

Relational Formations of Race

THEORY, METHOD, AND PRACTICE

Edited by Natalia Molina,
Daniel Martínez HoSang,
and Ramón A. Gutiérrez



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CONTENTS

List of Illustrations ix

Acknowledgments xi

Introduction: Toward a Relational Consciousness of Race 1
Daniel Martínez HoSang and Natalia Molina

PART ONE

THEORIZING RACE RELATIONALLY 19

1 • Race as a Relational Theory: A Roundtable Discussion 22
*George Lipsitz, George J. Sánchez, and Kelly Lytle Hernández,
with Daniel Martínez HoSang and Natalia Molina*

2 • Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens 43
Natalia Molina

3 • Entangled Dispossessions: Race and Colonialism
in the Historical Present 60
Alyosha Goldstein

PART TWO

RELATIONAL RESEARCH AS POLITICAL PRACTICE 81

4 • The Relational Revolutions of Antiracist Formations 83
Roderick Ferguson

5 • How Palestine Became Important to American Indian Studies 97
Steven Salaita

6 • Uncle Tom Was an Indian: Tracing the Red
in Black Slavery 121
Tiya Miles

7 • "The Whatever That Survived": Thinking Racialized Immigration
through Blackness and the Afterlife of Slavery 145
Tiffany Willoughby-Herard

PART THREE
HISTORICAL FRAMEWORKS 163

8 • Indians and Negroes in Spite of Themselves: Puerto Rican
Students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School 166
Catherine S. Ramírez

9 • Becoming "Hawaiian": A Relational Racialization
of Japanese American Soldiers from Hawai'i during
World War II in the U.S. South 185
Jeffrey T. Yamashita

10 • Vietnamese Refugees and Mexican Immigrants:
Southern Regional Racialization in the Late Twentieth Century 203
Perla M. Guerrero

11 • Green, Blue, Yellow, and Red: The Relational Racialization
of Space in the Stockton Metropolitan Area 224
Raoul S. Liévanos

PART FOUR
RELATIONAL FRAMEWORKS
IN CONTEMPORARY POLICY 255

12 • Border-Hopping Mexicans, Law-Abiding Asians, and
Racialized Illegality: Analyzing Undocumented
College Students' Experiences through a Relational Lens 257
Laura E. Enriquez

13 • Racial Arithmetic: Ethnoracial Politics in a Relational Key 278
Michael Rodríguez-Muñiz

14 • The Relational Positioning of Arab and Muslim
Americans in Post-9/11 Racial Politics 296
Julie Lee Merseth

Further Reading 325
Contributors 337
Index 341

ILLUSTRATIONS

- 0.1. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. marches arm in arm with Dr. Benjamin Spock, Wallace Black Elk, and Monsignor Rice 2
- 2.1. The “Mexican Scottsboro Boys” 53
- 2.2. Alice McGrath with Sleepy Lagoon defendants and defense attorney Ben Margolis 54
- 6.1. Lucinda Davis, age 89 122
- 8.1. Puerto Rican students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School 167
- 8.2. Emanuel Ruiz Rexach and unnamed student at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School 175
- 10.1. A class for Vietnamese refugees at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, 1975 214
- 11.1. Maps of Northern California and the Stockton metropolitan area 230
- 11.2. Map of the Stockton, California, metropolitan area, racial-ethnic establishments 237
- 11.3. Maps of present-day Stockton, California, and neighborhoods of the Stockton metropolitan area 243
- 12.1. *Targeted or Overlooked* (2018), by Boonyarit Daraphant 273
- 14.1. Arab and Muslim racialization frames, by subcategory 307
- 14.2. Arab and Muslim racialization frames, across time 309
- 14.3. Racialization frames, across groups and across time 311

Indians and Negroes in Spite of Themselves

PUERTO RICAN STUDENTS AT THE CARLISLE
INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

Catherine S. Ramírez

On September 5, 1899, fifteen-year-old Vicente Figueroa of Guayama, Puerto Rico, enrolled in the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He spent five years at the boarding school for Native Americans, where he, like many of his classmates, learned English and a trade. After leaving the school in 1904, Figueroa remained in Pennsylvania. He worked for several years in Philadelphia, Bethlehem, and Pittsburgh. Then, in 1911, he applied for a position with the Indian Service in Denver. In a letter to Charles Dagenette, supervisor of Indian employment in Denver and a Carlisle alumnus, Carlisle superintendent Moses Friedman identified Figueroa as a machinist and concrete finisher. "He is good at the latter occupation and finds steady work in a good season," Friedman observed. He also noted that Figueroa was "a Porto Rican, mostly Negro." Figueroa did not get the job with the Indian Service but still expressed gratitude to what he and many other former students called "Dear Old Carlisle." "I always speak highly of the school," he wrote in a July 31, 1912, letter to Friedman, "and I thank . . . the school for what I am."¹

Figueroa was one of about sixty Puerto Rican youths who attended the Carlisle Indian Industrial School from 1898—the year Spain ceded Puerto Rico, along with Cuba and the Philippines, to the United States—to 1918, the year the school closed (see figure 8.1).² The pupils ranged in age from eleven to nineteen years.³ Roughly thirty-eight were male and twenty-one were female.⁴ The former learned farming or a trade, while the latter were trained to cook, sew, do laundry, and care for children. Carlisle aimed to produce a particular kind of worker—manual laborers and domestic



