

Digesting Difference: Immigration, Race, and Assimilation in the U.S. Body

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by

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a study of how the U.S. nation has been created as a body, and how discourses of digestion—chewing, eating, assimilating, shitting—have been central to that process. It is a study of the digestibility rhetorics that produce and maintain the white nation. The project demonstrates the affective, and thus political, power that digestion discourses provided. It illuminates early instantiations of the disgust that pulses through 21st century anti-immigrant and white supremacist discourse in the United States through three case studies where digestion appears prominently in public discourse. The question I pose to each is, what are the connections between digestion as a mode of bodily comportment and the emerging racial order in the U.S. 20th century? The cases represent key moments in the construction and negotiation of the U.S. nation and its attendant constructions of race and belonging: immigration policy, Western territorial expansion, and Black radicalism in the 1960s and 1970s. Using a critical rhetorical approach, I seek to further illuminate scholarship on race, immigration, and coloniality in the field. My primary focus concerns moments when the language of digestion appears outside of its more literal contexts—in conversations about immigration policy, national identity, and national security. I argue that these three ostensibly separate moments of U.S. nation-making are deeply inter-related, not only by the commonality of national identity, but because at each moment, the national identity being negotiated carries with it the racialized baggage from the past. Digestion (and its various disorders) functions as what Molina terms a racial script in the United States. These cases are “projects” of nation and race making where digestion emerges as a script for producing and managing the body politic.

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INTRODUCTION

In a January 2018 meeting with Congressional leaders about immigration legislation, U.S. President Donald Trump questioned why the country should allow in people from “shithole” countries like Haiti, El Salvador, and nations on the African continent. Instead, he suggested, the U.S. should have more immigrants from Norway. This comment garnered national and international response, drawing enraged criticism from the leaders of maligned nations, and raising questions for news organizations about how to report on an utterance that is typically barred from usage by FCC regulations. It is no surprise that this president—who started the birther movement questioning President Barack Obama’s birthplace,¹ who campaigned on building a wall between the U.S. and Mexico,² who instituted the Muslim ban on immigration,³ who called Mexicans criminals and rapists in his campaign announcement speech,⁴ who has blamed “both sides” for violence perpetrated by white supremacists in Charlottesville,⁵ who has appointed self-proclaimed white nationalists to cabinet positions,⁶ and so on—it is no surprise that he would demean African and Latin American nations and express preference for a Nordic country that is not only statistically white but symbolically white.⁷ His use of the word “shithole” is no accident, nor is it a mere abstraction. The association of non-white races with waste and bowels, with shit and holes, has a long history.

An earlier echo of Trump’s remark came more than 170 years ago. In July of 1845, the very month the United States government came to an agreement with the Texas Congress to annex the Texas territory, and shortly before the Mexican-American War, John L. O’Sullivan published a piece in *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* later credited with coining the term “manifest destiny.”⁸ O’Sullivan was an influential political writer and editor. In

the essay, he argued that the contention between political parties about the annexation of Texas should end now that the annexation was complete; Americans should embrace the new cession with open arms and those who opposed it should admit political defeat with grace, for the acquisition of Texas was both “inevitable and [...] irrevocable.”⁹ The central issue in the annexation of Texas was that it would be admitted as a slave state, tipping the balance of power toward the southern states and angering northerners who sought to abolish slavery. The most desirable solution to the “slavery problem” was the voluntary abolition of the institution, which he and his contemporaries believed would happen naturally in the southeast. O’Sullivan wrote that slavery would leave the Atlantic coast for Texas in the west, just as water can’t help but roll downhill. The most unsettling aspect of slavery was the question of what to do with slaves once they were freed. The only place for them to flow (or “drain”), he contended, was southward:

On the other hand, it is undeniably much gained for the cause of the eventual voluntary abolition of slavery, that it should have been thus drained off towards the only outlet which appeared to furnish much probability of the ultimate disappearance of the negro race from our borders. The Spanish Indian-American populations of Mexico, Central America and South America, afford the only receptacle capable of absorbing that race whenever we shall be prepared to slough it off—to emancipate it from slavery, and (simultaneously necessary) to remove it from the midst of our own.¹⁰

O’Sullivan continued, writing that because these populations were “already of mixed and confused blood,” they were “free from the ‘the prejudices’ which among us so insuperably forbid the social amalgamation which can alone elevate the Negro race out of a virtually servile degradation even though legally free.” Freed slaves could never assimilate into the U.S. body politic because prejudice, he claimed, would override the law. Without social emancipation, legal emancipation could never be fulfilled. He wrote that “the regions occupied by those populations must strongly attract the black race in that direction,” which would “relieve the [slavery] question of one of its worst difficulties.” While they claimed Mexico wasn’t fit to manage Texas,

it was encouraged to be the receptacle for an unwanted race in America. Texas was thus lifted from the fetid racial wasteland. The hopes of evacuating undesirable and threatening races underscored the American ideal as Anglo-Saxon, male and rational. Built into the notion of Manifest Destiny and the construction of the U.S. nation through conquest is the desire to acquire the most territory with the fewest non-white people. The question O’Sullivan was grappling with was how to maintain the whiteness of the body politic even after the emancipation of black slaves. Metaphors of absorption, digestion, and defecation are used to associate white people with the upper regions of the body and non-white¹¹ people with the lower regions of the body—with waste and disgust.

The U.S. president’s calling countries populated by black and brown people “shitholes” is not simply a vulgar insult by a state official. It is part of a long legacy in political discourse of associating people with shit and waste—with disgust—in order to produce enemies, build walls, and start wars. It is directly linked to nationalists 150 years earlier, who sought to “drain” African Americans into the bowels of the globe with Mexico and Central and South America, and to nationalists one hundred years earlier, who argued for immigration restriction by linking groups to waste, disease, and toxicity. 1965 marked the end of a long period of immigration restriction, and in 2018, the rhetoric of the right echoes the biological racism and eugenicist policies that put immigration quotas into place 100 years ago. It is therefore critical to look at how the U.S. nation has been constructed as a body, how digestion has been a recurring racial script,¹² and how this body politic has been resisted. Eating and digestion have long haunted the American imaginary. This dissertation is a study of how the U.S. nation has been created as a body, and how discourses of digestion—chewing, eating, assimilating, shitting—have been

central to that process. It is a study of the digestibility rhetorics that produce and maintain the white nation.

Discourses of digestion are primary modalities of making the U.S. body politic. The classic narrative of the United States as a nation of immigrants is underwritten by the notion of *becoming* American through a process of digestion—assimilation. Digestion is how people talk about what the body does with food, but it is also a primary way people talk about the process of understanding and how human beings come to know. People talk about chewing on ideas and letting them marinate, especially those that are “hard to swallow.” When something is intolerable, people say, “I couldn’t stomach it.” To digest is to categorize newly acquired knowledge within our existing epistemological system, just as it is to take in food and break it down into useful parts. Digestion is a commonly used metaphor in our everyday language, yet what it means is not a static truth; it is a continually shifting understanding produced at the intersections of science, medicine, popular culture, and consumerism.

This dissertation demonstrates the affective, and thus political, power that digestion discourses provided. It illuminates early instantiations of the disgust that pulses through 21st century anti-immigrant and white supremacist discourse in the United States through three case studies where digestion appears prominently in public discourse. The question I pose to each is, what are the connections between digestion as a mode of bodily comportment and the emerging racial order in the U.S. 20th century? The cases represent key moments in the construction and negotiation of the U.S. nation and its attendant constructions of race and belonging: immigration policy, Western territorial expansion, and Black radicalism in the 1960s and 1970s. Using a critical rhetorical approach, I seek to further illuminate scholarship on race, immigration, and coloniality in the field. My primary focus concerns moments when the language of digestion

appears outside of its more literal contexts—in conversations about immigration policy, national identity, and national security. Foregrounding digestion as the unit of analysis allows me to explore the significance of bigger questions about the racial formation of the U.S. nation. Analyzing discourses of race and immigration through the register of digestibility tunes us into the material and embodied dimension of the rhetorically constructed “body politic.” Discourses of digestion offer entry into questions of belonging and desirability: which immigrants could assimilate into the body politic? How have territories considered indigestible become “fit” for incorporation into the nation? How has resisting assimilation been a means of establishing sovereignty separate from the nation? Digestion is a constant presence at critical points of meaning-making around race and national identity in the U.S. imaginary. As Melanie DuPuis writes, “the questions ‘What to eat?’ and ‘How to govern?’ have, from the beginning of American democratic society, marched in tandem.”¹³

Race in the U.S. has always been relational—legally, politically, and socially. Natalie Molina argues that “racial scripts” link groups across space and time, and that scripts used to demonize one group can be transferred for use in other settings and with other groups.¹⁴ Once a cultural stereotype exists in the world, it can be used by or against another group—the replaying of old racial scripts in new contexts. As an analytic framework, Molina’s concept of racial scripts allows scholars to trace connections between racial groups and in different historical periods. This dissertation looks at three ostensibly separate moments of U.S. nation-making and argues that they are deeply inter-related, not only by the commonality of national identity, but because at each moment, the national identity being negotiated carries with it the racialized baggage from the past. Digestion (and its various disorders) functions a racial script in the United States. These

cases are “projects” of nation and race making where digestion emerges as a script for managing the body politic.

Scholarship on Eating and Digestion

Though race is socially and culturally produced, not biologically real, it is nonetheless made meaningful through and on peoples’ bodies. One way that scholars have approached intersecting questions of race and the body is through the study of food and eating. Food and food practices have been recognized as actual forms of communication themselves, not just cultural artifacts that can be interpreted through a rhetorical lens.¹⁵ The study of food has pointed scholars in many directions—including colonial relationships, social movements, cultural expression, media texts, global political economy, policy, the politics of representation, labor, national and regional identity, and citizenship.¹⁶ Food has only recently picked up traction as an area of concern for rhetorical scholars in communication, though, and it is key to note that it is rarely considered by political theorists or policy scholars. This is perhaps, as Uma Narayan suggests, because food has been considered mundane, domestic rather than political, and associated with women’s household work.¹⁷ Turning an eye toward eating and digestion contributes an expanded idea of what counts as political, and offers a reminder that some of the most seemingly banal and ordinary discourses can be the most powerful. Digestion offers a point of access to the bodily compartment aspects of food. It’s what our bodies *do* with food from entrance to exit, how we *perceive* what our bodies do with food, and how these understandings are used to describe other social and cultural phenomena. Kyla Wazana Tompkins coined the term “critical eating studies” to note her analytical shift away from food as an object to the meaning-laden practice of eating.¹⁸ Similarly, I envision this project as a form of “critical

digestion studies” that bridges food studies and studies of the body, which are not always put in conversation with one another.

I focus on metaphors of digestibility within the U.S. body politic for two reasons. First, because the nation is often personified as “the body politic.” Since at least the works of Plato and Aristotle, and philosophers like Hobbes, nations have been understood as bodies, the body politic offering a breadth of rhetorical resources and useful analogies for political thinkers to understand the relationality between a state and the nation it governs. The body has an inside and an outside, it relates to other bodies, it thinks and sleeps and wakes, eats and shits, breathes, gives birth, can be ill or well, strong or weak, young or old; it can die. Studying how the nation is made into a body in a particular historical moment can illuminate not only the construction of racial groups and the nation, but also how the body was conceived. What better way to make something abstract like a nation relatable than to compare it to the body and bodily processes—something to which everyone has a point of connection. This is what I. A. Richards classified as an “emotive metaphor,” which produces meaning not through comparing like objects, but by producing an emotive or affective charge. In his example, calling a person swine *could* refer to a physical likeness, “but it may be because you have towards him something of the feeling you conventionally have toward pigs, or because you propose, if possible, to excite those feelings.”¹⁹ Analyzing the form and function of these metaphors helps us to determine their somatic and affective impacts.

Second, though the term “assimilation” as it is used today does not appear to be a metaphor, I argue that it maintains the metaphorical implications accrued during its representational history. *Digest* and *digestion* are words commonly used to describe the body’s breakdown of organic matter, while *assimilate* and *assimilation* are more often used to describe

cultural or racial, rather than organic encounters. Assimilation is a process of incorporation, but its emphasis is on making one element *like* another, “to become of the same substance; to become absorbed or incorporated into the system.”²⁰ While digestion is the process of breaking down and disposing, assimilation is the process of synchronizing the parts with the whole, a metamorphosis from difference to sameness. Through assimilation, people are to become at once *like* the whole and systematically reduced into familiar and uniform parts. Both processes enact change in order to ensure the proper functioning of the system. They share more than these similarities, however. In nineteenth and twentieth century scientific and popular discourses, assimilation and digestion were *synonyms*. To digest your food was to assimilate it and to assimilate your food was to digest it. Assimilation has become so synonymous with Americanization and naturalization that it seems to be an abstract representation, though at its core, assimilation is an embodied, material process.

Conquest and assimilation are linguistically interwoven with the processes of eating and digesting, so it is not coincidental that the language we use to talk about each overlaps. These words—digest, assimilate, consume—carry with them long and loaded etymologies, at once bearing all of their metaphorical associations and practical usages. Perhaps the most obvious example is the trope of the “melting pot,” which likens immigrants to meltable metals or ingredients in a multicultural stew. The melting pot is a particularly palatable narrative of United States history, one that erases violent conflict and instead produces an appetizing and consumable soup. Political radicals of many ethnicities were also termed indigestible—resistant to the dominant biopolitical order either by choice or because the dominant group had rendered them foreign. To digest something is to “divide and dispose, to distribute” and further, to “dispose methodically or according to a system; to reduce into a systematic form, usually with

condensation; to classify.”²¹ If we think, for a moment, of the nation as a system, and an immigrant, political radical or newly occupied territory as the consumed item, to say that it is indigestible implies that it cannot be easily reduced or incorporated. It cannot be broken down or distributed as a part of the system, and thus remains apart—whole, in a sense, but an illness in the structure.

Colonial power relations are predicated on racialized social orders, maintained, in part, through technologies of bodily management. Through medical technologies, public health measures, consumer culture, and popular representation, bodies and bodily practices are endowed with meaning. As historian Pablo Mitchell writes, “images of the ineffective control or maintenance of human bodies—as in improper excretion, salivation, lactation, consumption, and so on—frequently represent perceived threats to the maintenance of social order.”²² Because eating is necessary to sustain life, and because of the physical vulnerability inherent in the act of eating, anxieties over colonial encounters often emerge as anxieties about foreign food and eating cultures. This anxiety is more frequently about what happens *after* a person eats or drinks—not about the act of eating in the moment, but what happens in someone’s gut over the next hours and days. This is a space where there is a lack of control, where the body’s processes take over. This project speaks to these emergences of colonial and racial anxiety where they become visible through digestion discourses.

U.S. Racial Formation

From the clause in the Constitution counting African slaves as three-fifths persons to the Supreme Court’s 1857 Dred Scott ruling that Black people could not become citizens, from immigration quotas to Chinese exclusion, the history of citizenship and belonging in the U.S. has

been one of protecting whiteness. This history has meant excluding classes of people (based on race) not only from rights and citizenship, but from broad categories of humanity. As Nikhil Singh broadly but succinctly puts it:

Racialized peoples in turn are those who have been defined by a status that is never individuated enough to grant rights, nor collective enough to justify sovereignty. In the U.S. context, this has entailed the production of a host of “exceptional” figures and legal fictions exorbitant to liberal-democracy: the three-fifths person (African slave), the “domestic dependent nation” (American Indians), “separate but equal,” (black citizen), “foreign in a domestic sense” (Puerto Ricans), the “immigrant ineligible for naturalization” (Asians), and of course the “free white person.”²³

In the following sections, I detail the way the nation has been formed through settler colonialism and immigration before moving into a section on race and the body.

Settler Colonialism

Establishing the United States as a democratic nation required legitimating settler colonial presence on the continent, claiming the land as a right of natural law and an obligation of “manifest destiny.” This necessitated an ongoing political and rhetorical process. Siobhan Somerville has argued that the Declaration of Independence was a mass naturalization of the nation—a legal contract that asserted not only the European inhabitants of the nation as citizens, but claimed legitimacy for the nation itself.²⁴ The 1790 Naturalization Act, the first federal immigration law, allowed free white persons of good moral character to become naturalized citizens with very few requirements. Immediately following the act (and likely earlier), U.S. political leaders referred to themselves as “native Americans.” People of European descent who were born in U.S. territories claimed wholly American identities in opposition to British, French, or other European allegiances; they rhetorically and materially supplanted indigenous peoples living on the continent to assert their native belonging. Founding themselves as an American

race, they sought to reproduce and populate the land. The national policy toward immigration was not exacting during the hundred years that followed, though it was never about opening the nation to all races indiscriminately. As Senator Henry Cabot Lodge explained in an 1891 article, immigration policy was lenient because “the natural growth of the people established in the thirteen colonies was not sufficient to occupy or develop the vast territory and valuable resources of the Union.”²⁵ Simply put, the northern European colonists could not reproduce quickly enough to colonize the nation as they wished—in their own image.

