 1843 effectively legalized slavery in Oregon for three years and, once a Black person was liberated from slavery, they could not stay in Oregon.  
This quotes “intermix with Indians, instilling into their minds feelings of hostility toward the white race.”

Strochlic, N. (2021, March 8). *Oregon once legally banned Black people. Has the state reconciled its racist past?*. National Geographic. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/oregon-once-legally-barred-black-people-has-the-state-reconciled-its-racist-past?loggedin=true>

Oregon Secretary of State. (n.d.). *Black in Oregon 1840-1870: National and Oregon chronology of events*.  
<https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/context/chronology.aspx>

Blakemore, E. (2023, May 8). *California once tried to ban Black people*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/news/california-once-tried-to-ban-black-people>  
Oregon’s exclusionary laws inspired Californians who debated the issue of whether to exclude Black people from California throughout the 1840s and 1850s, and the issue only abated when Californians started to worry about the immigration of Chinese laborers instead.

Oregon Secretary of State. (n.d.). *Black in Oregon 1840-1870: Later Developments*.

<https://sos.oregon.gov/archives/exhibits/black-history/Pages/context/chronology.aspx>

Oregon removed racist language from its constitution in 2002.

See also Americans All. (n.d.). *Jim Crow Laws: Oregon and Pennsylvania*.

<https://americansall.org/legacy-story-group/jim-crow-laws-oregon-and-pennsylvania>

<sup>23</sup> **Approximately 100,000 Mexicans Became U.S. Citizens (1848)**

NCC Staff. (2023, February 2). *On this day, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo is signed*. National Constitution Center.

<https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-the-treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo-is-signed>

Mintz, S. & McNeil, S. (2018). *The Mexican War*. Digital History. Retrieved August 17, 2023, from

[https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp\\_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3264](https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtID=2&psid=3264)

Smithsonian American Art Museum. (n.d.) *The Gold Rush and westward expansion*.

<https://americanexperience.si.edu/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/The-Gold-Rush-and-Westward-Expansion.pdf>

This provides a map of the Mexican Cession and the Texas Annexation.

Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *The Mexican American War*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/grant-mexican-american-war/>

OpenStaxCollege. (n.d.). *The Mexican-American War, 1846-1848*. University of Hawaii Pressbooks.

<https://pressbooks-dev.oer.hawaii.edu/ushistory/chapter/the-mexican-american-war-1846-1848/>

<sup>24</sup> **The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Gadsden Purchase Divided Indigenous Nations and Did Not Offer Indigenous People Residing Along the U.S.-Mexico Border Dual U.S.-Mexican Citizenship**

Leza, C. (2019, March 19). For Native Americans, US-Mexico border is an 'imaginary line'. *The Conversation*.

<https://theconversation.com/for-native-americans-us-mexico-border-is-an-imaginary-line-111043>.

See also Schneider, Benjamin. (2021, February 4). It happened here: A history of slavery in California. *SF Weekly*. <https://www.sfweekly.com/news/it-happened-here-a-history-of-slavery-in-california/>

The Indigenous population in modern-day Los Angeles declined from 3,700 in 1850 to 219 in 1870.

Arrizón, A. (2018, June 25). Border and *la frontera* in the US–Mexico Borderlands. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Literature*.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190201098.013.397>

U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Canada. (n.d.) *First Nations and Native Americans*.

<https://ca.usembassy.gov/visas/first-nations-and-native-americans/>

The 1794 Jay Treaty between the United States and Great Britain provided that Indigenous individuals born in Canada could travel freely between the United States and Canada.

<sup>25</sup> **Mexicans Became U.S. Citizens Unless They Declared They Wanted to Remain Mexican Citizens**

Khan Academy. (n.d.). *Chinese Immigrants and Mexican Americans in the age of westward expansion*.

<https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/us-history/the-gilded-age/american-west/a/apush-chinese-immigrants-and-mexican-americans-westward-expansion>

Glass, A. (2019, February 2). *U.S. and Mexico sign Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Feb. 2, 1848*. Politico.

<https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/02/us-mexico-treaty-of-guadalupe-hidalgo-1137572>

Rios, K., Riegle, A., & Yang, A. (2020, September 30). Mexican Americans seek atonement for ancestral lands that

were taken over generations. *ABC News*. <https://abcnews.go.com/US/mexican-americans-seek-atonement-ancestral-lands-generations/story?id=73320792>

Gutiérrez, R. (2019, July 29). Mexican Immigration to the United States. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.013.146>

Estimates suggest that about 31,000 individuals moved to Mexico.

<sup>26</sup> **One Hundred Thousand Spanish-Speaking Residents Became U.S. Citizens**

Gregory, James. (n.d.). *Latinx great migrations – history and geography*. University of Washington.

[https://depts.washington.edu/moving1/latinx\\_migration.shtml](https://depts.washington.edu/moving1/latinx_migration.shtml)

See McNamara, R. (2020, January 9). *The Adams-Onís Treaty*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/definition-of-adams-onis-treaty-1773309>

In 1819, the Adams-Onís Treaty led the United States to give up its claims to Texas, Spain gave up its claims to land in the Pacific Northwest, and the United States acquired present-day Florida.

<sup>27</sup> **Seneca Falls Convention Ignited the Movement for Women’s Sociopolitical Rights in the United States (1848)**

History.com Editors. (2022, March 9). *Seneca Falls Convention*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/womens-history/seneca-falls-convention>

<sup>28</sup> **Martin Delany Declared African Americans Are U.S. Citizens in *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States, Politically Considered* (1852)**

Jones, M. S. (2018, July 9). *Citizens: 150 years of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment*. Public Books.  
<https://www.publicbooks.org/citizens-150-years-of-the-14th-amendment/>  
This quotes Martin Delany.

Butler, G. (2007, March 03). *Martin Robison Delany (1812-1885)*. BlackPast.org.  
<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/delany-major-martin-robison-1812-1885/>

<sup>29</sup> **Frederick Douglass Declared that Black People are American Citizens (1853)**

Sandefur, T. (2022, February 18). Frederick Douglass, a former slave, extolled the virtues of American citizenship.  
*Goldwater Institute*. <https://www.goldwaterinstitute.org/frederick-douglass-a-former-slave-extolled-the-virtues-of-american-citizenship/>

Douglass, F. (2000). *Frederick Douglass: Selected speeches and writings* (Foner, P. S. & Taylor Y., Eds.). Chicago  
Review Press. Retrieved August 18, 2023, from  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=nOt7au3N8FUC&newbks=1&newbks\\_redir=0&lpg=PA264&dq=frederick%20douglass%20%22we%20are%20citizens%22&pg=PA264#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=nOt7au3N8FUC&newbks=1&newbks_redir=0&lpg=PA264&dq=frederick%20douglass%20%22we%20are%20citizens%22&pg=PA264#v=onepage&q&f=false)  
This lists Douglass's 1853 quote.

See also Facing History & Ourselves. (n.d.) *Quotes about the Fourteenth Amendment*.  
[https://www.facinghistory.org/sites/default/files/202207/Quotes\\_about\\_the\\_Fourteenth\\_Amendment.pdf](https://www.facinghistory.org/sites/default/files/202207/Quotes_about_the_Fourteenth_Amendment.pdf)

Douglass, F. (2018). *Frederick Douglass ultimate collection: Complete autobiographies, speeches & letters*.  
Musaicum Books. Retrieved August 18, 2023, from  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=9w9kDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT1515&lpg=PT1515&dq=frederick+douglass+citizen+%22by+the+facts+of+history%22&source=bl&ots=VTzbjCuXLD&sig=ACfU3U38ptkgtoF9x594HYkuEJzzCqxNA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwid1d\\_S0NeAAxXfVkfHZyYyBJA4FBD0AxoECAQQAaw#v=onepage&q=frederick%20douglass%20citizen%20%22by%20the%20facts%20of%20history%22&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=9w9kDwAAQBAJ&pg=PT1515&lpg=PT1515&dq=frederick+douglass+citizen+%22by+the+facts+of+history%22&source=bl&ots=VTzbjCuXLD&sig=ACfU3U38ptkgtoF9x594HYkuEJzzCqxNA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwid1d_S0NeAAxXfVkfHZyYyBJA4FBD0AxoECAQQAaw#v=onepage&q=frederick%20douglass%20citizen%20%22by%20the%20facts%20of%20history%22&f=false)

Douglass, F. (1894, January 9). *Lessons of the Hour* [speech transcript excerpt]. Teaching American History.  
<https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/lessons-of-the-hour-excerpt/>  
This lists Douglass's 1894 quote.

See also Douglass, F. (2022). *Life and Times of Frederick Douglass: Written by Himself* (Bernier, C. & Taylor, A., Eds.). Oxford University Press. Retrieved August 18, 2023, from  
<https://books.google.com/books?id=uxx4EAAAQBAJ&pg=PA541&lpg=PA541&dq=frederick+douglass+%22stranger+and+sojourner+in+the+land+of+his+birth%22&source=bl&ots=GexFRfuWwc&sig=ACfU3U1FI8EyxQ7POJT94C8vKfAMmrHggw&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwiR7MfN0deAAxXfFkFHaS6DusQ6AF6BAgrEAM#v=onepage&q=frederick%20douglass%20%22stranger%20and%20sojourner%20in%20the%20land%20of%20his%20birth%22&f=false>

<sup>30</sup> **National Colored Convention Declared that African Americans Are U.S. Citizens by Birth (1855)**

Jones, M. S. (2018, July 9). How the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment's promise of birthright citizenship redefined America. *Time*.  
<https://time.com/5324440/14th-amendment-meaning-150-anniversary/>  
At the 1869 national convention, Isaiah Wears said that only as U.S. citizens could African Americans have "the right of property, in either real or personal state, the right of residence, of personal liberty, or of life itself," and the right of residence was the right to be free from removal, self-deportation, exile, or banishment from the United States.

See Colored Conventions Project. (n.d.). *Conventions by year*.  
<https://omeka.coloredconventions.org/convention-by-year#fifties>

See also Ramsey, M. D. (2017, December). The original meaning of 'natural born.' *University of Pennsylvania Journal of Constitutional Law*, (20)2, 199-244. <https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1646&context=jcl>  
This describes the roots of birthright citizenship in English common law, stating that "natural-born subjects are such as are born within the dominions of the crown of England" and "[t]he children of aliens, born here in England, are, generally speaking, natural-born subjects, and entitled to all the privileges of such."

See also Clement, P. & Katyal, N. (2015, March). On the meaning of 'natural born citizen.' *Harvard Law Review*, (128)5, 161-164. <https://harvardlawreview.org/forum/vol-128/on-the-meaning-of-natural-born-citizen/>

<sup>31</sup> **U.S. Passports Started to Be Limited to Solely U.S. Citizens (1856)**

Robertson, C. & Zócalo Public Square. (2017, February 7). *How the passport became an improbably symbol of American identity*. Smithsonian Magazine.  
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/how-passport-became-improbable-symbol-american-identity-180962064/>  
In the words of Craig Robertson, "the more xenophobic the U.S. became, the more interest it had in separating traveling citizens from unwanted aliens at its ports."

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Administrative Timeline of the Department of the State*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/timeline/1789-1899>  
During the Civil War, the Secretary of State required a valid passport for those entering and leaving the Union.

National Archives. (n.d.). *Passport Applications*. <https://www.archives.gov/research/passport>

95 percent of passport applicants were men in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, one passport covered a husband, wife, children, servants, and other “females under [the husband’s] protection” during that period.

Indiana State Library. (2016, October 18). A brief history of the United States passport. *Indiana State Library Blog*.

<https://blog.library.in.gov/a-brief-history-of-the-united-states-passport/>

<sup>32</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* that African Americans Were Not U.S. Citizens (1857)**

BlackPast.Org. (2007, January 21). (1857) *Dred Scott v. Sandford*.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/dred-scott-decision/>

National Archives. (n.d.). *Dred Scott v. Sandford (1857)*.

<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dred-scott-v-sandford>

Oyez. (n.d.). *Dred Scott v. Sandford*. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1850-1900/60us393>

The case also held that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 was unconstitutional and prevented Congress from freeing enslaved people within federal territories.

Urofsky, M. I. (2023, August 7). *Dred Scott decision*. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*.

Retrieved August 18, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Dred-Scott-decision>

See also Perl-Rosenthal, N. (2020, June 2). *The lottery: The two faces of birthright citizenship*. The

Nation. <https://www.thenation.com/article/culture/birthright-citizens-race-about-politics-martha-jones-jean-frederic-schaub-book-review/>

The author of the judicial opinion, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, was from Baltimore and an opponent of the Black Baltimoreans’ proclamation, and that of other free African Americans, that they were entitled to citizenship.

<sup>33</sup> **The Homestead Act Passed to Encourage Immigration to the United States (1862)**

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Global Timeline*.

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/global-timeline/>

National Archives. (n.d.). *Homestead Act (1862)*. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/homestead-act>

Vernon E. Jordan Law Library. (n.d.). *A brief history of civil rights in the United States: Historical overview –*

*immigration*. Howard University School of Law. <https://library.law.howard.edu/civilrightshistory/immigration/history>

Fink, R. (2020, August 27). *Homestead Act of 1862*. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*.

Retrieved August 18, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Homestead-Act>

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period*

*to the present day*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day>

History.com Editors. (2022, September 13). *Homestead Act*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/homestead-act>

National Park Service. (n.d.). *Homestead by the State*.

<https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/homesteading-by-the-state.htm>

National Public Radio. (2012, September 16). *Homestead Act sewed its way into U.S. fabric* [Interview transcript].

NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2012/09/16/161228294/homestead-act-sewed-its-way-into-u-s-fabric>

Hannah-Jones, N. & The New York Times Magazine. (2021). *The 1619 Project: A New Origin Story* (Roper, C.,

Silverman, I., & Silverstein, J.). One World.

See also National Park Service. (n.d.). *About the Homestead Act*.

<https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/abouthomesteadactlaw.htm>

The Land Ordinance of 1785, Louisiana Purchase of 1803, Indian Removal Act of 1830, the Trail of Tears of the 1830s, Non-Intercourse Act of 1834, Indian Appropriations Act of 1851, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act paved the way for the Homestead Act.

See also California Trail Interpretive Center. (n.d.). *The Homestead Act of 1862*.

<https://www.californiatrailcenter.org/the-homestead-act-of-1862/>

See also Environment and Natural Resources Division. (n.d.). *Congress Passes the First Indian Trade and Intercourse*

Act. U.S. Department of Justice. <https://www.justice.gov/enrd/timeline-event/congress-passes-first-indian-trade-and-intercourse-act#:~:text=The%20Act%2C%20as%20modified%20in,commissioner%20and%20ratified%20by%20Congress>

See also Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *Homesteading-Displaced Native Americans* [Video].

<https://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/aa3401af-a553-4d87-85a0-90efd49be07d/homesteading-displaced-native-americans/>

The Ft. Laramie Treaties starting in 1851 and the Dawes Act of 1887 enabled the U.S. government to seize millions of acres of land from Indigenous Nations.

See also National Park Service. (n.d.). *Homesteading by the Numbers*.

<https://www.nps.gov/home/learn/historyculture/bynumbers.htm>

This estimates that there are 93 million homesteader descendants.

<sup>34</sup> **The National Equal Rights League (NERL) to Promote the Citizenship of African Americans (1864)**

Smith, C. (2009, December 18). *National Equal Rights League (1864-1921)*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/national-equal-rights-league-1864-1915/>

The founders included Henry Highland Garnet, Frederick Douglass, John Mercer, and others; other eventual leaders and members included William Monroe Trotter, WEB DuBois, Octavius Catto, Robert Purvis, Elisha Weaver, and Ida B. Wells.

This also describes how the Pennsylvania branch of NERL successfully brought lawsuits to end streetcar segregation in 1866 and unsuccessfully petitioned the state legislature to integrate schools between 1876 and 1880.

This also quotes the language of the Fifteenth Point.

Beinart, P. (2020, October 6). America may need international intervention. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/06/opinion/us-united-nations-election.html>

This references William Monroe Trotter and Ida Wells-Barnett who proposed the Fifteenth Point.

See also Fifteenth Point, LLC. (n.d.). *Fifteenth Point*. <https://www.fifteenthpoint.com/about>

This alludes to the Black delegation to the 1919 Paris Peace Conference that proposed the Fifteenth Point.

See also Prince, R. (2018, November 26). *World War I's Black journalists had to fight their own government*. Journal-isms.com.

<https://www.journal-isms.com/2018/11/world-war-is-black-journalists-had-to-fight-their-own-government/>

This credits William Monroe Trotter with the Fifteenth Point's wording: "The elimination of civil, political and judicial distinctions based on race or color in all nations."

Jones, M. S. (2018, July 9). *Citizens: 150 years of the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment*. Public Books.

<https://www.publicbooks.org/citizens-150-years-of-the-14th-amendment/>

Library of Congress. (1867). *Address and resolutions of the national equal rights league convention of colored men,*

*held at Washington, D. C., January 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, 1867.* <https://lccn.loc.gov/2012657099>

Johnson, J. (n.d.). *John Mercer Langston: A civil rights activist*. The White House Historical Association.

<https://www.whitehousehistory.org/john-mercator-langston>

See also Holness, L. (n.d.). *National Negro Convention Movement*. The Encyclopedia of Greater Philadelphia.

<https://philadelphiaencyclopedia.org/essays/national-negro-convention-movement/>

NERL successfully pressured the Pennsylvania Republican Party to ratify the U.S. Constitution's 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

<sup>35</sup> **Congress Established Birthright Citizenship Through the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (1866)**

Longley, R. (2022, October 4). *The Civil Rights Act of 1866: History and impact*. ThoughtCo.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/civil-rights-act-of-1866-4164345>

History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). *The Civil Rights Bill of 1866*.

<https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/The-Civil-Rights-Bill-of-1866/>

See also Jones, M. S. (n.d.) Birthright citizenship and reconstruction's unfinished revolution. *The Journal of the Civil War Era*.

<https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/forum-the-future-of-reconstruction-studies/birthright-citizenship-reconstructions-unfinished-revolution/>

Attorney General Edward Bates in 1864 viewed the Constitution's "Natural-born" citizens language as meaning that "every person born in the United States is a citizen from the moment of birth and race or color did not rebut the presumption of citizenship and concluded that "the free man of color... if born in the United States, is a citizen of the United States," paving the way for the Civil Rights Act of 1866.

Amar, A. R. & Harrison, J. C. (n.d.) *The Citizenship Clause*. National Constitution Center.

<https://constitutioncenter.org/interactive-constitution/interpretation/amendment-xiv/clauses/700>

History.com Editors. (2023, March 29). *Black Codes*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/black-codes>

In 1865, Mississippi and South Carolina were the first states to pass Black Codes — laws that restricted the labor and other activity of Black people in the South — with nearly all states in the South passing similar laws by 1866. However, the South ramped up discriminatory and abusive practices in 1877 after federal soldiers withdrew from the South, ending Reconstruction and ushering in the Jim Crow era until the Civil Rights Movement of the 20th century.

<sup>36</sup> **U.S. Government Conferred Citizenship on Russian and Creole Residents of Modern-Day Alaska, Limited the Status of Indigenous Alaskans to National (1867)**

Greenspan, J. (2020, March 24). *Why the purchase of Alaska was far from 'Folly.'* HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/why-the-purchase-of-alaska-was-far-from-folly>

Iggiagruk Hensley, W. L. (2017, March 29). *There are two versions of the story of how the U.S. purchased Alaska*

*from Russia*. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/why-russia-gave-alaska-americas-gateway-arctic-180962714/>

Schneider, W. (n.d.). *The Treaty of Cession & Alaska Native rights*. Alaska Historical Society.

<https://alaskahistoricalociety.org/about-ahs/special-projects/150treaty/150th-resource-library/new-articles/the-treaty-of-cession-and-alaska-native-rights/>

U.S. Department of the Interior, Indian Affairs. (2017, August 19). *Are American Indians and Alaska Natives citizens of the United States?* <https://www.bia.gov/faqs/are-american-indians-and-alaska-natives-citizens-united-states#:~:text=In%201924%2C%20Congress%20extended%20American,and%20towns%20where%20they%20reside>

See Hinnert, S. (2022, June 30). *The wartime internment of native Alaskans*. The National WWII Museum. <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/wartime-internment-native-alaskans>

The Department of Interior assumed authority over the Unangan, making them “Indian wards” of the United States.

Board of Immigration Appeals. (1949, September 1). *In the matter of B* [3 IN Dec. 729 (B.I.A. 1949)]. Casemine. <https://www.casemine.com/judgement/us/5914a0f9add7b04934681f32>

*In the Matter of B* states that “the Immigration Service ruled that they [the “uncivilized tribes” of Alaska] acquired noncitizen nationality of the United States.

Anchorage Museum. (n.d.). *Dena'ina time travel* [timeline].

<https://denaina.anchoragemuseum.org/pdfs/timelines/TT4%20Sale%20Dept%20of%20Alaska.pdf>  
This quotes the “incredible oppression of the local Americans.”

Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *Alaska Natives before statehood*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/alaska-natives/>

Public Broadcasting Service. (n.d.). *Alaska in the 1940s*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/alaska-1940s/#:~:text=In%201940%20only%2072%2C524%20people,of%20the%20continental%20United%20States>

See Metcalfe, Tom. (2021, January 1). ‘Lost’ Indigenous fort built to repel Russia rediscovered in Alaska. *NBC News*.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/science/science-news/lost-indigenous-fort-repel-russia-rediscovered-alaska-n1255537>

See also Kramer, S. (2022, October 18). *Selling stolen land: A reexamination of the purchase of Alaska and its legacy of colonialism*. The Arctic Institute.

<https://www.thearcticinstitute.org/selling-stolen-land-reexamination-purchase-alaska-legacy-colonialism/>

This describes how the Tlingit were vocal about being excluded from the treaty negotiations as well as their resistance to the U.S. government as an occupying force.

See also Jones, Z. R. (2013). “Search for and destroy”: US Army relations with Alaska’s Tlingit Indians and the Kake War of 1869.” *Ethnohistory*, (60)1, 1-26.

<https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-1816157>

This describes the Kake War of 1869 between the U.S. Army and the Tlingit of southeast Alaska.

### <sup>37</sup> Congress Provided U.S. Citizens the Ability to Renounce Their Citizenship (1868)

Walsh, K. (2018, May 14). *Introducing the “Irish Born” One American Citizenship Amendment*. Reason.

<https://reason.com/volokh/2018/05/14/introducing-the-irish-born-one-american/>

Salter, L. E. (2019, March 21). *The Irish-American social club whose exploits in their homeland sparked a new*

*understanding of citizenship*. Zócalo Public Square. <https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2019/03/21/irish-american-social-club-whose-exploits-homeland-sparked-new-understanding-citizenship/ideas/essay/>

The American doctrine of “right of expatriation” — the right to leave one’s origin country to become a citizen of another country — was a response to the British doctrine of “perpetual allegiance,” the idea of “once a subject, always a subject.” During the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, in many countries such as Germany, people had to pay a large fee for an exit permit and were subject to fines, imprisonment, or military service if they left their nations without authorization.

This also quotes the Expatriation Act of 1868.

### <sup>38</sup> The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment Added Birthright Citizenship to the Constitution (1868)

Lanum, M. (2011, November 20). *Memphis Riot, 1866*. BlackPast.org.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/memphis-riot-1866/>

Lovett, B. L. (n.d.) Memphis Race Riot of 1866. In *Tennessee Encyclopedia*. Tennessee Historical Society.

<https://tennesseeencyclopedia.net/entries/memphis-race-riot-of-1866/>

This notes that the congressional report also led to passage of the Civil Rights Bill.

NBC Chicago. (2022, June 24). *What is the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment and how is it connected to abortion rights, Roe v.*

*Wade?*. <https://www.nbcchicago.com/news/local/what-is-the-14th-amendment-and-how-is-it-connected-to-abortion-rights-roe-v-wade-2/2865134/>

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *14<sup>th</sup> Amendment*. Cornell Law School.