FIGURE 8.1. Puerto Rican students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, published in *The Red Man and Helper*, July 31, 1903. Reproduced by permission of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

servants—and normative men and women. Above all, it sought to transform Indigenous youth into Americans. So what happened to its Puerto Rican students? In addition to learning English and a trade, what did these other colonials learn about their place in an expanding empire, a nation of burgeoning immigration, and a hardening racial hierarchy defined increasingly by the so-called vanishing Indian and one-drop rule for African Americans? How did "our Porto Ricans," as they were known, fit into or frustrate that hierarchy?⁵

To address these questions, I look to the history of assimilation in the United States. Assimilation is widely seen as an outcome of immigration and as the price or reward of the American dream. Often, assimilation is defined against racialization, the process whereby racial categories are produced and understood as part of a racial hierarchy. Yet what happens when we decouple immigration and assimilation and approach assimilation *as* racialization? Instead of framing assimilation in relation to immigration and against racialization, I look at efforts to "civilize" Native Americans, African Africans, and Puerto Ricans in the wake of the Indian, Civil, and Spanish American Wars, moments when regimes of difference, to use Patrick Wolfe's terms, were being challenged and consolidated in the United States.⁶ Then, I examine the case of the Puerto Ricans at Carlisle. Using school records, letters, testimonies, and newspaper stories, I show how these students were

incorporated into a stratified society as racialized and colonized subjects and how they resisted that incorporation.

By juxtaposing efforts to civilize Native Americans, Blacks, and Puerto Ricans, I also draw attention to assimilation as a “mutually constitutive process” and “process of categorization”—in other words, as a relational process.⁷ Since the 1990s, sociologists have highlighted its relational nature by theorizing what they term “segmented assimilation”: “a theoretical framework for understanding the process by which the new second generation—the children of contemporary immigrants—becomes incorporated into the system of stratification in the host society and the different outcomes of this process.”⁸ But as shown by the experiences of so-called backward races at Carlisle and its predecessor, the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, segmented assimilation predates its emergence as a framework for study; that is, segmented assimilation existed long before scholars came up with a term for it.⁹ Nor have the children of immigrants been the only group to undergo segmented assimilation. Indeed, as long as there have been tiered societies, including and especially societies founded on the expropriation of land and labor, social groups have been incorporated unequally into one segment or another. If we approach assimilation as a relational process, one organized around ranking, entering, and being situated in a regime of difference, then we see that assimilation is often one and the same as subordination, marginalization, or even, paradoxically, exclusion (differential inclusion, in other words).¹⁰ By studying the experiences of African Americans, Native Americans, and Puerto Ricans at Carlisle and Hampton in relation to one another, I offer a glimpse of assimilation’s prehistory and show that assimilation is more than the process whereby the boundary between mainstream and margin blurs or disappears; it is also the process whereby that boundary is, paradoxically, reinforced.

THE CARLISLE INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL AND HAMPTON NORMAL AND AGRICULTURAL INSTITUTE

Established in 1879 at a former garrison, Carlisle was the first federally funded, coeducational, off-reservation boarding school for Native Americans in the United States. Like the Dawes Act of 1887, the school’s goal, in the words of founder Richard Henry Pratt, was to civilize, “citizenize,” and absorb Indigenous youth by removing them from their homes and families.¹¹

Where the Dawes Act sought to break up tribes and to convert Native Americans into individual owners of private property, Carlisle endeavored to tear Indigenous families apart and to turn young Native Americans into docile, low-skilled workers.

In 1904, Pratt resigned as school superintendent, a consequence of having locked horns repeatedly and very publicly with the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Ten years later, Carlisle was under investigation by Congress for mismanagement of funds. There were also complaints about draconian disciplinary measures and lax supervision of students both on and off campus. In 1918 the school closed, and the army repossessed the grounds for use as a hospital for World War I veterans.

In its thirty-nine years, about 8,000 students passed through Carlisle.¹² In addition to learning English, if they did not already know it, and basic academic skills, students received vocational training and participated in the school’s “outing program,” a hallmark of its curriculum. Dubbed the “supreme Americanizer,” the outing program aspired to bring Indigenous youth closer to whites and to augment their vocational training by placing them in white homes and workplaces throughout the northeastern United States.¹³

Another Carlisle hallmark was the before-and-after portrait. Newly arrived students were photographed in a studio or on campus wearing either traditional regalia, such as feather headdresses and breastplates, or the disheveled clothes that they had worn on the journey from their homes to Carlisle. Then they were photographed after they had been given a bath, had their hair shorn, and had been issued the school’s stiff, military-like uniform. Both the before and the after photos were staged, and many were sold as cabinet, boudoir, or stereoview cards and postcards. Pratt was keenly aware of their value and used them to convince lawmakers, government bureaucrats, potential donors, and “friends of the Indian” of Carlisle’s “civilizing effects.”¹⁴ And while he claimed to detest Wild West shows for encouraging Native Americans “to remain Indians,”¹⁵ the more barbaric the Indian appeared in the “before” image, the better. The juxtaposition of the “before” and the “after” photos purported to testify to Carlisle’s success in converting what one teacher called “blanket Indians” into “civilized” men and women.¹⁶

At a time when many Americans subscribed to the maxim that the only good Indian was a dead one, Pratt maintained that the so-called Indian problem could be solved by “killing the Indian and saving the man.”¹⁷ Through the end of the nineteenth century, he and other self-professed “friends of the Indian” insisted that Native Americans were malleable enough to be civilized.