Much of the work on colonialism within communication studies focuses on European colonialism and the economic neocolonialism that has replaced colonialism’s more traditional forms.²⁶ The United States as a settler colonial nation and an imperial power remains underexplored by rhetorical scholars.²⁷ The U.S. Southwest *is* a post-colonial space within the boundaries of the continental U.S.²⁸—the land and its occupants the spoils of conquest. This study contributes to conversations on U.S. colonialism and its territorial possessions—the shadow operations of a country beholden to democracy and freedom.²⁹ Even historically, the study of U.S. imperialism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries is often focused outward, on Hawai’i, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, and not on the very same colonial technologies and institutions being developed at the *same time* in the U.S. Southwest. This project seeks to complicate the portrayal of U.S. imperialism in a national imaginary that locates it across bodies of water and backwards in time—to demonstrate it is much closer to home than some would like to think.

Immigration and naturalization laws in the U.S. have sought to maintain this projected image of a northern European nation through their focus on racial eligibility. Tensions arose when settler colonial expansion and territorial conquest meant incorporating nonwhite people

within the body of the nation. Before the Civil War, only free white men “of good moral character” were allowed to be(come) citizens. Yet in 1848, when the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended the U.S.-Mexico War, and Mexico ceded more than a third of its territory (and the people within it) to the United States, Mexicans were granted federal citizenship. Since only white men could naturalize, this either meant that Mexicans were legally white or the U.S. violated its own laws. The U.S. Supreme Court considered this question in 1897 in *in re Rodriguez*, upholding the law and stating that Rodriguez, born in Mexico, could naturalize. This legal whiteness for the purposes of citizenship, however, did not mean that Mexicans and Mexican Americans were socially or politically white. In spite of this legal enfranchisement, or perhaps inspired but it, they were subject to racist violence, discrimination, and Jim Crow style segregation. Eugenicists, in fact, frequently referred to Mexicans as a “mongrel race,” evidence of the evils of racial mixing, and the incapacity of mixed races for self-rule. Yet Mexicans were legally white.

The U.S. colonization of New Mexico challenged the racial order within the United States in four ways. First, it called into question the category of whiteness, as brown-skinned and Spanish-speaking men were granted citizenship that was legally limited to free white men. Second, though the treaty guaranteed federal citizenship to all former Mexican citizens, Pueblo Indians were instead folded into existing Indian policy, considered “wards of the state,” kept from voting in territorial elections, and their land claims treated differently than New Mexicans.³⁰ Laura Gómez describes this as a “divide-and-conquer strategy,” giving white status to Mexican Americans while denying Pueblo Indian men. Despite this legal status, “Euro-American writers, newspapermen, and politicians continued to mockingly denounce Mexicans as racially inferior and as unfit for self-government as state citizens.”³¹ Third, Southerners opposed

New Mexico's petition for statehood in the initial push because it would have joined as a free state and thereby tipped the balance against slaveholding states. If the state were free, white slaveholders could not take advantage of the colonization, as they would not be able to migrate to the state with their slaves. Fourth, New Mexico joined the U.S. as a bilingual state, which meant, among other things, ensuring the right of Spanish-speaking children to be schooled in their native language, requiring many teachers to be bilingual, and protected the rights of Spanish-speaking people to vote, run for office, and serve on juries in their native language. Given that language is one of the primary ways in which the Americanization of non-English speaking immigrants took place, New Mexico's incorporation as a state that legally recognized Spanish as an official language is remarkable.

This case of U.S. colonization in the Southwest exemplifies the dialectical tension between the desire for national expansion and the resistance to incorporating land and people perceived as being *other*. Discourses about food and digestion served as proxies for conversations about race and difference, tapping into settlers' affective experiences of fear and disgust as well as New Mexicans' complex and at times ambivalent responses to Americanization. The nation's geopolitical borders were literally drawn to incorporate New Mexico, but until the region became perceived as culturally and racially palatable, it remained a foreign territory in domestic space. The recollections from New Mexico's territorial years mark a moment in which the food and the people were still of the Mexican region, not yet distinctly *New Mexican*.³² I suggest that Euro-American inability to digest New Mexican food is symbolic of American resistance to New Mexico's full incorporation as a state because of its perceived racial and cultural incompatibility.

Compatibility, of course, is a human construction; drawing borders around citizenship eligibility and borders around the territorial holdings of the nation are creative acts of formation and meaning-making. These borders demarcate the inside and the outside, who belongs and who is excluded, people's mobility and life chances. While the nation's founding was premised on freedom, on life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, borders have always been drawn around "the people" who have access to those inalienable rights. Settler colonialism functions through the creation of hierarchies of people, as Mae Ngai puts it, "Central to the colonial project was the belief that the new territories were inhabited by backward race incapable of self-rule."³³ It is cultural representations that do much of the work to make oppressive policies acceptable, if not justifiable, to a greater public. As Matt Garcia, Melanie DuPuis, and Don Mitchell write, "Eating can also be a kind of invasion, a colonization through the colon. . . . In peacetime, food has been used to discipline the unruly, the marginal, and the foreign to eat a proper 'national' diet—a process that also helps determine who belongs to the nation and who does not. Cuisine, then, arises both through border crossing and border policing."³⁴ The boundaries of the nation are formed and reformed through the terms of belonging, demarcating the insides and outsides of the eating body politic. This boundary work gives rise to what Jenell Johnson has termed the "visceral public," defined by their emergence from discourses of borders and edges and their coherence "by means of intense feeling."³⁵ Debates about the indigestibility of particular foods produces a visceral public, enlivened by fear or disgust, as do debates about the digestibility of racial groups within the national body politic.

In very practical ways, the control, dissemination, and availability of food has shaped the formation of the country. As a settler colonial nation, the U.S. government "used rations to attempt to control indigenous movement, encourage European-style habits, decrease indigenous

independence, and increase dependence on European goods. Food became an effective tool in governmental attempts to assimilate indigenous peoples.”³⁶ Annuity payments to tribes for the loss of land were not given in cash, but typically in goods and equipment and could therefore be tools of incorporation—wheat, farm equipment, and particular foods all were paid in the name of “civilizing.” Coercing school attendance and withholding food supplies, threatening starvation, forcing nomadic tribes to start farming and become sedentary, and engineering indigenous participation in U.S. market economy were all ways to integrate Native peoples into the body politic; this integration was forced, and coexisted with genocidal violence. As Tamara Levi writes, “Many coercive acculturation practices forced changes from traditional foods and eating practices to those of the dominant assimilating culture. Part of the reasoning of the colonials lay in the idea that if indigenous peoples ate what the encroaching culture did, they would then begin to act like that culture and might eventually be absorbed into it.”³⁷ The control over food as both a material and symbolic resource is a mode of political power.

Immigration

Historically and today, most of the metaphors used to support nativist immigration policies cultivate the fear of being overwhelmed, and rhetorical scholars have produced a significant body of criticism about these discourses.³⁸ Tides and floods are commonly used metaphors that, like digestion, borrow credibility from natural law and persuasive influence from common knowledge. Paroma Roy demonstrates that the social and political dimensions of food, appetite, and eating (or fasting) were fundamental to colonial and postcolonial India; she writes that the alimentary tract “was the banal yet crisis-ridden theater for staging questions central to encounter and rule, questions of proximity, cathexis, consumption, incorporation, digestion,

commensality, and purgation.”³⁹ In the context of 20th century U.S. immigration debates, Gerald V. O’Brien argues that dehumanizing representations of immigrants as indigestible food, conquering masses, and waste were central to the rhetorical project of convincing Americans who were themselves descendants of immigrants to support immigration restriction; this required persuading immigrant Americans that the newly incoming populations were significantly different from them. O’Brien’s analysis thoroughly analyzes and classifies numerous denigrating metaphors of immigrants that supported restrictionist policies, but as Lisa Flores has argued, neutral and positive representations of immigrants are equally important to consider. Flores shows how the tropes of Mexican immigrants as “unthreatening peons” and “criminal aliens” are built of the same logical bricks, and though they do so in different ways, they can both be used to disenfranchise Mexicans and Mexican Americans as a group.⁴⁰ Critical race scholars have thoroughly established that in the construction of a racialized other, the dominant group often remains unmarked; analyzing whiteness as a racial category reveals its constructed nature and challenges its normalized dominance.⁴¹ Thus, this dissertation considers the representational context that produced both denigrating portrayals of immigrants and the white national body. Food is not only a bodily necessity but also a marker of identity, and thus, can come to stand in for who people are. As Helen Viet writes, “the intimacy of eating and the materiality of food itself made it a substance that embodied race and difference in a uniquely tangible way.”⁴²

Race and the Body

Racial formation in the U.S. has fundamentally been about bodies—about reading race on people’s bodies, about controlling mobility, reproduction, political power, and access to capital. The formation of the nation is a project of controlling who can enter the U.S., who can assimilate

into the body politic, and who cannot. This racialized form of nation-building is predicated on corporeality, from visual inspections of immigrants and scientific racism to chattel slavery. And the effects of this power structure are experienced in embodied ways.

One of the primary ways boundaries of race, class, gender and culture are drawn is through food and eating—who eats what, when, with whom, and how. As Kyla Wazana Tompkins argues, eating is a primary way in which people perform their race and gender and read others' bodies.⁴³ Rhetorical scholars have analyzed how bodies and bodily practices are endowed with meaning through medical technologies, public health measures, consumer culture, and popular representation.⁴⁴ Digestion is particularly salient because of the ways race in the United States has always been constructed through discourses that center on and through the body.⁴⁵ Claude Lévi-Strauss famously likened cooking to a form of language through which a culture could be read. And as Parama Roy has so eloquently stated in her study of the alimentary in colonial and postcolonial India, “the stomach served as a kind of somatic political unconscious in which the phantasmagoria of colonialism came to be embodied.”⁴⁶ The affective link between the national body and the individual subject body is a productive site for fear and disgust, which Sara Ahmed tells us are affects with significant political capital.⁴⁷

Borders, like skin that becomes evident through pain, Sara Ahmed argues, “need to be threatened in order to be maintained, or even to appear *as* borders.”⁴⁸ Disgust, she writes, “operates as a contact zone,” a space where bodies come into proximity, actual or otherwise.⁴⁹ One who expresses or experiences disgust feels their boundaries threatened by the distasteful, fear they have taken in or might be overtaken *by* this other. Her framework is particularly useful in unpacking colonial relations of power and how they are made apparent through food and practices of eating. We are vulnerable and open in our very construction—in order to survive, we

must eat, and this, Ahmed tells us, means taking that which is *not us* into our fleshy bodies (all the time). Jenell Johnson writes, “Eating, drinking, having sex, giving birth, undergoing and injection: these are moments when the boundary between the body’s interior and its exterior is not just encountered, it is produced.”⁵⁰ Categories of digestibility are a way to differentiate an “us” from a “them”—one of the many ways an other can be made strange to maintain relations of power, to uphold the distinction between familiar and foreign in all of its various incarnations.

Research Problem / Question

In the contemporary moment, liberal colorblind ideologies about race and overt white supremacist nationalism coexist. Though they differ in outward expression and political effect, they are nonetheless linked by their underlying logics. Many claim that race is no longer relevant, that everyone is capable of achieving success, regardless of race. A Pew study published in September of 2017 found that only 16% of white Americans believe their race confers significant advantage over Black Americans.⁵¹ Overt white supremacy echoes earlier scientific racism, the idea that race is biologically real and the white race is superior. From a colorblind standpoint, the results of systemic white privilege are not accounted for. The fact that the U.S. is primarily governed by white men and that, by and large, white people own more land, have more money, are jailed less, and so on, is a result of white achievement. To not see race as a factor is to assume that oppressed populations suffer because of their own depravity or inferiority, since everyone is legally equal. Sometimes racism is overt and undeniable; when it is, recognizing and critiquing it is a relatively easy project. More subtle forms of racism, those masked by colorblind ideologies, woven into the fabric of everyday life, are more difficult and arguably more important to address in critical scholarship. The problem is that race is produced

and maintained through discourses that often seem to be “about” other things. This study approaches this problem of subtle, common sense, hidden-in-plain-sight racism from a particular lens—eating and digestion.

The cases I’ve chosen to look at all implicate questions of race, immigration, and the nation; in all of these cases, digestion emerges as a source of rhetorical invention. The question is *what is it doing there?* Because food and the body are central to racial formation in micro and macro contexts, I ask the following: what role has digestion played in the formation of U.S. national culture and identity (which cannot be separated from race)? How do rhetorics of digestion function in different contexts? In what ways do they shift or remain constant? And, as I will address in the conclusion of this monograph, what does foregrounding the use of digestion metaphors in the analysis of political discourse illuminate?

Methodology and Primary Sources

Critical rhetoric called on scholars to better account for power, offering an orientation for critique. Raymie McKerrow coined the term in a foundational 1989 essay, and it has come to describe much of the work in the field that seeks to challenge and intervene in existing power structures.⁵² As scholars including Marouf Hasian Jr. and Fernando Delgado have pointed out, however, despite the field’s increasing attention to power in the 1990s, there was too little attention given to questions of race.⁵³ In the decade and a half since, more rhetorical scholars have been doing critical work on race, looking to popular culture and news media representation, to courtrooms and policy debates, social movements and public protest. Representation in popular culture, as Lisa Flores argues, has deeply political effects, which we are seeing today in the criminalization of black and brown people, enabling their detention, dehumanization, and death on massive systemic levels.⁵⁴ Of course, this is not to say that one thing causes the other,

that representation causes systemic violence or xenophobic laws, or that unjust laws produce harmful representations. But they are necessarily bound to one another; in shifting one, the other, too, may shift. Through taking a rhetorical approach to the discursive and material production of race in the U.S. as it happens through discourses of digestion, we may better understand what appears to be a key trope for the making and understanding of racial categories in America. And to understand race in the contemporary context, we must know its representational history.⁵⁵

Some rhetorical critics have claimed the discipline is uniquely suited to take up questions of race. Lisa Flores has called for critics to engage in what she terms “racial rhetorical criticism,” issuing an imperative that racial rhetorical criticism be central to the field, not a specialization and not an option.⁵⁶ In their 2011 edited volume *Critical Rhetorics of Race*, Michael Lacy and Kent Ono argue that “While loud charges of race and racism have become media spectacles, we argue that the mundane, everyday, and routine cultural practices perhaps have the greatest potential to survive, work in tandem with overt racism, and affect us in their commonplace and taken-for-granted forms.”⁵⁷ Despite the whiteness of the field, particularly in terms of what counts as knowledge and what is worthy of study, which Lisa Corrigan noted in 2016, rhetorical analysis is a powerful tool in taking up questions of race.⁵⁸ Fifteen years earlier, in his book *The Rhetoric of Racism Revisited*, Mark McPhail wrote, “My exploration of the language of racism focuses on the commonalities of different discourses that result in similar social divisions. No other discipline is better suited to this charge than rhetoric, and no other phenomenon is more suited to rhetorical analysis than racism.”⁵⁹ Flores makes the bold claim that “rhetorical studies is fundamentally—at its core—the study of race.”⁶⁰ The implication of her claim is that when scholarship does not attend to race, it falls short of fulfilling its aim as rhetorical criticism. As numerous racial rhetorical critics do, I would also claim that the history of the field of rhetoric

demonstrates how the control over knowledge and intellectual production can perpetuate white supremacy in educational, political, and social structures.

Echoing challenges for scholars to acknowledge their subjective positionalities and to consider race, Raka Shome and Radha Hegde have called on rhetorical critics to acknowledge their role in upholding white Western hegemony.⁶¹ Karma Chávez also cautions that simply folding critical race work and scholars of color into the discipline's existing structure does not change the fundamental power dynamics.⁶² In other words, rhetorical scholarship on race should not and need not rely on the canonized history of the field, a history that can be told differently in order to imagine alternative and more expansive futures. They argue that the exigencies of globalization and the postcolonial condition require a widening of our critical lens. This requires considering how colonial relations are maintained and resisted rhetorically, as well as the ways seemingly separate discourses are implicated in colonial power dynamics. Colonialism and conquest are driven by cultural forces as well as economic and political ones. The desire for control of food commodities like sugar, spices, and salt, has precipitated colonial encounters all over the world.⁶³

My approach to selecting source materials is informed by the logic of Marouf Hasian Jr.'s critical legal rhetoric, that in order to interpret "official" discourses, one must also look to the culture that exists beyond those official sites.⁶⁴ This is a project that employs the methods of critical rhetoric, paying attention to where and how power is operating. Of course, this happens in places where we traditionally look for "power"—in Congress and the passage of laws, in state government and through expert discourse. But it also happens on a much smaller scale, in what we consider the mundane, the ordinary, the everyday. I view Congressional testimony and cookbooks, free breakfast programs and eugenics as necessarily related to one another; while I

recognize their differences as significant, my project does not seek to evaluate which modes were more or less influential. My driving inquiry asks how different discourses—nutritional guidelines and political debate—inform one another in relation to questions of race, nation, and colonialism within the U.S. Nikhil Pal Singh writes that the “story of nationhood must be told over and over, because there is nothing natural about the nation or the fashioning of its predominant civic identities. Nations, in this sense, are the quintessential artifacts of modernity—social creations engineered and lived primarily through the techniques of narration and representation.”⁶⁵ Thus, in studying the representation of the nation over time, one is studying the nation itself, which is a construction that requires continual re-iteration.