<https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution/amendmentxiv>

See also National Geographic Society. (2022, November 1). *The 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the United States Constitution*. National Geographic Education.

<https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/15th-amendment-united-states-constitution/>

The ratification of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment in 1870 provided for the right of Black U.S. citizens to vote.

But see Drago, Edmund L. 1992. *Black politicians and reconstruction in Georgia: A splendid failure* [eBook edition]. University of Georgia Press.

[https://books.google.com/books/about/Black\\_Politicians\\_and\\_Reconstruction\\_in.html?id=JXL7t1rVltkC](https://books.google.com/books/about/Black_Politicians_and_Reconstruction_in.html?id=JXL7t1rVltkC) Black legislators noted the need to enforce the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment.

See also Serafini, S. & Sherwin, M. (2022, March 29). Adella Hunt Logan. In *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.  
<https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/adella-hunt-logan/>.

And see History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). Elliott, Robert Brown. <https://history.house.gov/People/Detail/12753>  
Robert Brown Elliott, one of the Black members of Congress, argued in support of the Enforcement Acts, specifically the third Enforcement Act (also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act), which gave the federal government the power to intervene to protect voter registration and the justice system from infiltration and intimidation of Klansmen.

And see History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). Representative Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts.  
<https://history.house.gov/Historical-Highlights/1851-1900/Representative-Benjamin-Butler-of-Massachusetts/>  
This notes support of the Enforcement Acts by white members of Congress.

### <sup>39</sup> The 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment Did Not Confer Birthright on Indigenous Americans

Blakemore, E. (2020, May 12). *Why the United States has birthright citizenship*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/news/birthright-citizenship-history-united-states>  
[This quotes the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment.](#)

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Global timeline*.  
<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/global-timeline/>

Blackman, J. (2018, October 31). *Birthright citizenship is a constitutional mandate*. Cato Institute.  
<https://www.cato.org/commentary/birthright-citizenship-constitutional-mandate>  
The children of diplomats were also not subject to the U.S. government's jurisdiction.

### <sup>40</sup> The United States Is in the Minority of Nations that Provides for Birthright Citizenship

Serhan, Y. & Friedman, U. (2018, October 31). *America isn't the 'only country' with birthright citizenship*. The Atlantic. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2018/10/birthright-citizenship-other-countries-trump/574453/>  
Some countries established birthright citizenship to attract immigrants and displace indigenous populations. Others, especially nations in Latin America, wanted a more expansive definition of citizenship as part of their rejection of slavery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

But see Perl-Rosenthal, N. (2020, June 2). *The lottery: The two faces of birthright citizenship*. The Nation. <https://www.thenation.com/article/culture/birthright-citizens-race-about-politics-martha-jones-jean-frederic-schaub-book-review/>  
While one side of birthright citizenship conferred citizenship on African Americans, eventually persons of Asian descent, and the U.S.-born children of undocumented immigrants. The other side of birthright citizenship is that status is based on the accident of where a person is born. "Equality for some is bought at the price of arbitrary exclusion for many," writes Perl-Rosenthal.

### <sup>41</sup> Nazi Germany's Study of U.S. Law and Policies on Race as They Developed Anti-Semitic Nuremberg Laws Struggled to Reconcile the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment's Guarantee of Birthright Citizenship and Equal Rights with Other U.S. Policies

Moyers, B. (2017, October 13). *How the Nazis used Jim Crow laws as the model for their race laws*. BillMoyers.com.  
<https://billmoyers.com/story/hitler-america-nazi-race-law/>

Lindley, R. (2023, February 7). *How the US influenced the creation of Nazi race laws under Hitler*. ABA Journal.  
<https://www.abajournal.com/web/article/yale-law-professor-james-whitman-discusses-how-the-us-influenced-the-creation-of-nazi-race-laws-under-hitler>

See also White, T. (n.d.). *The challenge of U.S. racism and the Nazi Race Law in 21<sup>st</sup> century America*. Holocaust Center for Humanity.  
[https://holocaustcenterseattle.org/images/Education/Tom White -The US and Racism essay 1-compressed.pdf](https://holocaustcenterseattle.org/images/Education/Tom%20White%20-%20The%20US%20and%20Racism%20essay%201-compressed.pdf)

See also Holocaust Center for Humanity. [Holocaust Center for Humanity]. (2020, July 28). *Jim Crow Laws and Nazi racial policy - lunch-and-learn with Tom White 7-28-2020* [Video]. YouTube. <https://youtu.be/YLn15Alpvo>

### <sup>42</sup> The U.S. Government Extended Eligibility to Naturalize from White People to Include African Americans (1870)

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period to the present day*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day>

See also Salyer, L. (2020, July 5). *"It has not been my habit to yield": Charles Sumner and the fight for equal naturalization rights*. History News Network.  
<https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/176256>

See also Jones, M. S. (n.d.) Birthright citizenship and reconstruction's unfinished revolution. *The Journal of the Civil War Era*.  
<https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/forum-the-future-of-reconstruction-studies/birthright-citizenship-reconstructions-unfinished-revolution/>  
Striking the word "white" from the Naturalization Act of 1790 was met with opposition because there was fear that the change would lead to more naturalization of Black immigrants as well as making Chinese immigrants eligible for citizenship. Consequently, the final language was narrowed to "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."

See also Young, P. (2018, February 16). *Breaking the naturalization color bar in 1870, but only for some immigrants*. Long Island Wins.  
<https://longislandwins.com/es/columns/immigrants-civil-war/breaking-naturalization-color-bar-1870-immigrants/>

### <sup>43</sup> A Federal Court Ruled that People of Chinese Descent Cannot Become U.S. Citizens (1878)

- Dhillon, H. (2023, March 27). How the fight for birthright citizenship shaped the history of Asian American families. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-the-fight-for-birthright-citizenship-resaped-asian-american-families-180981866/>
- In re Ah Yup, 1 F. Cas. 223, 5 Sawy. 155; 6 Cent. Law J. 387; 17 Alb. Law J. 385; 24 Int. Rev. Rec. 164 (1878). <https://cite.case.law/f-cas/1/223/>
- See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law. <https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>
- A federal court ruled that a person who was half white, a quarter Chinese, and a quarter Japanese was not white for purposes of naturalization in 1909. In 1927, a federal court in New York ruled that a person who was a quarter white and three-quarters Chinese was not white for purposes of naturalization.
- Banks, A. M. (2019, April). Precarious citizenship: Asian immigrant naturalization 1918 to 1925. *Minnesota Journal of Law & Inequality*, (37)1, 149-188. <https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1608&context=lawineq>
- <sup>44</sup> **U.S. Government Interpreted and Redefined Naturalization Rules for Different Ethnicities (1870s)**
- Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period to the present day*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day>
- See also Salyer, L. (2020, July 5). "It has not been my habit to yield": Charles Sumner and the fight for equal naturalization rights. History News Network. <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/176256>
- See also Jones, M. S. (n.d.) Birthright citizenship and reconstruction's unfinished revolution. *The Journal of the Civil War Era*. <https://www.journalofthecivilwarera.org/forum-the-future-of-reconstruction-studies/birthright-citizenship-reconstructions-unfinished-revolution/>
- Striking the word "white" from the Naturalization Act of 1790 was met with opposition because there was fear that the change would lead to more naturalization of Black immigrants as well as making Chinese immigrants eligible for citizenship. Consequently, the final language was narrowed to "aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent."
- See also Young, P. (2018, February 16). *Breaking the naturalization color bar in 1870, but only for some immigrants*. Long Island Wins. <https://longislandwins.com/es/columns/immigrants-civil-war/breaking-naturalization-color-bar-1870-immigrants/>
- Dhillon, H. (2023, March 27). How the fight for birthright citizenship shaped the history of Asian American families. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-the-fight-for-birthright-citizenship-resaped-asian-american-families-180981866/>
- In re Ah Yup, 1 F. Cas. 223, 5 Sawy. 155; 6 Cent. Law J. 387; 17 Alb. Law J. 385; 24 Int. Rev. Rec. 164 (1878). <https://cite.case.law/f-cas/1/223/>
- See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law. <https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>
- A federal court ruled that a person who was half white, a quarter Chinese, and a quarter Japanese was not white for purposes of naturalization in 1909. In 1927, a federal court in New York ruled that a person who was a quarter white and three-quarters Chinese was not white for purposes of naturalization.
- Banks, A. M. (2019, April). Precarious citizenship: Asian immigrant naturalization 1918 to 1925. *Minnesota Journal of Law & Inequality*, (37)1, 149-188. <https://scholarship.law.umn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1608&context=lawineq>
- <sup>45</sup> **U.S. Government Restricted Immigration from China and Made Individuals of Chinese Descent Ineligible for U.S. Citizenship (1882)**
- Migration Policy Institute. (2013, March). *Timeline: Major US immigration laws, 1790 – Present*. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/CIR-1790Timeline.pdf>
- Odo, F. (n.d.). *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the making of the nation*. National Park Service. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/asian-americans-and-pacific-islanders-in-the-making-of-the-nation.htm>
- Asia Society. (n.d.). *Asian Americans then and now*. <https://asiasociety.org/education/asian-americans-then-and-now>
- Veal, A. (2021, May 4). *A father's story: Chinese family confronts Jim Crow, U.S. exclusion in Mississippi Delta*. Mississippi Free Press. <https://www.mississippifreepress.org/11770/a-fathers-story-chinese-family-learns-u-s-act-jim-crow-enforced-against-their-loved-one/>
- Seghetti, L. (2015, January 26). *Border security: Immigration inspections at ports of entry*. Congressional Research Service. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/homesec/R43356.pdf>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2020, July 30). *Early American Immigration Policies*. <https://www.uscis.gov/about-us/our-history/overview-of-ins-history/early-american-immigration-policies#:~:text=In%20the%201880s%2C%20state%20boards,enforced%20the%20Chinese%20Exclusion%20Act>
- "State boards or commissions enforced immigration law with direction from U.S. Treasury Department officials. At the Federal level, U.S. Customs Collectors collected head taxes from immigrants, and 'Chinese Inspectors' enforced the Chinese Exclusion Act."
- See also Little, B. (2020, September 14). *How border-crossing became a crime in the United States*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/illegal-border-crossing-usa-mexico-section-1325>

The first group of people the U.S. government considered “illegal” were Chinese nationals who attempted to enter the U.S. through Mexico. While the government could not prosecute those who violated the Chinese Exclusion Act, it could prevent entry or deport migrants.

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). *Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States*.

<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, University of Washington. (n.d.). *Lesson fifteen: Industrialization, class, and race; Chinese and the anti-Chinese movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century Northwest*.

<https://www.washington.edu/uwired/outreach/cspn/Website/Classroom%20Materials/Pacific%20Northwest%20History/Lessons/Lesson%2015/15.html>

Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). *Chapter 1: The nation’s immigration laws, 1920 to today*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/>

National Public Radio. The men on the roof [Interview transcript]. *NPR, White Lies*.

<https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1149875059>

History.com Staff. (2022, August 9). *Chinese Exclusion Act*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/topics/19th-century/chinese-exclusion-act-1882>

Until 1943, Chinese immigrants and American-born children remained ineligible for citizenship.

Chae Chan Ping v. U.S. (Chinese Exclusion Case), 130 U.S. 581 (1889).

<https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/130/581/>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Chinese immigration and the Chinese exclusion acts*. U.S. Department of State.

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration>

National Archives. (n.d.). *Chinese Exclusion Act (1882)*.

<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/chinese-exclusion-act>

Fuchs, C. (2016, June 20). *NY lawmakers ask Obama to formally apologize for Chinese Exclusion Act*. *NBC News*.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/ny-lawmakers-ask-obama-formally-apologize-chinese-exclusion-act-n595536>

Becoming American, the Chinese Experience. (n.d.). *Program two: “Between two worlds.”* PBS.

[https://www.pbs.org/becomingamerican/ap\\_prog2.html](https://www.pbs.org/becomingamerican/ap_prog2.html)

*See also* Hoar, G. F. (1882). *Remarks on Chinese Immigration (1882)*, 13 Cong. Rec. 1515-22 [Historic document].

National Constitution Center. <https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/historic-document-library/detail/william-yates-the-rights-of-colored-men-1838>  
This notes that a few members of Congress spoke about how the Chinese Exclusion Act was “in conflict with the genius of American institutions.”

<sup>46</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled that Indigenous Americans Were Not Entitled to Birthright Citizenship Under the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1884)**

National Archives. (n.d.). *Dawes Act (1887)*. <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/dawes-act>

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *25 U.S. Code § 349 - Patents in fee to allottees*. Cornell Law School.

<https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/25/349>

Native Americans in Philanthropy. (n.d.). *General Allotment Act (Dawes Act) of 1887*.

<https://nativephilanthropy.candid.org/events/general-allotment-act-dawes-act-of-1887/>

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Elk v. Wilkins (1884)*. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/elk-v-wilkins/>

This describes how Elk, an Indigenous man born on a reservation, was not a U.S. citizen from birth.

Bomboy, S. (2021, November 3). *On this day: Supreme Court says tax-paying American Indians can’t vote*. National

Constitution Center. <https://constitutioncenter.org/blog/on-this-day-supreme-court-says-tax-paying-indians-cant-vote>

<sup>47</sup> **U.S. Government Conferred U.S. Citizenship on Indigenous Americans Who Received Land Through the Dawes Severalty Act (1887)**

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1924: Congress enacts the Indian Citizenship Act*.

<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/cleveland-signs-the-dawes-severalty-act>

Up until the Dawes Severalty Act, Indigenous nations could maintain their practice of using their lands communally.

*See* Glass, A. (2017, June 2). *Coolidge signs Indian Citizenship Act, June 2, 1924*. Politico.

<https://www.politico.com/story/2017/06/02/coolidge-signs-indian-citizenship-act-june-2-1924-238983>

*See also* Chow, K. (2018, February 9). So what exactly is ‘blood quantum’? [Transcript]. *NPR, Code Switch*.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2018/02/09/583987261/so-what-exactly-is-blood-quantum>

The federal government initially used this system – a U.S. colonial measurement of “Indian blood” a person has – to limit citizenship for Indigenous Americans.

National Park Service. (n.d.). *The Dawes Act*. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/dawes-act.htm>

Britannica. (2019, December 4). *Dawes General Allotment Act: United States [1887]*. In the Editors of

Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 21, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Dawes-General-Allotment-Act>

[The Dawes Severalty Act was also known as the Dawes General Allotment Act.](#)

News Staff. (2020, March 5). Trails to Indian country define state. *The Ponca City News*. <https://www.poncacitynews.com/news/trails-indian-country-define-state>

Oklahoma Historical Society. (n.d.). *Burke Act (1906)*. In *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma history and culture*. <https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=BU010>

But see Cyca, M. (203, July 12). *9 facts about Native American tribes*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/native-american-tribes-facts>  
Although Indigenous Americans received U.S. citizenship, states determined who could vote and denied many that right.

Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Cultural Heritage Center. (n.d.). *Dawes Act of 1887*. <https://www.potawatomiheritage.com/encyclopedia/dawes-act-of-1887/>

Native News Online Staff. (2022, November 8). *History of Native American voting rights*. Native News Online. <https://nativenewsonline.net/currents/history-of-native-american-voting-rights>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Today in history - June 2: Indian Citizenship Act*. <https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/>

#### <sup>48</sup> **Most Indigenous Women Who Married White U.S. Citizens Granted U.S. Citizenship (1888)**

HISTORY. (n.d.). 1924: Congress enacts the Indian Citizenship Act. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-indian-citizenship-act>

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *25 U.S. Code § 182 - Rights of Indian women marrying white men; tribal property*. Cornell Law School. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/25/182>

#### <sup>49</sup> **In Addition to Restrictions on Chinese Immigration, Congress Required Chinese Nationals to Carry “Certificates of Residence” in the United States or Face Deportation (1892)**

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Geary Act (1892)*. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/geary-act/>  
The Geary Act was also known as the Act to Prohibit the Coming of Chinese Persons into the United States.

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Chinese immigration and the Chinese exclusion acts*. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration>

Cohn, D. (2015, September 30). *How U.S. immigration laws and rules have changed through history*. Pew Research center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/09/30/how-u-s-immigration-laws-and-rules-have-changed-through-history/>

Onion, R. (2015, January 30). *The papers late-19<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese immigrants had to carry to prove their legal status*. Slate. <https://slate.com/human-interest/2015/01/history-of-chinese-exclusion-certificates-required-by-the-geary-act.html>

#### <sup>50</sup> **Chinese Americans Protested Against the Discriminatory Policy**

See Chen, S. (2021, November 7). *Historical record of Chinese Americans | Wong Chin Foo, the pioneer of Chinese American civil rights* [Translated by Zhou, P.]. U.S. Dandelion. <https://usdandelion.com/archives/6310>  
The two-witness requirement was particularly difficult to meet since the majority of people of Chinese descent lived in Chinese communities.

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association was also known as the Six Companies.

New-York Historical Society Museum and Library. (2023, May 15). *The appeal of the Chinese Equal Rights League: Chinese American perseverance from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to present day*. <https://www.nyhistory.org/blogs/the-appeal-of-the-chinese-equal-rights-league-chinese>  
In 1892, New Yorkers of Chinese descent formed the Chinese Equal Rights League (CERL), and they disseminated a pamphlet, *Appeal of the Chinese Equal Rights League to the People for the Equality of Manhood*, in which they argued that Chinese immigrants are entitled to equal rights.

Grossman, R. (2021, April 30). Flashback: The Exclusion Act demonized Chinese laborers. Wong Chin Foo made a stand in Chicago against the hatred. *Chicago Tribune*. <https://www.chicagotribune.com/opinion/commentary/ct-opinion-flashback-wong-chin-foo-chinatown-20210430-uryunpbduvdv6ulpgk27xnua-story.html>  
Wong Chin Foo established the Chinese Equal Rights League, in part, to protest the Geary Act. This article also describes a campaign seeking citizenship for Chinese immigrants called the League of Americanized Chinese.

#### <sup>51</sup> **China Protested Against the Discriminatory Policy**

Onion, R. (2015, January 30). *The papers late-19<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese immigrants had to carry to prove their legal status*. Slate. <https://slate.com/human-interest/2015/01/history-of-chinese-exclusion-certificates-required-by-the-geary-act.html>

Pfaelzer, J. (2019, August 9). *US: China's example for today's Latinos*. The Globalist. <https://www.theglobalist.com/united-states-latinos-racism-immigration/>  
Illinois representative Robert R. Hitt similarly compared the requirement to that of a dog tag, remarking that “never before was it applied by a free people to a human being with the exception (which we can never refer to with pride) of the sad days of slavery.” This quotes representative Robert R. Hitt comparing the certificates of residence requirement to the identification tags required during days of slavery.

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Anti-American boycott (1905)*.

<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/anti-american-boycott/>

<sup>52</sup> **A Federal Court Ruled that a Person of Mexican Descent Could Naturalize (1897)**

Acosta, T. P. (1995, October 1). *In re Ricardo Rodríguez*. Texas State Historical Association.

<https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/in-re-ricardo-rodriguez>

The Historical Marker Database. (n.d.). *In re Ricardo Rodríguez*. <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=130096>

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.

<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

<sup>53</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled that U.S.-Born Children of Immigrants Are Entitled to Birthright Citizenship Under the 14<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1898)**

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *March 28, 1898: Wong Kim Ark wins citizenship case*.

<https://www.zinnproject.org/news/tdih/wong-kim-ark-case/>.

See also Blakemore, E. (2020, May 12). *Why the United States has birthright citizenship*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/birthright-citizenship-history-united-states>

Justice Horace Gray, writing for the majority, wrote that ruling against Wong would deny citizenship to “persons of English, Scotch, Irish, German, or other European parentage who have always been considered and treated as citizens of the United States.”

This also describes how the U.S. Department of Justice chose Wong to serve as a test case to establish that people of Chinese descent were not citizens, but the Supreme Court unexpectedly ruled in Wong’s favor instead.

See also Chin, G. (2021, January 27). The Supreme Court’s role in defining American citizenship. *SCOTUSblog*. <https://www.scotusblog.com/2021/01/the-supreme-courts-role-in-defining-american-citizenship/>

Supreme Court Justice John Marshall Harlan left behind a complicated legacy on racial equality. While he vigorously dissented in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in support of a “color-blind” Constitution, he dissented in *U.S. v. Wong Kim Ark* against US-born children of Chinese immigrants.

This also quotes the language “subject to the jurisdiction.”

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). *Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States*.

<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Peralta, E. (2015, August 18). 3 things you should know about birthright citizenship. *NPR, The Two-Way*.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/08/18/432707866/3-things-you-should-know-about-birthright-citizenship>

The majority of the world bases citizenship on *jus sanguinis*, or the nationality of a child’s parents, while the United States and about 30 other countries base citizenship on birth within their territories. This is also known as *jus soli*, the idea that people are bonded together by where they are or the ideas that they might share.

See also Collman, A. (2018, October 30). *More than 30 other countries recognize birthright citizenship —here’s the full list*. Insider.

<https://www.businessinsider.com/countries-that-recognize-birthright-citizenship-jus-soli-2018-10>

Dhillon, H. (2023, March 27). *How the fight for birthright citizenship shaped the history of Asian American families*.

Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/how-the-fight-for-birthright-citizenship-resaped-asian-american-families-180981866/>

Chen, S. (2021, November 7). *Historical record of Chinese Americans | Wong Chin Foo, the pioneer of Chinese*

*American civil rights* [Translated by Zhou, P.]. U.S. Dandelion. <https://usdandelion.com/archives/6310>

The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association was also known as the Six Companies.

See also Fernando, C. (2021, January 21). Mutual aid networks find roots in communities of color. *AP News*.

<https://apnews.com/article/immigration-coronavirus-pandemic-7b1d14f25ab717c2a29ceafd40364b6e> This lists other mutual aid support networks, such as Rhode Island’s African Union Society founded in 1780, the Free African Society founded in 1787, Sociedades Mutualistas founded in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the Black Panther Survival Programs from the late 1960s, which were often informal organizations and cooperatives where people came together, pooled resources, and cared for one another.

<sup>54</sup> **Although Recognized by Other Nations as a Sovereign Nation, the United States Annexed the Kingdom of Hawai’i (1898)**

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1893: Americans overthrow Hawaiian monarchy*.

<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/americans-overthrow-hawaiian-monarchy>

Sanford Ballard Dole was among the sugar planters that overthrew the queen, and he went on to become president of the provincial government.

See also Jarvis, F. W. (n.d.). *James Drummond Dole “The Pineapple King.”* Jamaica Plain Historical Society.

<https://www.jpshs.org/people/2005/4/14/james-drummond-dole-the-pineapple-king.html>

James Dole, a cousin of Sanford Dole, founded Hawaiian Pineapple Company on Oahu in 1901.

See also Reference for Business. (n.d.). *Castle & Cooke, Inc. – Company profile, information, business description, history, background information on Castle & Cooke, Inc.* <https://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/98/Castle-Cooke-Inc.html>

Joe Atherton worked for and later became president of Castle & Cooke, a mercantile company in Hawaii in the sugar business. Dole Foods later became part of Castle & Cooke.

[See also Hawaiian Historical Society. \(2020, March 28\). Today — 28 March—in Hawaiian History \[1893\]: The English-language "Hawaiian Star" newspaper is launched as the official voice \[Image attached\] \[Status update\]. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/hawaiianhistory/photos/a.202506366524833/2705803139528464/?type=3> Joseph B. Atherton "was one of the Committee of 13 that led the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy on 17 January 1893."](#)

[See also Office of the Historian. \(n.d.\). Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894, Appendix II, Affairs in Hawaii, Document 306. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1894app2/d306>](#)  
This also lists J. B. Atherton's involvement in the overthrow.