"It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage," Carlisle's founder contended. "He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in the surroundings of savagery, he grows to possess a savage language, superstition, and life. . . . Transfer the savage-born infant to the surroundings of civilization and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit."¹⁸ By the same token, these "friends of the Indian" feared that Native Americans could easily revert to "Indian ways."¹⁹ "To civilize the Indians, get them into civilization," Pratt advised. "To keep them civilized, let them stay."²⁰

In 1875, Pratt was presented with the opportunity to get a group of Indians into civilization. After the Red River Wars in Oklahoma and Texas, he was charged with transporting seventy-two captive Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Caddo—many of whom were leaders of their respective nations—to Fort Marion in St. Augustine, Florida. Once they arrived at the fortress, Pratt proceeded to turn "his prison into a school for teaching civilization to the Indians."²¹ His ability to "tame" Native Americans, some of whom were reputed to be among the most incorrigible of their time, garnered positive attention from philanthropists, clergymen, lawmakers, and scholars.²² In 1877, after the War Department determined that the Fort Marion prisoners could be released, Pratt arranged to send a group to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia.

Hampton was established in 1868 "to train selected Negro youths who should go out and teach and lead their people," in the words of its founder, Samuel Chapman Armstrong.²³ Yet from 1877 to 1923, the school also admitted over 1,300 Native American students from sixty-five tribes.²⁴ During this period, it claimed to be "devoted to the Negro and Indian Races."²⁵ In fact, Hampton was compensated by the federal government for the Indigenous pupils it received; Black students were expected to "earn . . . their own way through school."²⁶ Its Indian program came to an end after Congress withdrew funding for it.²⁷ Today, Hampton University is a historically Black university.

Both Armstrong and Pratt were Civil War veterans who reinvented themselves as educators in the wake of the Civil and Indian Wars. Armstrong led colored troops in the Union Army during the former war, while Pratt commanded an African American regiment, the famous Buffalo Soldiers, during the latter. And just as Pratt held that Native Americans could be civilized under the right circumstances, Armstrong maintained that "blacks had emerged from slavery culturally and morally inferior to whites and only under the benevolent tutelage of whites could they hope to make genuine racial progress."²⁸

Similarities notwithstanding, there were stark differences between the two men and the institutions they led, in great part because they saw distinct and disparate destinies for their respective students. Where Armstrong understood that African Americans had a clear and fixed place in an increasingly segregated society, Pratt endeavored to uproot Native Americans and to scatter them among whites. Detribalization, acculturation, proselytization, and miscegenation would make Indians disappear; assimilation was tantamount to vanishing. Meanwhile, African Americans would remain a conspicuously separate but putatively equal faction under Jim Crow, a regime that prohibited their "detribalization" and mingling with whites.²⁹ Armstrong rationalized racial segregation on the grounds that "[b]eing kept out of white men's societies of all kinds create[d] independent, healthy organizations" for the southern Negro. And although he longed to see more of his Black pupils travel to Africa as missionaries, he dismissed the colonization movement—proposals to remove Blacks from the United States—as a "stupid" and "outrageous" pipe dream.³⁰

ASSIMILATION AS RACIAL AND CULTURAL RANKING

On April 13, 1878, Pratt arrived at Hampton with sixty-two Native Americans in tow.³¹ He had misgivings about educating them in isolation from whites and openly fretted about the school's "remoteness from the observations of our best people."³² More to the point, he was worried about educating Native Americans alongside African Americans. After only one year at Hampton, he moved what he considered his Indians to Carlisle because, as he put it, he did not want "to further the segregating and reserving process."³³ That Native Americans would be further segregated and "reserved" at an *all-Indian* school was no hindrance to him.

For decades, the "co-education of Negroes and Indians at the Hampton Institute [was] watched with interest," despite measures to keep the two groups of students apart, with separate curricula, classrooms, dormitories, dining halls, and social activities.³⁴ "[S]ocial intercourse between the races of opposite sexes [was also] limited and guarded. Trouble might come of it," Hampton teacher Helen Ludlow acknowledged, quickly adding, "None ever has."³⁵ Meanwhile, heterosexual relations between Native Americans and whites ensued, with two of Ludlow's star female Indigenous students marrying white men and two white female teachers marrying Indigenous men.³⁶

In the final years of Hampton's Indian program, after congressional funding for Native American students and their number—in particular, the number of Native American males—had dwindled, rumors that “Indian girls flirted so with the colored boys” continued to besiege the school.³⁷ While “friends of the Indian” worried about and attempted to prevent the union of Native Americans and Blacks, they expected and even welcomed “amalgamation” between Native Americans and whites. As Wolfe has eloquently shown, from the point of view of the colonizer, miscegenation between whites and Indians would hasten the Indigenous people's inevitable extinction and bolster the settler's “rights to the soil.”³⁸ In contrast, the one-drop rule dictated that Black-Indian unions would only produce more blacks or “mongrels.”