The figurative language we use in public and political discourse has tangible effects. William Franke writes that metaphor “should be conceived of always as inventing its own world and object rather than as referring to things that already exist without it.”⁶⁶ We conceive of the world through metaphor; we make the world rather than just describe it. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson argue in their classic work *Metaphors We Live By* that “language is an important source of evidence for what that [a cultural] system is like.”⁶⁷ In other words, through studying discourse with an eye toward how language makes a world, we can analyze the values and assumptions of a given cultural or political context. Kenneth Burke defines metaphor as “a device for seeing something *in terms of* something else. It brings out the thisness of a that, or the thatness of a this.”⁶⁸ It “brings out” or allows us to see an already existing thing differently. It also creates the “this or that” anew. When we liken a body to a temple, or the U.S. nation to a body in pain, we reimagine the meaning of both the thing and its likeness—the body, the temple, and the nation.

I. A. Richards' theoretical model of metaphor has been foundational in rhetorical scholarship on figurative language. He identified the tenor as the subject of the metaphor (immigration, for example), and the vehicle as the object that carries or transfers meaning (digestion). Though Richards distinguished two components that make up the "double unit" we term metaphor, he also emphasized their inter-animation: "the co-presence of the vehicle and tenor results in a meaning (to be clearly distinguished from the tenor) which is not attainable without their interaction."⁶⁹ As David Douglass has pointed out, many communication scholars have taken up Richards' theory in ways that downplay this interaction.⁷⁰ The tenor frequently accrues meaning from the vehicle, even when the metaphor is not overtly apparent. For example, migrant bodies carry the border with them *and* the border becomes associated with migrants. As Lisa Flores writes, "suspect bodies carry the border on them," and Kent Ono notes, "the border moves with migrants."⁷¹ This is the process through which the immigrant or the brown-skinned U.S. citizen becomes marked as criminal. A less emphasized exploration of the interaction between vehicle and tenor is the way the vehicle takes on new meaning through its interaction with the tenor. The idea that some groups of people are indigestible impacts not only the perception of those groups, but how digestion is understood.

This project puts in conversation areas that are not always talked about together: immigration, settler colonial conquest, and Blackness. I join other scholars who have challenged the study of racial groups in isolation, instead looking at race as relational.⁷² Just as "suspect bodies carry the border on them," so do many racial arguments carry the weight and associations from the past, what George Lipsitz calls "the long fetch of history."⁷³ These cases span nearly 150 years and geographical distance, which presents analytical and logistical challenges. Every chapter engages material or popular culture sources—cookbooks, newspapers, pamphlets, visual

culture—as well as official discourses—congressional testimony, state and federal government publications. These cases home in on key moments in the construction and negotiation of the U.S. nation and its attendant constructions of race and belonging. It is already clear that metaphors of digestion *appear* throughout this history. This project looks closely at what this language *does*, what it means. This study illuminates the effects to which digestion has been used to establish national and group identity—to form and contest norms, to express desire and disgust, and to shape what race means in the United States.

Chapter Summaries

The first chapter, “Feeding the Body Politic: Metaphors of Digestion in Progressive Era U.S. Immigration Discourse,” argues that in the era between the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act and the Immigration Act of 1924, nativist advocates for immigration restriction commonly invoked metaphors of eating and digestion to support their cases. While numerous scholars have addressed the ways immigrants have been variously figured as threats to the nation—as pollutants, toxins, disease, floods, or invading armies—few have analyzed metaphors of eating and digestion. I argue that the national body became a metonym for the ideal (white) citizen body, which supported anti-immigrant rhetoric through metaphors of eating, digesting, and eliminating undesirable aliens—those who did not agree with the national stomach. The analysis is organized by the processes of digestion, from appetite and taste to the mouth, the gut, and finally, the bowels. The body politic came to represent the ideal U.S. American body as individuals were invited to identify with the nation through the trope of the body politic; immigrants who did not share this ideal body were rendered undesirable through their association with indigestibility and disgust.

Chapter 2, “Consuming Identity: Food and Politics in the Assimilation of New Mexico,” analyzes the discursive negotiations of New Mexico’s incorporation into the nation at three different points: the time of conquest and early territorial years, the granting of statehood, and the Progressive Era. Looking across the range of time allows the *process* of New Mexico’s incorporation into the United States to become visible, and I argue there is a distinct shift from the non-palatability of New Mexico to its commodification and desirability. I begin with an analysis of writings from U.S. soldiers and travelers to Mexico during the U.S. Mexico war and subsequent occupation to establish the initial terms of the colonial encounter. Though the granting of New Mexico’s statehood marked its formal legal inclusion into the United States, negotiations about its role in the nation did not end, nor did the land-grabbing and capitalist exploitation. I analyze three New Mexican cookbooks published after statehood that get at the complexities of race and assimilation in the state. Alice Stevens Tipton’s *The Original New Mexican Cookery* was published by the State Land Office in 1916 as part of an official state campaign to attract Euro-American settlers from the eastern United States. I then consider the cookbooks and writings of two critical cultural brokers from the mid-twentieth century, Erna Fergusson and Fabiola Cabeza de Baca. This rich body of material documents demonstrates the complex negotiations around whiteness and which aspects of New Mexican culture should be preserved (or could be owned) in the incorporation of the state into U.S. national identity.

Chapter 3, “Indigestible to the State: The Black Panthers’ Revolutionary Nationalism,” speaks to resistance: the Black Panthers’ refusal to be digested by the white U.S. body politic. This chapter is largely focused on the Panthers’ most active years, 1967-1970, the years in which the party “made it impossible for the U.S. government to maintain business as usual,”⁷⁴ and during which they garnished the most national and international attention. The Black Panther

Party deftly harnessed the visual to constitute an identity for Black Americans that was sovereign, revolutionary, and empowered. This imagery was produced through the public spectacle of armed Black Panthers policing the police, through its service to the people through community-based programs, and through the Party's ideology, which was disseminated in text and image through *The Black Panther* newspaper. I analyze discourses produced by and about the Black Panthers, including Emory Douglas's artwork, government documents, news media coverage, and writings by various party members. I argue that the Panthers' revolutionary nationalism was a bodily ideology through which they enacted a politics of indigestibility, refusing assimilation into the state and feeding a new sovereign black body politic.

Finally, in the conclusion I return to the question, what does foregrounding the use of digestion metaphors in political discourse illuminate? I speculate on digestibility politics as a form of respectability politics, and expand on my theorization of indigestibility and its possibilities for radical resistance.

These cases demonstrate that eating and digestion are significant metaphors for the performance of sovereignty. A key function of sovereignty is determining the borders of the sovereign and enforcing them, determining what goes in and what is excluded. Sovereignty is never absolute or complete. Just as the borders of our bodies are permeable despite the fiction of individual subjectivity—in Brian Massumi's words, "the body is radically open"—so is any national border.⁷⁵ The national imaginary that calls for allegiance is never fully in control, just as digestion exceeds rational human autonomy. And thus analyzing metaphors of digestion allows us to see the construction of the nation and resistance to it in new ways. The commonality these cases share is two-fold. First, they each relate to digestion either symbolically, materially, or both. Second, they are also each a part of complex conversations about race and national

belonging. Their divergence in terms of the mode of discourse and time period is what I believe to be the major strength and contribution of the project as a whole—that in looking across these cases, we can better understand the significance of digestion rhetoric in the U.S. as it relates to politics, economics, and culture. The significance of this language is not immediately apparent within the national imaginary, but it is precisely the mundane nature of these rhetorics that allows them to powerfully constitute the racial formation of the U.S. nation. Rhetorical logics and commonplaces travel through political and popular discourses, demonstrating that they are permeable and co-constitutive; following an iteration of this logic (here, the trope or metaphor cluster of digestion) illuminates the interconnected nature of separate disciplinary realms. Beyond the focus on digestion, what holds these case studies together is that they are all ultimately concerned with racial formation and the making of the nation on material and symbolic levels. This construction of the nation necessarily happens through interactions among multiple actors across multiple registers. They each tap into key moments and methods of U.S. nation-building—not as a unilateral project but a messy one that was resisted at every turn, not always (and not ever fully) top-down.

CHAPTER 1: Feeding the Body Politic: Metaphors of Digestion in Progressive Era US Immigration Discourse

If a crude mass of undigested food attempts to pass into the duodenum with the chyme, it instantly closes, and the intruder is carried back, to be subjected still further to the operations of the stomach. If it be of an indigestible nature, it is finally either permitted to pass into the intestinal tube, or is suddenly and convulsively ejected from the stomach through the meatpipe and mouth.

-Sylvester Graham, 1854

We need a breathing spell to absorb those who have come to us in enormous numbers . . . We are suffering from indigestion of the foreign element in our body politic.

-Rep. Arthur Greenwood (Ind.), 1924

Metaphors of the nation as an eating body politic and immigrants the cause of its indigestion were prevalent in immigration debate from the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, a key time period for U.S. nation-building and political boundary-making. In this chapter, I explore the metaphor cluster around eating and digestion that provided a rich representational toolbox in the era between the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act through the 1924 Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, through which the fertile figure of the U.S. nation-as-body was mobilized in anti-immigrant discourse. As scholars have long claimed, borders are symbolic human constructs—the borders of a nation are constructed and enforced symbolically as much as they are materially.¹ What counts as part of the nation or separate from it is continually established and reinforced. In moments of crisis, the figurative language used to represent the nation—who belongs and who remains apart, often dangerously so—takes on heightened tones. In fact, the symbolic border depends on crisis to create and maintain itself, a frenetic reiteration that betrays anxieties of security and belonging. In the Progressive Era, this took on numerous metaphorical forms, many of them familiar to us in the twenty-first century: immigrants as a

flood, as disease-carrying pathogens, as pollution, as invaders, and as indigestible. This time period was formative of the U.S. nation-state as it is today, the tensions between growth—through immigration and colonial expansion, which I will address in the next chapter—and restriction running high. This era also saw the development of nutritional science and strengthening ties between diet and good citizenship.² It is no surprise, then, that the representation of the nation as an eating body and immigrants in terms of their nutritive value and digestibility emerged. Immigration policy was articulated through this embodied form of allegiance and belonging. In lobbying for immigration restriction in 1924, Congressman Ralph Gilbert of Kentucky diagnosed the nation with “a bad case of immigrational indigestion,” while Representative Addison Smith of Idaho expressed concern about “a great, undigested mass of alien thought, alien sympathy, and alien purpose.”³ In making similar arguments, Congressman Benjamin Rosenbloom stated explicitly that “the body politic . . . is not unlike the human body.”⁴ Analyzing the historical representation of immigrants through the register of digestibility tunes us into the material and embodied dimension of the rhetorically constructed “body politic.”

This chapter considers not just how discourses within the U.S. represent immigrants, but how through this representation, the nation itself is constructed. Scholarship that addresses metaphorical framings of immigration understandably often focuses on immigrants themselves or immigration as a phenomenon rather than the constitution of the national body. In Progressive Era immigration debates, the national body was conspicuously constructed. Anxieties around being overtaken by immigrants belied anxieties about U.S. identity. What exactly was the identity of the nation under threat? Nativists were plain in describing what the national body was in explicit terms, not just proclaiming what it was not. Though public and political debate about immigration tends to focus on the immigrant *other*, the outsider coming in, the boundaries of

national belonging shift and harden through these conversations. The immigrant as a political, legal, and social position only exists in relation to the nation. Metaphors of immigration thus often encapsulate this relationship—between guest and host, flood and land, food and eater, parasite and host. Focusing solely on how “the immigrant” is constructed can imply that the nation is pre-existing and stable, objectively “real.” Every construction of the immigrant also constructs the nation—and this often happens implicitly. For whom is the nation home? If an immigrant is welcomed, what does the nation that welcomes them become? If a group is framed as alien to the nation, how does this shape that nation? If incoming people represent a threat, how do these vulnerabilities figure national identity? As Mae Ngai writes, “the notion that migrants pose a potential threat of foreign invasion has become a familiar provocation in nationalist discourses.”⁵ The “we” and the “our” of the nation and its borders are constantly established and reinforced.

My analysis addresses popular and scientific discussions of digestion as well as how the metaphor is taken up in immigration discourse. I structure the chapter roughly by the stages of digestion, moving from taste and appetite to the mouth, the gut, and finally, elimination. There is some overlap between sections—figurative language that refers to multiple stages of digestion at once. This is also true of the digesting body; though we think of eating, digesting, and defecating as distinct processes, there are not clear demarcations between the end of one and the beginning of another. Ultimately, I argue that the national body became a metonym for the ideal (white) citizen body, which supported anti-immigrant rhetoric through metaphors of eating, digesting, and eliminating undesirable aliens—those who did not agree with the national stomach. The body politic came to represent the ideal U.S. American body, while citizens were invited to identify with the nation through the trope of the body politic; immigrants were rendered

undesirable through their association with indigestibility and disgust. In making this claim, I argue that both terms of the metaphor constitute one another. Metaphors of digestion were used to represent immigrants, and this usage affected not only conceptions of immigrants, but also understandings of digestion and the body. In the following section, I begin the analysis of appetite and taste—the selection of what to eat.

Discriminating Taste: Appetite and the Body Politic

The choice of what to eat is political and saturated with cultural values. Eating and digestion metaphors provided the rhetorical tools to legitimate (if not necessitate) discrimination by likening it to the kinds of choices people made every day about what to eat. In his testimony to Congress in 1924, California Representative Philip Swing claimed the nation had a right to discriminate among populations. He equated excluding immigrants from southern and eastern European with an individual choosing what to eat at the dinner table:

When I sit down to a table spread with various kinds of foods I proceed to discriminate in my selections against those foods which experience has shown are not wise to be taken into my body, and discriminate in favor of those foods which when eaten will produce comfort, strength, and health. The table of immigration is spread for us by foreign countries.⁶

The U.S. was imagined as a consumer, an eater with a discriminating palate and a common sense preference for foods that made it feel good. In Swing's analogy, discrimination became a matter of taste, quality, and self-preservation rather than exclusion. Taste, however, is not universal. Swing assumed taste based on a Euro American palate and digestive system, which are culturally constructed. This Euro American body determined what type of immigrant could be assimilated—who could be processed to reproduce this racially specific body. New York Representative Charles Stengle claimed that “Prior to the Revolutionary War America received

the cream of Old World people, though she also got some of the skimmed milk in the form of criminals and paupers.”⁷ Stengle defined immigrants’ quality by their level of milk fat, relative to nutritional density in order to forward his argument that restricting immigration was “not discrimination, but rather a desire to bring about successful and speedy digestion.”⁸ In these representations, the national body had to eat the foods, or intake the immigrants, that would allow it to maintain the same racial and cultural form.

The U.S. national body—from its appetite and its tastes through its entrails—was established discursively as a white body of northern European heritage. A January 1905 *New York Times* cover story featured the comments of new Commissioner General of Immigration Frank P. Sargent on the “grave crisis” of immigration, the million expected to arrive that year and the “thousands of whom are unfit for assimilation.”⁹ The article established Sargent himself as a “representative American,” and did so through describing his body in great physical detail: “Physically large and of a girth partly inherited and partly acquired from a hearty fondness for life,” it located “crude fighting power” in his jawline, and “kindliness and a sense of humor” in his “shrewd gray eyes.” The article further connected the nature of his European heritage with the nurture of his American upbringing to argue that northern Europeans were genetically predisposed to thrive in the U.S.: “Piecing these characteristics together, a solid—perhaps stolid—Scotch-Irish ancestry is revealed, with an added sharpness of expression attributable to the Vermont grindstone” he worked as a child. The article fashioned him as an archetypal American—a combination of innate and learned vitality, wisdom and kindness, and perhaps most importantly, northern European stock paired with American cultivation. In an article ostensibly about the immigration crisis, much of the text used Sargent’s body as a proxy to construct the body of the nation.