[Nakamura, K. Y. \(2023, August 21\). Hawaii's long road to becoming America's 50<sup>th</sup> state. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/hawaii-50th-state-1959>](#)

[ProCon.org. \(2022, October 24\). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States. <https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>](#)

[Statehood Hawaii. \(n.d.\). 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Statehood Commission Timeline. <http://statehoodhawaii.org/hist/sctl.html>](#)

[Tiwari, A. \(2022, August 23\). Hawaii's history of independent democratic rule interrupted by periods of voting rights restrictions. Arizona Republic. <https://www.azcentral.com/in-depth/news/politics/elections/2022/08/23/hawaii-has-history-independent-democratic-rule/10240101002/>](#)

[U.S. Capitol Visitor Center. \(n.d.\) House of Representatives amendment to S. 222, an act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii \(Organic Act of 1900\), April 5, 1900. <https://www.visitthecapitol.gov/artifact/house-representatives-amendment-s-222-act-provide-government-territory-hawaii-organic-act>](#)

[National Archives. \(n.d.\). President William McKinley's nomination of Sanford B. Dole to be governor of the Territory of Hawaii, May 4, 1900. <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/hawaii/mckinley-dole.html>](#)  
The Organic Act of 1900 is also known as the Hawaiian Organic Act of 1900.

[Legal Information Institute. \(n.d.\). 8 U.S. Code § 1405 - Persons born in Hawaii. Cornell Law School. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/8/1405>](#)

Birthright citizenship was conferred on Hawaiians born on or after August 12, 1898, and anyone who was a citizen of the Republic of Hawaii on that date was conferred U.S. citizenship as of April 30, 1900.

[MacKenzie, M. K. \(2006, Spring\). Ever loyal to the land: The story of the Native Hawaiian People. Human Rights, 33\(2\), 15-17, 25. \[https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsi/publications/human\\\_rights\\\_magazine\\\_home/human\\\_rights\\\_vol33\\\_2006/spring2006/hr\\\_spring06\\\_mackenzie/\]\(https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsi/publications/human\_rights\_magazine\_home/human\_rights\_vol33\_2006/spring2006/hr\_spring06\_mackenzie/\)](#)

[Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, 30 U.S. 1 \(1831\). <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/30/1/>](#)  
[In this case, the Court defined Indigenous nations as "domestic dependent nations."](#)

## <sup>55</sup> Indigenous Hawaiians Opposed Annexation

[National Archives. \(n.d.\) The 1897 petition against the annexation of Hawaii. <https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/hawaii-petition#background>](#)

[National Archives. \(n.d.\). Letter from Liliuokalani, Queen of Hawaii to U.S. House of Representatives protesting U.S. assertion of ownership of Hawaii, December 19, 1898. <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/hawaii/queen.html>](#)

## <sup>56</sup> Congress Apologized for the Illegal Overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i

[Parkhomchuk, M. \(2021, September 13\). What is the difference between a Hawaiian, Hawai'i resident and an American citizen?. Khon2. <https://www.khon2.com/local-news/what-is-the-difference-between-a-hawaiian-hawaii-resident-and-an-american-citizen/>](#)

## <sup>57</sup> The United States Assumed Control of Guam, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, and Temporarily Cuba at the End of the Spanish-American War (1898)

[Library of Congress. \(2023, February 28\). World of 1898 Perspectives on the Spanish American War \(Edited by Thurber, M.\). <https://loc.gov/rr/hispanic/1898/treaty.html>](#)  
[In the 30 years leading up to the Spanish-American War, a Puerto Rican nationalist movement inspired by the French Revolution and Simon Bolívar's battles for independence in Latin America was born and culminated in Spain granting Puerto Rico self-government in 1898 through the \*Carta Autonómica\*. The autonomy was short-lived as the Spanish-American War broke out only a few months later.](#)

[HISTORY. \(n.d.\). 1898: Treaty of Paris ends Spanish-American War. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/treaty-of-paris-ends-spanish-american-war>](#)

[Public Broadcasting Corporation. \(n.d.\). The Spanish-American War in the Philippines and the battle for Manila. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/macarthur-spanish-american-war-philippines-and-battle-for-manila/>](#)

See also National Park Service. (n.d.). *The American Anti-Imperialist League at Faneuil Hall*. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/anti-imperialist-league-fh.htm>  
This describes the formation of the Anti-Imperialist League that included members such as Andrew Carnegie and Mark Twain who advocated against annexation of the Philippines.

See also *Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League*. (1899). Teaching American History. <https://teachingamericanhistory.org/document/platform-of-american-anti-imperialist-league/>  
This shares the platform of the Anti-Imperialist League.

Cabranes, J. A. (1978). Citizenship and the American empire: Notes on the legislative history of the United States citizenship of Puerto Ricans. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, (127)391, 391-492.  
[https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4838&context=penn\\_law\\_review](https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4838&context=penn_law_review)

Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *Dec. 10, 1898: Treaty of Paris*.  
[https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tarih/treaty-of-paris/?fbclid=IwAR3zr0u2haC-6CjICGrp-TXrzgJcXqzd9OCMiWx5TS1vPyRt2hfH9O\\_DO](https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tarih/treaty-of-paris/?fbclid=IwAR3zr0u2haC-6CjICGrp-TXrzgJcXqzd9OCMiWx5TS1vPyRt2hfH9O_DO)  
The same year as the Treaty of Paris, American missionaries and pineapple plantation owners had already “penetrated” Hawaii, which was annexed in 1898. The U.S. government occupied Wake Island around the same time.

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

#### <sup>58</sup> The United States Occupied Cuba Until 1902

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *A guide to the United States’ history of recognition, diplomatic, and consular relations, by country, since 1776: Cuba*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/countries/cuba#:~:text=After%20Spain's%20defeat%20by%20U.S.,control%20of%20the%20state's%20affairs>

#### <sup>59</sup> The Treaty Stripped Residents of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines of Spanish Citizenship, But Did Not Confer U.S. Citizenship on Residents

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

#### <sup>60</sup> Congress Conferred Non-Citizen National Status on Puerto Ricans, Designated Puerto Rico as an “Unincorporated Territory”

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

Act of Apr. 12, 1900, ch. 191, 31 Stat. 77. (1900).  
<https://govtrackus.s3.amazonaws.com/legislink/pdf/stat/31/STATUTE-31-Pg77.pdf>  
Section of this act refers to the inhabitants of Puerto Rico as “citizens of Porto Rico.”

Cabranes, J. A. (1978). Citizenship and the American empire: Notes on the legislative history of the United States citizenship of Puerto Ricans. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, (127)391, 391-492.  
[https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4838&context=penn\\_law\\_review](https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4838&context=penn_law_review)  
The Foraker Act conferred the inhabitants of Puerto Rico with the status of U.S. nationals.

See also History.com Editors. (2023, August 1). *Puerto Rico*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/us-states/puerto-rico-history>  
The Foraker Act instituted a civil government in Puerto Rico and ended the U.S. military government that was occupying the island.

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2018, March 15). The Jones Act made Puerto Ricans citizens, yet not fully American. *The Baltimore Sun*. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/opinion/op-ed/bs-ed-op-0316-puerto-rico-20180314-story.html>

Reichard, R. (2023, July 12). *Why isn't Puerto Rico a state?* HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/news/puerto-rico-statehood>  
Some U.S. legislators feared racial mixing between Puerto Ricans and white Americans if Puerto Rico was admitted as a state.

Venator-Santiago, C. (2018, March 6). *The law that made Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens, yet not fully American*. Zócalo Public Square. <https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2018/03/06/law-made-puerto-ricans-u-s-citizens-yet-not-fully-american/ideas/essay/>  
According to official correspondence during the treaty negotiations, McKinley opposed granting citizenship to the “less civilized” non-Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Puerto Rico and other annexed Spanish territories.

#### <sup>61</sup> Congress Conferred Non-Citizen National Status on Filipinos

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *The Spanish-American War in the Philippines and the battle for Manila*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/macarthur-spanish-american-war-philippines-and-battle-for-manila/>

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>  
This quotes Congress describing the inhabitants of the Philippines as “citizens of the Philippine Islands.”

Baldoz, R. (2004, November). Valorizing racial boundaries: Hegemony and conflict in the racialization of Filipino

migrant labour in the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 27(6), 969-986.  
[https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3429&context=faculty\\_school](https://digitalcommons.oberlin.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3429&context=faculty_school)  
This describes Filipinos' status as "nationals."

Official Gazette. (n.d.). *The Philippine Organic Act of 1902* [Full text]. Republic of the Philippines.  
<https://www.officialgazette.gov.ph/constitutions/the-philippine-organic-act-of-1902/>  
The full text of the act includes Congress deeming the inhabitants of the Philippines as "citizens of the Philippine Islands."

National Park Service. (n.d.). *Philippines and the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment*.  
<https://www.nps.gov/articles/philippines-women-s-history.htm>  
The Philippine Organic Act of 1902 established some rights for Filipinos but did not convey U.S. citizenship to them.

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *The United States High Commissioner in the Philippines (McNutt) to Mr. Richard R. Ely, of the Office of United States High Commissioner, Washington* [From historical document "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946, the Far East, Volume VIII" (611.11831/1-1046)]. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1946v08/d651>  
This letter describes the Filipinos as "wards."

Williams, J. (2016, September 30). *Filipino American History Month 2016: 5 fun facts and pictures to celebrate*. International Business Times. <https://www.ibtimes.com/filipino-american-history-month-2016-5-fun-facts-pictures-celebrate-2424641>  
The Philippine Organic Act of 1902, also known as the Cooper Act, restricted the rights of Filipinos, including preventing them from getting a path to U.S. citizenship.

See also HISTORY. (n.d.). *1898: Treaty of Paris ends Spanish-American War*.  
<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/treaty-of-paris-ends-spanish-american-war>  
This describes the beginning of the Philippine-American War that lasted until 1902, when the Philippine army fought against the U.S. occupation.

## <sup>62</sup> Congress Did Not Provide Clarity on the Status of Guamanians Until 1950

Underwood, R. A. (n.d.). *Guam's political status*. Guampedia. <https://www.guampedia.com/guams-political-status/>  
This quotes the Treaty of Paris.

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

See also Phillips, K. & Macalester College. (n.d.). *Timeline of Empire* [Interactive timeline, entry titled "Executive Order Establishes Naval government on Guam"]. Knight Lab.  
[https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTnQqchmuRm7pFOqarRrmZGY1hd8iF8&font=Default&lang=en&initial\\_zoom=2&height=1000](https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTnQqchmuRm7pFOqarRrmZGY1hd8iF8&font=Default&lang=en&initial_zoom=2&height=1000)  
The Chamorros established their own civilian government of Guam until the U.S. government installed a U.S. naval regime in 1899 and have resisted the military government in favor of a democratic system ever since.

Little, B. (2018, August 30). *How the United States ended up with Guam*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/news/how-the-united-states-ended-up-with-guam>

Cagurangan, M. (2020, October 30). The US election that doesn't count: Guam goes to the polls but votes won't matter. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/oct/31/the-us-election-that-doesnt-count-guam-goes-to-the-polls-but-votes-wont-matter>

## <sup>63</sup> Non-Citizen Nationals Had Fewer Rights and Protections than U.S. Citizens:

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>  
Non-citizens must show that they are admissible and not inadmissible to enter, they may not be able to return to the United States once they leave, and they are subject to removal at any time.

This also describes how Filipinos lost the ability to travel freely to the United States in 1934 once they lost their status as U.S. nationals. In *Rabang v. Boyd*, the Supreme Court stripped the national status of Rabang in 1957, who was born in the Philippines when it was a U.S. territory in 1910 and was ordered to be deported in 1951 after Congress granted independence to the Philippines in 1946.

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Alien Land Laws. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved August 25, 2023, from  
<https://www.encyclopedia.com/social-sciences/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/alien-land-laws>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *RACE – The power of an illusion* [Timeline]. PBS.  
[https://www.pbs.org/race/000\\_About/002\\_03\\_i-godeeper.htm](https://www.pbs.org/race/000_About/002_03_i-godeeper.htm)

A More Perfect Union, Japanese Americans & the U.S. Constitution. (n.d.). *Historical Overview*. National Museum of American History.  
[https://amhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/resources/history.html#:~:text=Alien%20Land%20Law%20\(Webb%20Haney,to%20own%20land%20in%20California.](https://amhistory.si.edu/perfectunion/resources/history.html#:~:text=Alien%20Land%20Law%20(Webb%20Haney,to%20own%20land%20in%20California.)

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.  
<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>  
This lists cases from 1912 through 1941 in which federal courts ruled that Filipinos were not white, including those who were three-quarters Filipino and a quarter white, for purposes of naturalization.

<sup>64</sup> **U.S. Citizen-Non-Citizen National Distinctions Influenced Germany's Nuremberg Laws**

Little, B. (2023, August 4). *How the Nazis were inspired by Jim Crow*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/how-the-nazis-were-inspired-by-jim-crow>

Ross, A. (2018, April 23). *How American racism influenced Hitler*. The New Yorker.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/04/30/how-american-racism-influenced-hitler>

This quotes Hitler's *Mein Kampf*.

<sup>65</sup> **The United States Assumed Control of Eastern Samoa, Conferred Non-Citizen National Status on American Samoans (1899)**

History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.).

[https://history.house.gov/Records-and-Research/Listing/pm\\_028/](https://history.house.gov/Records-and-Research/Listing/pm_028/)

Office of Insular Affairs. (n.d.). *American Samoa*. U.S. Department of the Interior.

<https://www.doi.gov/oia/islands/american-samoa>

Manu'a joined the territory in 1904 and Swain Island joined in 1925.

Dardani, R. (2020). Citizenship in empire: The legal history of U.S. citizenship in American Samoa, 1899-1960.

*American Journal of Legal History*, 60(3), 311-356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajlh/njaa013>

Samoan cessions were the result of external pressures from European and U.S. colonizers. This also notes that Congress did not ratify the Samoan chiefs' cessions until 1929.

Knorr-Evans, M. (2022, October 19). *Why are American Samoans not considered US citizens at birth?*. AS USA.

[https://en.as.com/latest\\_news/why-are-american-samoans-not-considered-us-citizens-at-birth-n/](https://en.as.com/latest_news/why-are-american-samoans-not-considered-us-citizens-at-birth-n/)

Michal, E. J. (1992, Spring). American Samoa or Eastern Samoa? The potential for American Samoa to become freely associated with the United States. *The Contemporary Pacific* 4(1), 137-160.

<https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/35654a29-7fbd-4687-a24a-4cdce9df64e7/content>

Levenson, M. (2019, December 13). American Samoans should be granted U.S. citizenship, judge rules. *The New York Times*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/us/american-samoa-us-citizenship.html#:~:text=The%20other%20territories%2C%20including%20Puerto,not%20a%20United%20States%20citizen.%E2%80%9D>

<sup>66</sup> **U.S. Citizenship Extended to Indigenous Americans of Ten Tribes Residing in Indian Territory Who Received Allotments Through the Dawes Severalty Act (1901)**

Oklahoma Historical Society. (n.d.). *Burke Act (1906)*. In *Encyclopedia of Oklahoma history and culture*.

<https://www.okhistory.org/publications/enc/entry.php?entry=BU010>

The Burke Act of 1906 further clarified the 1901 law.

Indian Land Tenure Foundation. (n.d.). *Land tenure history*. <https://iltf.org/land-issues/history/>

Britannica. (2019, January 4). Five civilized tribes. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.),

*Britannica*. Retrieved August 21, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Five-Civilized-Tribes>

See also Miller, R. J. & Dolan. (2021). The Indian Law Bombshell: McGirt v. Oklahoma. *Boston University Law Review*, 101, 2049-2104.

<https://www.bu.edu/bulawreview/files/2022/01/MILLER-DOLAN.pdf>

<sup>67</sup> **The Supreme Court Established in the Insular Cases that the "Alien" and "Foreign" Unincorporated Territories Did Not Have an Automatic Path to Statehood and Residents of Those Territories Were Not Entitled to the Full Protections of the Constitution**

Bodenheimer, R. (2020, March 20). *The Insular Cases: History and significance*. ThoughtCo.

<https://www.thoughtco.com/the-insular-cases-history-and-significance-4797736>

Members of Congress considered Puerto Ricans "whiter" and more assimilable than the "mixed blood" Filipinos.

This also describes how a right to a trial by jury is not a fundamental right in *Dorr v. United States* (1904), women having the right to vote was not a fundamental right in *Balzac v. Porto Rico* (1924), the right to indictment by a grand jury is not fundamental in *Ocampo v. United States* (1914), and the right to confront witnesses is not fundamental in *Dowdell v. United States* (1911).

See Dardani, R. (2020). Citizenship in empire: The legal history of U.S. citizenship in American Samoa, 1899-1960.

*American Journal of Legal History*, 60(3), 311-356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajlh/njaa013>

The strategy of acquiring colonies and protectorates instead of absorbing new territories that would become states was initially developed by the U.S. Navy, adopted by Congress, and legitimized by the Supreme Court through the Insular Cases. While colonialism was premised on annexation, and annexed territories were part of the United States under Article IV of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, while imperialism was premised on *temporary* occupation. Occupied territories were outside the jurisdiction of the United States and were grounded in non-Article IV provisions of the Constitution that gave Congress and the President greater power. Certain rights could be withheld or extended to the occupied territory.

This also describes how eligible persons born in a colonial territory before 1898 acquired birthright citizenship. For example, Oklahoma was an unincorporated territory in 1890 and admitted to the Union as a state in 1907, New Mexico was a territory in 1850 and admitted in 1912, Arizona was a territory in 1863 and admitted in 1912, Alaska was a territory in 1912 and admitted in 1959, and Hawaii was annexed in 1898 and became a territory in 1900 before being admitted in 1959.

Mack, D. (2017, October 9). *The strange case of Puerto Rico*. Slate.

<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/10/the-insular-cases-the-racist-supreme-court-decisions-that-cemented-puerto-ricos-second-class-status.html>  
This quotes the Court in *Downes v. Bidwell*.

Simmons, A. M. (2018, April 6). American Samoans aren't actually U.S. citizens. Does that violate the Constitution?. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/nation/la-na-american-samoan-citizenship-explainer-20180406-story.html>  
This cites Arizona and New Mexico as examples of incorporated territories that were not yet admitted as states.

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Insular Cases. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved August 24, 2023, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/insular-cases>

#### <sup>68</sup> The Supreme Court Established the Territorial Incorporation Doctrine

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724. <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

See also Burnett, C. D. (2008). "They say I am not an American ...": The noncitizen national and the law of American empire. *Virginia Journal of International Law*, 48(4), 659-718. <https://cgt.columbia.edu/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/They-Say-Im-Not-American.pdf>  
Citizenship designates membership under U.S. law whereas nationality designates membership under international law.

See Dardani, R. (2020). Citizenship in empire: The legal history of U.S. citizenship in American Samoa, 1899-1960. *American Journal of Legal History*, 60(3), 311-356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajlh/njaa013>  
This notes that there was "no intention to fully include the people living in these newly acquired territories within the American polity... [as they] were never meant to become U.S. citizens with full and equal constitutional protections and guarantees. The fear that the United States, acquiring island territories with majority non-white populations that would never be settled by whites, would be forced to absorb racial groups deemed inferior into the U.S. polity and would have to grant citizenship to Puerto Rico and the Philippines led to the need for U.S. imperialists and policymakers to create a new form of territory status: the unincorporated territory."

#### <sup>69</sup> The Distinctions Between the Unincorporated Territories Are Inconsistent

Isidro, C. (2020, August 31). *Citizens who can't vote? The United States has 3.5 million of them*. The Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/citizens-who-cant-vote-the-united-states-has-35-million-of-them>

Manta, I. & Robertson, C. B. (2022, July 27). *Constitutional citizenship in the U.S. Territories*. Lawfare. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/constitutional-citizenship-us-territories>

#### <sup>70</sup> The United States Recognized the Independence of Panama, Days Later Negotiated the Canal Zone

British Broadcasting Corporation. (2018, May 28). *Panama profile - timeline*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19889251>.

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1903: Panama declares independence from Colombia*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/panama-declares-independence>  
The U.S.-administered railroad removed its trains from Colón, stranding Colombian troops who were on their way to fight the Panamanian insurrection.

See also Gandhi, L. (2013, November 25). A history of indentured labor gives 'coolie' its sting. *NPR, Code Switch*. <https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/11/25/247166284/a-history-of-indentured-labor-gives-coolie-its-sting>  
The Roosevelt administration allowed Asian workers to work on the canal in 1906, hiring them through independent contractors so that the United States could use Chinese labor without interacting with the Chinese government.

See also Nugent, C. & Campell, C. (2021, February 4). The U.S. and China are battling for influence in Latin America, and the pandemic has raised the stakes. *Time*. <https://time.com/5936037/us-china-latin-america-influence/>  
Chinese labor used to construct the canal led to a significant Chinese-Panamanian population.

Embassy of Panama in the United States. (n.d.). *History of the US-Panama relationship*. <https://www.embassyofpanama.org/history-of-relationship>

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1977: U.S. agrees to transfer Panama Canal to Panama*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/panama-to-control-canal>

#### <sup>71</sup> Zonian Presence in Panama

National Archives. (n.d.). *The Panama Canal: Riots, treaties, elections, and a little military madness, 1959-1973*. <https://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/panama-canal>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Immigration and Nationality Act*. <https://www.uscis.gov/laws-and-policy/legislation/immigration-and-nationality-act>

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *8 U.S. Code § 1403 - Persons born in the Canal Zone or Republic of Panama on or after February 26, 1904*. Cornell Law School. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/8/1403>

See also Dailey, K. (2014, August 11). *Who on Earth are the Zonians?*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28594016>  
This describes the life of the “Zonians.” As many as 100,000 Americans, or one-tenth of Panama’s population lived there during the Korean War. Schools were segregated, and the Civil Rights Act was not enforced until the 1970s.

Foreign Affairs Manual. (2020, May 15). *8 FAM 308.5 - Acquisition by birth in the Panama Canal Zone*. U.S. Department of State. <https://fam.state.gov/FAM/08FAM/08FAM030805.html>

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *8 U.S. Code § 1408 - Nationals but not citizens of the United States at birth*. Cornell Law School. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/uscode/text/8/1408>

See also Gelpi, G. A. (n.d.). *An experiment in US territorial governance*. Federal Bar Association. <https://www.fedbar.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Panama-Canal-Zone-pdf-1.pdf>  
Per international law, those born in the Panama Canal Zone were U.S. non-citizen nationals unless they chose to retain their previous nationality.

## <sup>72</sup> Panamanians Protested the Sovereign-Like Status of the United States in Panama

National Archives. (n.d.). *The Panama Canal: Riots, treaties, elections, and a little military madness, 1959-1973*. <https://www.archives.gov/research/foreign-policy/panama-canal>  
This quotes “the control and suppression of civilian populations.”

Reed, D. (2016, April 6). *Story of cities #16: How the US-run Canal Zone divided Panama for a century*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/apr/06/story-cities-16-panama-canal-zone-history-us-run-divided-city>

Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Working on the Panama Canal*. PBS. <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/panama-canal-working-panama-canal/>

Dailey, K. (2014, August 11). *Who on Earth are the Zonians?*. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-28594016>

## <sup>73</sup> Puerto Ricans, Who Were U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals, Could Become U.S. Citizens by Moving to the U.S. Mainland and Applying for Citizenship (1906)

Puerto Rico Citizenship Archives Project. (n.d.). *Individual Naturalization*. University of Connecticut. <https://scholarscollaborative.org/PuertoRico/exhibits/show/historical/individual#:~:text=In%201906%20Congress%20enacted%20the,and%20acquire%20a%20U.S.%20citizenship>  
Puerto Ricans no longer had to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign, and they could count their residence in Puerto Rico as residence in the United States for purposes of fulfilling the residency requirement.