Still, Pratt and some of his contemporaries saw value in Native Americans' relationship with and to African Americans. Black students at Hampton were not only charged with orienting newly arrived Native Americans; they were upheld as exemplars of assimilation. Not unlike Carlisle's outing program, slavery was deemed a “supreme Americanizer,” for it brought Blacks into “close contact . . . with the white's civilization, language, labor, and religion.”³⁹ Pratt saw Blacks' interaction with whites not only as a “tremendous advantage”⁴⁰ for the former group, but as “the greatest blessing that ever came to the Negro race.”⁴¹ “[B]rought from the Torrid Zone across a great ocean in vast numbers”⁴² and “[t]ransferred into . . . new surroundings and experiences,” African slaves “became English-speaking and civilized, because forced into association with English-speaking and civilized people; became healthy and multiplied, because they were property; and industrious, because industry, which brings contentment and health, was a necessary quality to increase their value.”⁴³

By being deracinated and forced into contact with their white masters, African slaves and their New World descendants had lost their “aboriginal habits” and “old languages”⁴⁴ and underwent what Pratt termed, quite baldly, “assimilation under duress.”⁴⁵ They were better off for it, he insisted, and Native Americans would be, too, if he had his way. His contradictory views of the African American as both pariah and model point to assimilation's contradictions and underscore its violence as a process that can involve not only displacement and the eradication of culture and language, but an enforced jockeying among groups as they scramble to get close to the powerful and to distance themselves from the less powerful or powerless. In other words, assimilation is a process of what Aihwa Ong terms “racial and cultural

ranking.”⁴⁶ To bring that ranking into relief, let us turn to the Puerto Rican students at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School.

INDIOS PUERTORRIQUEÑOS

Carlisle's first Puerto Rican student, Juan Santano, enrolled on November 23, 1898, six months after the U.S. Navy invaded San Juan. He remained a student at the Indian school until April 24, 1904.⁴⁷ According to Pratt, “soldiers returning from serving in that island” brought the boy, who was around sixteen years old and spoke no English, to the mainland.⁴⁸ Nearly sixty Puerto Ricans followed, and the majority arrived from 1900 to 1910.⁴⁹

The United States wasted little time in attempting to Americanize the island's inhabitants, strategically setting its sights on children. As early as 1898, a U.S.-style public school system was already in place in Puerto Rico. A normal school, modeled after normal schools for Indians and Blacks in the United States, followed in 1900, and the University of Puerto Rico was founded in 1903. At all levels of education, English was the primary language of instruction, a policy that would last until the 1940s. In addition, from 1898 to 1903, Congress set aside money for scholarships that would bring Puerto Rican youths to the mainland for study. Carlisle was one of several educational institutions to tap that scholarship fund.⁵⁰ Puerto Ricans, particularly Afro-Puerto Ricans, also enrolled at Hampton and the Tuskegee Institute, which was founded by Hampton alumnus Booker T. Washington.⁵¹

Like Pratt and Armstrong, John Eaton, Puerto Rico's first education minister, had served in the Union Army during the Civil War, in which he oversaw the establishment of schools for newly freed slaves. As U.S. commissioner of education from 1870 to 1886, he visited the Carlisle Indian Industrial School many times.⁵² His successor in Puerto Rico, Martin Grove Brumbaugh, targeted the children of elite families—“lo mejorcito que tiene Puerto Rico,” in the words of one alumna—for enrollment at Carlisle, much in the same way that Pratt worked to enroll the children of tribal leaders at his school.⁵³ Their privileged status notwithstanding, the Puerto Ricans who landed at Carlisle would find themselves in a bedeviling racial hierarchy, one in which they were rendered “Indians” and “Negroes.”

For evidence of enunciations of this racial hierarchy, we may look to Carlisle's long, albeit incomplete, paper trail. To obtain federal funds, school

documents often required students to avow their “Indianness” and to state their tribal affiliation. Many of the Puerto Ricans’ forms are marked with cross-outs and added text. For example, in the application for enrollment for Emilio de Arce Pagán, an eighteen-year-old who arrived at Carlisle on February 7, 1911, “Indian” is crossed out and replaced with “Porto Rican.”⁵⁴ Likewise, “Tribe” is crossed out on José Gonzalo’s July 23, 1912, application for enrollment and replaced with “Spain,” while “Spaniard” and “Porto Rican” substitute for “Indian.”⁵⁵ Vicente Figueroa and Delores Nieves were identified in school records as “Negroes.” Like many of their compatriots, however, Nieves wrote “Porto-Rican” after “Tribe” on a postcard the school sent to check up on former students,⁵⁶ and Figueroa self-identified on forms as “Porto Rican” and “Spanish.”⁵⁷ José Prado plainly stated, “I am not an Indian,” on a May 5, 1915, form.⁵⁸ And in a January 20, 1914, letter to the school’s superintendent, former student Adela Barrelli noted, “I always like to hear from [the] school although I am not an Indian.”⁵⁹ These cross-outs, added text, and explanations point to the expanding empire’s effort to incorporate its newly conquered subjects in an intelligible way (see figure 8.2), as well as to Puerto Ricans’ refusal to be classified as Indian, an inferior racial category throughout Latin America.

A number of the Puerto Ricans who attended Carlisle were dismayed, if not horrified, to find themselves grouped with and as Indians. Some reiterated racist stereotypes about Native Americans in their recollections about the school. In a June 16, 1911, letter to Superintendent Friedman, Providencia Martínez of Ponce, Puerto Rico, reported that she was shocked to encounter Native Americans when she arrived at Carlisle on November 8, 1901. “Really, we did not know that the school was a regular school for Indians when we went there,” she recalled. “We thought that there were [A]mericans[,] as well as [P]orto [R]icans [there].” In the three years she spent at Carlisle, she “lern[t] [*sic*] to like the Indians very much. That is some of the refine one [*sic*]. They were very nice to the [P]orto [R]ican[s], although at first they hated us.” Martínez’s father was less sanguine about his daughter’s stint at the Indian school. “[H]e used to cry thinking that that place was not a place where we could be happy,” she told Friedman. “You can imagine why he thought so. Down here we do not know anything about good [I]ndians but of those you read in books that are regular animals.”⁶⁰