As Sargent's comments demonstrate, the influence of eugenics is evident in the distinctly biological terms of immigration debate in the early 20th century. Senator Albert Johnson, chair of the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, appointed Harry Laughlin, head of the Eugenics Record Office, as the committee's "expert eugenics agent."¹⁰ Laughlin testified as an expert witness three times between 1920 and the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act four years later. Not surprisingly, he consistently framed the issue in eugenic terms: "immigration is essentially and fundamentally a racial and biological problem . . . a long time national investment in human family stocks."¹¹ Endowed with the status of expert scientist, he claimed to observe and identify the objective facts of naturally occurring racial and hereditary hierarchies. He asked the committee to consider "the potentiality of the immigrant as a parent of desirable Americans of the future."¹² In April of 1920, Laughlin told the committee that "the character of a nation is determined primarily by its racial qualities; that is, by the hereditary physical, mental, and moral or temperamental traits of its people."¹³ Generally concerned with the degradation of American racial stock through the immigration and reproduction of "undesirable" and "defective" individuals, Laughlin argued that "our failure to sort immigrants on the basis of natural worth is a very serious national menace."¹⁴

Eugenicists focused on the stock of individual family lines, aiming to eliminate what they considered defects of all kinds from humankind. A precursor to genetic science, they believed family stock carried germ-plasm, the hereditary material passed from one generation to the next. Limiting immigration from inferior stock would prevent the degradation of the American race as a whole. Representative Thomas Schall of Minnesota underscored this ideal: "we are working toward a distinct American type, with well-made bodies, fine features, quick intelligence."¹⁵ California Representative Clarence Lea, too, insisted that America was a unique and

recognizable type “stocked by the blood of many lands, receiving the blood of yet many other lands.”¹⁶ In order to maintain the white racial purity of the nation, the influx of foreign blood into American stock had to stop. Lea argued that race was both natural—“Nature’s God has given the world a brown man, a yellow man, and a black man”—and that some races were naturally incompatible. He claimed that naturalized citizens must assimilate, and “true assimilation requires racial compatibility.”¹⁷ Thus, it followed that for restrictionists, the right to become a naturalized U.S. citizen was contingent upon the ability to assimilate into a homogenous American culture as a perceived genetic asset; non-northern European races were considered deficits to differing degrees. Rep. Grant Hudson of Michigan claimed—like Thomas Jefferson and many others before him—that even the affinity for self-government was racially inherited.¹⁸

In line with eugenicist logics were beliefs that digestion was racially determined, and that diet was an important way of maintaining the purity of the white body. Helen Viet explains that “in an era saturated with racial theories, it seemed logical that race might influence how the body absorbed food, and many assumed that whole races of people had distinct and predetermined dietary needs.”¹⁹ In forming a white American national body, then, maintaining a culturally specific diet was paramount. There were, however, competing claims about how U.S. Americans should eat. Followers of dietary reformers like Sylvester Graham advocated for vegetarianism and temperance; at the same time, the increased wealth brought by industrialization allowed U.S. workers to consume a diet rich in meat and animal products. Though one diet was rich and the other austere, they shared the ideological assumption that eating practices were a way of establishing and maintaining identity; they differed on which regimen best represented that identity. Both diets reinforced the superiority of U.S. national identity—one through the rejection of foreign products and excess, and the other through the “American right” to consume rich

foods. Around the time of the Chinese Exclusion Act and the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan, nativist labor advocates framed diets along a value hierarchy that associated meat, milk, and bread as superior, masculine, and white, while vegetarian and rice-based diets were associated with femininity and non-whiteness.²⁰ These assertions of dietary superiority correlated with claims of political, cultural, and racial superiority. They also served to justify nativist arguments for immigration restriction in the name of labor politics. In 1879, Secretary of State James G. Blaine made an argument for Chinese exclusion in dietary terms: "You can not work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beef, alongside of a man who can live on rice. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard."²¹ His argument was both economic and imbued with moral judgment. Chinese workers were perceived as a threat because of the frugality of their diet, which made them willing to work for less wages than the meat-centric workers from northern and western Europe. Blaine articulated the fear of loss and degradation—of moving *down*—that underlay so many nativist arguments.

Meat consumption was a matter of national ethos as much as taste. A 1907 editorial in *The Independent* lamented that the U.S. was second to "Australasians" in meat consumption. It claimed that some reformers' push for vegetarianism might drive the U.S. further down in the rankings: "It is plain that we have seen our best days as a meat-eating people. The great cattle ranges can never again be what they were. Will our national energy now decline, or as we resort more and more to cereals and bananas, shall we still be quite energetic enough?"²² Cattle ranges are symbolic of the U.S. West, of settler colonial conquest and the rugged individual on the frontier. Cereals were domestic goods, while bananas were imported from the Caribbean and

Central and South America; this editorial criticized both vegetarian reformers and the import of foreign goods. The meat industry around the turn of the century had a total value of \$10.6 billion, the article stated, and “in 1900 we rejoiced in the possession of 93,502,000 animals available for slaughter.”²³ The U.S. had a surplus of meat, the editorial boasted, an eighth of which was exported, “and our surplus would feed either the United Kingdom or the German Empire for half a year.”²⁴ Meat production and surplus were represented as evidence of global superiority.

Food was a strong marker of national identity; though there were differing schools of thought on the particulars of the superior diet, they all shared the commitment to consuming U.S. commodities and eschewing foreign ones. Between the 1830s and 1850s, during the second Great Awakening, bread arose as both central to a healthy American diet and a critical means of achieving individual and national self-sufficiency. Bread carried the potential to shift from colonial dependence to autonomy, “a republican food” and “a secular sacrament for a community of consumers who, by partaking of the substance, seemed to mingle their own physical constitution with that of the nation’s unpolluted by the richer foods of decadent monarchies or the exotic fare of the tropics.”²⁵ Kyla Tompkins writes that prominent dietary reformer Sylvester Graham’s “implicitly racialized and civilizationalist construction of an ideal American diet” reveals “the political unconscious of eating culture in the United States.”²⁶ His doctrine of asceticism, vegetarianism, and plain wheat breads reached numerous writers and reformers, themselves hugely influential: Herman Melville, William and Louisa May Alcott, Lyman Beecher and his daughters Catharine and Harriet Beecher Stowe. During this era, bread became symbolic of the yeoman farmer and manifest destiny as settlers planted wheat to cultivate the nation’s vast and expanding territory. This produced a commodity that reduced consumption of “foreign”

commodities, and eating bread became a moral duty linking good citizenship with proper consumption.

A political cartoon published in satirical magazine *Judge* on Christmas Eve in 1892 (Fig. 1) used bread to make an argument for immigration restriction. The caption tells audiences that the scene is “the inevitable result to the American workingman of indiscriminate immigration.” At the center of the image is the American workingman, who sits at a table with a large loaf of bread and bowl of butter. Coming up behind him is a man dressed like a pirate whose bandana includes writing identifying him as “pauper labor.” The pirate is reaching underneath the American man’s arms, one hand on the bread and the other in the butter. The workingman’s mouth is open and his eyebrows furrowed in what might be read as dismay or exhaustion, unlike the woman, presumably his wife, who is set back against the wall holding a child. Her raised eyebrows and wide eyes demonstrate shock or horror. Behind the pirate figure is a harbor scene, with a long line of people coming ashore; the pauper stealing bread in this man’s house is one of thousands. There is no wall, not even a door, separating the domestic dinner scene and the long lines of immigrants. This workingman’s household is open and vulnerable to foreign laborers, who would steal his family’s very means of subsistence. The American man is nearly defenseless, only a butter knife in his hand, and a posture that suggests fatigue more than fighting. Because of bread’s strong association with American identity, the cartoon implies that lax immigration laws are a threat to white American identity as much as they are to material subsistence. This image in *Judge* represents immigration as an attack on the family, and the fact that it was published on Christmas Eve heightens the affective charge of that attack.



Figure 1. Victor Gillam, “The Inevitable Result to the American Workingman of Indiscriminate Immigration,” *Judge*, December 24, 1892. 19th and Early 20th Century Labor Prints, Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University Library.

Diets based on foreign goods in an increasingly global consumer economy were considered detrimental to the antebellum body.²⁷ Graham wrote that for healthy functioning, “food should be mild and unexciting.”²⁸ Spices, the culinary hallmarks of exotic otherness and drivers of colonialism, had no nutritional value, offered no help to the stomach, and further, Graham claimed, “considerably retard the process of digestion, and render it less complete and perfect.”²⁹ He wrote that spices like mustard, pepper, and nutmeg “hurry the contents of the gastric cavity into the small intestine in a comparatively crude state.”³⁰ According to Grahamites, spice increased the speed at which food traveled through the system, bypassing the stomach’s

processing and the gate-keeper's intuition. In his 1885 *Practical Manual of Health and Temperance*, John Harvey Kellogg—who was a nutrition advocate, eugenicist, and with his brother Will, inventor of corn flakes—warned that “lovers of pepper and mustard should look out for their livers.”³¹ Eating spicy food even once had a negative effect on the system, but chronic consumption led to chronic debility that affected every part of the body.

These dietary reformers insisted that the Euro American body could not assimilate the spices from foreign lands—they were stimulants like alcohol, tobacco, and promiscuous sex that threatened the mind as well as the body. Graham claimed that “the habitual use of these substances [spices] always and inevitably causes . . . exhaustion and debility in the whole system, predisposes it to disease of every kind . . . subjects him to frequent depressions of mind and painful despondency, and increases his liability to insanity.”³² W.O. Atwater, father of modern nutritional science and inventor of the calorie as a unit of measure, built on and codified reformers' ideals. He named two dietary rules: first, that one must “choose the things which ‘agree’ with them, and to avoid that which they cannot digest and assimilate without harm” and second, to eat the right foods to fulfill their nutritional needs “and at the same time avoid burdening it with superfluous material to be disposed of at the cost of health and strength.”³³ The Euro American body became a synecdoche for the U.S. body politic—the body worth talking about, worth taking care of, the body that was white but unmarked as such. The rejection of foreign spices as dangerously unhealthy mirrored the rejection of “foreign elements” that structured immigration policy.

The Mouth of the Body Politic

The figurative moment where the eater-nation sat at the table, immigrants on a platter, brings us to the mouth, the site of intake—the gate, the processing center. This was the liminal space between the national insides and outsides where public health officials screened for the racially and physically unfit. The mouth is the site where, to survive, the body must take in external substances; here, the limits of sovereignty are exposed. Sovereignty requires the establishing of borders, though that sovereignty is inherently incomplete and the notion of pure autonomy is a mythical construction. The mouth is the entrance to the body’s digestive system, the opening where the body first encounters food. Sara Ahmed writes that “the openness of the body to the world involves a sense of danger, which is *anticipated as a future pain or injury*.”³⁴ This openness is both vital and necessarily involves risk. In his 1904 report to Congress, Immigration Commissioner William Williams stated that efficient medical screening at the nation’s gates was the question of “greatest immediate importance to the American people in considering the entire matter of immigration.”³⁵ At the port of entry to the United States, where medical examiners evaluated the fitness of incoming immigrants, immigrants were rigorously classified and categorized. Some were accepted into the body of the nation to be Americanized while others were rejected and returned to their country of origin.

One of the causes of the immigration crisis, according to restrictionists, was that the nation had taken in too many immigrants too quickly. Idaho Congressman Addison Smith inserted an article into the *Congressional Record* from *World’s Work* that viscerally described the perilous condition of the nation’s gut:

We have prattled on about the ‘melting pot’ and have wakened to find the stomach of the body politic filled to bursting with peoples swallowed whole whom our digestive juices do not digest. Wise doctors have compounded a prescription called ‘Americanism’ which we are assiduously pouring down our throat in the hope that it will disintegrate these

knots that give us such pain and allow us to absorb the meal we have gorged ourselves with.³⁶

The article caricatured the U.S. as a gluttonous cannibal who did not bother to chew his food. While some praised the melting pot—that homogenous stew of assimilated foreigners—the nation was busy swallowing whole immigrants who had not yet been processed into a digestible soup. Chewing both slows down the process of eating and breaks food down into smaller parts before sending it into the gut. Smith, in his amplification of the article’s metaphor, asserted that the nation had brought the problem on itself through the gluttonous and reckless consumption of immigrants ill-suited to the body politic.

Nativist fears of being overtaken by foreigners were represented in a cartoon printed in San Francisco in 1865 titled, “The Great Fear of the Period—That Uncle Sam may be swallowed by foreigners” (Fig. 2).³⁷ The image visually depicts anti-Chinese and anti-Irish sentiment. The top frame shows Uncle Sam in the air, his head inside the mouth of the Irish man and his feet in the mouth of the Chinese man. The body representing the U.S. is long and lean, with striped pants and stars on his coat. The Chinese and Irish men are represented as racist caricatures, with exaggerated features and large, squat bodies. In the second frame, the Chinese man has swallowed more of Uncle Sam, and in the third and final frame, Uncle Sam is gone and the Irish man’s legs are hanging out of the Chinese man’s mouth. He has consumed them both. The Chinese man has absorbed some of the Irish traits as he ate the man—symbolized by the Irish man’s hat now on his head. The caption at the bottom reads, “The Problem Solved,” a farcical statement, as Uncle Sam has been swallowed, just as the title threatened. Peter D. O’Neill writes that cartoons like this one “must have stoked fear and anger within the San Francisco Irish community, and undoubtedly helped fuel the fiercely misdirected Irish hostility toward the Chinese.”³⁸ Floyd Cheung argues that depictions of Chinese men vacillated between emasculated

and hyper-masculine representations depending on the context and audience for the particular cartoon. “Workers against whom Chinese laborers competed tended to view them as threateningly masculine.”³⁹ The cartoon serves as a visual metaphor that simultaneously fueled nativist anti-immigrant sentiment generally and Irish antagonism toward the Chinese specifically, particularly in competition for jobs. This symbolic consumption of the national body was an argument sanctioning aggression toward the Chinese, as the nation was portrayed as under threat. Being consumed is a form of domination, and also a form of disappearance, which is dramatized across the three panels. And further, as I will describe, being swallowed had particularly negative valence at the time.



Figure 2. Lithograph by White & Bauer, San Francisco, 1865. Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Swallowing food without chewing it thoroughly was a central concern for dietary reformers and nutritionists, as many considered that digestion began in the mouth. Sylvester Graham wrote that when “mastication is properly and thoroughly performed,” he wrote, “the process of assimilation or digestion commences in the mouth.”⁴⁰ Chewing stimulated gastric juice, which he described as “truly *a solvent fluid*,” a “vital solvent.”⁴¹ A solvent dissolves, breaks down a solid to form a solution, and weakens or dispels a particular attitude or situation. He figured the stomach as a system with finite processing potential that could be overwhelmed by swallowing food whole, by “those masses which ought to have been broken down and finely comminuted by the teeth.”⁴² Health food enthusiast Horace Fletcher became tremendously influential through his advocacy for chewing food so thoroughly—as many as 200 times per mouthful—that it practically “swallows itself.” As Fletcher wrote in 1903, “there are discernible in the mouth distinct senses of discrimination against substance that is undesirable for the system. If the mouth senses are permitted to express an opinion, their antipathy is easily read.”⁴³ Swallowing food whole overrode those senses.

Much of the immigration debate revolved around how to properly and thoroughly screen immigrants at the site of intake. Reports to Congress detailed how many immigrants were excluded, for what conditions, and recommendations for new screening measures. A 1904 report stated that the new practice of dividing the inspection line into two made the process more efficient, and made “for more careful examination . . . and for the most part during the hours of daylight.”⁴⁴ The report also called for “larger and more suitable rooms for special medical examination of aliens turned aside from the line” and the construction of a larger space to streamline medical examination and the clerical collection of data. Thorough processing, taking the time to screen for communicable and congenital diseases was required to make sure that

every person who was allowed to enter the country would not end up sickening the national body as a “public charge.”

Similarly, dietary reformers and political economists insisted that improper consumption diverted bodily resources away from the brain and diminished a person’s capacities. Fletcher wrote in 1903 that “imposition upon the body of any excess of food or drink is one of the more dangerous and far-reaching of self-abuses; because whatever the body has no need of at the moment must be gotten rid of at the expense of much valuable energy taken away from brain-service.”⁴⁵ Economist Irving Fisher, who was a strong advocate of Fletcherism, wrote in 1907 that “the loss of the delicate food instinct in the ordinary man has been aggravated not only by the habit of food-bolting, but by the habit of eating what is set before us by others, instead of choosing our food for ourselves.”⁴⁶ Humans had lost touch with their innate ability to discern by taste and instinct what the body needs; eating too quickly and eating whatever was put in front of them dulled these perceptive abilities. In this rendering, U.S. Americans had become passive consumers instead of active agents. Fisher’s interest in diet emerged from his role as a social scientist, concerned with maximizing the efficiency of labor. He wrote, “industrial inefficiency is the price of malnutrition. Increased labor power will be the practical outcome of diet reform.”⁴⁷ The reason for reforming diets was to increase labor efficiency and output, not for the sake of health and wellbeing.

Nutritional scientists aimed to maximize the productive potential of the individual body—the more thoroughly food was chewed, the less energy was required by the gut to digest it—while immigration policymakers sought to maximize the efficiency of the body politic—the more thoroughly immigrants were processed at the site of intake, the less energy would be

required to assimilate those who passed through. The nation became an eating body as the eating body became a stand-in for the nation.