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2017, March 3). *Are Puerto Ricans American citizens?* U.S. News. <https://www.usnews.com/news/national-news/articles/2017-03-03/are-puerto-ricans-american-citizens>

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2017, March 2). *Yes, Puerto Ricans are American citizens*. The Conversation. <https://theconversation.com/yes-puerto-ricans-are-american-citizens-73723>

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2018, March 15). *The Jones Act made Puerto Ricans citizens, yet not fully American*. *The Baltimore Sun*. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/opinion/op-ed/bs-ed-op-0316-puerto-rico-20180314-story.html>

Centro Center for Puerto Rican Studies. (2017). *U.S. citizenship in Puerto Rico: One Hundred Years after the Jones Act* [Special issue]. *Journal of the Center for Puerto Rican Studies*, 29(1). [https://centroprr-archive.hunter.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/Publications/JonesActPromo\\_v7.pdf](https://centroprr-archive.hunter.cuny.edu/sites/default/files/Publications/JonesActPromo_v7.pdf)

## <sup>74</sup> Congress Standardized the Naturalization Process and Provided for Denaturalization for the First Time (1906)

USCIS History Office and Library. (n.d.). *Overview of INS history*. U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. <https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/fact-sheets/INSHistory.pdf>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Registry Files, March 2 1929 - March 31, 1944*. <https://www.uscis.gov/records/genealogy/historical-record-series/registry-files-march-2-1929-march-31-1944>

Agarwal, K. (2018, July 24). *Stripping naturalized immigrants of their citizenship isn’t new*. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/stripping-naturalized-immigrants-their-citizenship-isnt-new-180969733/>  
This quotes “good moral character.”

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *ArtI.S8.C4.1.5.1 Denaturalization (Revocation of Citizenship) Generally*. Cornell Law School. <https://www.law.cornell.edu/constitution-conan/article-1/section-8/clause-4/denaturalization-revocation-of-citizenship-generally>

## <sup>75</sup> The U.S. Government Began Denaturalizing U.S. Citizens on a Variety of Grounds (1906)

Wessler, S. F. (2018, December 19). *Is denaturalization the next front in the Trump Administration’s War?*. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/magazine/naturalized-citizenship-immigration-trump.html>

Qureshi, A. (2020, October 20). *The denaturalization consequences of guilty pleas*. *The Yale Law Journal*, 130. <https://www.yalelawjournal.org/forum/the-denaturalization-consequences-of-guilty-pleas>

See Open Society Justice Initiative. (2019). *Unmaking Americans: Insecure citizenship in the United States*. Open Society Foundations. <https://www.justiceinitiative.org/uploads/e05c542e-0db4-40cc-a3ed-2d73abcf37f/unmaking-americans-insecure-citizenship-in-the-united-states-report-20190916.pdf>  
Denaturalizations focused increasingly on those considered to be communists.

#### <sup>76</sup> **Federal Courts Revoked the Citizenship of U.S. Citizens**

Wessler, S. F. (2018, December 19). Is denaturalization the next front in the Trump Administration's War?. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/magazine/naturalized-citizenship-immigration-trump.html>

#### <sup>77</sup> **U.S. Government Could Revoke Citizenship if the Acts Took Place Before the Person Naturalized (1943)**

Weil, P. (2013, April 26). *Citizen bomber*. *Slate*.  
<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2013/04/history-lesson-why-dzhokhar-tsarnaev-cant-be-stripped-of-his-citizenship.html>  
Schneiderman did not lie and was not even asked if he was a communist. In 1927, being a communist did not bar an immigrant from becoming a citizen.

See Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpbr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>

The Tamiment Library & Robert F. Wagner Labor Archives. (2022, February 8). *Guide to the records of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born TAM.086*. New York University.  
[http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/tam\\_086/bioghists.html](http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/tamwag/tam_086/bioghists.html)

#### <sup>78</sup> **Anti-Semitic Statements Were Not Grounds for Revoking Citizenship (1944)**

Chin, G. (2021, January 27). The Supreme Court's role in defining American citizenship. *SCOTUSblog*.  
<https://www.scotusblog.com/2021/01/the-supreme-courts-role-in-defining-american-citizenship/>  
A person cannot lose citizenship even for expressing repugnant speech and beliefs.

See Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpbr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>  
This states how *Baumgartner v. United States* affected the closing of the Denaturalization Program by 1945.

#### <sup>79</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled that the U.S. Government Could Not Revoke U.S. Citizenship of an Individual Who Voted in a Foreign Election (1967)**

Wessler, S. F. (2018, December 19). Is denaturalization the next front in the Trump Administration's War?. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/magazine/naturalized-citizenship-immigration-trump.html>

Lind, D. (2018, July 18). *Denaturalization, explained: how Trump can strip immigrants of their citizenship*. *Vox*.  
<https://www.vox.com/2018/7/18/17561538/denaturalization-citizenship-task-force-janus>

Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpbr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>

#### <sup>80</sup> **The United States Reached an Agreement with Japan to Reduce the Level of Japanese Worker Migration to the United States, Federal Court Ruled a Person of Japanese Descent Could Not Naturalize (1907)**

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). *Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States*.  
<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Little, B. (2022, May 5). *How Theodore Roosevelt changed the way America operated in the world*. *HISTORY*.  
<https://www.history.com/news/theodore-roosevelt-important-foreign-policy-big-stick>

See Asian Art Museum. (n.d.). *Lesson 2. Korean Americans and World War II – Selected Passages*.  
[https://education.asianart.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2020/06/Ernie-Kim-Lesson-2\\_Selected-Passages.pdf](https://education.asianart.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/6/2020/06/Ernie-Kim-Lesson-2_Selected-Passages.pdf)  
Korea was occupied by Japan since 1910, but the U.S. government often treated Koreans as “enemy aliens” even though they were highly supportive of the United States during WWII.

National Park Service. (n.d.). *Manzanar Chapter One: Historical development of the anti-Asian tradition in the western United States*. [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/manz/hrs1.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/manz/hrs1.htm)

Uyehara, M. (2021, August 23/30). The anti-Asian roots of today's anti-immigrant politics. *The Nation*.  
<https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/anti-asian-violence-labor/>

*The New York Times*. (1984, June 28). JAPANESE NOT WHITE PERSONS.; Hence not entitled to naturalization, Judge Colt says. <https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1894/06/28/106830911.html?pageNumber=9>  
This misspells Saito's first name as “Shebalto.”

See also Douglas, J. A. (2005) The “priceless possession of citizenship: Race, nation and naturalization in American Law, 1880-1930. *Duquesne Law Review*, 43(3), 369-423. <https://dsc.dug.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3477&context=dlr>  
This cites to *In re Saito*. Saito's first name is misspelled as “Shebatas.”

See also *Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922) <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/260/178/>  
This cites to *In re Saito*.

Odo, F. (n.d.). *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the making of the nation*. National Park Service.  
<https://www.nps.gov/articles/asian-americans-and-pacific-islanders-in-the-making-of-the-nation.htm>

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.  
<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

#### <sup>81</sup> Congress Revoked the Citizenship of U.S. Citizen Women if They Married Non-Citizens (1907)

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States.  
<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Expatriation Act of 1907*.  
<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/an-act-in-reference-to-the-expatriation-of-citizens-and-their-protection-abroad/>

Historical Biographies of Austin Cemeteries. (n.d.). *Joe Sing*. Austintexas.gov.  
<https://www.austintexas.gov/blog/joe-sing>  
American citizen Francisca Moreno lost her citizenship when she married a man of Chinese descent, Joe Sing.

Hacker, M. (2014). *When saying "I do" meant giving up your U.S. citizenship*. Genealogy Notes, National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2014/spring/citizenship.pdf>  
A woman regained citizenship if her non-citizen husband naturalized.

Orenstein, J. (2020, August 13). How my great-grandmother lost her U.S. citizenship the year women got the right to vote. *The Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/08/13/expatriation-act-citizenship-women-suffrage/>  
Losing citizenship affected a person's ability to reenter the United States, claim pensions and Social Security, apply for programs under the New Deal, and vote after the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment passed.

Chin, G. (2021, January 27). The Supreme Court's role in defining American citizenship. *SCOTUSblog*.  
<https://www.scotusblog.com/2021/01/the-supreme-courts-role-in-defining-american-citizenship/>  
In *Mackenzie v. Hare*, the plaintiff, a well-known women's suffragist, lost the ability to vote in a California election after she married a Scotsman. The justices could not understand why it was important for women to maintain independent citizenship.

See also Brown, T. B. (2017, March 17). That time American women lost their citizenship because they married foreigners. *NPR, Code Switch*.  
<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/03/17/520517665/that-time-american-women-lost-their-citizenship-because-they-married-foreigners>  
This describes *Mackenzie v. Hare* in more detail and states that U.S.-born women who married German men in 1917 had to register themselves as enemy non-citizens.

#### <sup>82</sup> A Federal Court Ruled a Syrian Immigrant Could Not Naturalize (1913)

Beydoun, K. A. (2017). "Muslim bans" and the (remaking) of political Islamophobia. *University of Illinois Law Review*, 1237, 1733-1774. <https://www.illinoislawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Beydoun.pdf> This argues that the court's framing of the Ottoman Empire rule as an "Arabian Mahometan eruption" was a demonstration of an aversion to Islam.

Faillinger, M. A. (2012). Islam in the mind of American courts: 1800-1960. *Boston College Journal of Law & Social Justice*, 32(1), 1-29. <https://lira.bc.edu/files/pdf?fileid=9b25a6e0-0f4c-4ede-beb0-6767eacdadf2>

Beydoun, K. A. (2015, September 29). *Viewpoint: Islamophobia has a long history in the US*. BBC.  
<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34385051>

Beydoun, K. A. (2016, August 18). American banned Muslims long before Donald Trump. *The Washington Post*.  
[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-anti-muslim-stance-echoes-a-us-law-from-the-1700s/2016/08/18/6da7b486-6585-11e6-8b27-bb8ba39497a2\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-anti-muslim-stance-echoes-a-us-law-from-the-1700s/2016/08/18/6da7b486-6585-11e6-8b27-bb8ba39497a2_story.html)

But see Beydoun, K. A. (2017). "Muslim bans" and the (remaking) of political Islamophobia. *University of Illinois Law Review*, 1237, 1733-1774.  
<https://www.illinoislawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Beydoun.pdf>

And see *United States v. Cartozian*, 6 F.2d 919 (D. Or. 1925). <https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/F2/6/919/1551454/>  
A federal court in Oregon granted the citizenship application of an Armenian immigrant after determining he was "white" under the law in 1925.

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.  
<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

#### <sup>83</sup> Federal Courts Ruled that Syrian Immigrants Could Naturalize (1915)

Lalami, L. (2020, September 17). I'm a Muslim and Arab American. Will I ever be an equal citizen? *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/17/magazine/im-a-muslim-and-arab-american-will-i-ever-be-an-equal-citizen.html>

Dow v. United States, 226 F. 145 (4th Cir. 1915). <https://cite.case.law/f/226/145/>

Stephan, R. (2021, April 30). *The story of Arab Americans' beginning in America – and the quest for fair representation*. U.S. Department of State. <https://www.state.gov/dipnote-u-s-department-of-state-official-blog/the-story-of-arab-americans-beginning-in-america-and-the-quest-for-fair-representation/>

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law. <https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>.

Douglas, J. A. (2005) The “priceless possession of citizenship: Race, nation and naturalization in American Law, 1880-1930. *Duquesne Law Review*, 43(3), 369-423. <https://dsc.duq.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3477&context=dlr>

In re Najour, 174 F. 735 (N.D. Ga. 1909). <https://case-law.vlex.com/vid/in-re-najour-890992358>  
In 1909, a federal court in Georgia granted the citizenship application of a Syrian Christian immigrant in *In re Najour*.

Beydoun, K. A. (2017). “Muslim bans” and the (remaking) of political Islamophobia. *University of Illinois Law Review*, 1237, 1733-1774. <https://www.illinoislawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Beydoun.pdf>  
In 1910, a federal court in Massachusetts found a Syrian Christian to be white in *In re Mudarri*.

In re Ellis, 179 F. 1002 (D. Or. 1910.) <https://casetext.com/case/in-re-ellis-2028>  
In 1910, a federal court in Oregon granted the citizenship application of a Syrian Christian after determining that he was “white” under the law in *In re Ellis*.

<sup>84</sup> **Japanese Nationals and Filipinos, Who Were U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals, Were Exempt from the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, Which Barred Nationals from the Asia-Pacific Triangle** (1917)

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Immigration Act of 1917 (Barred Zone Act)*. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/1917-barred-zone-act/>  
The Immigration Act of 1917 was also known as the Barred Zone Act.

Cohn, D. (2015, September 30). *How U.S. immigration laws and rules have changed through history*. Pew Research center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/09/30/how-u-s-immigration-laws-and-rules-have-changed-through-history/>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)*. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act#:~:text=The%201917%20Act%20implemented%20a,decisions%20over%20whom%20to%20exclude>

See also Waxman, O. B. & Cachero, P. (2021, April 30). 11 moments from Asian American history that should know. *Time*. <https://time.com/5956943/aapi-history-milestones/>  
The Asiatic Exclusion League successfully advocated for the 1917 exclusionary law. The league’s rhetoric inflamed hundreds of white workers to assault primarily Sikh immigrants in Washington in the Bellingham Riots so badly that the Indian immigrants fled to Canada the next day.

Vernon E. Jordan Law Library. (n.d.). *A brief history of civil rights in the United States: Historical overview – immigration*. Howard University School of Law. <https://library.law.howard.edu/civilrightshistory/immigration/history>

Zeidel, R. F. & Zócalo Public Square. (2018, July 16). *A 1911 report set America on a path of screening out ‘undesirable’ immigrants*. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/1911-report-set-america-on-path-screening-out-undesirable-immigrants-180969636/>  
The Dillingham Commission’s recommendation of a literacy test would exclude individuals who lacked “social, physical, and mental capabilities and who had added nothing of value” to the United States. The limitation by race would be implemented in laws passed in 1921 and 1924.

<sup>85</sup> **Congress Granted Limited U.S. Citizenship to Residents of Puerto Rico through the Jones Act** (1917)

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724. <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>  
The Jones-Shafroth Act is also known as the Jones Act.

Allen, G. & Peñaloza, M. (2017, March 2). *Puerto Ricans reflect on a century of (limited) citizenship*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2017/03/02/517999997/puerto-ricans-reflect-on-a-century-of-limited-citizenship>.

See also Cabranes, J. A. (1978). Citizenship and the American empire: Notes on the legislative history of the United States citizenship of Puerto Ricans. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, (127)391, 391-492. [https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4838&context=penn\\_law\\_review](https://scholarship.law.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=4838&context=penn_law_review)  
288 Puerto Ricans took steps to decline U.S. citizenship.

See also Kennedy, L. (2021, March 1). *Why the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment did not guarantee all women the right to vote*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/19th-amendment-voter-suppression>  
Puerto Rican women who were literate gained the right to vote in 1929, and all women in Puerto Rico won the right to vote in 1935.

History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). *Puerto Rico*. <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/HAIC/Historical-Essays/Foreign-Domestic/Puerto-Rico/>  
This quotes Luis Muñoz Rivera.

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2017, March 2). *Yes, Puerto Ricans are American citizens*. The Conversation.

<https://theconversation.com/yes-puerto-ricans-are-american-citizens-73723>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Global timeline*.  
<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/global-timeline/>

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2018, March 15). The Jones Act made Puerto Ricans citizens, yet not fully American. *The Baltimore Sun*. <https://www.baltimoresun.com/opinion/op-ed/bs-ed-op-0316-puerto-rico-20180314-story.html>

See also Venator-Santiago, C. (2018, March 6). *The law that made Puerto Ricans U.S. citizens, yet not fully American*. Zócalo Public Square. <https://www.zocalopublicsquare.org/2018/03/06/law-made-puerto-ricans-u-s-citizens-yet-not-fully-american/ideas/essay/>  
The majority of lawmakers at the time opposed admission of Puerto Rico as a state because it was primarily inhabited by non-white citizens.

#### <sup>86</sup> **The United States “Purchased” the U.S. Virgin Islands from Denmark (1917)**

Little, B. (2019, August 1). *The U.S. bought 3 Virgin Islands from Denmark. The deal took 50 years*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/news/us-virgin-islands-denmark-purchase>

Phillips, K. & Macalester College. (n.d.). *Timeline of Empire* [Interactive timeline]. Knight Lab.  
[https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTNqchmuRm7pFQqRrmZGY1hd8iF8&font=Default&lang=en&initial\\_zoom=2&height=1000](https://cdn.knightlab.com/libs/timeline3/latest/embed/index.html?source=1FoRrZY6Kn6SzKMTNqchmuRm7pFQqRrmZGY1hd8iF8&font=Default&lang=en&initial_zoom=2&height=1000),

The Danish West-Indies - Sources of history. (n.d.). *Negotiations with the U.S. on sale fail*. Danish National Archives. <https://www.virgin-islands-history.org/en/timeline/negotiations-with-the-u-s-on-sale-fail/>

The Danish West-Indies - Sources of history. (n.d.). *New sale negotiations with the US*. Danish National Archives.  
<https://www.virgin-islands-history.org/en/timeline/new-sale-negotiations-with-the-us/>

U.S. Department of State [2001-2009 Archive]. (n.d.). *Purchase of the United States Virgin Islands, 1917*.  
<https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/107293.htm>  
This quotes the U.S. Secretary of State.

#### <sup>87</sup> **U.S. Government Made Filipinos Who Served in the Armed Forces Eligible to Naturalize (1918)**

Sohoni, D. & Vafa, A. (2010). The fight to be American: Military naturalization and Asian citizenship. *Asian American Law Journal*, 17(119), 119-151. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1464&context=aspubs>

Dhillon, H. (2023, February). The making of modern US citizenship and alienage: The history of Asian immigration, racial capital, and US law. *Law and History Review*, 41(1), 1-42. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/law-and-history-review/article/making-of-modern-us-citizenship-and-alienage-the-history-of-asian-immigration-racial-capital-and-us-law/6563E350D8B5855520FEEFD4C76A0B0E>  
This refers to the 1918 law as the 1918 Service Act.

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>  
Filipinos, who were U.S. nationals during this period, could naturalize under this act, but they continued to be barred from citizenship more generally because of their race and U.S. national status.

See also Sohoni, D. & Turcios, Y. (2020). Discarded loyalty: The deportation of immigrant veterans. *Lewis & Clark Law Review*, 24(4), 1285-1337.  
<https://law.lclark.edu/live/files/31359-5-sohoni-and-turcios-article-244pdf>

The District Court of Northern California, in *In Re Bautista*, granted a Filipino his petition for citizenship in 1916 because the Naturalization Act of 1906 provided for the “admission to citizenship of all persons not citizens who owed permanent allegiance to the United States” and interpreted that Congress must have wanted to allow Filipinos and Puerto Ricans the opportunity to naturalize.

See also U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Citizenship and immigration during the First World War* [PDF graphic].  
[https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/newsletters/WWI\\_18x24\\_USCIS.pdf](https://www.uscis.gov/sites/default/files/document/newsletters/WWI_18x24_USCIS.pdf)  
Congress passed laws, including the Act of May 9, 1918, to expedite military naturalizations.

#### <sup>88</sup> **U.S. Government Made Indigenous Americans Who Served During WWI Eligible to Naturalize (1919)**

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1924: Congress enacts the Indian Citizenship Act*.  
<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/the-indian-citizenship-act>

U.S. Capitol Visitor Center. (n.d.). *H.R. 5007, an act granting citizenship to certain Indians, September 27, 1919*.  
<https://www.visitthecapitol.gov/artifact/hr-5007-act-granting-citizenship-certain-indians-september-27-1919#:~:text=Though%20they%20were%20not%20granted,Indian%20World%20War%20I%20veterans>

Nebraska Public Media. (n.d.). *Citizenship for Native veterans*. Nebraskastudies.org.  
<http://www.nebraskastudies.org/en/1900-1924/native-american-citizenship/citizenship-for-native-veterans/>

The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History. (n.d.). *American Indians’ service in World War I, 1920: A spotlight on a primary source by John J. Pershing*.  
<https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-resources/spotlight-primary-source/american-indians-service-world-war-i-1920>

The National WWI Museum and Memorial. (n.d.). *Native Americans in WWI*.  
<https://wwichangedus.org/topics/native-american-service/>

<sup>89</sup> **The Palmer Raids Targeted Immigrants and Arrested 10,000 People Across 70 Cities for Alleged Communism and Anarchism, Ultimately Deporting Hundreds (1919-20)**

Immigration History. (n.d.). *The Palmer Raids (1919-1920)*.  
<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/the-palmer-raids/>  
[Emma Goldman was a notable anarchist.](#)

See Women & the American Story. (n.d.). *Life story: Emma Goldman (1869-1940)*. New York Historical Society Museum & Library. <https://wams.nyhistory.org/modernizing-america/fighting-for-social-reform/emma-goldman/>  
[This describes Emma Goldman's activism and her relationship with Alexander Berkman.](#)

Federal Bureau of Investigation. (n.d.). *Palmer Raids*. FBI. <https://www.fbi.gov/history/famous-cases/palmer-raids>  
He had the support of a young Herbert Hoover who collected intelligence from the Bureau of Investigation.

The Bureau of Investigation was the predecessor to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hochschild, A. (2019, November 4). *When America tried to deport its radicals*. The New Yorker.  
<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/11/11/when-america-tried-to-deport-its-radicals>  
"Many leftists, such as Goldman, were Jewish, and most violent anarchists were Italian American," Hochschild writes.

This source also cites the attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer.

Dehler, G. (2023, April, 19). Palmer Raids. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*.  
Retrieved August 29, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Palmer-Raids>

The First Amendment Encyclopedia. (2009). A. Mitchell Palmer. Middle Tennessee State University.  
<https://www.mtsu.edu:8443/first-amendment/article/1273/a-mitchell-palmer>  
The American Civil Liberties Union was founded in 1920 largely in reaction to the Palmer raids' violation of civil liberties.

History.com Editors. (2018, August 21). ACLU. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/topics/gay-rights/aclu>  
The National Civil Liberties Bureau reorganized in 1920 as the ACLU in response to the Palmer Raids.

American Civil Liberties Union. (n.d.). *ACLU History*. ACLU.  
<https://www.aclu.org/about/aclu-history#:~:text=In%20November%201919%20and%20January,against%20unlawful%20search%20and%20seizure>

National Popular Government League & Brown, R. G. (1920). *To the American people; report upon the illegal practices of the United States Department of Justice*. Internet Archive. <https://archive.org/details/toamericanpeople00natiuoft/page/4/mode/2up>

Today in Civil Liberties History. (n.d.). *Prominent lawyers issue report condemning Palmer Raids*.  
<http://todayinclh.com/?event=prominent-lawyers-issue-report-condemning-palmer-raids>

<sup>90</sup> **U.S. Government Deported Emma Goldman Because of How She Obtained U.S. Citizenship Through Her First Marriage**

Wessler, S. F. (2018, December 19). Is denaturalization the next front in the Trump Administration's War?. *The New York Times Magazine*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/19/magazine/naturalized-citizenship-immigration-trump.html>  
Sources provide conflicting reasons for why Goldman lost her citizenship. According to this article, Goldman's derivative citizenship was invalid due to her husband's alleged fraud when he naturalized.

Special to The New York Times. (1909, April 9). *Emma Goldman now alien*. The New York Times.  
<https://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1909/04/09/101876539.html?pageNumber=2>  
Goldman's husband was underage at the time he naturalized, invalidating her derivative citizenship.

Women & the American Story. (n.d.). *Life story: Emma Goldman (1869-1940)*. New York Historical Society Museum & Library. <https://wams.nyhistory.org/modernizing-america/fighting-for-social-reform/emma-goldman/>  
Goldman lost her citizenship when she ended her first marriage, from which she had derived citizenship.

Lind, Dara. (2018, July 18). *Denaturalization, explained: How Trump can strip immigrants of their citizenship*. Vox.  
<https://www.vox.com/2018/7/18/17561538/denaturalization-citizenship-task-force-janus>

Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>

<sup>91</sup> **U.S. Government Denaturalized 1,000 Per Year**

Lind, Dara. (2018, July 18). *Denaturalization, explained: How Trump can strip immigrants of their citizenship*. Vox.  
<https://www.vox.com/2018/7/18/17561538/denaturalization-citizenship-task-force-janus>

Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>

<sup>92</sup> **U.S. Citizen Women Gained the Right to Vote Through the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment (1920)**

National Archives. (n.d.). *19<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: Women's right to vote (1920)*.