Angela Rivera Tudó, Martínez’s classmate, arrived at Carlisle in November 1901 harboring many of the same racist suspicions about Native Americans. In an article that appeared in *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico* on January 3, 1931, she remembered her first night at the boarding school as “una pesa-



FIGURE 8.2. Emanuel Ruiz Rexach and another student published in *The Red Man and Helper*, April 17, 1903, with the caption “Indian and Puerto Rican studying together at Carlisle Indian School.” Reproduced by permission of the Cumberland County Historical Society.

dilla” (a nightmare). She was so scared that her Native American roommates would scalp her that she clutched her head through the night to ensure that it remained intact (“Me agarraba la cabeza para ver si todavía estaba en su puesto”). Where some former students, like Figueroa, expressed fondness for “Dear Old Carlisle,” Tudó charged that the school had abused Puerto Ricans by equating them with “savages” (“poniéndonos al nivel de unos salvajes”). She was glad she learned English while living on the mainland and even went on to pen *Idioms and Other Expressions in English and Spanish*.⁶¹ Thirty years later, however, she was still smarting for having been reduced to an “indio puertorriqueño” by the island’s new, patently ignorant masters. “Nos tomó por Indios puesto que Puerto Rico es parte del grupo de islas los americanos llaman West Indies” (They mistook us for Indians simply because Puerto Rico is part of the West Indies), she bemoaned.⁶² “To . . . remember those ‘good’ times” at Carlisle, she noted with more than a hint of sarcasm, she invited her former classmates, fellow “Indios’ Puertorriqueños,” to a reunion to be held at her house in San Juan on January 5, 1931.⁶³

The following year, Juan José Osuna published "An Indian in Spite of Myself," an autobiographical essay about his experience at Carlisle. In 1901, at the age of fifteen, he left his widowed mother and eight siblings in Caguas and set out with a group of Puerto Rican youths for "that half-mythical land of promise, the United States of America . . . to study, master a profession, and return to serve our native land." The apprentice bookkeeper and future dean of the College of Education at the University of Puerto Rico aspired to be a lawyer and believed he was heading to a school that would set him on the appropriate path. He was stunned by what and whom he encountered when he arrived at Carlisle:

We looked at the windows of the buildings, and very peculiar-looking faces peered out at us. We had never seen such people before. The buildings seemed full of them. Behold, we had arrived at the Carlisle Indian School! The United States of America, our new rulers, thought that the people of Puerto Rico were Indians; hence they should be sent to an Indian school, and Carlisle happened to be the nearest. Our lives as Indians began May 2nd, 1901, at six o'clock in the morning.⁶⁴

Reminiscent of Frantz Fanon's celebrated essay, "The Fact of Blackness," "An Indian in Spite of Myself" points to a process of racialization, or, more precisely, to what Devon Carbado has termed "racial naturalization": the "social practice wherein all of us are Americanized and made socially intelligible via racial categorization."⁶⁵ Whereas the Martinican Fanon became a "Negro," a fabrication of a white supremacist empire, when he arrived in France, Osuna became an "Indian," a fabrication of yet another white supremacist empire, when he arrived at Carlisle. Meanwhile, his compatriots, Figueroa and Nieves, became (or perhaps remained) "Negroes," a subordinate category traversing multiple imperial racial hierarchies, French, Spanish, and U.S. alike, despite their self-identification as Puerto Rican and/or Spanish. Whether classified as "Negro" or "Indian," the Puerto Rican youths who landed at Carlisle found themselves "objects in the midst of other objects," as Fanon writes.⁶⁶

As future laborers, Carlisle's Puerto Rican students were inducted into a regime of difference that was not only raced but also classed, as evinced by the work they were required and trained to do. "All the large boys had to choose a trade, while we smaller ones were assigned all sorts of duties from house-cleaning to serving as orderly to General Pratts [*sic*]," Osuna recounted.⁶⁷ One of his first tasks after arriving at Carlisle was to weed a large

onion field. "We were strung out in a long line with taskmaster Bennett, the farmer, keeping the line of progress as straight as he could by the aid of a whip," he recalled. "[T]his type of education was not exactly in keeping with my preconceived ideas of the 'land of promise.'"⁶⁸ Some students took umbrage at having to do manual and domestic labor, perhaps because they hailed from well-to-do families and were unaccustomed to such work. For instance, José Prado grumbled that he should not have to do kitchen work since his father was paying his tuition. His parents also sent the school extra money for his violin lessons.⁶⁹ The students' complaints reached Luis Muñoz Rivera, editor of the *Puerto Rico Herald*, who took it upon himself to visit Carlisle in August 1901. His report, titled "Una visita a Indian School," concluded that Carlisle was a first-rate school for vocational training, but no place for "la abstracción mental de estudios" (academics, in other words).⁷⁰