Crisis in the Gut: A Case of National Indigestion

While metaphors of taste and appetite referred to selective immigration policy and the metaphor of the mouth addressed screening and processing immigrants, references to the gut concentrated on the already existing crisis within the body politic—where the effects of gluttony and improper eating were felt most acutely. In a 1905 *New York Times* article, Commissioner General of Immigration Sargent portrayed immigrants as pollutants to the pure national body—constituting an endless meal that made the nation physically ill.⁴⁸ He warned that immigrants “will soon poison or at least pollute the very fountain head of American life and progress. Big as we are and blessed with an iron constitution, we cannot safely swallow such an endless course dinner, so to say, without getting indigestion and perhaps National appendicitis.” Careful to note the size and strength of the U.S.—the problem was not its weak constitution—it was neither safe nor wise for the nation to take in these immigrants. Even the healthy body politic had its limits. Similarly, in 1916, Congressman Raker inserted an article into the *Congressional Record* from California newspaper the *Yreka Journal* that he claimed was “as clear a presentation as any man could possibly make” on the issue.⁴⁹ The article stated that many immigrants were unassimilated, not sympathetic to American institutions, and only offered partial allegiance to the government. It personified the nation as a suffering body, a glutton who ate more than his body could process: “A nation that fails to assimilate its immigrants suffers from an acute attack of indigestion. . . . It is in the position of a man who has eaten more than he can digest. When a man thus suffers he abstains from eating for a time, or eats but sparingly.” As an argument for immigration

restriction, the metaphor would have resonated with commonly held knowledge and experiences of eating, as well as the dietetic and nutritional science being advocated at the time by experts and government officials. Raker's adoption of the metaphor rendered America's bloated body at a turning point—having eaten too much, taken in too many immigrants, it was necessary to restrict immigration so the processes of assimilation could catch up.

It's important to note the seriousness of indigestion at the time; it was an umbrella term used to describe a number of digestive and systemic disorders. More than a mild discomfort, indigestion was capable of causing death. Numerous medications and consumer products came onto the market in the early 20th century to address various digestive disorders. A 1910 Beecham's Pills ad implored its readers: "Keep the bowels right; otherwise waste matter and poisons which should pass out of the body, find their way into the blood and sicken the whole system."⁵⁰ Wrigley's Spearmint was a Pepsin gum marketed as an indigestion preventative that should be chewed after every meal. A middle-aged white man pictured in a 1914 print ad testified that "by stimulating saliva it makes me *want* food—then helps *digest* it. It purifies breath and brightens teeth besides. Be sure it's the *clean, pure, healthful* WRIGLEY's." Combining the discourses of purity, cleanliness, and health, the ad consolidated the values of the time into an over-the-counter commodity. A single page in a 1921 issue of the newspaper *The Evening World* featured ads for Beecham's Pills ("for that dizzy feeling"), Stuart's Dyspepsia Tablets ("when meals disagree"), Nature's Remedy ("adds tone and vigor to the digestive and eliminative system"), and finally, "when meals hit back," Pape's Diapepsin ("Are lumps of undigested food causing you pain? Is your stomach acid, gassy, sour, or have you flatulence, heartburn?").⁵¹ Indigestion was thus a familiar topic in popular discourse, if not a familiar feeling, making it a potent metaphor for political debates about immigration.

Immigration restrictionists depicted the national body as fundamentally healthy but in crisis, vulnerable to aliens who were pathologized variously as agents of disorder, illness, and infection. America was rendered as a suffering body, its natural state of racial health disrupted by incompatible others. Its system was unable to digest immigrants rapidly enough. The *Albuquerque Morning Journal* wrote in 1918 that “even if no more human raw material comes here for the next ten years, America has an undigested immigrant malady that calls for prompt and vigorous treatment.”⁵² In similar terms, the *Fort Wayne News-Sentinel* wrote in 1922 that “too many foreign elements have been taken into our national scheme for our social and digestive organs properly to assimilate them.”⁵³ Popular journalist and novelist Kenneth L. Roberts wrote in his 1922 book *Why Europe Leaves Home* that if immigrants continued to enter the U.S. at a significant rate, one of two things would happen: “either the United States will develop large numbers of separate racial groups . . . or America will be populated by a mongrel race entirely different from the present American people as we know them to-day.”⁵⁴ This mongrel race, he continued, would be “a hybrid race of people as worthless and futile as the good-for-nothing mongrels of Central America and Southeastern Europe.” Indiana Representative Arthur Greenwood stated to Congress in 1924 that “we need a breathing spell to absorb those who have come to us in enormous numbers . . . We are suffering from indigestion of the foreign element in our body politic.”⁵⁵ These comments expressed fear of debility, and also fear of becoming foreign, of being consumed by the consumed.

Through figurative language, immigration restrictionists made the distinction between the people who were and those who were not easily digestible appear natural and self-evident; the consequences of intaking those indigestible populations thus appeared to be naturally detrimental. They aligned northern and western European immigrants with familiar and well-

tolerated foods, while those from the rest of the world, including eastern Europe, China, Japan, and Mexico, were associated with foreign and toxic substances. One body could only consume a limited amount of food since digestion takes time, and the more alien the food, the longer and more taxing the process. According to Progressive Era nutritionist Clara Witt, congestion, indigestion's twin ill in popular health discourses and discourse on immigration, was "caused by overeating, impure foods, and wrong combinations. . . . This results in fermentation, and the effects of fermentation absorbed into the blood poisons the entire system."⁵⁶ The congested body was polluted with rotting masses of undigested, unassimilated food. Representative Stengle of New York claimed that "The fire has apparently gone out under the melting pot and the original American stock is not absorbing these insoluble alien elements."⁵⁷ In both renderings, the processes of digestion and absorption had been stopped and the body politic was in need of remedy.

Unassimilated immigrants were also linked with political radicals as threats to the U.S. nation, defined as belonging to and being composed of Anglo-Saxon people. In 1919, California Congressman Raker made reference to immigrant indigestion in more explicitly eugenicist terms. He stated in Congress, "I am proud of the fact that I have the honor to represent a district in which there are but few aliens, and, so far as I am aware, no anarchists, Bolshevists, I.W.W.'s, or other similar radicals. We are not afflicted with that sort of cattle. My constituents are almost altogether of pioneer American stock—pure Anglo-Saxon—but for that very reason they are vitally interested in this problem."⁵⁸ In his testimony, Raker cast the fear of being overtaken by foreigners through the metaphors of the melting pot and digestion. In each case, the undesirable others were rendered as waste. He continued, "Our country is becoming alienized instead of this polyglot foreign population becoming Americanized . . . If we are to be a 'national melting pot,'

we should be a real melting pot, and not merely a receptacle for dross. We neither need nor want any material which will not melt into the national form of Americanism.”⁵⁹ A comic by Billy Ireland, “We Can’t Digest the Scum,” published in the *Columbus Dispatch* in 1919 reflects Raker’s sentiments. Uncle Sam leans over a cauldron labeled “The World’s Melting Pot” with an angry look at the scum gathered to the side, labeled “I.W.W., red flag, Bolshevism, the mad notions of Europe, anarchy, un-American ideals.” Uncle Sam holds a ladle, presumably having skimmed the scum like fat from broth. Assimilating the class of immigrants that came to the U.S.

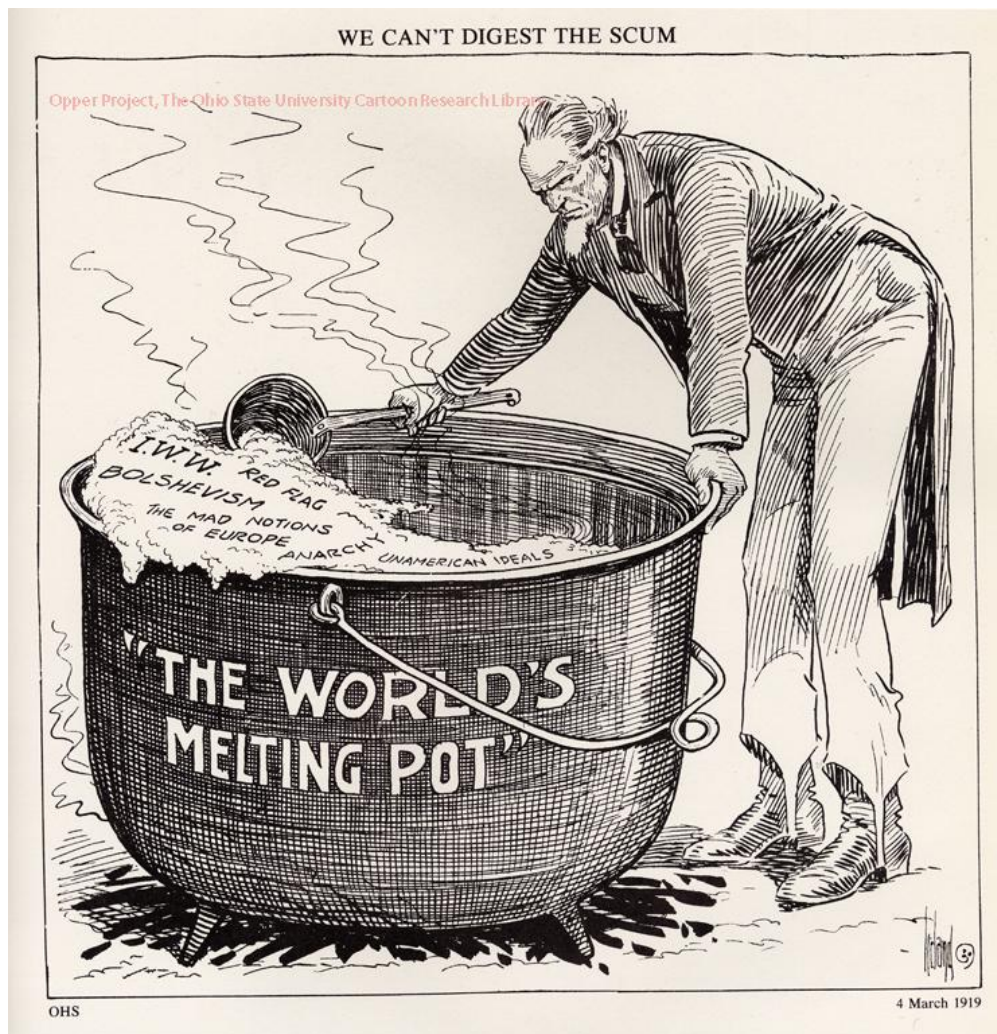


Figure 3. Billy Ireland, “We Can’t Digest the Scum,” *Columbus Dispatch*, March 4, 1919. The Ohio State University Cartoon Research Library.

in the last century, Raker stated, “would give us a bad—perhaps incurable—case of national indigestion.”⁶⁰ Medicine might not remedy the national ills; if there was a cure to be found, it must involve prevention. The portrait of America bloated and in pain identified a dual solution—prevention and medicine for the damage already done. This cure, Americanism, was portrayed as capable of breaking down the knots of racial difference to allow foreign elements to be reconfigured and absorbed into the body politic. This analogy of Americanization fairly accurately represented the process of assimilation that required immigrants to shed their allegiance to their native countries along with the cultural markers—language, food, clothing, and comportment—or that rejected them outright. Presumably, though, the medicine would not work for all of the knots, and some would pass through the nation’s bowels undigested, unincorporated, and unchanged.

Understandings of the body aligned with the abstinence and Americanism prescribed by immigration restrictionists. The body was assumed to have a natural ability to evaluate entrants and sort them according to threat. Once the stomach had converted food into a homogenous substance termed “chyme,” Sylvester Graham wrote, the muscles of the stomach moved the chyme toward the “pylorus or gate-keeper, which, by a nice organic instinct, perceives its character and condition, and immediately opens and suffers it to pass into the portion of the small intestine.”⁶¹ Graham’s metaphor of the perceptive gatekeeper made the digestive organs into agents, which were instinctive and rational, allowing only those of proper form to continue through the assimilative process. He detailed what happened when food was swallowed whole, not chewed, dissolved, or transformed into chyme, but remained in the stomach, at the gate: for a properly functioning digestive system, he wrote,

if a crude mass of undigested food attempts to pass into the duodenum with the chyme, it instantly closes, and the intruder is carried back, to be subjected still further to the

operations of the stomach. If it be of an indigestible nature, it is finally either permitted to pass into the intestinal tube, or is suddenly and convulsively ejected from the stomach through the meatpipe and mouth.⁶²

Graham personified crude or raw food as an intruder, a stranger who did not belong. The gatekeeper had methods of detecting unauthorized entry, as well as the means to escort the mass back for further assimilative procedures. Indigestible food was ejected from the system either through the mouth (vomited) or passed through the intestines whole to be eliminated as waste. The system's response equaled the harm wrought by the unwelcome mass: "in proportion to its deleteriousness or offensiveness to the vital properties of the system, so is the rallying of the vital forces to expel it as soon as possible from the circulation and to eliminate it from the body."⁶³ Despite the body's ability to regulate its intake, overreliance on the system's crisis response was understood as weakening the system as a whole.

Eating indigestible or undesirable food was not simply a problem of taste or poor choice, but was a fundamental threat to the body. The healthy system had the ability to police and manage entrants without detrimental effects to the system itself. Each such encounter, however, weakened the system and, over time, undermined its regulatory abilities. When the digestive system was not healthy and functioning properly, the stakes were quite high. Graham explained that when "crude substances are frequently permitted to pass into the intestines . . . they become the causes of irritation, and produce many uncomfortable disturbances, and in some instances fatal disorders."⁶⁴ Thus, the healthy digestive system had natural mechanisms for accepting assimilable food and expelling the indigestible, but the compromised system did not. For the vulnerable body, these digestive failures could result in death.

Waste, Elimination, and the Production of Disgust

Arguments for immigration restriction frequently stopped short of explicitly completing the digestive cycle. This makes sense given that the primary goal of immigration restriction was not to deport or expel foreigners, but to limit intake and allow the digesting body politic to continue its machinations. While digestion and health, what one chose to eat, were acceptable subjects for polite company and public discourse, what happened behind the closed door of the bathroom or the outhouse was not. The same for the dirty work of racial cleansing—it was not fit for polite political discourse. John Quinn, leader of the American Legion, stated in March of 1924 on the subject of immigration that “if you have indigestion you do not continue to gulp down the food that caused it. Any physician would direct you to stop eating *until the trouble had vanished*.”⁶⁵ This begs the question, how might this digestive trouble vanish? With a sleight of hand or behind a curtain? Quinn’s framing euphemized the violences of immigration law, making populations into “trouble” that would, with time, “vanish.”

The composition of the national body and of the bodies that belonged in the nation was produced not only in positive terms by what it was, but also what it was not. A 1901 article from a Nebraska newspaper claimed that “A nation is under no obligation to the outside world to admit any body or anything that would injuriously effect the national family . . . No distinct race like the Chinese can come into this country without exciting a friction and a race prejudice.”⁶⁶ These kinds of sentiments rendered the Chinese distinct, injurious, and foreign, all of which simultaneously create the U.S. nation as not-Chinese. A 1902 American Federation of Labor pamphlet claimed that the Chinese were a “nonassimilative race, and by every standard of American thought, undesirable as citizens.”⁶⁷ It continued, “They can not, for the deep and ineradicable reasons of race and mental organization, assimilate with our own people and be

molded as are other races into strong and composite American stock.”⁶⁸ Increased anxiety about what entered the human and national body reflected insecurities about national identity and belonging.

The edges and openings of the body politic are the sites of the most anxiety and control.

Judith Butler writes that

What constitutes through division the “inner” and “outer” worlds of the subject is a border and boundary tenuously maintained for the purposes of social regulation and control. The boundary between the inner and outer is confounded by those excremental passages in which the inner effectively becomes outer, and this excreting function becomes, as it were, the model by which other forms of identity-differentiation are accomplished. In effect, this is the mode by which Others become shit.⁶⁹

The boundary between inner and outer can be violated; excreting is a one-way process of the inner becoming outer. Some immigration discourse prefigured immigrants as waste upon arrival, violating the proper order of consumption and digestion. In his 1904 report to Congress, Immigration Commissioner Williams claimed that Europe was, in his words, “dumping . . . their paupers and dependents upon the American people,” European emigrants who brought disease to the continent.⁷⁰ Twenty year later, immigration restrictionists were still claiming that those arriving at the nation’s borders were not the bold, brave stock who set out to form a new nation; they were the refuse of Europe, destitute refugees fleeing the poverty, overcrowding, and instability left in the wake of World War I. Ohio Representative John Cable claimed that the nation had become a “dumping ground for many of the unfit of Europe”⁷¹ and called the congestion of human waste in cities “a constant menace to the safety and health of this country.”⁷² Rep. Scott Leavitt called immigration an “injection” and Rep. Greenwood from Indiana took it further, saying “we can not continue this policy of injecting these infectious elements without poisoning our body politic.”⁷³ Immigrants were not only hard to digest as food, but toxins that could cause the system to shut down.