<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/19th-amendment#:~:text=Passed%20by%20Congress%20June%204,decades%20of%20agitation%20and%20protest>.

North, A. (2020, August 18). *The 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment didn't give women the right to vote*. Vox.

<https://www.vox.com/2020/8/18/21358913/19th-amendment-ratified-anniversary-women-suffrage-vote>

PBS Teachers Lounge. (2020, August 30). *Unlearning history: The Women's suffrage movement*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/education/blog/unlearning-history-the-womens-suffrage-movement>

The women's suffrage movement was inspired by Indigenous societies, had its roots in the abolitionist movement, and relied on lobbying, parading, petitioning, picketing, hunger strikes while imprisoned, and other tactics to advance the cause for suffrage.

See also *Minor v. Happersett*, 88 U.S. 162 (1875). <https://constitutioncenter.org/the-constitution/supreme-court-case-library/minor-v-happersett>

The 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment overruled *Minor v. Happersett*, in which the Supreme Court ruled in 1875 that although women were U.S. citizens, voting was not a right of U.S. citizenship and voting was rather a question for the states.

Block, M. (2020, August 26). *Yes, women could vote after the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment — but not all women. Or men*. NPR.

<https://www.npr.org/2020/08/26/904730251/yes-women-could-vote-after-the-19th-amendment-but-not-all-women-or-men>

But see National Park Service. (n.d.). *Wilhelmina Kekelaokalaninui Widemann Dowsett*. <https://www.nps.gov/people/wilhelmina-kekelaokalaninui-widemann-dowsett.htm>

Hawaiian women gained the right to vote when the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment passed, but Hawaiian residents did not get full representation until Hawaii became the 50<sup>th</sup> state in the Union.

<https://www.vox.com/2020/8/18/21358913/19th-amendment-ratified-anniversary-women-suffrage-vote> Kennedy, L. (2021, March 1). *Why the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment did not guarantee all women the right to vote*. HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/19th-amendment-voter-suppression>

Literacy tests, registration forms, grandfather clauses, interpretation tests, poll taxes, outright violence, and other tactics were used to prevent Black citizens and Indigenous and other people of color from voting.

Chin, G. (2021, January 27). The Supreme Court's role in defining American citizenship. *SCOTUSblog*.

<https://www.scotusblog.com/2021/01/the-supreme-courts-role-in-defining-american-citizenship/>

<sup>93</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled Individuals of Japanese Descent Could Not Naturalize (1922)**

Nuyen, S. (2021, May 27). *4 U.S. Supreme Court cases where Asian Americans fought for civil rights*. NPR.

<https://www.npr.org/2021/05/27/999550296/4-u-s-supreme-court-cases-where-asian-americans-fought-for-civil-rights>

National Public Radio. (2022, October 3). AAPI and the problems of categorizing race [Interview transcript].

NPR, *The Indicator from Planet Money*. <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1126642816>

In *Ozawa v. United States*, Ozawa was unable to persuade the Court that he was "white" under the law and should therefore be able to naturalize despite the fact that his skin color was lighter than that of some Europeans.

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.

<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

This lists cases from 1894 through 1923 in which federal courts ruled that Japanese nationals could not naturalize, including those who were half Japanese.

<sup>94</sup> **Hundreds of Individuals of Japanese Descent Naturalized Until 1910**

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States.

<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

The Pluralism Project, Harvard University. (n.d.). *Asians and Asian exclusion*. The Pluralism Project.

<https://pluralism.org/asians-and-asian-exclusion>

This describes Ozawa as ineligible for citizenship under the 1790 Naturalization Act.

Schulz, K. (2016, May 30). *Citizen Khan*. The New Yorker.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/06/06/zarif-khans-tamales-and-the-muslims-of-sheridan-wyoming>

*Ozawa v. United States*, 260 U.S. 178 (1922). <https://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/260/178>

This quotes the Supreme Court's decision.

<sup>95</sup> **Federal Courts Across the United States Ruled Inconsistently on Who Could Become U.S. Citizens Based on Notions of Who Was Considered "White" Under the Law**

Schulz, K. (2016, May 30). *Citizen Khan*. The New Yorker.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/06/06/zarif-khans-tamales-and-the-muslims-of-sheridan-wyoming>

Dhillon, H. (2023, February). The making of modern US citizenship and alienage: The history of Asian immigration,

racial capital, and US law. *Law and History Review*, 41(1), 1-42. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/law-and-history-review/article/making-of-modern-us-citizenship-and-alienage-the-history-of-asian-immigration-racial-capital-and-us-law/6563E350D8B5855520FEEFD4C76A0B0E>  
There were 52 federal adjudications of immigrants' naturalization cases between 1878 and 1952.

Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law. <https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

<sup>96</sup> **U.S. Citizen Women Were Able to Keep Their Citizenship Unless They Married Non-Citizens of Asian Descent (1922)**

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724. <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

Hacker, M. (2014). *When saying "I do" meant giving up your U.S. citizenship*. Genealogy Notes, National Archives. <https://www.archives.gov/files/publications/prologue/2014/spring/citizenship.pdf>  
Subsequent laws in 1936 gave women the opportunity to regain their lost citizenship after their non-citizen husbands died or from whom they divorced and in 1940 provided that all women could regain their citizenship regardless of their marital status.

The Cable Act is also known as the Married Women's Act or Married Women's Independent Nationality Act.

See also Orenstein, J. (2020, August 13). How my great-grandmother lost her U.S. citizenship the year women got the right to vote. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2020/08/13/expatriation-act-citizenship-women-suffrage/>  
One woman was born in the United States in 1898, traveled to China when she was 5 years old with her parents, and married there. However, after her husband died, she was unable to return to the U.S.

See also Collins, K. A. (2011). A short history of sex and citizenship: The historians' amicus brief in *Flores-Villar v. United States*. *Boston University Law Review*, 91, 1485-1518. <https://www.bu.edu/law/journals-archive/bulr/volume91n4/documents/COLLINS.pdf>  
Anarchists, polygamists, and others were also "ineligible for citizenship."

See also Moyers, B. (2017, October 13). *How the Nazis used Jim Crow laws as the model for their race laws*. BillMoyers.com. <https://billmoyers.com/story/hitler-america-nazi-race-law/>

<sup>97</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled that Indian Immigrants Could Not Naturalize (1923)**

Nuyen, S. (2021, May 27). *4 U.S. Supreme Court cases where Asian Americans fought for civil rights*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2021/05/27/999550296/4-u-s-supreme-court-cases-where-asian-americans-fought-for-civil-rights>  
The Supreme Court ruled that a person had to be Caucasian and have white skin tone to gain citizenship.

Dhillon, H. (2023, February). The making of modern US citizenship and alienage: The history of Asian immigration, racial capital, and US law. *Law and History Review*, 41(1), 1-42. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/law-and-history-review/article/making-of-modern-us-citizenship-and-alienage-the-history-of-asian-immigration-racial-capital-and-us-law/6563E350D8B5855520FEEFD4C76A0B0E>  
The British and U.S. governments worked together to restrict the naturalization of or denaturalize Indian immigrants as early as 1908, as the former feared Indian activists who were leading anticolonial actions against the British government.

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law. <https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>  
This lists a history of different federal courts ruling that Indians were white or not white for purposes of naturalization from 1910 until the 1923 Supreme Court decision; a federal court in Michigan also held that Punjabis were not white in 1925.

National Public Radio. (2023, February 9). The whiteness myth [Interview transcript]. NPR, *Throughline*. <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1155489235>  
Thind attended the University of California at Berkeley and eventually obtained his PhD.

<sup>98</sup> **As a Result of *Thind*, the U.S. Government Revoked the Citizenship of Individuals of Indian Descent**

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States. <https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

National Public Radio. (2023, February 9). The whiteness myth [Interview transcript]. NPR, *Throughline*. <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1155489235>  
Thind argued that he was a high-caste, pure Aryan Brahmin from a part of India that was invaded by Aryans, a group that is Caucasian, for centuries and that, therefore, he was white.

See also Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724. <https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>  
This describes Thind as a Punjabi man from the Caucasus Mountains.

National Park Service. (n.d.). *Bhagat Singh Thind*. <https://www.nps.gov/people/bhagat-singh-thind.htm>.

The Pluralism Project, Harvard University. (n.d.). *Asians and Asian exclusion*. The Pluralism Project. <https://pluralism.org/asians-and-asian-exclusion>

This describes the interpretation of the 1790 Naturalization Act and the issue of whether Thind was eligible for citizenship.

Dhillon, H. (2023, February). The making of modern US citizenship and alienage: The history of Asian immigration, racial capital, and US law. *Law and History Review*, 41(1), 1-42. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/law-and-history-review/article/making-of-modern-us-citizenship-and-alienage-the-history-of-asian-immigration-racial-capital-and-us-law/6563E350D8B5855520FEED4C76A0B0Ehttps://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/law-and-history-review/article/making-of-modern-us-citizenship-and-alienage-the-history-of-asian-immigration-racial-capital-and-us-law/6563E350D8B5855520FEED4C76A0B0E>  
This states that caste became linked to race for South Asian immigrants in U.S. courts.

See also SALDEF. (2015, January 1). *13 moments that shaped Sikh American history*. Medium. <https://medium.com/@saldef/13-moments-that-shaped-sikh-american-history-bf1631185e7>

Schulz, K. (2016, May 30). *Citizen Khan*. The New Yorker. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/06/06/zarif-khans-tamales-and-the-muslims-of-sheridan-wyoming>

See also Waxman, O. & Aneja, A. (2021, May 3). The overlooked history of Angel Island, where the U.S. enforced rules designed to keep Asian immigrants out. *Time*. <https://time.com/5954114/angel-island-aapi-immigration-history/>  
One person whose citizenship was revoked, Vaishno Das Bagai, from modern-day Pakistan, committed suicide in 1928. Despite becoming a citizen in 1921, *Thind* revoked his citizenship in 1923.

#### <sup>99</sup> U.S. Government Revoked the Citizenship of Felons, Traitors, War Criminals, and Alleged Communists During this Time Period

Schulz, K. (2016, May 30). *Citizen Khan*. The New Yorker. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/06/06/zarif-khans-tamales-and-the-muslims-of-sheridan-wyoming>

#### <sup>100</sup> Congress Severely Limited the Immigration of Immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, Completely Excluded Immigrants from Asia (1924)

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act)*. U.S. Department of State. <https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act>  
This law was the first time Japanese immigrants were barred from entering the United States.

The National Origins Act of 1924 is also known as the Johnson-Reed Act.

See also National Park Service. (n.d.). *Manzanar Chapter One: Historical development of the anti-Asian tradition in the western United States*. [https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online\\_books/manz/hrs1.htm](https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/manz/hrs1.htm)

A delegation from the Japanese Exclusion League lobbied Congress to bar Japanese immigrants in addition to the already-barred Chinese immigrants for the “duplication” of male Japanese immigrants seeking “picture brides” from Japan and putting their land titles in the names of the U.S.-born children. Japanese immigrants were barred from owning land.

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American Immigration Council. (n.d.). *The legacy of racism within the U.S. Border Patrol*. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/legacy-racism-within-us-border-patrol>

#### <sup>101</sup> New Yorkers, Including New York Policymakers, Protested the Discriminatory Nature of this Law

Jou, C. (2011, January). Contesting Nativism: The New York Congressional Delegation's Case against the Immigration Act of 1924. *Federal History*, 3, 66-79. [https://shfg.wildapricot.org/resources/Documents/FH%203%20\(2011\)%20Jou.pdf](https://shfg.wildapricot.org/resources/Documents/FH%203%20(2011)%20Jou.pdf)

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Konvitz, M. R. (1946). *The Alien and the Asiatic in American Law* [Archived edition]. Cornell University Press. <https://archive.org/details/alienasiaticinam0000unse/page/0/mode/2up>

#### <sup>103</sup> The United States Conferred Citizenship on Indigenous Americans (1924)

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

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<https://www.loc.gov/item/today-in-history/june-02/>

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<https://www.onondaganation.org/news/2018/the-citizenship-act-of-1924/>

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#### <sup>104</sup> U.S. Citizenship Did Not Automatically Grant the Right to Vote

Krol, D. U. (2022, November 4). Native people won the right to vote in 1948, but the road to the ballot box is still bumpy. *AZ Central*. <https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/elections/2022/11/04/how-native-people-fought-right-vote-arizona-elections/10652710002/>  
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This also notes that since only 10-20 percent of Indigenous voters were English proficient in reading and writing, literacy tests had a devastating impact on Indigenous voters. The Supreme Court upheld a federal law in 1972 that barred such literacy tests.

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*.  
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Ferguson-Bohnee, P. (2020, February 9). How the Native American vote continues to be suppressed. *Human Rights*, 45(1). [https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsi/publications/human\\_rights\\_magazine\\_home/voting-rights/how-the-native-american-vote-continues-to-be-suppressed/](https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsi/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/voting-rights/how-the-native-american-vote-continues-to-be-suppressed/)

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Ellis, E. (2018). The border(s) crossed us too: The intersections of Native American and immigrant fights for justice.

*Expulsion*, 14(1). <https://hemisphericinstitute.org/en/emisferica-14-1-expulsion/14-1-essays/the-border-s-crossed-us-too-the-intersections-of-native-american-and-immigrant-fights-for-justice-2.html>

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<https://www.onondaganation.org/news/2010/the-haudenosaunee-confederacy-sovereignty-citizenship-and-passports/>

<sup>106</sup> **Arkansas Was the Last State to Ban Non-Citizen Voting in State Elections (1926)**

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Roth, Z. (2023, March 14). *Noncitizens allowed to vote in some local elections, spurring backlash from GOP*. Georgia Recorder. <https://georgiarecorder.com/2023/03/14/noncitizens-allowed-to-vote-in-some-local-elections-spurring-backlash-from-gop/>

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Alien Suffrage. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/politics/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/alien-suffrage>  
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Lerner, K. (2022, December 22). *Republicans lead charge to ban noncitizens from voting in local elections*. The Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2022/dec/22/republicans-noncitizen-voting-ban-local-elections>

Gunter, R. M. (2021, December 29). You didn't always have to be a citizen to vote in America. *Washington Post*.  
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/12/29/you-didnt-always-have-be-citizen-vote-america/>

See also Evans, F. (2023, August 8). *How Jim Crow-era laws suppressed the African American vote for generations*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/jim-crow-laws-black-vote>  
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<sup>107</sup> **The Federal Government Conferred Citizenship on Most Virgin Islanders (1927)**

Evans, H. E. (2023, June 21). History of the Virgin Islands. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 29, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Virgin-Islands/History>

Office of Insular Affairs. (n.d.). *U.S. Virgin Islands*. U.S. Department of the Interior.  
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<sup>108</sup> **A Federal Court Denied the Naturalization of an Afghan Immigrant (1927)**

Smith, M. L. (2022, Summer). INS administration of racial provisions in U.S. immigration and nationality law since 1898. *Prologue Magazine*, 34(2). <https://www.archives.gov/publications/prologue/2002/summer/immigration-law-1>

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.  
<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

<sup>109</sup> **The Registry Program Provided a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1921 and Lacked an Admission Record (1929)**

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Visa Files, July 1, 1924 - March 31, 1944*.  
<https://www.uscis.gov/history-and-genealogy/genealogy/historical-record-series/visa-files-july-1-1924-march-31-1944>  
USCIS currently has about 250,000 Registry Files.

Fwd.us. (2021, April 15). *Immigration registry: A potential pathway to citizenship for many immigrants*.  
<https://www.fwd.us/news/immigration-registry/>  
The original cutoff date of entry was 1921 but updated to 1924 through the Nationality Act in 1940.

American Immigration Council. (n.d.). *Legalization through "registry"* [PDF].  
[https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization\\_through\\_registry\\_1.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization_through_registry_1.pdf)  
This describes additional conditions to the registry provision such as continuous residency in the United States since entering, "good moral character," and not being subject to deportation.

American Immigration Council. (2021, September 28). *Legalization through "registry."*  
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<sup>110</sup> **The Federal, State, and Local Governments Expelled as Many as 2 million People of Mexican Descent, 60 Percent of Whom Were U.S. Citizens, throughout the Great Depression (1930s)**

McGreevy, P. & Grad, S. (2015, October 2). California law seeks history of Mexican deportations in textbooks. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-ln-california-law-seeks-history-of-mexican-deportations-in-textbooks-20151001-story.html>

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Little, B. (2019, July 12). *The U.S. deported a million of its own citizens to Mexico during the Great Depression*. <https://www.history.com/news/great-depression-repatriation-drives-mexico-deportation>

Gutiérrez, R. A. (2019, July 29). *Mexican Immigration the United States*. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. Retrieved August 31, 2023, from <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-146>

Elmore, M. (2019, March 28). *Apostles in the desert: How Catholic advocates once led the fight to help Mexican immigrants*. Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism, University of Notre Dame. <https://cushwa.nd.edu/news/apostles-in-the-desert/>  
Cleofás Calleros, a border representative for the Department of Immigration of the U.S. Catholic Conference, traveled throughout the West and Southwest to warn people that repatriation would discourage Mexicans from naturalizing, separate families, worsen relations with Mexico, and cause generations of Americans to fear the federal government.

Balusek, B., Dunsavage, V., & Ramirez, K. (2012-2013). Cleofas Calleros made local history important. *Borderlands*, 30, 6. <https://epcc.libguides.com/c.php?g=754275&p=5406421>  
Cleofás Calleros also worked to return many U.S. citizens back to the United States from Mexico.

Vargas, Z. (20013). *Labor rights are civil rights: Mexican American workers in twentieth-century America* [Ebook]. Princeton University Press.  
[https://books.google.com/books?id=1dsDAQAAQBAJ&pg=PA303&lpg=PA303&dq=%22cleofas+calleros%22+repatriation&source=bl&ots=L\\_a2zGfVfM&sig=ACfU3U1JCi53GGaeAg2UvhTPXUCsbMkwXQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjsk4yGmoqAAxWgElkFHYT6C2E4HhDoAXoECAIQAw#v=onepage&q&f=false](https://books.google.com/books?id=1dsDAQAAQBAJ&pg=PA303&lpg=PA303&dq=%22cleofas+calleros%22+repatriation&source=bl&ots=L_a2zGfVfM&sig=ACfU3U1JCi53GGaeAg2UvhTPXUCsbMkwXQ&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKEwjsk4yGmoqAAxWgElkFHYT6C2E4HhDoAXoECAIQAw#v=onepage&q&f=false)  
See page 59 for a description of how Calleros persuaded U.S. immigration authorities to accept a wider variety of documents to demonstrate employment and residency for Mexican immigrants, secured backpay for Mexicans repatriated to Mexico, and helped more than 30,000 Mexicans from as far east as Brownsville, TX, as far west as San Diego, CA, and as far north as Detroit, MI.

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period to the present day*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day#great-depression-world-war-ii-post-war-recovery-1930-1965>

<sup>111</sup> **The United States Designated Inuit and Unangan (Aleuts) as U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals (1932)**

Tompkins, H. C. (2017, January 13). *M-37043: Authority to acquire land into trust in Alaska* [Memorandum]. U.S. Department of the Interior. <https://www.doi.gov/sites/doi.gov/files/uploads/m-37043.pdf>

<sup>112</sup> **The United States Conferred U.S. Citizenship on Virgin Islanders (1932)**

U.S. Department of State [2001-2009 Archive]. (n.d.). *Purchase of the United States Virgin Islands, 1917*. <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/wwi/107293.htm>  
This quotes “American nationality” and “the political status of citizens.”

Evans, H. E. (2023, June 21). History of the Virgin Islands. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 29, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Virgin-Islands/History>

Little, B. (2019, August 1). *The U.S. bought 3 Virgin Islands from Denmark. The deal took 50 years*. HISTORY. <https://www.history.com/news/us-virgin-islands-denmark-purchase>

<sup>113</sup> **The United States Stripped Filipinos of the U.S. Non-Citizen National Status and Declared Them Aliens (1934)**

Porter, C. (1945, April). *What was the Independence Act?* [From EM 24: What Lies Ahead for the Philippines?]. American Historical Association.  
[https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/pamphlets/em-24-what-lies-ahead-for-the-philippines-\(1945\)/what-was-the-independence-act](https://www.historians.org/about-aha-and-membership/aha-history-and-archives/gi-roundtable-series/pamphlets/em-24-what-lies-ahead-for-the-philippines-(1945)/what-was-the-independence-act)  
The Tydings-McDuffie Act is also known as the Philippine Independence Act.

Sohoni, D. & Vafa, A. (2010). The fight to be American: Military naturalization and Asian citizenship. *Asian American Law Journal*, 17(119), 119-151. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1464&context=aspubs>

Britannica. (2016, October 10). Hare—Hawes—Cutting Act. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Hare-Hawes-Cutting-Act> The Tydings-McDuffie Act received approval from the Philippine Senate in 1934, whereas the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act of 1933 failed to get Philippine Senate approval due to provisions that provided for the indefinite placement of U.S. military bases in the Philippines.

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.  
<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>  
The number of Filipino entrants in 1931 was more than 36,500 but that dropped to only 72 in 1937.

#### <sup>114</sup> The Tydings McDuffie Act Followed Years of Violence Targeting Filipinos

Meyers, D. W. (2017, September 18). It happened here: Mobs attack Filipinos in Lower Valley. *Yakima Herald-Republic*. [https://www.yakimaherald.com/news/local/it-happened-here-mobs-attack-filipinos-in-lower-valley/article\\_43b171f2-9c2b-11e7-a071-57c15018e1de.html](https://www.yakimaherald.com/news/local/it-happened-here-mobs-attack-filipinos-in-lower-valley/article_43b171f2-9c2b-11e7-a071-57c15018e1de.html)

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<https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2017/08/ninety-years-ago-in-washington-a-wave-of-anti-immigrant-sentiment-resulted-in-horror-for-filipinos.html>

Barkin, H. (2022, September 4). A look back at history: The 1930 Watsonville race riots. *Benito Link*.  
<https://benitolink.com/a-look-back-at-history-the-1930-watsonville-race-riots/>

Picture This: California Perspectives on American History. (n.d.). *Depression Era: 1930s: Watsonville Riots*. Oakland Museum of California. <https://picturethis.museumca.org/timeline/depression-era-1930s/watsonville-riots/info>

Chong, R. D. (2021, January 18). *1930 anti-Filipino race riots in California remembered*. AsAmNews.  
<https://asamnews.com/2021/01/18/putting-the-spotlight-on-a-forgotten-spotlight-in-asian-american-history/>

Bote, Joshua. (2021, May 5). *Movie stars and anti-Filipino race riots: The secret history of San Francisco's Macintosh Studios*. SFGate. <https://www.sfgate.com/sfhistory/article/A-luxury-San-Francisco-suitmaker-that-inspired-a-16133069.php>

#### <sup>115</sup> The U.S. Government Also Promised the Philippines Independence in 1946

Longley, R. (2020, May 26). *Philippine-American War: Causes and consequences*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/philippine-american-war-4846100>

Britannica. (2022, November 29). Tydings-McDuffie Act. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Tydings-McDuffie-Act>

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *The Philippine-American War, 1899-1902*. U.S. Department of State.  
<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1899-1913/war>

Bodenheimer, R. (2020, March 20). *The Insular Cases: History and significance*. ThoughtCo.  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/the-insular-cases-history-and-significance-4797736>

Britannica. (2023, July 15). Jones Act. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/event/Jones-Act-United-States-1916>  
The Jones Act of 1916, or the Philippine Autonomy Act of 1916, promised eventual independence to the Philippines.

Buell, R. L. (1924, March). What about the Philippines? *The Atlantic*.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1924/03/what-about-the-philippines/648634/>.