Coincidentally, Puerto Ricans arrived at Carlisle at a moment when questions were being raised about the Dawes Act and the "Indian question" was being revised. Whereas policy makers and "friends of the Indian," like Pratt, had maintained through the nineteenth century that Native Americans could and would be absorbed into the mainstream, by the turn of the century, a growing number of government bureaucrats had concluded that Native Americans "were destined to live on the fringes of civilization."⁷¹ For example, Francis Leupp, commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1904 to 1909, recommended in his first *Annual Report* that the assimilation program lower its sights from transforming Native Americans to merely improving them, for, as he put it, the Indian would "always remain an Indian."⁷² Meanwhile, Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian schools from 1898 to 1910, revamped the Indian Office's curriculum so that it emphasized basic manual and domestic labor, like fixing tools and doing light chores.⁷³ Likewise, the Hampton publication, *Southern Workman*, dismissed efforts to educate Native Americans among whites at institutions like Harvard, Dartmouth, and William and Mary as "a dismal failure" and lamented the return of one "Indian girl" to her "rude Indian home with a knowledge of French and music but without any instruction in cooking, sewing, or the care of the home."⁷⁴ Expectations of Indigenous people as simple manual and domestic workers may have been deemed practical to some. Yet those expectations not only reflected ideas about the limited and subordinate role Native Americans should play in society; they also produced that very role. By the start of the twentieth century, "[a]ssimilation was no longer an optimistic enterprise born of idealism or faith in universal human progress," Frederick Hoxie has

noted. "The term now referred to the process by which 'primitive' people were brought into regular contact with an 'advanced' society."⁷⁵

In keeping with contemporary policies regarding Native American education and assimilation, Osuna was issued his "working outfit" on his second day at Carlisle: "overalls, checkered shirt . . . and heavy shoes."⁷⁶ In 1902, he was sent to work on the farm of Dr. J. P. Welsh in Orangeville, Pennsylvania, as part of the school's outing program. Welsh was the principal of the Bloomsburg State Normal School in nearby Bloomsburg, Pennsylvania. Instead of returning to Carlisle, Osuna remained with his employer and attended school in Orangeville. Then he enrolled at the Bloomsburg State Normal School. "I did not want to return to Carlisle," Osuna admitted. "Frankly, I did not like the place. I never thought it was the school for me. I was not an Indian; I was a Puerto Rican of Spanish descent."⁷⁷ Despite being away from Carlisle for three years, he was invited to participate in the school's commencement ceremony and was issued a diploma in 1905. Of the roughly sixty Puerto Ricans who attended Carlisle, he and Tudó were two of only seven to graduate.⁷⁸ "I am an alumnus of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School," Osuna reminded his reader, and perhaps himself, at the end of his essay. "I am an Indian in spite of myself."⁷⁹

Just as Carlisle helped foster a sense of pan-Indianism among some of its Native American pupils, it reinforced its Puerto Rican students' Puerto Ricanness.⁸⁰ It prompted more than a few to disavow Puerto Rico's own Indigenous past and present, as evinced by some students' assertions that they had never seen Indigenous people before arriving at Carlisle, that they were lumped with Native Americans because of Yankee ignorance and/or a geographical error, or that they simply were not Indians. As the students and their guardians reiterated, the students were Puerto Ricans "of Spanish descent," as opposed to Puerto Ricans of Taino, African, or mixed origin. Ultimately, Carlisle's Puerto Ricans made a familiar assimilationist move, one taken by more than a handful of other groups in the United States, from the Irish in the nineteenth century to Mexican Americans in the twentieth and twenty-first: they asserted their claim to whiteness.

THE PARADOX OF ASSIMILATION

For Pratt, civilization was not only a way of being or a condition, but a place. To learn how to be civilized, Native Americans needed to be brought to

civilization, whether they wanted to or not. To remain civilized, they needed to stay in civilization. Similarly, Armstrong reminded his contemporaries who concocted plans to rid the United States of Black people by shipping them overseas that the "Afro-American is here to stay."⁸¹ Yet the place—physical and otherwise—of African Americans and Native Americans in society following the Civil and Indian Wars would not be the same as that of white Americans. Jim Crow mandated that Blacks be excluded from the mainstream (white society, in other words). In contrast, Native Americans were to be absorbed and disappeared by that mainstream. Meanwhile, Puerto Ricans' puzzling status as outsiders on the inside would be articulated via the infamous and inherently contradictory statement that the island was "foreign to the United States in a domestic sense."⁸² Differences notwithstanding, these seemingly different responses to the so-called Negro and Indian problems and the debate over the status of Puerto Rico in the expanding empire brought into relief the perceived inferiority of racialized and colonized peoples. Above all, they shed light on assimilation as a process that is often violent and unequal and always relational.

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NOTES

1. Group 75, box 29, folder 1374, Records of the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (hereafter cited as RCIIS).

2. The precise number of Puerto Rican students who passed through Carlisle is not entirely clear. Genevieve Bell tallies 59–60; Pablo Navarro-Rivera, 60; and Barbara Landis, 62. Genevieve Bell, "Telling Stories out of School: Remembering

the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1879–1918” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1998), vii, 290, 369, 397; Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “Acculturation under Duress: The Puerto Rican Experience at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 1898–1918,” *Centro Journal* 18, no. 1 (2006): 239; Pablo Navarro-Rivera, “The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico,” in *Colonial Crucible: Empire in the Making of the Modern American State*, ed. Alfred W. McCoy and Francisco A. Scarano (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009), 163–74; Barbara Landis, “Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879–1918), Tribal Enrollment Tally,” accessed August 10, 2018, <https://home.epix.net/~landis/tally.html>. Records for 50 Puerto Rican students are available via the Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, accessed June 30, 2016, <http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/>.

3. Navarro-Rivera, “Acculturation under Duress,” 238.

4. Bell, “Telling Stories out of School,” 397.

5. “Our Porto Ricans” is from the Carlisle student newspaper, *The Arrow* 1, no. 1 (August 25, 1904): 3, series III, box 20, folder 771, Richard Henry Pratt Papers (WA MSS S-1174), Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, CT (hereafter cited as Pratt Papers).

6. Patrick Wolfe, “Land, Labor, and Difference: Elementary Structures of Race,” *American Historical Review* 106, no. 3 (2001): 866–905.