The vilest language about immigrants in this time frame was reserved for the Chinese, so blatant that it was built into the law by name: the Chinese Exclusion Act. An American Federation of Labor pamphlet advocating for exclusion exemplified racist representations of the Chinese. To produce an affective connection to disgust, the pamphlet quoted extensively from a San Francisco county and city report on the social habits of the Chinese, highlighting especially the violation of social codes for the boundaries between eating and going to the bathroom. Chinatown's "habits, manners, customs, and whole economy of life violating every accepted rule of hygiene; with open cesspools, exhalations from water-closets, sinks, urinals, and sewers tainting the atmosphere with noxious vapors and stifling odors."⁷⁴ The sink, the stove, and the water-closet were all in the same room, and sometimes the urinal was adjacent to the cooking range. The descriptions are full of grotesque detail: "the intermingling odors of cooking, sink, water-closet, and urinal, added to the fumes of opium and tobacco smoke, and indescribable, unknowable, all-pervading atmosphere of the Chinese quarter, make up a perfume which can neither be imagined nor described."⁷⁵ Sara Ahmed reminds us that nothing is inherently disgusting, and Julia Kristeva writes that it is "not lack of cleanliness or health that causes abjection, but what disturbs identity, system, order. What does not respect borders, positions, rules."⁷⁶ The ability of the Chinese to exist on wages and in conditions that would kill white laborers was represented not as a superior ability, but a disgusting one. The affective production of disgust perhaps masked the paradox of the U.S. as simultaneously weak and vulnerable and dominant.

Rendering some immigrants abject or disgusting was a way of insisting on who belonged within the U.S. body politic and who did not. Sara Ahmed argues that disgust is fundamental to relationships of power. She writes, "Lower regions of the body—that which is below—are

clearly associated both with sexuality and with ‘the waste’ that is literally expelled by the body.”⁷⁷ The AFL pamphlet described Chinese laborers as living in bowels:

Descend into the basement of almost any building in Chinatown at night; pick your way by the aid of the policeman’s candle along the dark and narrow passageway, black and grimy with a quarter of a century’s accumulation of filth; step with care lest you fall into a cesspool of sewage abominations with which these subterranean depths abound. ... It is a sense of horror you have never before experienced, revolting to the last degree, sickening and stupefying.⁷⁸

Though the Chinese cooks and servants who worked in people’s houses, the pamphlet continued, appeared very clean, it was from these “pest holes” and ways of life that they emerged. Their adaptability, the ability to put on “habits of decency,” was part of what made them a threat. The disgust response became, in Ahmed’s words, “properties of their bodies,” so that they embodied “that which is lower than human or civil life.”⁷⁹ Abjection is violent, a bodily imperative to expel or move away from. Yet it is also relational, implying the moment of contact and connection, a proximity that spurs elimination. The inevitable conclusion of the digestive process is where the most anxiety is felt, because pathways out are vulnerable to penetration, places of ambiguity where control is not possible. Discursively associating populations with the lower regions of the body creates a powerful affective connection to disgust.

Conclusion

I have argued that when the nation was made metaphorically into a body in Progressive Era immigration discourse, the predominant way of framing the debate was to portray immigrants as impediments to health, their foreignness innately inassimilable within the body politic. When the vastly complex and often abstract concept of the nation is discursively made into a human body, individuals are invited to make sense of it through embodied and affective experiences like hunger or the pain of overeating, the fear of illness, the specter of death.

Immigrants construed as indigestible can only be indigestible in the context of the body that is consuming them, as digestion is a process, and an interaction. Something that is indigestible to one body is digestible to another; we can think of the body, then, as the context or conditions that enable the claim of indigestibility. Sylvester Graham wrote that “it is only the nutritious portion of the alimentary matter . . . that undergoes the assimilating change. The innutritious portion is simply separated from the nutritious, and reduced to such a state and condition as fit it to pass long the alimentary tube as fecal or excrementitious matter.”⁸⁰ Digestibility is a powerful metaphor, as being associated with indigestibility means being associated with waste to be expelled, while being marked digestible means being classified as nutritious. Food that was difficult to digest taxed the system, causing great “expenditure of vital power” that leaving “those organs most exhausted.”⁸¹ Through the Progressive Era, “digestibility was indeed a driving concern . . . part of broader preoccupations with the body’s economy of energy.”⁸² Immigration restrictionists produced the national body politic and the undesirable immigrant in the relationship of consumer and consumed, eater and eaten, which are discursively and materially co-constituted. These metaphors not only shifted perceptions of immigrants, but they shifted understandings of digestion and the body.

As people were rendered foreign, indigestible, and threatening, so were foreign foods cited as unhealthy and threatening to the body’s digestive order (including some that are now considered particularly healthy for digestion, like ginger). Yet after the passage of the 1924 Johnson-Reed Immigration Act restricted immigration, tightening the boundary of the national body against foreign entry, immigrant foods became sources of pleasure and appropriation rather than fear and disgust. As Helen Viet documents, “the sense of foreign foods’ danger was contained enough to be exciting without being truly threatening.”⁸³ The quotas provided order

for the white nation, making the visceral body politic secure enough to transgress racial eating boundaries without threatening its identity.

The time frame this chapter considers ends with the 1924 Johnson Reed Act, which created a legacy not only through its restrictive quota system, but in its creation of the Border Patrol. The law eliminated non-white immigration almost entirely and simultaneously created an agency to patrol and reinforce the nation's boundaries. It is a myth that any nation, public, or community is pure or that any nation exists outside of globalization and migration; this myth, however, is a powerful tool for conservative, nativist immigration policies. Neither the body nor the body politic is a closed system. To seal the passages between the inside and the outside, if it were even possible, would cause the system to collapse. In today's era of heightened anxiety around terrorism and vitriolic anti-immigrant sentiment, critical rhetorical scholars have much to contribute, particularly in unpacking how "truths" about nations, the body, and belonging are human constructions that can be challenged and constructed in new ways.

This chapter has demonstrated the affective power of metaphor in connecting individual bodies to larger collective bodies at the level of race and nation. The political production of disgust sets off a feedback loop: individuals experience somatic responses of disgust, which are read as natural, and inform political policymaking, which is then deemed necessary. Attending to the material and embodied dimensions of the rhetorically constructed "body politic" is vital to analyzing rhetorics of race and immigration. The following chapter looks at the workings of digestibility politics in the colonial project of the U.S. Southwest.

CHAPTER 2: Consuming Identity: Food and Politics in the Assimilation of New Mexico

Immigration and naturalization laws in the U.S. have sought to maintain this projected image of a northern European nation through their focus on racial eligibility. Tensions arose when settler colonial expansion and territorial conquest meant incorporating nonwhite people within the body of the nation. Before the Civil War, only free white men “of good moral character” were allowed to be(come) citizens. Yet in 1848, when the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo ended the U.S.-Mexico War, and Mexico ceded more than a third of its territory (and the people within it) to the United States, Mexicans were granted federal citizenship. Since only white men could naturalize, this either meant that Mexicans were legally white or the U.S. violated its own laws. The U.S. Supreme Court considered this question in 1897 in *in re Rodriguez*, upholding the law and stating that Rodriguez, born in México, could naturalize. This legal whiteness for the purposes of citizenship, however, did not mean that Mexicans and Mexican Americans were socially or politically white. In spite of this legal enfranchisement, or perhaps inspired but it, they were subject to racist violence, discrimination, and Jim Crow style segregation. Eugenicists, in fact, frequently referred to Mexicans as a “mongrel race,” evidence of the evils of racial mixing, and the incapacity of mixed races for self-rule. Yet Mexicans were legally white. The colonization of New Mexico raises the question of how a territory that was formerly a land and people of a different country becomes a U.S. state, and I argue that food and eating were central to these negotiations.

In early moments of contact between Euro-American travelers to the region and New Mexicans living there, some found the native food not only unappetizing but literally indigestible. The state became familiar and desirable enough to be incorporated into the U.S.

partly through discourses of food, which are inevitably about far more than just food.

Discussions of what New Mexicans eat and how they cook are as much about food and cooking as about politics and race, the boundaries between groups. From 1850, when New Mexico became a U.S. territory, to the present day, there is a distinct shift from the indigestibility of New Mexican food to its desirability, and ultimately, profitability. The state demonstrated its viability as a market economy through the successful commodification of New Mexican food. At the same time, however, native or traditional foods provided a means of resistance to American colonization, cultural hegemony and assimilation. While the borders of the United States expanded to encompass New Mexico, it nonetheless remained apart, as a territory and a foreign land—populated with foreigners who spoke a different language and ate strange food. As New Mexican food was modified for the modern kitchen and the unaccustomed digestive system, so too was New Mexico itself altered to fit within the national order, becoming at once *like* the whole and systematically reduced into familiar and recognizable parts. Historians often claim that New Mexico was not white enough for statehood until 1912; I argue that the whitening process entailed not only the increasing white migration into the state but a purposeful effort to make New Mexico culturally digestible, an effort that included distinguishing it from Mexico.¹

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed in 1848, and Mexico ceded more than half of its land to the United States. Present-day New Mexico remained a U.S. territory for more than sixty years. As a territory and recently conquered land, New Mexico was no longer Mexico, and also not fully part of the United States. This liminal territorial status, as Laura Gómez argues, “proved an effective way for the federal government to establish political authority over New Mexico, while extending the bare minimum of the right of self-governance to the majority-Mexican and Indian population and small (but growing) minority of Euro-American residents of

the region.”² Despite their smaller numbers, Euro Americans made up the vast majority of territorial officials appointed by the president.³

The Euro American dominance of New Mexico’s territorial governance laid bare national designs for who should wield power and influence in the region. In this complex and shifting political environment, discourses of food and eating figured in the history of New Mexico as a primary means of establishing cultural difference and of asserting cultural common ground. From the denigration of people whose food was indigestible to Anglo stomachs to the whitening of food for Anglo consumption, New Mexico was made digestible to the national imaginary in no small part through the domesticating efforts of women—the gendered labor of colonialism. If the digestibility of chile was (and is) a means of racializing New Mexicans, we should be thinking and talking about how those racial scripts have worked in the past and continue in the present moment. Martha Menchaca defines the process of racialization as “the use of the legal system to confer privilege upon Whites and to discriminate against people of color.” While Mexican Americans were *legally* white after the 1848 cession of Mexican territory, they were, as Laura Gómez argues, *socially* non-white. I consider the cultural and interpersonal aspects of that racialization: the values, judgments and stereotypes that underwrite the racializing logic in order to make it possible.⁴ Large systems of institutionalized racism are maintained by the agreement of the people who are in privileged classes. The stereotypes that both inform and are informed by day-to-day interactions serve as a justification for maintaining that hierarchy. In studying the interpersonal and cultural forms of racialization, it is possible to understand the macro level system with additional nuance and to identify possibilities for resistance.

This chapter offers an analysis of the social discourses of food and digestion where these negotiations of race and belonging took place, where the racial scripts were enacted.⁵ Beginning

with the writings of early Euro Americans in the region, I analyze their encounters with Mexicans and New Mexicans around food, eating, and digestion. I then consider the first cookbook published after New Mexico was granted statehood, which served as an official tool for populating, or colonizing, the state. I trace this through the cookbooks and writings of two highly influential cultural brokers of the Progressive Era, Erna Fergusson and Fabiola Cabeza de Baca.

“Red Pepper, Onions, and Blue Beans”: Early Media Representations of New Mexico

In his memoirs, General Ulysses S. Grant wrote that the Mexican American War was “one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation. It was an instance of a republic following the bad example of European monarchies, in not considering justice in their desire to acquire additional territory.”⁶ For \$15 million dollars, the United States acquired more than 750,000 square miles of Mexico’s land just a quarter century after it had gained independence from Spain. Support for the war and for territorial expansion was largely in the name of Manifest Destiny. Aside from the abolitionists, who rejected the war on principle, opposition to the war was founded in resistance to incorporating Mexican and Native American people into the United States—concerns about racial purity. And while Grant noted the war’s injustice, he also voiced desire for land and objections about enfranchising people: “Now that slavery is out of the way there could be no better future for Mexico than absorption in the United States. But it would have to come . . . by the free will of the people. I would not fire a gun to annex territory. . . . Then the question of annexation means the question of suffrage, and that becomes more and more serious every day with us. This is one of the grave problems of our future.”⁷ The narratives left by travelers, soldiers, and government officials are more than

reflections from those taking part in the conquest of Mexico, pulling the border down with them and stretching the skin of the body politic. These narratives rhetorically created the region for the nation write large.

American soldiers in the Mexican-American War often encountered (New) Mexicans for the first time through exchanges of food. Their diaries reflected wartime animosity, and the invading soldiers used food as one means of vilifying Mexicans to justify their enemy status. As James McCaffrey describes in *Army of Manifest Destiny: The American Soldier in the Mexican War 1846-1848*, “It was at this level that many of the Americans met the Mexican people. The relationship seldom approached anything resembling friendship, as the soldiers seemed to regard the Mexicans with whom they dealt as ‘treacherous devils.’”⁸ The U.S. soldiers’ first impression and basis for judgment was frequently predicated on food. An Illinois volunteer officer commented that “the peculiarity of the cookery consists in putting a great deal of pepper & garlic in all their dishes” and after eating the meal, he felt his “throat was the crater of a volcano.”⁹ He found the food strange and painful to eat. Another soldier tasted turtle soup prepared by a Santa Fe man, but recalled he had to supplement it with opium in order to eat it. He needed to add a drug to the dish to make it consumable, to alter his consciousness when met with the questionable food in the face of the very real need to eat to survive.

The soldiers’ utter disgust for Mexican food and its proprietors is obvious, and marks the violent colonial moment of the United States’ conquest and eventual assimilation of New Mexico. As Zoë Hess Carney and Mary Stuckey state plainly, “War rhetoric always includes an argument that the enemy is savage.”¹⁰ The extent to which that enemy is racialized, however, varies. The soldiers’ commentary on the food, a reflection and cultivation of disgust, is inextricable from their beliefs that the people themselves were unclean, as they would eat things

the Americans could not stomach. The soldiers found the food dirty, disapproving of the Mexican ways of preparing and serving it. One soldier wrote that he bought goat's milk from a Mexican, but had to strain the dirt and hair out before drinking it. Honey was a popular purchase until the soldiers found out it was transported in a raw cowhide bag with the hair to the inside.¹¹ The soldiers considered their goat's milk butter "too dirty to suit our taste": "it is hard to tell which has the predominancy in it—grease or dirt. And its taste is just about as insipid as a piece of an old wool hat."¹² The soldiers described the food as both primitive and unclean, even comparing it to inedible objects. Of course, the possibility that what they were sold and what the sellers themselves actually ate were different did not occur to them. Ultimately, the commentary on food tells us more about the consumers themselves than what they consumed (or the Mexicans it was made to represent). While they disparaged purchased goods from the Mexicans, they had few second thoughts about pillaging livestock and other supplies from them. The U.S. soldiers felt the Mexican food they bought was dirty and inferior, and the exchange was often the subject of their first encounter with the people. These unpalatable provisions helped establish racial difference and further justify existing racial stereotypes. Shannon Lee Dawdy, in her 2010 study of food and colonialism in 18th century Louisiana, argues that colonizing and civilizing processes were inextricably bound with the adoption and adaptation of native foods. The transformation of native ingredients using French methods "into something not only palatable but enjoyable was an important article of faith and an emblem of colonial accomplishment. Culinary practices comprised a material form of imperial hubris that reflected the larger ambition of Europeans to transform America into something civilized and consumable."¹³

George B. McClellan, who would later become a General fighting for the Union in the Civil War, graduated from West Point as the Mexican American War was beginning. He kept a

diary of his time during the war that crafts the land as desirable while simultaneously reinforcing racial scripts of Mexicans as inferior and lazy: “The Mexicans appear to cultivate nothing whatever but a little Indian corn (maize). They are certainly the laziest people in existence—living in a rich and fertile country (the banks of the river at least) they are content to roll in the mud, eat their horrible beef and tortillas and dance all night at their fandangos.”¹⁴ Not cultivating fertile land was, to him, a sign of laziness, and his description of Mexicans likens them to animals—dirty, eating horrible food, and partying with abandon. Later in his diary, when the soldiers had moved significantly far south into the country, McClellan plainly stated his white supremacist views: “It was really delightful, upon entering Jalapa, to see gentlemen and ladies, at least persons dressed and appearing as such. The white faces of the ladies struck us as being exceedingly beautiful—they formed so pleasing a contrast to the black and brown complexions of the Indians and Negroes who had for so long been the only human beings to greet our sight.”¹⁵ He describes the fair-skinned Mexicans, through their appearance and dress, as gentlemen and ladies, elevated above the animalistic descriptions of darker-skinned people. Whiteness is equated with beauty and civility, while black and brown complexions were displeasing. McClellan’s portrayal of Mexicans as an inferior race is not unique among his peers, but what is notable about his diary is that it was published in 1917, five years after New Mexico was granted statehood. It offers an example not only of perceptions of Mexicans during the war, but represents an acceptable portrayal of Mexicans in 1917, as eugenics and nativism are fomenting, immigration laws are tightening, and the Border Patrol is seven years from being established. William Starr Myers, a professor of history and politics at Princeton, published the book and wrote its introduction, noting that McClellan’s critiques of the nation’s volunteer military service were timely.