#### <sup>116</sup> The U.S. Government Repatriated 2,000 Filipinos to the Philippines

Freedom for Immigrants. (n.d.). *A short history of immigration detention*.  
<https://www.freedomforimmigrants.org/detention-timeline>

Mejia-Giudici, C. (1998, December 3). *Filipino Americans in Seattle*. HistoryLink.org.  
<https://www.historylink.org/File/409>

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<https://books.google.com/books?id=bmN7EAAAQBAJ&pg=PA751&lpg=PA751&dq=v=onepage&q&f=false>  
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Ito, E. (2021, May 18.) *Who can belong in America? Understanding citizenship for Asian Americans and Asian immigrants*. The American Civil War Museum. <https://acwm.org/blog/who-can-belong-in-america-understanding-citizenship-for-asians-and-pacific-islanders/>

#### <sup>117</sup> The Children of U.S. Citizen Mothers Could Claim Citizenship (1934)

Collins, K. A. (2011). A short history of sex and citizenship: The historians' amicus brief in *Flores-Villar v. United States*. *Boston University Law Review*, 91, 1485-1518. <https://www.bu.edu/law/journals-archive/bulr/volume91n4/documents/COLLINS.pdf>

Selby, W. F. (2015, September 4). *Ted Cruz says it's always been that babies born to U.S. citizens abroad are citizens from birth*. Politifact. <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2015/sep/04/ted-cruz/ted-cruz-says-its-always-been-law-babies-born-us-c/>

Until the Equal Nationality Act of 1934, only children born outside of the United States to U.S. citizen fathers could claim U.S. citizenship.

Board of Immigration Appeals. (1949, April 26). *In the matter of S* [3 IN Dec. 589 (B.I.A. 1949)]. Casetext. <https://casetext.com/admin-law/in-the-matter-of-s-59>  
The rule of citizenship for children born outside the United States to at least one U.S. citizen parent can acquire citizenship through *jus sanguinis*.

<sup>118</sup> **Congress Permitted Asian WWI Veterans to Apply for U.S. Citizenship (1935)**

Goring, D. C. (2000). In Service to America: Naturalization of undocumented alien veterans. *Seton Hall Law Review*, 31, 400-484. <https://scholarship.shu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1343&context=shlr>

González, J. (2022, November 14). Asian Americans in the military. *Library of Congress Blogs*.  
<https://blogs.loc.gov/law/2022/11/asian-americans-in-the-military/>

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The Nye-Lea Act enabled 500 Asian immigrant WWI veterans to naturalize, including 400 Japanese immigrants whose citizenship was revoked by the Hawaii legislature.

SEIU503. (n.d.). *Bhagat Singh Thind*. <https://seiu503.org/bhagat-singh-thind/>

National Public Radio. (2023, February 9). The whiteness myth [Interview transcript]. *NPR, Throughline*.  
<https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1155489235>

Sohoni, D. & Vafa, A. (2010). The fight to be American: Military naturalization and Asian citizenship. *Asian American Law Journal*, 17(119), 119-151. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1464&context=aspubs>  
See page 146.

<sup>119</sup> **Puerto Rican Nationalists Argued for Puerto Rican Independence (1935-50)**

Muniz, A. L. (2023, February 16). *Months from independence: Colonialism crushes the nationalist movement in Puerto Rico*. Latino Rebels. <https://www.latinorebels.com/2023/02/16/puertoricoindependencenationalism/>  
This quotes Pedro Albizu Campos, who was also known as Don Pedro.

North American Congress on Latin America. (2007, September 25). *The colonial case of Puerto Rico*. NACLA.  
<https://nacla.org/article/colonial-case-puerto-rico>

See also Vézina, V. (2020). Navigating citizenship and national identity in American territories: Nationalism in American Samoa and Puerto Rico. *Shima Journal*, 14(2), 168-184. <https://www.shimajournal.org/issues/v14n2/12.-Vezina-Shima-v14n2.pdf>  
This describes the Río Piedras Massacre in 1935, a confrontation between members of the pro-independence Nationalist Party and local law enforcement.

See also Zinn Education Project. (n.d.). *March 21, 1937: Ponce Massacre*. <https://www.zinnedproject.org/news/tdih/ponce-massacre/>  
A 1937 protest by the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party commemorating the end of slavery in Puerto Rico and protesting the U.S. imprisonment of Don Pedro led to a massacre after the Insular Police fired upon the marchers.

See also Department of the Treasury & the United States Secret Service. (1978). *Excerpts from the history of the United States Secret Service 1865-1975*. Internet Archive. <https://archive.org/details/historyussecretser1978dept/page/n33/mode/2up>

See also Glass, A. (2017, November 1). *Puerto Rican militants try to assassinate Truman, Nov. 1, 1950*. Politico.  
<https://www.politico.com/story/2017/11/01/puerto-rican-militants-try-to-assassinate-truman-nov-1-1950-244323>  
Two Puerto Rican nationalists unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate the U.S. president in 1950 just days after the U.S. Air Force bombed the Puerto Rican town, Jayuya, to quell the uprising of Blanca Canales and others who declared a “free republic of Puerto Rico.”

Lopez, K. C. (2019, September 16). *Ley de la Mordaza: The law that made the Puerto Rican flag illegal*. PBS39/WLVT. <https://www.wlvt.org/blogs/lehigh/ley-de-la-mordaza-the-law-that-made-the-puerto-rican-flag-illegal/>

LeBrón, M. (2017, September 27). *Puerto Rico and the colonial circuits of policing*. NACLA.  
<https://nacla.org/news/2017/09/27/puerto-rico-and-colonial-circuits-policing>

Mathews, T. G., Wagenheim, K., & Wagenheim, O. J. (2023, August 18). Puerto Rico: The debate of political status. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from  
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Puerto-Rico/The-debate-over-political-status>

<sup>120</sup> **Guam Delegates Advocated for Citizenship for the Chamorro People (1936)**

Palomo, T. (n.d.). *The Defense of Guam: Spirit of remembrance*. National Park Service History.  
<http://npshistory.com/publications/wapa/npswapa/extContent/wapa/defense/defense2.htm>

Herman, D. (2017, August 15). *A brief, 500-year history of Guam*. Smithsonian Magazine.  
<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/brief-500-year-history-guam-180964508/>  
[This quotes the U.S. Navy.](https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/brief-500-year-history-guam-180964508/)

<sup>121</sup> **Congress Codified U.S. Non-Citizen National Status for the First Time, Declaring Nationals to Be Subordinate to U.S. Citizens (1940)**

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.

<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

All quotes from this entry can be found here.

## <sup>122</sup> U.S. Non-Citizen National Status Continued to Apply to the Individuals in the Panama Canal Zone, American Samoa, and Guam

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.

<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

The direct quotes from this entry can be found here.

Michal, E. J. (1992, Spring). American Samoa or Eastern Samoa? The potential for American Samoa to become freely associated with the United States. *The Contemporary Pacific* 4(1), 137-160.

<https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/35654a29-7fbd-4687-a24a-4cdce9df64e7/content>

Board of Immigration Appeals. (1949, April 26). *In the matter of S* [3 IN Dec. 589 (B.I.A. 1949)]. Casetext. <https://casetext.com/admin-law/in-the-matter-of-s-59>  
This lists the Panama Canal Zone and Cuba in addition to the Philippines as areas of U.S. nationals.

## <sup>123</sup> White, Black, and Indigenous Americans as well as Filipinos Who Served Honorably in the Armed Forces Could Naturalize

Sohoni, D. & Vafa, A. (2010). The fight to be American: Military naturalization and Asian citizenship. *Asian*

*American Law Journal*, 17(119), 119-151. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1464&context=aspubs>

## <sup>124</sup> Puerto Ricans Gained Birthright Citizenship

Venator-Santiago, C. R. (2017, March 2). *Yes, Puerto Ricans are American citizens*. The Conversation.

<https://theconversation.com/yes-puerto-ricans-are-american-citizens-73723>

Puerto Rico Citizenship Archives Project. (n.d.). *Jus soli citizenship*. University of Connecticut.

<https://scholarscollaborative.org/PuertoRico/exhibits/show/historical/birthright>

## <sup>125</sup> The U.S. Government Could Revoke Citizenship for Political Activity that Occurs After Naturalization

Stein, W. (1944, Summer). Revocation of citizenship - "Denaturalization." *Marquette Law Review*, 28(2), 59-74.

<https://scholarship.law.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3512&context=mulr>

Lind, Dara. (2018, July 18). *Denaturalization, explained: How Trump can strip immigrants of their citizenship*. Vox.

<https://www.vox.com/2018/7/18/17561538/denaturalization-citizenship-task-force-janus>

Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and*

*Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpbr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>

## <sup>126</sup> The Registry Program Was Updated to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1924 and Lacked an Admission Record

Fwd.us. (2021, April 15). *Immigration registry: A potential pathway to citizenship for many immigrants*.

<https://www.fwd.us/news/immigration-registry/>

American Immigration Council. (n.d.). *Legalization through "registry"* [PDF].

[https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization\\_through\\_registry\\_1.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization_through_registry_1.pdf)

American Immigration Council. (2021, September 28). *Legalization through "registry."*

<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/legalization-through-registry>

## <sup>127</sup> The Presidential Administration Forcibly Removed and Incarcerated Individuals of Japanese Descent, Two-Thirds of Whom were U.S. Citizens, Without Due Process During WWII (1942)

National Public Radio. (2023, January 29). *A project collects the names of those held at Japanese internment camps during WWII* [Interview transcript]. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/transcripts/1149347438>

National Archives. (n.d.). *Executive Order 9066: Resulting in Japanese-American incarceration (1942)*.

<https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/executive-order-9066>

Executive Order 9066 authorized the military to exclude civilians of Japanese descent from military areas, including through curfews, and Public Proclamation No. 4 began the evacuation and detention of individuals of Japanese descent to "assembly centers" and then eventually to "relocation centers."

This also notes a total property loss of \$1.3 billion and a net income loss of \$2.7 billion in 1983 dollars.

United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (n.d.). Japanese American Relocation. *Holocaust Encyclopedia*.

Retrieved on August 30, 2023, from <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/japanese-american-relocation>

Uyehara, M. (2021, August 9). *The anti-Asian roots of today's anti-immigrant politics*. The Nation.

<https://www.thenation.com/article/politics/anti-asian-violence-labor/>

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States.  
<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

National Archives. (n.d.). *Japanese-American incarceration during World War II*.  
<https://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/japanese-relocation>

National Park Service. (n.d.). *A brief history of Japanese American Relocation during World War II*.  
<https://www.nps.gov/articles/historyinternment.htm#:~:text=Roosevelt%20signed%20Executive%20Order%20No,or%20sabotage%20during%20the%20war>

<sup>128</sup> **Border Patrol Agents Relocated Individuals of Japanese Descent to Internment Camps, Served as Guards**

American Immigration Council. (n.d.). *The legacy of racism within the U.S. Border Patrol*.  
<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/legacy-racism-within-us-border-patrol>

<sup>129</sup> **Immigration and Naturalization Service Operated Several Internment Camps**

Pope, A. (2020, April). *Immigration and U.S. national security: The state of play since 9/11*. Migration Policy Institute. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Immigration-NatlSecurity\\_Final.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Immigration-NatlSecurity_Final.pdf)

National Archives. (n.d.). *World War II enemy alien control program overview*.  
<https://www.archives.gov/research/immigration/enemy-aliens/ww2>

Mak, S. (2020, June 10). Immigration and Naturalization Service. *Densho Encyclopedia*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration%20and%20Naturalization%20Service>

<sup>130</sup> **The U.S. Government Offered Japanese Americans Incarcerated During WWII the “Option” of Renouncing Their Citizenship**

Open Society Justice Initiative. (2019). *Unmaking Americans: Insecure citizenship in the United States*. Open Society Foundations. <https://www.justiceinitiative.org/uploads/e05c542e-0db4-40cc-a3ed-2d73abcf37f/unmaking-americans-insecure-citizenship-in-the-united-states-report-20190916.pdf>

Mak, S. (2020, June 10). Immigration and Naturalization Service. *Densho Encyclopedia*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Immigration%20and%20Naturalization%20Service>

Mintz, S. & McNeil, S. (2018). *Chronology of Japanese-American internment*. Digital History. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from [https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active\\_learning/explorations/japanese\\_internment/internment\\_timeline.cfm](https://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active_learning/explorations/japanese_internment/internment_timeline.cfm)

Chin, G. (2021, January 27). The Supreme Court’s role in defining American citizenship. *SCOTUSblog*.  
<https://www.scotusblog.com/2021/01/the-supreme-courts-role-in-defining-american-citizenship/>

Lyon, C. (2020, August 24). Denaturalization Act of 1944/Public Law 78-405. *Densho Encyclopedia*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/Denaturalization%20Act%20of%201944/Public%20Law%2078-405>

See also History.com Editors. (2021, October 29). *Japanese internment camps*. HISTORY.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/japanese-american-relocation>  
Japanese Americans incarcerated at Tule Lake had engaged in food strikes in 1943 over the unsafe conditions that led to the death of James Okamoto.

<sup>131</sup> **The U.S. Government Incarcerated 300 Italian Nationals and More than 5,000 Individuals of German Descent, Including U.S. Citizens**

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States.  
<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Downey, K. (2021, January 12). *Farming Idaho’s history of incarceration*. Boise State University Blue Review.  
<https://www.boisestate.edu/bluereview/farming-idahos-history-of-incarceration/>.

See also United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. (n.d.). Japanese American Relocation. *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. Retrieved on August 30, 2023, from <https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/japanese-american-relocation>  
The War Relocation Authority detained 14,000 European immigrants of mostly German or Italian descent out of the more than 1 million unnaturalized European immigrants living in the United States.

<sup>132</sup> **Repeal of Executive Order 9066 (1976)**

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States.  
<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>  
This quotes the Japanese relocation as a “national mistake.”

Ray, M. (2023, April 27). Executive Order 9066. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Executive-Order-9066>

<sup>133</sup> **A Federal Court Ruled Muslim Yemeni Immigrant Ineligible to Become U.S. Citizen (1942)**

In Re Ahmed Hassan, 48 F. Supp. 843 (E.D. Mich. 1942).

<https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/48/843/2391742/>

This source contains all direct quotes from the judge's decision.

Morgan, A. (2018, January 26). *Reclaiming Blackness and Islamic identity*. Black Perspectives.

<https://www.aaihs.org/reclaiming-blackness-and-islamic-identity/>

Beydoun, K. A. (2015, September 29). *Viewpoint: Islamophobia has a long history in the US*. BBC.

<https://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-34385051>

Lalami, L. (2020, September 17). I'm a Muslim and Arab American. Will I ever be an equal citizen? *The New York Times Magazine*.

<https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/17/magazine/im-a-muslim-and-arab-american-will-i-ever-be-an-equal-citizen.html>

<sup>134</sup> **With China as U.S. Ally During WWII, the United States Repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act, But Still Set a Numerical Cap (1943)**

Office of the Historian. (n.d.). *Chinese immigration and the Chinese exclusion acts*. U.S. Department of State.

<https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration>

Chow, K. 2017, April 19). 'Model minority' myth again used as a racial wedge between Asians and Blacks. *NPR, Code Switch*.

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2017/04/19/524571669/model-minority-myth-again-used-as-a-racial-wedge-between-asians-and-blacks>

National Broadcasting Company. (2014, December 17). *The Chinese Exclusion Act ended seventy-one years ago, today*. NBC.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/chinese-exclusion-act-ended-seventy-one-years-ago-today-n270276>

Odo, F. (n.d.). *Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in the making of the nation*. National Park Service.

<https://www.nps.gov/articles/asian-americans-and-pacific-islanders-in-the-making-of-the-nation.htm>

The annual 105 Chinese quota applied to all Chinese entering the United States from any country, not just from China.

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period to the present day*. Cato Institute.

<https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day>

See also Block, M. (2020, August 26). *Yes, women could vote after the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment — but not all women. Or men*. NPR.

<https://www.npr.org/2020/08/26/904730251/yes-women-could-vote-after-the-19th-amendment-but-not-all-women-or-men>

<https://www.npr.org/2020/08/26/904730251/yes-women-could-vote-after-the-19th-amendment-but-not-all-women-or-men>  
Because Asian immigrants were ineligible to naturalize until this law, this was the first time any Asian group won the ability to vote.

<sup>135</sup> **A Federal Court Is the First to Grant a Muslim Immigrant's Application to Naturalize (1944)**

Ex Parte Mohriez, 54 F. Supp. 941 (D. Mass. 1944).

<https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/54/941/1739378/>

This directly quotes the court decision.

Beydoun, K. A. (2016, August 18). American banned Muslims long before Donald Trump. *The Washington Post*.

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-anti-muslim-stance-echoes-a-us-law-from-the-1700s/2016/08/18/6da7b486-6585-11e6-8b27-bb8ba39497a2\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-anti-muslim-stance-echoes-a-us-law-from-the-1700s/2016/08/18/6da7b486-6585-11e6-8b27-bb8ba39497a2_story.html)

This describes Mohriez as an Arab-born Saudi man.

Beydoun, K. A. (2017). "Muslim bans" and the (remaking) of political Islamophobia. *University of Illinois Law Review*, 1237, 1733-1774.

<https://www.illinoislawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Beydoun.pdf>

See also Lopez, I. H. (2020, October 14). *The racial classification cases*. Race, Racism and the Law.

<https://racism.org/articles/race/defining-racial-groups/372-the-racial-classification-cases?showall=1>

<sup>136</sup> **The War Brides Act Enabled U.S. Citizen Veterans of WWII to Reunite with Their Spouses and Children in the United States (1945)**

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Global timeline*.

<https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/global-timeline/>

Migration Policy Institute. (2013, March). *Timeline: Major US immigration laws, 1790 – Present*.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/CIR-1790Timeline.pdf>

History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). *Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress: Immigrants and refugees*.

<https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Essays/Exclusion-to-Inclusion/Immigrants-and-Refugees/>

Makamson, C. (2020, December 28). *Coming to America: The War Brides Act of 1945*. The National WWII Museum.

<https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/war-brides-act-1945>

The spouses and children of military personnel from Asia were able to immigrate to the United States in large numbers for the first time, and many of those marriages resulted in challenges of anti-miscegenation laws, such as *Perez v. Sharp*, where the California Supreme Court permitted a Mexican woman to marry an African American man in 1948.

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States. <https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Lyon, C. (2015, July 17). War Brides Act. *Densho Encyclopedia*. Retrieved August 30, 2023 from <https://encyclopedia.densho.org/War%20Brides%20Act>

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Immigration and relocation in U.S. History: Growth and inclusion*. <https://www.loc.gov/classroom-materials/immigration/chinese/growth-and-inclusion/>

<sup>137</sup> **Congress Permitted Indian and Filipino Immigrants the Opportunity to Naturalize (1946)**

Patel, D. (2020, October 7). *Kamala Harris and the 'other 1 percent.'* The Atlantic. <https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/10/kamala-harris-india-politics-singh/616624/> Jagjit Singh mobilized support from Albert Einstein and W.E.B. Du Bois.

Sohoni, D. & Vafa, A. (2010). The fight to be American: Military naturalization and Asian citizenship. *Asian American Law Journal*, 17(119), 119-151. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1464&context=aspubs>  
That same year, Congress also passed the Rescission Acts of 1946, which removed veteran benefits from Filipinos who did not serve directly under the U.S. military, even though they were placed under U.S. command.

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Luce-Celler Act of 1946*. <https://immigrationhistory.org/item/luce-celler-act/>

See also Public Broadcasting Corporation. (n.d.). *Roots in the sand: The Luce-Celler Act of 1946*. [https://www.pbs.org/rootsinthesand/a\\_lucecellar.html](https://www.pbs.org/rootsinthesand/a_lucecellar.html)  
This depicts the signing of the Luce-Celler Act.

Capozzola, C. (2021, July 4). July fourth in Independence Day for two countries. But for one it is hollow. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/07/04/july-fourth-is-independence-day-two-countries-one-it-is-hollow/>  
The Philippines has continued to be tied economically and militarily to the United States since 1946. For example, the U.S. Congress established trade terms that tied the Philippine economy to American manufacturers. The United States had access to Philippine natural resources while also keeping tariffs low for U.S. products. The U.S. government also had access to 23 military bases. In 1964, the Philippines declared that June 12, the anniversary of its first declaration of independence from Spain in 1898, would be the Philippine national holiday instead of July 4.

Domingo, L. Z. P. (2021, June 1). Resurgence of Filipino nationalism: Post-colonial forces against foreign control of the economy in the Philippines. *Global History Blog, Scottish Centre for Global History*. <https://globalhistory.org.uk/2021/06/resurgence-of-filipino-nationalism-post-colonial-forces-against-foreign-control-of-the-economy-in-the-philippines/>  
During the late 1940s through the 1970s, Filipino politicians, as well as university students and intellectuals, struggled against economic policies that amounted to U.S. neo-imperialism.

Franca, L. H. (2010). *A History of the Philippines: From Indios Bravos to Filipinos*. The Overlook Press.

Kramer, P. A. (2006). *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines*. The University of North Carolina Press.

Dooc, M. F. (2022, June 14). Carlos P. Garcia: The champion of economic independence. *BusinessMirror*. <https://businessmirror.com.ph/2022/06/14/carlos-p-garcia-the-champion-of-economic-independence/>  
In 1958, the Philippine government introduced the Filipino First Policy to favor Filipino economic freedom. It solidified the government's commitment to a policy of penalties and incentives Philippine administrations had used for over a decade to manage industrialization and investment in favor of Philippine (over American) economic interests.

Villegas, B. M. (2022, February 22). Origins of the Filipino First mentality. *Business World*. <https://www.bworldonline.com/opinion/2022/02/22/431638/origins-of-the-filipino-first-mentality-2/>

1 Billion Rising. (n.d.). *GABRIELA - National Alliance of Filipino Women Southeast Asia - Philippines, Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam, Singapore, Malaysia, Cambodia, Laos*. <https://www.onebillionrising.org/41139/gabriela-national-alliance-of-filipino-women-southeast-asia-philippines-indonesia-thailand-vietnam-singapore-malaysia-cambodia-laos/>  
In 1984, GABRIELA, a grassroots feminist alliance is founded to educate and empower Filipinas primarily from marginalized sectors to fight for their rights and interests through collective action, aspiring to achieve a society free from foreign domination and intervention with a self-reliant economy geared toward the people's needs.

Sumampong, S. J. (2020, February 17). Meet GABRIELA, the frontline feminist group fighting government violence in the Philippines. Gal-dem. <https://gal-dem.com/feminist-activism-gabriela-philippines-duterte-war-drugs-trump/GABRIELA-was-named-for-Gabriela-Silang-the-first-Filipina-to-lead-a-revolt-against-Spanish-colonization-of-the-islands>

<sup>138</sup> **The Federal Government Conferred U.S. Citizenship on Guamanians (1950)**

McNinch, R. (2019, August 15). We could OK Guam's constitution, but it wouldn't change much. *The Guam Daily Post*. [https://www.postguam.com/forum/featured\\_columnists/we-could-ok-guam-s-constitution-but-it-wouldn-t/article\\_df44c116-be4b-11e9-b53a-1f6ade40a8e1.html](https://www.postguam.com/forum/featured_columnists/we-could-ok-guam-s-constitution-but-it-wouldn-t/article_df44c116-be4b-11e9-b53a-1f6ade40a8e1.html)

Joint Region Marianas Public Affairs Office. (n.d.). *History*. U.S. Navy.

<https://jrm.cnmc.navy.mil/Installations/NAVBASE-Guam/About/History/>

Hattori, A. P. (1995.) Righting Civil Wrongs: The Guam Congress Walkout of 1949. *University of Hawai'i at Manoa*.