7. I take my understanding of the relational and comparative from Natalia Molina, “Examining Chicana/o History through a Relational Lens,” *Pacific Historical Review* 82, no. 4 (2013): 520–41; and Ania Loomba, “Race and the Possibilities of Comparative Critique,” *New Literary History* 40, no. 3 (2009): 501–22.

8. Min Zhou, “Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation,” *International Migration Review* 31, no. 4 (1997): 975.

9. “Backward races” is from chap. 1 of Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disenfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839–1893* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

10. Sandro Mezzadra et al., “Differential Inclusion/Exclusion,” in “New Keywords: Migration and Borders,” ed. Nicholas De Genova, Sandro Mezzadra, and John Pickles, special issue, *Cultural Studies* 29, no. 1 (2015): 25–26. See also Lisa Marie Cacho’s concept of “differential devaluation” in *Social Death: Racialized Rightlessness and the Criminalization of the Unprotected* (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 18.

11. Series III, box 19, folder 659, Pratt Papers. For the full text of the Dawes Act (also known as the General Allotment Act), see “An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations, and to Extend the Protection of the Laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for Other Purposes,” accessed August 10, 2018, http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/dawes.asp.

12. There were 8,000 to 8,500 students from seventy-five nations who attended Carlisle, according to Bell, “Telling Stories out of School,” vi; and the dust jacket of

Linda F. Witmer, *The Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, 1879–1918* (Carlisle, PA: Cumberland County Historical Society, 1993).

13. Witmer, *Indian Industrial School*, 35.

14. *Ibid.*, 114.

15. Series III, box 19, folder 659, Pratt Papers.

16. Helen Ludlow, *Ten Years’ Work for Indians at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia, 1878–1888* (Hampton, VA: Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1888), 45. For an astute analysis of Carlisle’s before-and-after portraits of Native American pupils, see Hayes Peter Mauro, *The Art of Americanization at the Carlisle Indian School* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2011).

17. Richard Henry Pratt, “The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the “Friends of the Indian,” 1880–1900*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 261. A version of this text may also be found in series III, box 19, folder 653, Pratt Papers.

18. Pratt, “Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,” 268.

19. Ludlow, *Ten Years’ Work*, 44.

20. Series III, box 19, folder 659, Pratt Papers.

21. David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875–1928* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1995), 39.

22. *Ibid.*, 45.

23. Quoted in Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 157.

24. Jeanne Zeidler, foreword to *To Lead and to Serve: American Indian Education at Hampton Institute, 1878–1923*, ed. Mary Lou Hultgren and Paulette Fairbanks Molin (Virginia Beach: Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, 1989), 6.

25. Ludlow, *Ten Years’ Work*, iv–v.

26. “Co-education of Races,” *Southern Workman* 28, no. 1 (January 1899): 2, Publications Collection, Hampton University Archives.

27. Hampton received \$167 per Native American student per year from the federal government when it began its Indian program, according to Engs, *Educating the Disenfranchised*, 118. See also Donald F. Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute, 1877–1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 247–71.

28. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 45.

29. Jim Crow was the de jure and de facto system of racial segregation in the United States from the late nineteenth century until 1965, when the Voting Rights Act ended legally sanctioned state barriers to voting in federal, state, and local elections.

30. Series I, box 1, folder 36, Samuel Chapman Armstrong Collection, Sawyer Library, Williams College, Williamstown, MA (hereafter cited as Armstrong Collection).

31. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 46.
32. Series III, box 20, folder 696, Pratt Papers.
33. Ibid.
34. "Co-education of Races," 2.
35. Ludlow, *Ten Years' Work*, 14.
36. Helen W. Ludlow, "Hampton's Indian Students at Home," in *Hampton Institute, 1868 to 1885: Its Work for Two Races*, ed. M. F. Armstrong, Helen W. Ludlow, and Elaine Goodale (Hampton, VA: Normal School Press Print, 1885), 15–19.
37. This quote is from Hampton teacher Caroline Andrus's September 6, 1923, letter to former student Addie Stevens Bouchier, as quoted in Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*, 261.
38. Wolfe, "Land, Labor, and Difference," 884. As Wolfe explains, "Territorial expropriation was foundational to the colonial formations into which Europeans incorporated" Native Americans, while "blacks' relationship with their colonizers—from the colonizers' point of view at least—centered on labor. In this light, the varying miscegenation policies make immediate sense, since assimilation reduces an indigenous population with rival claims to the land, while an exclusive strategy enlarges an enslaved labor force." Ibid., 867.
39. "Co-education of Races," 2.
40. Series III, box 19, folder 669, Pratt Papers.
41. Pratt, "Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," 263.
42. Series III, box 19, folder 669, Pratt Papers.
43. Pratt, "Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites," 263.
44. Series III, box 19, folder 669, Pratt Papers.
45. Quoted in Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*, 25.
46. Aihwa Ong, "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," *Current Anthropology* 37, no. 5 (1996): 740. See also David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1999).
47. Juan Santano Student File, Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, accessed November 17, 2015, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/juan-santano-student-file.
48. Richard Henry Pratt to Dr. M. G. Brumbaugh, October 8, 1900, group 75, box 1, folder 1323, RCIIS. See also Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation under Duress," 238.
49. Bell, "Telling Stories out of School," 369.
50. Navarro-Rivera, "Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies," 164–69. See also Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation under Duress"; Sonia Migdalia Rosa, "Puerto Ricans at Carlisle Indian School," in *The Praeger Handbook of Latino Education in the U.S.*, vol. 2, ed. Lourdes Díaz Soto (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2007), 387–88. Congress ended funding for Puerto Ricans to attend Carlisle in 1903; Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880–1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 192.