Coinciding with the American occupation, Susan Shelby Magoffin also traveled through New Mexico. She and her husband, a trader, departed in June of 1846 on a fifteen-month journey down the Santa Fe Trail.¹⁶ The young, Euro-American woman kept a diary that often included commentary on the food she encountered, judgments that were inseparable from her plainly stated assertions of Mexicans' racial inferiority. In her detailed accounts, she often commented on the food she ate (or chose not to eat). On the way to Las Vegas, New Mexico, she wrote, "Though we had no wood to cook with, and must necessarily go without food till some time tomorrow, it was rather preferable to their *pan*, which they sell. It is made of wheat, and very hard, consequently calculated to keep well. Their cheese is clabber ... very tough, mean looking and to me, unpalatable [sic]."¹⁷ Indeed, Magoffin found the food more than unpalatable. Not only did she refuse to eat it, it was unfriendly, even threatening to physically harm her. Her disgust toward cheese, then, implies that those who *do* eat such unpalatable food must also be unsavory—different, at the very least. She preferred to eat nothing at all rather than eat the food that New Mexicans ate, bought, and sold.

Magoffin made explicit the physical and emotional impact she experienced from food and manners of eating that were unfamiliar to her. Upon arriving in Las Vegas, Magoffin lamented, "Oh, how my heart sickened, to say nothing of my stomach, a cheese and, the kind we saw yesterday from the Mora [sic], entirely speckled over. ... We had neither knives, forks or spoons, but made as good substitutes as we could by doubling a piece of *tortilla*, at every mouthful—but by-the-by there were few mouthfuls taken, for I could not eat a dish so strong, and unaccustomed to my palate."¹⁸ Magoffin's weakness became evident as her system was unable to digest the "strong" food; she was accustomed to bland food and a protected life, which rendered her ill-prepared for the strong, exotic foodways of New Mexico. She reacted viscerally

to seeing the food; she felt sick both physically and emotionally. She could not find nourishment or comfort in New Mexican food or the ways people ate. She noted the lack of cutlery, a hallmark of Western table manners and a requisite for polite etiquette. Magoffin recalled the food she was unable to consume and in doing so, disparaged the people who could digest the food and who did not adhere to polite Euro-American customs. It also, perhaps, reveals a broader anxiety: that Euro Americans were fragile and might not be able to survive in New Mexico and retain the eating practices that defined who they were. Magoffin was traveling during the era of Sylvester Graham and other dietary reformers who preached a program of plain foods devoid of spice to maintain the health of the Euro American body. She was in a context that made it impossible to maintain this ascetic American diet, beyond the geographical and cultural borders of what was considered the United States.

Magoffin's initial reaction to New Mexican food was similar to the soldiers' responses, but she gradually came to enjoy the food as her journey progressed. Where it was once frightening and indigestible, the cuisine became not merely palatable, but delicious. When someone finally served her a meal she enjoyed, she wrote, "Our dishes are all Mexican, but good ones, some are delightful; one great importance there are well cooked; their meats are all boiled, the healthiest way of preparing them, and are in most instances cooked with vegetables, which are onions, cabbage, and tomatoes."¹⁹ She praised the food for its healthful preparation, which made it good *despite* the fact that it was Mexican. The food that was once foreign became familiar and desirable. Clearly part of Magoffin's shift in attitude results from the passage of time, but it perhaps also reflects her experiences visiting the cities in central Mexico that had heavier Spanish colonial influence.

Those opposed to U.S. expansion consistently questioned Mexicans' capacity for self-rule, and were threatened by the possibility of governing alongside Mexicans in Congress should New Mexico be granted statehood. In 1848, while treaty negotiations were taking place in the West, Senator John Calhoun of South Carolina decried the notion of annexing land that included significant numbers of non-white people: "[W]e have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race—the free white race. . . . Never will the time come that these Mexicans will be heartily reconciled to your authority."²⁰ Two years later, Ohio Representative Joseph M. Root exclaimed, "A great many of them have but a very small dash of white blood, others have a pretty considerable dash of the African. . . . They are all our fellow-citizens now—made so by the treaty; and it is too late now to regret the possibility that some of them may be sitting along side of us here before a great while."²¹ Over the course of the following 62 years, though New Mexico had the requisite population to be eligible for statehood, those opposed to granting its status into the union frequently returned to the argument that it was not white enough to be fully incorporated into the nation.

Once New Mexico became a territory of the United States in 1850, Euro-Americans became different kinds of visitors to the region, no longer crossing national borders to enter. Narratives of New Mexico in popular media used the subject of food toward two primary ends—first, to satisfy readers' curiosity about a foreign place with sensory details, and second, to mark cultural difference. One 1886 *New York Times* article criticized the New Mexican climate and diet in order to challenge their morality: "Can you inform me how morals will develop in a climate where the rain falls every day for six weeks and the air is as dry as powder the rest of the year, and where the steady diet of the average citizen is red pepper, onions, and blue beans?"²² Despite the overriding negative sentiment of the piece, the staple ingredients the writer identified

represent the three colors of the U.S. flag. The physical environment—here, the climate and diet—were not conducive to morality; this indicted natives of New Mexico most strongly, but also Euro-Americans who placed themselves in that ethically threatened space. The article continued, “Without the red pepper, the greaser’s life would be a burden to him . . . the pods he uses are . . . hotter than a blast furnace, and one of them taken inwardly will smelt all the Christianity out of a white man in three minutes.”²³ Eating red chiles marked them as fundamentally different than whites, and dangerous—how could they eat that food and thrive, when it made white people sick? The chile takes on substantial symbolic value, and eating it threatened to make the white man like the New Mexican—heathen and foreign. This played on fears that those who lived on the edge of the frontier, in uncivilized areas, would become savage.²⁴ Food embodied the fear of the non-white other.

Though the border was re-drawn and the U.S. staked legal claim to New Mexico, it was still racially and culturally distinct from the imagined white nation. Government officials sought to establish systems of economic and political authority in the new acquisition. W.W.H. Davis was the first U.S. Attorney assigned to the New Mexico territory. Davis visited New Mexico during its liminal territorial status, belonging to the U.S., but not fully incorporated as a state, and thus, still foreign. Davis was at once an insider, a government officer on an official mission, and an outsider, an ethnographer visiting a strange land. Shortly after the war, he encountered Mexicans and Pueblo Indians for the first time while riding circuit in the region. Davis considered Mexicans to be an inherently inferior race: “They have a great deal of what the world calls smartness and quickness of perception, but lack the stability of character and soundness of intellect that give such vast superiority to the Anglo-Saxon race over every other people.”²⁵ This is a racial script that echoes the racialization of Native Americans, claiming their inferiority and

then using it as justification for their disenfranchisement. Laura Gómez argues that diaries like Davis' *El Gringo; Or, New Mexico and Her People* published in the popular presses solidified Euro-American stereotypes of race in New Mexico, which, in turn, justified the region's exclusion from full national participation.²⁶ *El Gringo* both affirmed existing Euro-American racial hierarchies and helped to further establish the inferiority of New Mexico (and its people) in the national imaginary. Thus, when Davis wrote about food and other aspects of daily life, he was writing about more than food: he was rounding out a racialized portrait of New Mexicans.

Beyond portraying New Mexicans as racially inferior, Davis's recollections of eating betrayed deep anxieties about the physical vulnerability of eating in New Mexico. Arriving in Peña Blanca during his two and a half year stay in New Mexico, Davis resided at the home of Don Tomás Cabeza de Baca, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca's grandfather.²⁷ The Cabeza de Baca's traced their lineage back to Spanish conquistador Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, a claim to identity that was lost on Davis. He noted he was at the house of one of the few *ricos* in what he called an "insignificant Mexican village," where he ate what he termed a "true Mexican dinner."²⁸ He described the food and the family favorably, as "a fair sample of the style of living among the better class of people."²⁹ The Spanish colonial influence, perhaps most recognizable to Davis in "style of living" than food, did not differentiate the Cabeza de Bacas from Mexicans besides to place them higher in his esteem.³⁰ Nonetheless, the food was not easy for him to digest:

Next came mutton stewed in *chili* (red peppers), the dressing of which was about the color of blood, and almost as hot as so much molten lead. ... I tasted all the dishes that were placed before me, out of respect to the host, and in so doing laid aside all epicurean scruples, and the fear of being burned up alive.³¹

He summoned the specter of Indian savagery, especially for East Coast readers who would be familiar with Indian captivity narratives.³² Davis found the food foreign and threatening.

Looking at the red chile, he saw blood and eating it, tasted molten lead—certainly not descriptions of an enticing meal. The associations with inedible, violent substances displaced the food itself. In fact, he only ate out of respect for his host, putting manners before his own comfort, implying that the breach in hospitality might turn his civilized hosts into savages. Despite the friendly nature of his meals in New Mexico, his digestive and cultural anxiety was evident.

Davis visited the Cabeza de Baca ranch on polite terms, but he was explicitly uneasy with the food. Ironically, Don Tomás' granddaughter Fabiola would become what scholar Enrique LaMadrid has called an almost “legendary” figure in New Mexican food culture and folklore.³³ Her *Historic Cookery* was later credited directly with the popularity of cooking with chile and the love of New Mexican cuisine nationwide.³⁴ Davis' published recollection of New Mexican food certainly did not speak well of the people who consumed it willingly—it was not a welcoming invitation for Euro-Americans to visit or migrate to New Mexico if these dangerous, indigestible foods awaited them. It reinforced the civilizing work that needed to be done to make New Mexico part of the U.S., fitting for white stomachs. Despite his frequent distaste for the food, it is important to note that Davis was on official assignment to the state, invited to the tables of some of the most prominent New Mexicans. His observations introduced the new territorial acquisition to an audience of Americans.

These early moments when outsiders wrote about New Mexican food might seem insignificant, but I argue that they exposed a critical disjuncture between greater American culture and New Mexican ways. The U.S. soldiers, Magoffin, and Davis described food with words more often used to describe strangers or foreigners—the unknown. The simple fact that they could not digest the food reveals a telling incompatibility. And while they were surely

detailing the dishes their New Mexican hosts prepared and offered to them, they were indicting the hosts as much as the offerings. They were the guests at New Mexican tables, and the positionality of guest left them reliant on their hosts and not in control—an unsettling power dynamic for people who assume racial and cultural superiority.³⁵ The hungry soldiers had a racialized notion of Mexicans as the enemy, and this disdain emerged in their exchanges of food. Susan Magoffin was a pregnant young woman, and though she was traveling in relative comfort, she became increasingly frightened by the unknown, and haunted by death; as she became gradually more at ease, she began to enjoy and appreciate the food. And while Davis’ encounters were perhaps more “civilized,” they were also fraught with anxiety. In each case, the Euro-American is a foreigner in (New) Mexico whose figurative and actual indigestion reinforced their foreignness as they marked others as foreign. The moments of palatability mark a belonging—familiarity its own kind of digestibility. These examples illuminate the shift in Euro-American perceptions of New Mexico, and relationship to New Mexicans, from disdain to delight and from wartime violence to colonial “civilizing” missions.

“A first aid to good digestion”: Alice Stevens Tipton’s *The Original New Mexico Cookery*

During the territorial era, New Mexico was a colony within the borders of the nation. Roxane Dunbar-Ortiz argues that historians often interpret New Mexico’s conquest as a form of western expansion, rather than an “internal colonial system.” She writes, “The basis of U.S. capital accumulation was land sales by enormous companies who laid claims to areas unsettled by Europeans in anticipation of the war department’s defeat of the indigenous peoples there.”³⁶ Traders and merchants preceded military conquest, and after the war, Dunbar-Ortiz writes, “it was perfectly natural for U.S. citizens to regard New Mexico as a land and a people to be

exploited . . . New Mexico was considered part of a commodity purchased for \$15,000,000.”³⁷ Subsistence farmers in northern New Mexico lost eighty percent of their land grant acreage, including common grazing lands and the products of those lands.³⁸ Thomas B. Catron owned between 2 and 3 million acres in the territory at the end of the 19th century, making him the largest landowner in the United States. Much of it gave him control of the water supply, which effectively gave him control over an additional 3 million acres.³⁹

The rapid capitalist colonial expansion in the state was accompanied by narratives enticing Euro-Americans to take advantage of the new acquisition. Between the completion of the railroad in 1880 and the granting of statehood in 1912, the Bureau of Immigration worked to renovate the Euro-American image of New Mexico in order to increase tourism, immigration to the territory, and white purchasing of land. As John Nieto-Phillips explains, “Bureau pamphlets (as well as railway company brochures) put to rest any fears that New Mexico ran wild with hostile Indians and cruel, swarthy Mexicans; they described the land as a meeting ground, wherein peace-loving Pueblo Indians and noble Spaniards had coexisted for nearly three centuries.”⁴⁰ Nieto-Phillips argues that this appealed to the Euro-American tourist who sought the primitive, but wanted assurance of their safety while doing so; it also reinforced the belief in Euro-American industry and progress over the exotic and uncivilized ways of New Mexicans.⁴¹ This process of increasing Euro-American activity and presence in the region did what bell hooks describes as “the commodification of difference promotes paradigms of consumption wherein whatever difference the Other inhabits is eradicated, *via* exchange, by a consumer cannibalism that not only displaces the Other but denies the significance of that Other’s history through a process of decontextualization.”⁴² The Bureau of Immigration packaged exotic but

peaceful versions of New Mexican history, cultures and food for the white consumer, ripping it from its relevant legacies of violence and unrest.

Increased Euro-American migration was seen as necessary for national belonging, but convincing people to move to the recently acquired, scarcely populated, and mostly non-white area was not an easy task. Racial conflict was prevalent in the region, prompting journalists to write liberally on Mexicans' resistance to assimilation. In the late 1800s, "the stereotypes of Mexicans as lazy and backward, which persist today, were generated by the leading American newspapers of the era."⁴³ One 1882 *New York Times* article exemplified the negative stereotypes of the time, apparent in its lengthy headline alone: "GREASERS AS CITIZENS. What Sort of State New-Mexico Would Make. The origin and character of the so-called 'Mexicans' of that Territory—their hatred of Americans, their dense ignorance, and total unfitness for citizenship—the women of New-Mexico."⁴⁴ In 1900, Mexican Americans outnumbered Euro-Americans three to one in the region.⁴⁵

With the most to gain from statehood, Euro-Americans living in New Mexico portrayed a place that was distinctly American and civilized despite an undeniably large Mexican population. Anthony Mora argues that "Euro-Americans who migrated to the region during the nineteenth century found to their displeasure that their own rights were curtailed by New Mexico's lack of full integration into the United States."⁴⁶ Six days after the completion of the railroad to Santa Fe, the territory established the Bureau of Immigration, which served as the leading booster organization through statehood.⁴⁷ Euro-American elites depicted a racially harmonious region not to lobby for the universal rights of all of its citizens, but for hegemonic reasons, still maintaining cultural and political supremacy.⁴⁸ Repeated attempts for statehood prompted national debate and commentary in Congress and the press, through which New Mexicans were

often ridiculed. One 1907 *New York Times* editorial author wrote, “A President who would confer Statehood on Spanish New Mexico would, to be consistent, bestow American Statehood upon Cuba, Porto Rico, or the Philippines. On what principle is any territory kept a Territory if New Mexico is to be admitted?”⁴⁹ New Mexico was distinctly racialized as other, while qualification for American statehood was reserved for the Euro-American.

Despite waves of Euro-American immigrants to the region, a strong emphasis on populating the state with “desirable settlers” remained—those who would in turn make New Mexico more productive, more profitable and perhaps most importantly, more civilized. In 1916, the State Land Office’s Bureau of Publicity opened, taking over the Bureau of Immigration’s work. It was still perceived by the greater U.S. as a foreign and not fully American space. While the border of the United States expanded to encompass New Mexico, it nonetheless remained apart, populated with foreigners who spoke a different language and ate strange food. Food is a marker of social and racial difference and identity, and also a discursive space for the negotiation of identity. Food is thus particularly important in the context of colonization and assimilation, and is a site of normative processes. Through publications like Alice Stevens Tipton’s cookbook, *The Original New Mexico Cookery*, New Mexico was culturally demystified, promoted, and claimed for the United States. Part of New Mexico’s political project both pre- and post-statehood was to counter negative stereotypes in order to populate and Americanize the region. It becomes clear why the state chose to publish a cookbook along with its other literature, because the racial stereotypes often dealt with food, and because food is such an important part of daily life and cultural identity.

Tipton’s cookbook at times followed the traditional form, but its beginning chapters make clear that its purpose was not simply to share recipes, but to encourage settlers to migrate

to the state. She did not claim the book to be an all-inclusive collection of New Mexico recipes, nor a general cookbook, but one limited “to the principal productions of this state, with just a few receipts for preparing them in accordance with time-honored methods of the native people, with whose cookery the writer is thoroughly familiar.”⁵⁰ In italics above the introductory chapter, Tipton noted, “Read This Chapter Carefully.” The author hints to reader that there is something important in this introduction that should not be missed by skipping to a particular recipe. Her real reason for highlighting this introductory chapter emerges in the final two paragraphs of the introduction.