[https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/21164/1/Hattori\\_.pdf](https://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10125/21164/1/Hattori_.pdf),

*The New York Times*. (1949, March 6). GUAM ASSEMBLY QUILTS: Protests what it calls a Navy move to limit its

power. <https://www.nytimes.com/1949/03/06/archives/guam-assembly-quits-protests-what-it-calls-a-navy-move-to-limit-its.html>

Guampedia. (n.d.). Guam's seven historical eras. <https://www.guampedia.com/guams-seven-historical-eras/>

Murphy-Marcos, C. & Schnell, L. (2020, August 20). Politician Tulsi Gabbard, 'West Side Story' star Rita Moreno

among influential women from U.S. territories. *USA Today*. <https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/life/women-of-the-century/2020/08/13/puerto-rico-guam-virgin-islands-history-woman-voting-rights/5499047002/>

See also Immerwahr, D. (2019, February 15). How the US has hidden its empire. *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/news/2019/feb/15/the-us-hidden-empire-overseas-territories-united-states-guam-puerto-rico-american-samoa>

See also Dardani, R. (2020). Citizenship in empire: The legal history of U.S. citizenship in American Samoa, 1899-

1960. *American Journal of Legal History*, 60(3), 311-356. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ajlh/njaa013>

Guamanians in the Mau movement resisted colonial rule leading Congress to consider extending U.S. citizenship to American Samoa in the early 1930s. However, Congress came to believe that Samoans were resistant to becoming U.S. citizens after WWII.

### <sup>139</sup> Congress Reinforced Its National Origins Quota System (1952)

Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). *Chapter 1: The nation's immigration laws, 1920 to today*.

<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/>

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act)*.

<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-and-nationality-act-the-mccarran-walter-act/>  
The McCarran-Walter Act was also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act.

Sidahmed, M. (2020, September 14). *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (INA)*.

<https://documentedny.com/immigration-and-nationality-act-of-1952-ina/>

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1952: McCarran-Walter Act goes into effect, revising immigration laws*.

<https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/mccarren-walter-act-goes-into-effect>

Two-thirds of the nearly 155,000 annual slots were for immigrants from Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany.

Villazor, R. C. (2017). American nationals and interstitial citizenship. *Fordham Law Review*, 85(4), 1673-1724.

<https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=5304&context=flr>

### <sup>140</sup> U.S. Non-Citizen Nationals Were Able to Naturalize if They Moved to a U.S. State

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Chapter 5 – Modifications and exceptions to continuous residence*

*and physical presence* [Policy Manual] [Footnote 28]. <https://www.uscis.gov/policy-manual/volume-12-part-d-chapter-5#footnote-28>

Legal Information Institute. (n.d.). *8 U.S. Code § 1436 - Nationals but not citizens; residence within outlying*

*possessions*. Cornell Law School. <http://uscode.house.gov/view.xhtml?req=granuleid:USC-prelim-title8-section1436&num=0&edition=prelim>

Van Dyke, M. B. (2019, December 17). *Why some American Samoans don't want U.S. citizenship*. NBC News.

<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/why-some-american-samoans-don-t-want-u-s-citizenship-n1103256>

The "expedited" naturalization process for American Samoans is usually for foreign-born nationals.

Associated Press. (2015, June 5). *American Samoans don't have right to U.S. citizenship, court rules*. PBS.

<https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/american-samoans-dont-right-u-s-citizenship-court-rules>

American Samoans must live in a U.S. state for at least three months.

The Associated Press. (2018, March 27). *American Samoans sue for birthright citizenship*. Politico.

<https://www.politico.com/story/2018/03/27/american-samoa-birthright-citizenship-488669>.

### <sup>141</sup> Resistance to the Denaturalization Provisions for Alleged Communist Activities

Library Finding Aids. (n.d.). *American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born records, 1926-1980s*. University of

Michigan Library. <https://findingaids.lib.umich.edu/catalog/umich-scl-acpfb>

### <sup>142</sup> Women Gained Primary Status to Bring Spouses and Minor Children to the United States

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act)*.

<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-and-nationality-act-the-mccarran-walter-act/>

<sup>143</sup> **Temporary “Guestworker” Program Created**

KXTV Staff. (2017, May 23). *Bracero programs: A brief history of America’s migrant farm workers legislation.*

ABC10. <https://www.abc10.com/article/news/bracero-programs-a-brief-history-of-americas-migrant-farm-workers-legislation/442373712>

Nigh, V. (2017, October 24). *H-2A program use continues to rise.* FB.

<https://www.fb.org/market-intel/h-2a-program-use-continues-to-rise>

Immigration History. (n.d.). *H-2 guestworker visa program.*

<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/h-2-guestworker-visa-program/>

<sup>144</sup> **The U.S. Attorney General Could Parole Refugees to the United States**

Immigration History. (n.d.). *Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act).*

<https://immigrationhistory.org/item/immigration-and-nationality-act-the-mccarran-walter-act/>

<sup>145</sup> **Federal, State, and Local Governments Conducted More than One Million Expulsions of People of Mexican Descent, Including U.S. Citizens, from the United States Without Due Process (1954-55)**

Peralta, E. (2015, November 11). It came up in the debate: Here are 3 things to know about ‘Operation Wetback.’

*Code Switch*, NPR. <https://www.npr.org/sections/thetwo-way/2015/11/11/455613993/it-came-up-in-the-debate-here-are-3-things-to-know-about-operation-wetback>

Lind, D. (2015, November 11). *Operation Wetback, the 1950s immigration policy Donald Trump loves, explained.*

Vox. <https://www.vox.com/2015/11/11/9714842/operation-wetback>

The total number of deportations is difficult to ascertain. During the United States’s 1953 fiscal year, the government apprehended 875,000 immigrants. During the fiscal year of 1954, when Operation Wetback began, the government apprehended more than one million, and in the 1955 fiscal year, less than 250,000. The government counted, and continues to count, each apprehension, even if the same immigrant is apprehended more than once.

See also Longley, R. (2018, October 11). *Operation Wetback: The largest mass deportation in U.S. History.* ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/operation-wetback-4174984>

The number of removals also included individuals who voluntarily returned to Mexico to avoid being arrested.

Goodman, A. (2020, June 23). *How 1970s U.S. immigration policy put Mexican migrants at the center of a system of mass expulsion.* Time.

<https://time.com/5858164/voluntary-deportation-history/>

Blakemore, E. (2019, June 18). *The largest mass deportation in American history.* HISTORY.

<https://www.history.com/news/operation-wetback-eisenhower-1954-deportation>

Eji. (n.d.). *On this day — Jul 15, 1954: U.S. government stages mass deportations in the American Southwest.*

<https://calendar.eji.org/racial-injustice/jul/15>

Council on Foreign Relations. (n.d.). *US. Postwar immigration policy.*

<https://www.cfr.org/timeline/us-postwar-immigration-policy>

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period*

*to the present day.* Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day>

Los Angeles Historic Resources Survey. (2017, October). *Los Angeles Citywide historic context statement, Context:*

*industrial development, 1850-1980, Theme: Labor history, 1870-1980.* City of Los Angeles, Department of City Planning.

[https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/0435c714-48b7-4959-9d4c-93b24641d4f0/LaborHistory\\_1870-1980.pdf](https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/0435c714-48b7-4959-9d4c-93b24641d4f0/LaborHistory_1870-1980.pdf)

Garcilazo, J. M. (2001). McCarthyism, Mexican Americans, and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of the Foreign-

Born, 1950-1954. *The Western Historical Quarterly*, 32(3), 273–295. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3650736>

<sup>146</sup> **The Registry Program Was Updated to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1940 and Lacked an Admission Record (1958)**

U.S. House of Representatives. (n.d.). Public Law 85-616—Aug. 8, 1958.

<https://uscode.house.gov/statviewer.htm?volume=72&page=546>

American Immigration Council. (n.d.). *Legalization through “registry”* [PDF].

[https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization\\_through\\_registry\\_1.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization_through_registry_1.pdf)

American Immigration Council. (2021, September 28). *Legalization through “registry.”*

<https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/legalization-through-registry>

<sup>147</sup> **Puerto Ricans Moved Towards Self-Determination (1959-67)**

History, Art & Archives, United States House of Representatives. (n.d.). *Separate Interest to National Agendas:*

*Hispanic-American Members of Congress in the Civil Rights Era, 1945-1977.* <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CDOC-108hdoc225/pdf/GPO-CDOC-108hdoc225-2-5.pdf>

See bottom of page 349.

Library of Congress. (n.d.). *Hispanic Reading Room, About this reading room*.  
<https://www.loc.gov/rr/hispanic/congress/fernos.html>

North American Congress on Latin America. (2007, September 25). *The colonial case of Puerto Rico*. NACLA.  
<https://nacla.org/article/colonial-case-puerto-rico>

Garriga-Picó, J. (1997, December). *The United States and Puerto Rico Political Relations Act Background, Issues and Principles* [Issue brief]. ASPIRA. <https://sociales.uprrp.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/02/Garriga-Pico-Issue-Brief-on-Young-Bill.pdf>

*New York Daily News*. (2017, January 1). President Ford to ask Congress to make Puerto Rico the nation's 51<sup>st</sup> state in 1977. <https://www.nydailynews.com/news/politics/president-ford-asks-congress-puerto-rico-state-1977-article-1.2921381>  
This quotes the commission's proposal rejected by the U.S. government.

White House Special Files Unit Files. (n.d.). *Puerto Rico - Compact of permanent union, November 20, 1975 - January 14, 1977* [Copies of original documents in Box 7]. Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library.  
<https://www.fordlibrarymuseum.gov/library/document/0010/6283030.pdf>  
This refers to the commission as a "joint U.S.-Puerto Rico ad hoc advisory group" convened in the early 1970s.

DBpedia. (n.d.). *About: 1967 Puerto Rican status referendum*.  
[https://dbpedia.org/page/1967\\_Puerto\\_Rican\\_status\\_referendum](https://dbpedia.org/page/1967_Puerto_Rican_status_referendum)

Mathews, T. G., Wagenheim, K., & Wagenheim, O. J. (2023, August 18). Puerto Rico: The debate of political status. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved August 30, 2023, from  
<https://www.britannica.com/place/Puerto-Rico/The-debate-over-political-status>

<sup>148</sup> **Congress Finally Ended the National Origins Quota System, Prioritized Family Reunification, and Updated the Registry Program to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 1948 and Lacked an Admission Record** (1965)

Barber, R. (2017, February 3). *How the civil rights movement opened the door to immigrants of color*. Facing South.  
<https://www.facingsouth.org/2017/02/how-civil-rights-movement-opened-door-immigrants-color>

Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). *Chapter 1: The nation's immigration laws, 1920 to today*.  
<https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/>

Vernon E. Jordan Law Library. (n.d.). *A brief history of civil rights in the United States: Historical overview – immigration*. Howard University School of Law. <https://library.law.howard.edu/civilrightshistory/immigration/history>  
The highest preferred immigrants were unmarried children of U.S. citizens, followed by spouses and unmarried children of permanent residents, professionals of exceptional ability, married children of U.S. citizens, siblings of U.S. citizens, skilled and unskilled workers in short supply, and refugees.

Diamond, A. (2020, May 19). *The 1924 law that slammed the door on immigrants and the politicians who pushed it back open*. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/1924-law-slammed-door-immigrants-and-politicians-who-pushed-it-back-open-180974910/>

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period to the present day*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day#shifting-perceptions-immigration-nationality-act-1952>

Those who supported the national origins system and opposed non-European immigration pushed for expanding the family-based immigration system.

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 is also known as the Hart-Cellar Act.

*But see* Jácome, M. E. (2020). Human rights on the border: A critical race analysis of *Hernandez v. Mesa*. *UCLA Law Review*, 66(1268), 1270-1319.  
[https://www.uclalawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/securepdfs/2021/03/67-5\\_Jacome.pdf](https://www.uclalawreview.org/wp-content/uploads/securepdfs/2021/03/67-5_Jacome.pdf)  
This describes how, in the United States in 1964, there were nearly 180,000 Mexican braceros alone.

Dickerson, C. (2021, May). *America never wanted the tired, poor, huddled masses*. The Atlantic.  
<https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2021/05/united-states-immigration-exclusion/618390/>  
It was believed that because the majority of the United States at that time was white that the majority petitioning for new immigrants would also be white.

Gjeltén, T. (2015, October 3). *In 1965, a conservative tried to keep America white. His plan backfired*. NPR.  
<https://www.npr.org/2015/10/03/445339838/the-unintended-consequences-of-the-1965-immigration-act>  
85 percent of the population was white at the time, and seven out of eight immigrants were coming from Europe in 1965. U.S. Representative Michael Feighan agreed to support the bill but insisted on prioritizing immigrants who already had relatives in the United States instead of an immigration preference to people whose skills and training would be "especially advantageous." Others believed that Feighan had come to devise "a nationally operating national-origin system."

Jilani, Z. (2020, September 21). *The 1619 Project is wrong on the 1965 Immigration Act*. The American Conservative. <https://www.theamericanconservative.com/the-1619-project-is-wrong-on-the-1965-immigration-act/>  
Representative Emanuel Celler and Senator Edward Kennedy believed that the law would result in shifts within European immigration and not result in comparatively many more Asians or Africans entering the United States.

Chishti, M., Hipsman, F., & Ball, I. (2015, October 15). *Fifty years on, the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act*

continues to reshape the United States. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/fifty-years-1965-immigration-and-nationality-act-continues-reshape-united-states>

Gutiérrez, R. A. (2019, July 29). Mexican Immigration the United States. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of American History*. Retrieved August 31, 2023, from <https://oxfordre.com/americanhistory/display/10.1093/acrefore/9780199329175.001.0001/acrefore-9780199329175-e-146>

While about 800,000 immigrant workers came from Mexico to the United States in 1964, there were suddenly not enough slots for Mexicans to enter the United States once the Hart-Celler Act went into effect. The number of “deportable aliens” jumped from 151,000 in 1968 to 781,000 in 1976, 99 percent of whom were Mexican.

American Immigration Council. (n.d.). *Legalization through “registry”* [PDF]. [https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization\\_through\\_registry\\_1.pdf](https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/sites/default/files/research/legalization_through_registry_1.pdf)

American Immigration Council. (2021, September 28). *Legalization through “registry.”* <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/legalization-through-registry>

<sup>149</sup> **U.S. Virgin Islanders Founded the Independent Citizens Movement Party** (1968)

Election System of the Virgin Islands. (n.d.). *Political parties*. Government of the Virgin Islands. <https://vivote.gov/political-parties/>

Knight, A. (2018, October 22). ‘Homegrown’ Independent Citizens Movement celebrates 50 years. *The St. Thomas Source*. <https://stthomassource.com/content/2018/10/22/homegrown-independent-citizens-movement-celebrates-50-years/>

National Governors Association. (n.d.). *Former governors - Virgin Islands*. <https://www.nga.org/former-governors/virgin-islands/>

<sup>150</sup> **The U.S. Government Enabled Non-Citizen Veterans Who Served During Military Hostilities to Naturalize** (1968)

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States. <https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Vakili, B., Pasquarella, J., & Marciano, T. (2016, July). *Discharged, then discarded: How U.S. veterans are banished by the country they swore to protect*. American Civil Liberties Union of California. <https://www.aclusocal.org/sites/default/files/dischargedthendiscarded-acluofca.pdf>

Non-citizens who served honorably in the U.S. armed forces during WWII could expedite their naturalization applications without showing proof of lawful entry to the United States.

<sup>151</sup> **New York City Permitted Anyone to Vote, Including Non-Citizens, in School Board Elections** (1969)

Austermuhle, M. (2023, February 27). *Before a non-citizen voting bill in D.C. became a right-wing flashpoint, it had a long local history*. WAMU 88.5. <https://wamu.org/story/23/02/27/non-citizen-voting-has-long-local-history/>

<sup>152</sup> **U.S. Citizens of Washington, D.C. Gained Limited Vote** (1970)

Council of the District of Columbia. (n.d.). *D.C. home rule*. <https://dccouncil.gov/dc-home-rule/>

HISTORY. (n.d.). *1964: D.C. residents cast first presidential votes*. <https://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/d-c-residents-cast-first-presidential-votes>

Roberts, W. & Berger, S. (2020, August 19). *It’s past time to grant D.C. statehood*. The Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/news/2020/08/19/489667/past-time-grant-d-c-statehood/>

<sup>153</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled It is Permissible to Discriminate Against Non-Citizens** (1976)

Chin, G. (2021, January 27). The Supreme Court’s role in defining American citizenship. *SCOTUSblog*. <https://www.scotusblog.com/2021/01/the-supreme-courts-role-in-defining-american-citizenship/>

See also Mathews v. Diaz, 426 U.S. 67 (1976). <https://supreme.justia.com/cases/federal/us/426/67/>  
The due process clause of the Fifth Amendment does not entitle non-citizens to enjoy the same privileges as those of U.S. citizens.

<sup>154</sup> **American Samoa Elected Its First Governor** (1977)

Creevey, P. R., Wendt, A., & Foster, S. (2023, September 4). American Samoa. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved September 6, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/American-Samoa/History>

<sup>155</sup> **Northern Mariana Islands Became a Commonwealth** (1978)

Prince, H. G. (1989). The United States, the United Nations, and Micronesia: Questions of procedure, substance, and faith. *Michigan Journal of International Law*, 11(1), 11-89. [https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?params=/context/mjil/article/1095/&path\\_info=](https://repository.law.umich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?params=/context/mjil/article/1095/&path_info=)

This describes the Report of the UN Visiting Mission to the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands that shows a strong desire of the people of the Northern Mariana Islands to be incorporated into the United States.

Encyclopedia.com. (n.d.). Trust Territory of the Pacific. In *Encyclopedia.com*. Retrieved September 6, 2023, from <https://www.encyclopedia.com/history/dictionaries-thesauruses-pictures-and-press-releases/trust-territory-pacific#:~:text=The%20Trust%20Territory%20of%20the,of%20Micronesia%20except%20for%20Guam>

This describes the Trust Territory as a U.N. Trust Territory administered by the United States from 1947 to 1996 comprised of the Marshall Islands, Caroline Islands, Palau Islands, and Northern Mariana Islands. Guam was not included.

Ballendorf, D. A. & Foster, S. (2023, September 1). Northern Mariana Islands. In the Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica (Ed.), *Britannica*. Retrieved September 6, 2023, from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Northern-Mariana-Islands/German-and-Japanese-control>

Office of Insular Affairs. (n.d.). *Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands*. U.S. Department of the Interior. <https://www.doi.gov/oia/islands/cnmi>

National Immigration Forum. (2021, April 12). “Foreign in a domestic sense”: U.S. territories and “insular areas.” <https://immigrationforum.org/article/foreign-in-a-domestic-sense-u-s-territories-and-insular-areas/>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Chapter 2 – Becoming a U.S. citizen* [Policy Manual]. <https://www.uscis.gov/policy-manual/volume-12-part-a-chapter-2>  
Anyone born on or after November 4, 1986, in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands are U.S. citizens.

Foreign Affairs Manual. (2020, May 15). *8 FAM 301.1 - Acquisition by birth in the United States*. U.S. Department of State. <https://fam.state.gov/fam/08fam/08fam030101.html>

National Park Service. (n.d.). *Northern Mariana Islands and the 19<sup>th</sup> Amendment*. <https://www.nps.gov/articles/northern-mariana-islands-and-the-19th-amendment.htm>

*The New York Times*. (1975, February 16). Pact is signed to make North Marianas a U.S. Area. <https://www.nytimes.com/1975/02/16/archives/pact-is-signed-to-make-north-marianas-a-us-area.html>

<sup>156</sup> **Congress Provided a Pathway for Naturalization for Nearly Three Million Immigrants (1986)**

Moffett, D. (2019, July 3). *The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/immigration-reform-and-control-act-1986-1951972>  
The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 is also known as the Simpson-Mazzoli Act.

Wasem, R. E. (2012, December 13). *Unauthorized aliens residing in the United States: Estimates since 1986*. Congressional Research Service. <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/RL33874.pdf>

<sup>157</sup> **The Statute Limited Eligibility to Immigrants Who Arrived By or Before 1982**

Chishti, M. & Kamasaki, C. (2014, January). IRCA in retrospect: Guideposts for today’s immigration reform. *Migration Policy Institute Issue Brief*, 9. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/Lessons-of-IRCA-FINALWEB.pdf>

<sup>158</sup> **The Registry Program Was Updated to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States before 1972 and Lacked an Admission Record**

National Immigration Forum. (2021, September 1). *Fact sheet: Registry*. <https://immigrationforum.org/article/fact-sheet-registry/>

U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Green Card through registry*. <https://www.uscis.gov/green-card/green-card-eligibility/green-card-through-registry>  
This lists the eligibility criteria.

<sup>159</sup> **Congress Provided Certain Cuban and Haitian Entrants a Pathway to Naturalization**

EveryCRSReport.com. (n.d.). *U.S. immigration policy on Haitian migrants, January 21, 2005 – May 17, 2011*. <https://www.everycrsreport.com/reports/RS21349.html>

<sup>160</sup> **The U.S. Government Could Not Revoke Citizenship Unless Citizens Voluntarily Engaged in Certain Activities**

Law, A. O. (2013). The sovereign citizen – denaturalization and the origins of the American republic. *Law and Politics Book Review*. <http://www.lpbr.net/2013/12/the-sovereign-citizen-denaturalization.html>

Badger, E. (2014, November 26). What happened to the millions of immigrants granted legal status under Ronald Reagan?. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2014/11/26/what-happened-to-the-millions-of-immigrants-granted-legal-status-under-ronald-reagan/>

<sup>161</sup> **The Law Established a Temporary Program for Farmworkers with No Cap Limitations and a Distinct Temporary Program for Non-Agricultural Workers with an Annual Cap**

- Pew Research Center. (2015, September 28). *Chapter 1: The nation's immigration laws, 1920 to today*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2015/09/28/chapter-1-the-nations-immigration-laws-1920-to-today/>
- Nepal, S. (2021, September 15). *Primer: Evolution of the H-2A visa program*. Bipartisan Policy Center. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/explainer/primer-h2a-visa/>
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2013, February 19). *Close to slavery: Guestworker programs in the United States*. <https://www.splcenter.org/20130218/close-slavery-guestworker-programs-united-states#history>
- Nepal, S. (2021, September 15). *Primer: H-2B visas are vital to meet workforce needs, but reforms are necessary*. Bipartisan Policy Center. <https://bipartisanpolicy.org/explainer/primer-h-2b-visas/>
- See also Centro de los Derechos del Migrante, Inc. (n.d.). *Ripe for reform: Abuses of agricultural workers in the H-2A visa program*. <https://cdmigrante.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/04/Ripe-for-Reform.pdf>  
This describes persistent abuse in the H-2A program of farmworkers and recommends that workers be able to have the right to change employers, receive a pathway to citizenship, have the ability to bring immediate family members, permit workers to join unions or worker organizations, and have the right to health care and other benefits as ways to improve their working conditions.
- See also Economic Policy Institute. (2016, June 7). *The H-2B visa guestworker program leaves workers vulnerable to low pay and abuse*. <https://www.epi.org/press/the-h-2b-visa-guestworker-program-leaves-workers-vulnerable-to-low-pay-and-abuse/>  
This describes ongoing abuse in the H-2B program, such as poor conditions, low wages, and inability to change employers if workers are exploited or robbed of their wages.
- <sup>162</sup> **Government Databases Used to Determine a Person's Eligibility to Work with Federal Authorization**
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<sup>167</sup> **The "Original Dreamer" Inspired the Introduction of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act (1998)**

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<sup>168</sup> **The Presidential Administration's "Terrorist Watchlist" Had More than One Million People, including 4,600 U.S. Citizens and Lawful Permanent Residents, the Majority of Whom Were Muslim (2003)**

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See page 14 for profiling in Arivaca, AZ.