51. Navarro-Rivera, "The Imperial Enterprise and Educational Policies in Colonial Puerto Rico," 164–69. On Cubans at Tuskegee, see Frank Andre Guridy, *Forging Diaspora: Afro-Cubans and African Americans in a World of Empire and Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), especially chap. 1.
52. Rosa, "Puerto Ricans at Carlisle Indian School," 388.
53. Angela Rivera Tudó, "Los 'Indios' de Puerto Rico," *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, January 3, 1931, 4. Regarding the elite status of many of Carlisle's Puerto Rican students, see Rosa, "Puerto Ricans at Carlisle Indian School."
54. Emilio de Arce Pagán Student File, Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, accessed November 17, 2015, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/emilio-de-arce-pagan-student-file.
55. Group 75, box 113, folder 4676, RCIIS.
56. Delores Nieves Student File, Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, accessed December 16, 2015, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/delores-nieves-student-file.
57. Group 75, box 29, folder 1374, RCIIS.
58. Group 75, box 124, folder 4962, RCIIS.
59. Adela Barrelli Student File, Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, accessed December 15, 2015, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/adela-barrelli-student-file.
60. Providencia Martinez Student File, Carlisle Indian Digital Resource Center, accessed November 17, 2015, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/student_files/providencia-martinez-student-file.
61. Angela Rivera de Tudó, *Idioms and Other Expressions in English and Spanish, and Their Use with a University Supplement, and about 500 Proverbs in English and Spanish, and a List of Homophonous Words* (San Juan, PR: Casa Baldrich, 1940).
62. Tudó, "Los 'Indios' de Puerto Rico," 4.
63. Ibid.
64. Juan José Osuna, "An Indian in Spite of Myself," *Summer School Review* 10, no. 5 (1932): 2.
65. Devon W. Carbado, "Racial Naturalization," *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 633.
66. Frantz Fanon, "The Fact of Blackness," in *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 109.
67. Osuna, "An Indian in Spite of Myself," 3.
68. Ibid.
69. Regarding Prado's complaint about having to work in a kitchen, see the January 3, 1917, letter from Father Feeser of St. Patrick's Rectory in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in Group 75, box 124, folder 4962, RCIIS.
70. Luis Muñoz Rivera, "Una visita a Indian School," *Puerto Rico Herald* 1, no. 10 (September 14, 1901).
71. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 96.
72. Ibid., 163, 199.

73. Ibid., 196. See also K. Tsianina Lomawaima and T. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Estelle Reel, Superintendent of Indian Schools, 1898–1910: Politics, Curriculum, and Land," *Journal of American Indian Education* 35, no. 3 (1996): 5–31.

74. "Co-education of Races," 3.

75. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 187.

76. Osuna, "An Indian in Spite of Myself," 3.

77. Ibid., 4.

78. Navarro-Rivera, "Acculturation under Duress," 243. Bell estimates that of the some 8,500 students who attended Carlisle, only 600 graduated; Bell, "Telling Stories out of School," vii.

79. Osuna, "An Indian in Spite of Myself," 4.

80. On Carlisle's role as a wellspring for what would come to be known as pan-Indianism, see Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

81. Series I, box 1, folder 36, Armstrong Collection.

82. "Foreign to the United States in a domestic sense" is from *Downes v. Bidwell*, the 1901 case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled on the status of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines as "unincorporated territories," belonging to—but not part of—the United States." Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, "Between the Foreign and the Domestic: The Doctrine of Territorial Incorporation, Invented and Reinvented," in *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution*, ed. Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), 1.

Becoming "Hawaiian"

A RELATIONAL RACIALIZATION
OF JAPANESE AMERICAN SOLDIERS FROM HAWAII'
DURING WORLD WAR II IN THE U.S. SOUTH

Jeffrey T. Yamashita

While recounting his experiences participating in the 100th/442nd Regimental Combat Team (RCT), the famous segregated Japanese American military unit that fought in the European campaign during World War II, Senator Daniel Inouye (D-HI) described the divisions between the Japanese American soldiers from Hawai'i and those from the U.S. mainland. He did so in terms of differences between *buddhabeads* (Japanese Americans from Hawai'i) and *kotonks* (Japanese Americans from the U.S. mainland, primarily the West Coast). The nickname *buddhabead* was a play on the word *buta*, Japanese for "pig," and *kotonk* referred to the sound of one's head hitting the ground in a fight. While there were some cultural differences between the groups, both *buddhabeads* and *kotonks* were second-generation Japanese Americans, or Nisei.¹ However, media coverage identified the *buddhabead* soldiers from Hawai'i as Americans of Japanese ancestry (AJA) and labeled the *kotonk* soldiers as Nisei. Historians such as Robert Asahina, Lyn Crost, and Bill Yenne have illustrated the tensions, fights, and misunderstandings that erupted between these two groups of men during basic training at Camp Shelby, Mississippi. On the other hand, Inouye's rendition of the historical episode hinged on a crystallization of an imagined military fraternity and community that spanned thousands of miles from Honolulu to the incarceration camps in Arkansas.²

According to Inouye, the turning point that brought the two groups of men together occurred when some of the AJA soldiers stationed at Camp Shelby were invited to attend a social at the Rohwer incarceration camp in Arkansas. When the men initially saw the barbed wires and desolate-looking barracks at Rohwer, Inouye recalled, everyone was silent. At that moment,