<sup>175</sup> **Filipino American Veterans of WWII Were Able to Reunite with their Spouses, Adult Children, Grandchildren Under Age 21, and Siblings While They Waited for Immigrant Visas to Become Available (2016)**

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<sup>176</sup> **The U.S. Government Reinstated the Program in 2021 After It Was Terminated in 2017**

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<sup>177</sup> **Filipino American Veterans Received One-Time Payments for Benefits Promised Them after Japan Attacked the Philippines the Day before the Attack on Pearl Harbor (2009)**

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<sup>178</sup> **The Presidential Administration Targeted U.S. Citizens from Muslim-Majority Countries for Denaturalization (2016)**

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<sup>179</sup> **The Presidential Administration Sought to Revoke the Citizenship of U.S. Citizens Convicted of Sex Crimes**

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<sup>180</sup> **The Presidential Administration Launched Denaturalization Investigations Against More Than 700,000 U.S. Citizens**

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<sup>181</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled that Revocation of Citizenship Depends on Whether the Naturalization Application Should Have Been Approved in the First Place and Whether the Applicant Made Material False Statements (2017)**

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<sup>182</sup> **The Supreme Court Ruled that the Presidential Administration Could Not Include a Question Inquiring About Citizenship in the Census (2018)**

Wang, H. L. (2022, July 20). *Documents detail the secrete strategy behind Trump's census citizenship question push*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2022/07/20/1044944618/census-citizenship-question-history-oversight-committee>

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<sup>183</sup> **The Presidential Administration Created a Task Force to Revoke the Citizenship of More than 300,000 People (2018)**

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<sup>184</sup> **The Supreme Court Permitted Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) to Continue (2019)**

Coleman, J. & Lancaster, J. (2019, November 12). *DACA arguments draw large protests at Supreme Court*. The Hill. <https://thehill.com/regulation/court-battles/470065-daca-arguments-draw-protests-at-supreme-court/>

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<sup>185</sup> **Shutdown of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Service's Overseas Offices (2019)**

Da Silva, C. (2019, August 12). *Trump Administration to shut down all but 7 international immigration offices by August 2020*. Newsweek. <https://www.newsweek.com/trump-administration-shut-down-all-7-international-immigration-offices-august-2020-1453769>

Jordan, M. (2019, March 12). *Trump Administration plans to close key immigration operations abroad*. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/12/us/united-states-citizenship-immigration-uscis.html>  
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Chishti, M. & Gelatt, J. (2022, February 23). *Mounting backlogs undermine U.S. immigration system and impede Biden policy changes*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/us-immigration-backlogs-mounting-undermine-biden>  
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<sup>186</sup> **2020 Census Significantly Undercounted the Number of Non-Citizens in the United States**

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This notes that the Supreme Court blocked the 2019 citizenship question, and President Joe Biden rescinded President Donald Trump's memo ordering the exclusion in 2021.

Schneider, M. (2021, August 12). *Census shows US is diversifying, white population shrinking*. AP News. [https://apnews.com/article/census-2020-house-elections-4ee80e72846c151aa41a808b06d975ea?fbclid=IwAR2lycOpdsxtiu2YP4ZXrBt7d52e6yzWUt5DG\\_5qT8gM4-xIA4a29Kq6OLE](https://apnews.com/article/census-2020-house-elections-4ee80e72846c151aa41a808b06d975ea?fbclid=IwAR2lycOpdsxtiu2YP4ZXrBt7d52e6yzWUt5DG_5qT8gM4-xIA4a29Kq6OLE)

Mayes, B. R., Blanco, A., Levitt, Z., & Mellnik, T. (2021, August 13). America's demographics are changing. How has your county shifted? *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/interactive/2021/census-maps-race-population-demographics/>

Contreras, R. (2021, August 13). *Native American population jumps to largest size in modern history*. Axios. <https://www.axios.com/census-native-american-alaska-population-surges-1be8eef6-d09f-4249-86b0-7bf8cfbfc801.html>  
The population identifying as Native American or Alaska Native alone grew by 27.1 percent to 3.7 million people. Alaska and New Mexico have the largest percentages of people identifying solely as Native American or Alaskan Native, and California has the largest population of Indigenous people at 630,000 people.

Jin, C. H., Talbot, R. Wang, H. L. (2021, August 13). *What the new census data shows about race depends on how you look at it*. NPR. <https://www.npr.org/2021/08/13/1014710483/2020-census-data-us-race-ethnicity-diversity>

Bahrampour, T. & Mellnik, T. (2021, August 12). Census data shows widening diversity; number of White people falls for first time. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-wa/2021/08/12/census-data-race-ethnicity-neighborhoods/>

Haroun, A. & Hoff, M. (2021, August 12). *America's white population fell for the first time in US history, 2020 census data shows*. Insider. <https://www.businessinsider.com/us-census-2020-white-population-declines-first-time-2021-8>

Sabo, S. & Johnson, S. (2023, June 22). *Males and the Hispanic, American Indian and Alaska Native populations experienced disproportionate increases in deaths during pandemic*. United States Census Bureau. <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2023/06/covid-19-impacts-on-mortality-by-race-ethnicity-and-sex.html>  
The census also revealed that the American Indian and Alaska Native, Black, and Asian populations had the highest mortality increases in 2020 due to the COVID-19 pandemic, and the increase in Hispanic mortality was higher compared to the non-Hispanic U.S. population during the first year of the pandemic.

See also Sabo, S. & Johnson, S. (2022, March 24). *Pandemic disrupted historical mortality patterns, caused largest jump in deaths in 100 years*. United States Census Bureau. <https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2022/03/united-states-deaths-spiked-as-covid-19-continued.html> Deaths increased 19 percent between 2019 and 2020 following the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, which was the third leading cause of death that year after heart disease and cancer. Prior to 2020, the largest increase in deaths was 12 percent in 1928.

See also Frey, W. H. (2023, January 4). *New census estimates show a tepid rise in U.S. population growth, buoyed by immigration*. The Brookings Institution. <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/new-census-estimates-show-a-tepid-rise-in-u-s-population-growth-buoyed-by-immigration/>  
This describes slight population growth between 2021 and 2022. A major contribution of the growth was attributable to an increase in net immigration to the United States with increases in all states and Washington, D.C. It also notes domestic migration within the United States with movement primarily to the South with the Northeast, Midwest, and West experiencing domestic out-migration, especially from states with large cities.

#### <sup>187</sup> More than Half of Immigrants Were U.S. Citizens

Batalova, J., Hanna, M., & Levesque, C. (2021, February 11). *Frequently requested statistics on immigrants and immigration in the United States*. Migration Policy Institute. <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/frequently-requested-statistics-immigrants-and-immigration-united-states-2020#immig-now-historical>

Budiman, A. (2020, August 20). *Key findings about U.S. immigrants*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/08/20/key-findings-about-u-s-immigrants/>  
An estimated 44.8 million immigrants lived in the United States in 2018, comprising 13.7 percent of the overall population.

American Immigration Council. (2021, September 21). *Immigrants in the United States*. <https://www.americanimmigrationcouncil.org/research/immigrants-in-the-united-states>

#### <sup>188</sup> More than 86 Million People Have Immigrated to the United States Since 1783

Baxter, A. M. & Nowrasteh, A. (2021, August 3). *A brief history of U.S. immigration policy from the colonial period to the present day*. Cato Institute. <https://www.cato.org/policy-analysis/brief-history-us-immigration-policy-colonial-period-present-day>

#### <sup>189</sup> The Undocumented Population Declined Between 2010 and 2020

Anderson, S. (2021, March 10). *Illegal immigration in America has continued to decline*. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/stuartanderson/2021/03/10/illegal-immigration-in-america-has-continued-to-decline/?sh=5848c4de4e14>

- Jordan, M. (2023, March 13). Many undocumented immigrants are departing after decades in the U.S. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/03/01/us/undocumented-immigrants-exodus-us.html>  
The undocumented population has stayed relatively constant at about 10.2 million after peaking at nearly 12 million in 2008.
- Capps, R., Gelatt, J., Ruiz Soto, A. G., & Van Hook, J. (2020, December). *Unauthorized immigrants in the United States: Stable numbers, changing origins*. Migration Policy Institute. [https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/mpi-unauthorized-immigrants-stablenumbers-changingorigins\\_final.pdf](https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/mpi-unauthorized-immigrants-stablenumbers-changingorigins_final.pdf)
- <sup>190</sup> **The Census Potentially Underestimated the Size of the Afro-Latinx Population**
- Vera, A. & Pineda, A. (2021, September 26). *Blackness and Latinidad are not mutually exclusive. Her's what it means to be Afro-Latino in America*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/09/26/us/black-latinos-afro-latinos-experience/index.html>
- López, G. & Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2016, March 1). *Afro-Latino: A deeply rooted identity among U.S. Hispanics*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/03/01/afro-latino-a-deeply-rooted-identity-among-u-s-hispanics/>  
A 2016 survey showed that one-quarter of Latinx adults in the United States self-identify as Afro-Latino, Afro-Caribbean, or of African descent with roots in Latin America. They are also more likely to be foreign-born (70 percent of foreign-born Latinxs compared to 52 percent of all other Latinxs).
- Gonzalez-Barrera, A. (2022, May 2). *About 6 million U.S. adults identify as Afro-Latino*. Pew Research Center. <https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/05/02/about-6-million-u-s-adults-identify-as-afro-latino/#:~:text=In%202020%2C%20there%20were%20about,do%20not%20identify%20as%20Hispanic>
- <sup>191</sup> **Four Million People Living in the Unincorporated Territories, All Territories Had Population Declines Between 2010 and 2020 with At Least One-Third Living in the 50 United States**
- Diamond, A. (2019, January). *Telling the history of the U.S. through its territories*. Smithsonian Magazine. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/telling-us-history-through-territories-180971004/>  
The estimated four million was as of the time of the January 2019 article.
- Bodenheimer, R. (2020, March 20). *The Insular Cases: History and significance*. ThoughtCo. <https://www.thoughtco.com/the-insular-cases-history-and-significance-4797736>  
Residents of Puerto Rico must adhere to all U.S. federal laws, pay federal taxes, pay federal import and export taxes, and many are obliged to serve in the U.S. military.
- Kelleher, J. S. (2021, June 16). *American Samoa culture plays role in US citizenship ruling*. AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/american-samoa-cultures-government-and-politics-ecb28f949187601ae97e65ae2d7ff7de>
- Manta, I. & Robertson, C. B. (2022, July 27). *Constitutional citizenship in the U.S. Territories*. Lawfare. <https://www.lawfareblog.com/constitutional-citizenship-us-territories>
- Isidro, C. (2020, August 31). *Citizens who can't vote? The United States has 3.5 million of them*. The Daily Beast. <https://www.thedailybeast.com/citizens-who-cant-vote-the-united-states-has-35-million-of-them>
- Learning English, VOA. (2016, December 21). *Millions of US citizens live in territories*. VOA News. <https://learningenglish.voanews.com/a/millions-of-us-citizens-live-in-territories/3639321.html>  
American Samoa has its own immigration agency and is the only U.S. territory to which U.S. citizens must travel with a passport.
- Astor, M. (2017, September 25). Puerto Rico: What other Americans should know. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/25/us/puerto-rico-hurricane-american.html>
- Guadalupe, P. (2017, March 2). *On 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of U.S. citizenship, Puerto Rico still grappling with its identity*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/latino/100-yr-anniversary-u-s-citizenship-puerto-rico-still-grappling-n727851>
- Tucker, T. N. (2019). *Give nonstates full congressional representation*. Politico Magazine. <https://www.politico.com/interactives/2019/how-to-fix-politics-in-america/participation/give-nonstates-full-congressional-representation/>  
Citizens of Washington, D.C. similarly lack representation in Congress, and Indigenous Americans lack designated representation in Congress in violation of U.S. treaty agreements.
- American Civil Liberties Union. (2019, November 25). *ACLU Insular Cases letter*. ACLU. <https://www.aclu.org/documents/aclu-insular-cases-letter>
- Wallach, S. L. (2022, August 3). *The Insular Cases must be overturned*. Bloomberg Law. <https://news.bloomberglaw.com/us-law-week/the-insular-cases-must-be-overturned>
- Hallisey, J. (2022, February 24). *U.S. citizenship and justice for American Samoa*. Boston University School of Law. <https://sites.bu.edu/dome/2022/02/24/u-s-citizenship-and-justice-for-american-samoa/>
- Levenson, M. (2019, December 13). American Samoans should be granted U.S. citizenship, judge rules. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/us/american-samoa-us-citizenship.html>
- Van Dam, A. (2022, September 23). People are fleeing Puerto Rico, Guam and every other U.S. territory. What gives? *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2022/09/23/american-territories-population-loss/>

Ballotpedia. (n.d.). *United States territorial acquisitions*.

[https://ballotpedia.org/United\\_States\\_territorial\\_acquisitions](https://ballotpedia.org/United_States_territorial_acquisitions)

The United States also controls the uninhabited (undisputed and disputed) territories of Baker Island, Howland Island, Jarvis Island, Johnston Atoll, Midway Islands, Palmyra Atoll, Wake Island, and Kingman Reef.

Knowinsiders. (n.d.). *How many islands are there in the US: 20 largest, the best and full list*.

<https://knowinsiders.com/how-many-islands-are-there-in-the-us-20-largest-the-best-and-full-list-34110.html>

Central Intelligence Agency. (2023, July 25). *The world factbook: Wake Island*. Cia.gov.

<https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/wake-island/>

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Truman, R. (2023, February 4). *They're American Islands – But they aren't located in North America*. MSN.

<https://www.msn.com/en-us/travel/tripideas/theyre-american-islands-%E2%80%93-but-they-arent-located-in-north-america/ss-AA16XVRr#image=12>

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Coral Reef Information System. (n.d.). *U.S. Pacific Remote Island Area (PRIA)*. National Oceanic and Atmospheric

Administration. <https://www.coris.noaa.gov/portals/pria.html>

The Department of Interior (DOI) and the U.S. Air Force administers Wake Island, the Department of Defense manages Johnston Atoll, and DOI's U.S. Fish and Wildlife Services administers all of the islands except Wake Island and Johnson Atoll.

De Facto Borders. (n.d.). *Bajo Neva Bank*. <https://www.defactoborders.org/places/bajo-nueva-bank>

The United States, Jamaica, and Nicaragua claim Bajo Nueva Bank; the United States and Haiti both claim Navassa Island; and the United States, Colombia, and Honduras claim Serranilla Bank.

Learning English, VOA. (2016, December 21). *Millions of US citizens live in territories*. VOA News.

<https://learningenglish.voanews.com/a/millions-of-us-citizens-live-in-territories/3639321.html>

*Jamaica Observer*. (2019, August 14). Bajo Nuevo: What you should know about the disputed island Jamaica 'gave

up.' [https://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/bajo-nuevo-what-you-should-know-about-the-disputed-island-jamaica-gave-up/Bajo\\_Nueva\\_Bank\\_is\\_also\\_known\\_as\\_the\\_Petrel\\_Islands](https://www.jamaicaobserver.com/news/bajo-nuevo-what-you-should-know-about-the-disputed-island-jamaica-gave-up/Bajo_Nueva_Bank_is_also_known_as_the_Petrel_Islands)

See also *Tuaua v. United States*, 788 F.3d 300 (D.C. Cir. 2015).

<https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/cadc/13-5272/13-5272-2015-06-05.html>

See also *Fitisemanu v. United States*, No. 20-4017 (10th Cir. 2021).

<https://law.justia.com/cases/federal/appellate-courts/ca10/20-4017/20-4017-2021-06-15.html>

## <sup>192</sup> U.S. Military Bases in Territories and Beyond

Diamond, A. (2019, January). *Telling the history of the U.S. through its territories*. Smithsonian Magazine.

<https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/telling-us-history-through-territories-180971004/>

Hussein, M. & Haddad, M. (2021, September 10). *Infographic: US military presence around the world*. Al Jazeera.

<https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2021/9/10/infographic-us-military-presence-around-the-world-interactive>

Vine, D. (2015, July/August). *Where in the world is the U.S. military?* Politico Magazine.

<https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2015/06/us-military-bases-around-the-world-119321/>

MilitaryINSTALLATIONS. (n.d.). *View all installations*. <https://installations.militaryonesource.mil/view-all>

## <sup>193</sup> As Many as Nine Million U.S. Citizens Live Overseas, Thirty Thousand Wanted to Renounce Their Citizenship

Pilkington, E. (2021, December 31). *Americans seeking to renounce their citizenship are stuck with it for now*. The

Guardian. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2021/dec/31/americans-seeking-renounce-citizenship-stuck?fbclid=IwAR0Zm6fQQjpl-2FXTZqGo4ZDo8wTOFziACI9krRQg4tBlizrLHnaRFfxDA>

## <sup>194</sup> The U.S. Government Excluded Undocumented Immigrants and U.S. Citizens Married to Undocumented Immigrants from a Federal Stimulus Package During the COVID-19 Pandemic (2020)

ProCon.org. (2022, October 24). *Historical timeline: History of legal and illegal immigration to the United States*.

<https://immigration.procon.org/historical-timeline/>

Axelrod, T. (2020, April 21). *DeVos blocks undocumented college students from receiving emergency aid amid*

*pandemic*. The Hill. <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/494023-devos-rule-blocks-undocumented-college-students-from-receiving/>

Jarvie, J. (2020, April 20). *These U.S. citizens won't get coronavirus stimulus checks — because their spouses are*

*immigrants*. Los Angeles Times. <https://www.latimes.com/world-nation/story/2020-04-20/u-s-citizens-coronavirus-stimulus-checks-spouses-immigrants>

Grantmakers Concerned with Immigrants and Refugees. (2020, April 15). *GCCR and Philanthropic Partners Announce Creation of California Immigrant Resilience Fund*.

<https://www.gcir.org/news/gcir-and-philanthropic-partners-announce-creation-california-immigrant-resilience-fund>

<sup>195</sup> **The State of Texas Engaged in Racial Profiling Under the Rationale of Enforcing Criminal Trespass Laws (2021)**

Peña, L. (2021, September 30). *Terror by horseback: Systemic oppression along the border*. The American Prospect. <https://prospect.org/justice/terror-by-horseback-systemic-oppression-along-the-border/>

Varma, T. (2021, August 5). *Records: Operation Lone Star resulting in increases as high as 1,000% in minor citations for drivers in Starr County*. KRGV. <https://www.krgv.com/news/records-operation-lone-star-resulting-in-increases-as-high-as-1-000-in-minor-citations-for-drivers-in-starr-county/>

Trevizo, P., Kriel, L., Tsutsumi, K., & Calderón, A. R. (2022, April 27). *Reality check: Seven times Texas leaders misled the public about Operation Lone Star*. ProPublica. <https://www.propublica.org/article/texas-greg-abbott-border-crisis-facts>  
The program arrested U.S. citizens as well as those with authorized immigration status, at times charging them for crimes with no connection to the border.

Democracy Now. (2021, October 22). *National Guard troops helped Texas law enforcement arrest over 70,000 asylum seekers*. [https://www.democracynow.org/2021/10/22/headlines/national\\_guard\\_troops\\_helped\\_texas\\_law\\_enforcement\\_arrest\\_over\\_70\\_000\\_asylum\\_seekers?fbclid=IwAR2TvEDm3ag-068RsYc4tF6U4lzGp1jeuOBCoNiSAX\\_SRFA7r6gSFBiKmgS](https://www.democracynow.org/2021/10/22/headlines/national_guard_troops_helped_texas_law_enforcement_arrest_over_70_000_asylum_seekers?fbclid=IwAR2TvEDm3ag-068RsYc4tF6U4lzGp1jeuOBCoNiSAX_SRFA7r6gSFBiKmgS)

<sup>196</sup> **Judge Blocked Non-Citizens and Dreamers in New York City from Voting in Municipal Elections (2022)**

Swenson, A. (2022, October 19). *Can noncitizens vote in US elections?* AP News. <https://apnews.com/article/2022-midterm-elections-noncitizens-voting-question-d720a6d02e066700d86812dc717906e5>

Austermuhle, M. (2023, February 27). *Before a non-citizen voting bill in D.C. became a right-wing flashpoint, it had a long local history*. WAMU 88.5. <https://wamu.org/story/23/02/27/non-citizen-voting-has-long-local-history/>

Walker, J. (2023, August 9). *Noncitizens can vote in San Francisco school board elections, court rules*. CBS Austin. <https://cbsaustin.com/news/nation-world/noncitizens-can-vote-in-san-francisco-school-board-elections-court-rules-california-constitution-city-attorney-united-states-justice-foundation-judge-richard-ulmer>  
In 2023, California's First District Court of Appeals upheld non-citizen voting, which had been challenged by a lawsuit.

CBS San Francisco. (2023, August 8). *Court upholds San Francisco allowing noncitizens to vote in school board elections*. CBS News. <https://www.cbsnews.com/sanfrancisco/news/sf-school-board-non-citizen-voting-upheld-proposition-n-california-court-of-appeal/>

Moyer, J. W. & Flynn, M. (2023, May 13). *Legal challenge filed against D.C.'s noncitizen voting law*. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2023/05/13/dc-noncitizen-voting-lawsuit/>  
Members of the House tried to block the D.C. legislation, but the resolution died in a Senate committee.

See also Schnell, M. (2023, February 9). *House passes resolutions to block DC noncitizen voting bill, criminal code*. *The Hill*. <https://thehill.com/homenews/house/3852191-house-passes-resolutions-to-block-dc-noncitizen-voting-bill-criminal-code/>  
This describes how the House relied on the D.C. Home Rule Act to block D.C.'s legislation on non-citizen voting.

<sup>197</sup> **Equal Protection and the Right to Self-Determination for Unincorporated Territories (2022)**

Hunt, E. (2022, February 15). *A cry against colonialism: U.S. island territories seek equal protection and the right to self-determination*. *The Progressive Magazine*. <https://progressive.org/latest/cry-against-colonialism-hunt-220215/>  
Puerto Rico demanded a process for the island's electorate to vote on statehood, and Guam criticized the U.S. government for preventing the Chamorros people from voting via referendum on the status of Guam.

Saipan Tribune. (2022, December 5). *Groups urge House to condemn racist Insular Cases*. <https://www.saipantribune.com/index.php/groups-urge-house-to-condemn-racist-insular-cases/>  
This quotes the doctrine of "territorial incorporation."

<sup>198</sup> **Civil Rights of the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian American Communities and Advocacy Against Unjust Revocations of Citizenship (2022)**

U.S. House of Representatives. (2022, March 1). *Written statement of Hammad A. Alam* [National Security memorandum]. <https://docs.house.gov/meetings/JU/JU10/20220301/114438/HMTG-117-JU10-Wstate-AlamH-20220301.pdf>

<sup>199</sup> **Asian Americans Successfully Opposed a Texas Bill that Echoed the Alien Land Laws of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Which Barred Asians from Owning Land (2023)**

Venkatraman, S. (2023, May 25). *Bill that set out to restrict Chinese property ownership dies in Texas house*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/bill-set-restrict-chinese-property-ownership-dies-texas-house-rcna86257>

Venkatraman, S. (2023, March 1). *Texas bill will no longer aim to ban Chinese citizens from buying homes, state senator says*. NBC News. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/asian-america/texas-bill-will-no-longer-aim-ban-chinese-citizens-buying-homes-state-rcna72887>

Wolf, Z. B. (2023, February 18). *History repeats itself with anti-China land ownership proposals*. CNN. <https://www.cnn.com/2023/02/18/politics/chinese-land-law-texas-virginia-what-matters/index.html>

<sup>200</sup> **Immigrants Advocate for The Registry Program to Provide a Pathway for Naturalization for Immigrants Who Arrived in the United States Before 2015 and Lacked an Admission Record (2023)**

- Alex Padilla, U.S. Senator for California. (2022, September 28). *Padilla introduces legislation to broaden legal pathway to citizenship* [Press release]. <https://www.padilla.senate.gov/newsroom/press-releases/padilla-introduces-legislation-to-broaden-legal-pathway-to-citizenship%E2%99%BC/>
- Semyon, C. & Mendez, D. (2023, March 8). *House Dems seek to update immigration law, create path to legal status*. NY1 Spectrum News. <https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/politics/2023/03/09/house-dems-seek-to-update-immigration-law--create-path-to-legal-status>
- Semotiuk, A. J. (2022, September 30). Registry date reform in U.S. Congress could impact over 8 million immigrants. *Forbes*. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/andyjsemotiuk/2022/09/30/registry-date-reform-in-us-congress-could-impact-over-8-million-immigrants/?sh=7d00d4cf42be>  
Additional requirements would include applicants having “good moral character” and having resided in the United States continuously for at least seven years.