One of the results of this booklet, no doubt, will be to call the attention of the reader to the productiveness of the soils of New Mexico, which have been cultivated for several centuries and have afforded a living to unnumbered generations of people, and yet today there is ample room for new settlers in this state, and public lands, as well as cultivated farms, may be secured on reasonable terms, upon which may be raised the many products for the preparation of which these receipts are compiled.

For further information and literature pertaining to the resources in public lands and the products of New Mexico, apply to

Robert P. Ervein,
Commissioner of Public Lands.
Santa Fe, New Mexico.⁵¹

In fact, interest in New Mexico was not just a possible result of the book, but its very purpose.

The Original New Mexico Cookery was published by the State Land Office’s Bureau of Publicity just a year after its establishment in 1915. The Commissioner of Public Land’s 1916 Annual Report claims that “[t]he publicity bureau has not only assumed all of the functions of the State Bureau of Immigration, but has done very important work in the advancement of values and advertising of state lands, publicity for sales of state lands and development of our lands.”⁵² The bureau’s work consisted of gathering, assembling and disseminating information on the state’s resources in various forms—newspapers, magazines and “a number of carefully prepared

pamphlets,” including *The Original New Mexico Cookery*. From its initial design, the cookbook was an official part of the imperial mission of the new state office: “A persistent effort has been made to get in touch with desirable settlers and investors and by personal letters and pamphlets placed directly into the hands of those interested a great many people have been brought to the state and others interested who are likely to come here or to invest in various enterprises.”⁵³ The report is plain that the bureau’s work is part of the “colonization” project in New Mexico, and refers to the state’s ample and productive lands as an “empire.”⁵⁴

Tipton’s recipes were directions for how to live and eat in New Mexico and she insisted her audience read the book carefully, perhaps signaling to insider information about securing land: “it is of the utmost importance that all instructions pertaining to the preparation of the various ingredients of the different dishes should be carefully read.”⁵⁵ Between 1916 and 1917, the State Land Office’s Bureau of Publicity distributed 1,200 copies of *New Mexico Cookery*, half of its inventory.⁵⁶ The Land Office got so many inquiries about the legal processes as a result of its publicity campaign that it printed 5,000 copies of the 640-acre grazing Homestead Act, along with specific Land Office regulations.⁵⁷ In the 1917 Land Commissioner’s Report, the office claimed that their advertising and literature campaign directly resulted in 391 people investigating or bidding on state land, and 138 becoming state citizens, investing a total of \$750,000.⁵⁸ The office also claimed that more important, even, than the large amount of money invested in New Mexico was the increase in land value as a result of the increased interest their campaign produced.⁵⁹ It was through Tipton’s cookbook, in part, that Americans were persuaded to settle in New Mexico, to take the raw material of the new state and cook it into modernity.

The project of Tipton’s cookbook was to show readers how to prepare New Mexican food in a way that was healthy and delicious, and to portray it as a land of opportunity and

plenty. In doing so, she established herself as a knowledgeable, modern, and worldly cook, and took the role of a teacher. She asked her reader-students to keep an open mind when she introduced new ingredients and cooking methods. Tipton insisted that her instructions be read and followed carefully, that food must be seasoned while it was cooking, because not doing so “would result in an unpalatable mixture more disgusting than digestible.”⁶⁰ Her cookbook was designed not only to increase white migration into the state but also a purposeful effort to make New Mexico culturally digestible.⁶¹

To an audience that saw New Mexico as racially unsavory and potentially dangerous, Tipton wrote to make it amiable and accessible through discourses of food. “Aside from those ‘To the Manor born,’ the taste for chile and the many tempting dishes prepared with it is an acquired one, but when one has become accustomed to the use of it in cooking, nothing can take its place.”⁶² Chile was an acquired taste for the Euro-American, but one that had the potential to change their palates permanently. Folklorist Janet Theophano, in a broad analysis of cookbooks over centuries, notes their normalizing function in the U.S. nineteenth and twentieth centuries. With the influx of immigrants from other countries, female reformers took part in critical domesticating work: “By patrolling and amending the kitchen and domestic practices of racial, ethnic, and religious newcomers to America, they could protect home—and nation.”⁶³ Tipton was dealing with immigrants of a different sort—“civilized” Euro-Americans—and she created a representation of the domestic arena in New Mexico in particularly American way. Because her audience was not foreign women, she was not teaching them how to be American, but normalizing New Mexican practices and encouraging a set of Euro-Americans to do the same.

Tipton sought to correct “spurious receipts” for dishes that had circulated in the east, false representations of New Mexican food that would, in turn, become false representations of

New Mexico. In the case of *chile con carne*, her disdain for the use of processed ingredients and ill-informed cooks is particularly stark:

It is almost appalling to contemplate the disastrous results of preparing a dish according to some of the rules laid down by those utterly ignorant of the first principles to be followed in making chile con carne. The average American cook seems to think that if the food is hot with any kind of pepper, it is all that is necessary. Others fill it so full of garlic and onions that it is positively nauseating, and because the labor of properly preparing chile pulp is so much greater than many are willing to perform, the ground chile is used instead, and the result is a sloppy concoction unfit for the human stomach.⁶⁴

By not following her directions to prepare chile properly, Tipton warned that the food could burn holes in the stomach of consumers. Freshly prepared chile was critical, because the indigestible pulp and seeds were removed. In commercially available chile powder, she cautioned, all of the inedible bits were crushed into the final product, and could cause serious digestive trouble. Following her directions for how to prepare New Mexican foods, the Euro-American could safely tread on unfamiliar ground.

Tipton identified the purpose of her recipes as creating food that would produce a long, healthy life, mirroring the goals of the state to associate New Mexico with a salubrious environment rather than dangerous, lawless country. Tipton wrote, “the principal purpose of the dishes herein given is to build up the human system with good wholesome food the ingredients of which act as a first aid to good digestion. They are conducive to longevity and good nature.”⁶⁵ Within the text, we find recipes that blend cultures harmoniously into food that was not only pleasing, but healthy—they were designed to make the eater feel good. This aligns with the state’s public relations focus on racial harmony to counter the opinion of New Mexico as a dangerous, foreign place. There is a darker side to the cultural mixing, however. Chile has the potential to burn holes in one’s stomach, to cause physical damage. Tipton gave the reader step-

by-step directions for how to make chile safely, to teach a new audience what Euro-Americans living in New Mexico had learned about how to live and eat there. While the advocates of the state sought to portray it as a paradise—a lucrative place of abundance and happiness—there were events outside their control that sharply contradicted that Edenic image. In March of 1916, the year Tipton’s cookbook was published, Francisco “Pancho” Villa invaded Columbus, New Mexico, killing 16.⁶⁶

The historical record is notably silent about Alice Stevens Tipton. In the introduction to the reprinted 1965 edition, Will Harrison wrote that “Alice Stevens Tipton and her husband Will Tipton were a popular Santa Fe couple in the era of New Mexico’s admission as a state, she for her table and he as the widely known interpreter for the U.S. Court of Claims.”⁶⁷ It was through Will, presumably, that she had the means to publish a cookbook through the Land Office. He was the principal expert for the Court of Private Land Claims in the years leading up to statehood and the custodian of the Spanish archives. Will Tipton worked for the government, and the claimants, U.S. citizens whose land grants were guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, had to register their claims with the court, while the U.S. Attorney fought against them. Historian Malcolm Ebright argues that “an examination of the records of the Court of Private Land Claims reveals that often [the claimants’] legal representation was inadequate, resulting in severe injustice to the claimants.”⁶⁸ Tipton enabled the disenfranchisement of untold numbers of native New Mexicans, and helped to significantly enhance the state’s land coffers. The severe loss of land grant acreage meant that the state could redistribute millions of acres of land to “desirable settlers,” to take communal grazing land and offer it to homesteaders who would mine it for resources, plant crops, and increase its value. While Will embodied the control of knowledge for the state and legally underwrote the transfer of land from Hispanic New Mexicans to the Euro-

American government, his wife produced material to entice white American immigrants to populate the newly available land.

“Mexican cookery that belongs to the United States”⁶⁹: Erna Fergusson Adds New Mexico to the Melting Pot

Like soldiers, travelers, and government officials had done before, Erna Fergusson continued the process of reporting on New Mexican food to an outside audience in her 1934 *Mexican Cookbook*. Fergusson was born in Albuquerque in 1888, the daughter of two wealthy, politically influential families. Her maternal grandfather, German Franz Huning, was a major player in the development of Albuquerque, particularly after the coming of the railroad in the 1880s.⁷⁰ Fergusson’s father, Harvey B. Fergusson, was a member of Congress when New Mexico was still a territory, and during its first three years of statehood. Indeed, the Huning-Fergusson family was hugely important in the development of the Albuquerque area and public education in the state, including the University of New Mexico; an Albuquerque public library branch memorializes Erna Fergusson, and the Huning-Highland neighborhood downtown bears remembrance to the land-owning family. She was a teacher, a tour guide and a historian of New Mexico. Her writing career began when poet Witter Bynner introduced her to publisher Alfred Knopf in Santa Fe; he published her first book, *Dancing Gods*, on Indian dances, in 1931.⁷¹ She wrote both fiction and non-fiction, including *Fiesta in Mexico* (1934), *Albuquerque* (1947), *Murder and Mystery in New Mexico* (1948) and *New Mexico, A Pageant of Three Peoples* (1951). She died in 1964, having never finished a biography of former Albuquerque Mayor Clyde Tingley.⁷²

In 1934, Fergusson published *Mexican Cookbook*, which received less attention than her other publications at the time and from scholars today, to share the cuisine of the place she loved

with an audience who had never eaten (New) Mexican food. She consciously altered the recipes to make them more appealing and more familiar to an audience who was unaccustomed to New Mexican cuisine. She both insisted on the essential appeal of New Mexican food and also modified the native cuisine to conform to modern American culinary values and practices. She represented the desire to incorporate New Mexico into the United States, to claim its food and culture as recently acquired national property; she was, however, invested in maintaining its regional distinction as a commodity for Euro-American consumption. Her recipes demonstrate that she believed New Mexican food was in need of modernization and Americanization. It became an element of spice to integrate into the American diet.

Mexico and the United States have the uncanny relationship of “estranged national neighbors,” Jesse Aléman writes, as “the fluidity of national borders collapses the otherwise clear distinctions between native and foreigner, domestic and international, and America and América.”⁷³ Their uncanny interrelation is manifest in the physical space of New Mexico, and it emerged as a tension in Erna Fergusson’s cookbook. She claimed the recipes were Mexican, but that they belonged to the United States; at the same time, they did not become American after conquest, but remained foreign even within the boundary of the U.S. Aléman writes about the haunting of colonial displacement and the burial of violent histories as “a dispossession, to be sure, but not strictly in the sense of being without a home; rather, it is an estrangement from the home, a momentary recognition that the foreign rests at the center of the familiar.”⁷⁴ Fergusson was an American citizen, born in an American territory-turned-state, yet she titled the cookbook of her birthplace *Mexican Cookbook*. As an American, she was, in a sense, always a foreigner even in her own home state.

Fergusson owned and operated Koshare Tours with friend Ethel Hickey from 1921 until 1926, during her thirties. Billing herself as “the first female dude wrangler,” she escorted Euro-American tourists to Hispano villages, pueblos, the Navajo Nation and even to Hopi snake dances.⁷⁵ She spoke fluent Spanish, purportedly gained the respect of the “natives” and served as a mediator between white and non-white people by negotiating and managing their contact as a self-proclaimed insider—a benevolent assimilationist.⁷⁶ In her brochures, she offered her services as an intimate guide to a state still “unspoiled by civilization. In a few years, its primitiveness will be gone forever.”⁷⁷ To Fergusson, civilization was both imminent and unstoppable. She guided her “civilized” visitors to observe the natives in their “pure” state before they inevitably became an indistinguishable part of the United States. Between 1926 and 1927, Fergusson worked for the Harveycar Indian Detours, training young women “Couriers,” who escorted groups of tourists through the Southwest.⁷⁸ Marta Weigle explains that “[c]ouriers’ performed authenticity was designed to make them appear as knowledgeable, neonative, slightly Bohemian art colonists” who “interpreted the lands, sites, and particularly the native peoples with whom automobile tourists had to interact.”⁷⁹ Fergusson was thoroughly invested, in her life and work, in the evolution of New Mexico as an exotic tourist destination, one that, like the title of one of her most well known books, was *A Pageant of Three Peoples*. And while her work undoubtedly stemmed from good intention, and a genuine, if misguided, respect for native Southwestern cultures, she nonetheless participated in the movement to Americanize, to civilize, to claim and to integrate New Mexico—and New Mexicans—into the United States. In the 1945 edition of *Mexican Cookbook*, she claimed the New Mexican recipes “represent Mexican cookery that belongs to the United States.”⁸⁰ Much like Davis’ ethnographic *El Gringo, Mexican Cookbook* presented to a national audience its new regional and culinary acquisition. Fergusson

sought to make the region familiar and accessible by rendering the state in distinctly American terms to her Euro-American peers because, as she wrote, it now belonged to the United States. She tried to fit New Mexican cooking into the larger rubric of national cuisine by likening *chicos con frijoles* to “succotash,” *molletes* to “sweet buns” and *sopaipillas* to “sweet puffs.”⁸¹ From strategies to mediate the heat of chile to the addition of salads to *posole* to create balanced meals, she aimed to aid the digestion of New Mexico in both the Euro-American stomach and national imaginary. She made foods digestible by giving them familiar names, the act of translation a method of shedding difference.

Fergusson was thus invested in portraying a romanticized, positive version of New Mexico to appeal to a foreign (American) audience. She was an advocate of what Laura Gómez terms the progressive view of race, a counter-narrative to the dominant view that New Mexicans were racially inferior: “Proponents of the progressive view posited a notion of race that emphasized culture over biology and harmony over conflict ... The progressive view fostered an unprecedented level of incorporation of a non-white racial group, but it also served to promote white supremacy.”⁸² Not only was statehood the primary goal of racial progressivists, but by the 1920s, Gómez argues, “the myth of tricultural harmony had become the key trope in public relations efforts to draw Euro-Americans from other states to New Mexico, whether as temporary tourists or as permanent immigrants.”⁸³ Post-statehood, New Mexico was no longer technically foreign, but still maintained difference, whether that was rendered as racially other or appealingly exotic. And as John Nieto-Phillips notes, the flip-side of Euro-American love for New Mexican culture was “contempt for those who presumed to assert some degree of control over their own land, history, language, and destiny, and to attempt to shift the parameters of

‘American’ citizenship.”⁸⁴ Hispanophilia, in other words, was acceptable as long as native New Mexicans did not threaten Euro-American power.

Mexican Cookbook offered its American readers unprecedented access to the exotic people of New Mexico, though in a strangely disembodied way—to know New Mexico through cooking and eating its food, not engaging with its people. It provided a voyeuristic and intimate look inside the homes and kitchens of a previously mysterious people. The book jacket promised its readers coveted insider information about New Mexican people and their food: “Visiting with more than a score of Spanish and Mexican aristocrats of the Southwest, many of them lifelong friends of her family, she was not only given carte blanche to their famous recipes but to cookery secrets carefully guarded for hundreds of years.”⁸⁵ This statement positioned Fergusson as an insider worthy of trust, and also as a member of the aristocratic class of her sources. It claimed a particular moment when women would be willing to hand over secrets guarded for centuries. Of course, this was designed to intrigue the reader, but it also implied a new era of racial harmony and assimilation. Fergusson wrote, “Now that everybody has been to the Southwest and even into Mexico, Mexican food has become a part of the national cuisine. . . . The national palate is beginning to distinguish between a hot stew with chile dumped in and a smoothly blended dish of meat and spices.”⁸⁶ Fergusson claimed that Americans were becoming familiar enough with their new culinary acquisition to determine the wholesome and authentic from the ill-prepared imitations; if the Mexican food they have had was bad, she implied, it was likely a poor rendition. Of course, it was an exaggeration to claim that everybody had traveled to the Southwest and to insinuate that everyone had eaten Mexican or New Mexican food, good or bad. Even if all whites had not visited New Mexico or eaten its cuisine, however, Fergusson’s narrative assured the reader that *other* whites had, thus, conveying the state as a welcome and

available place deserving of national inclusion. She addressed an upper-class audience that would have the financial means (or at least the desire) to travel to the Southwest. Fergusson encouraged outsiders to visit New Mexico and to learn about its people through tasting its food, a direct predecessor to the state's tourism mantra today. She provided a safe way to experience difference—from within the protections of the nation-state.

As the white author of an ethnic cookbook, Fergusson needed to prove her credentials, to legitimate her right and ability to represent a foreign cuisine.⁸⁷ She explicitly asserted her authority in *Mexican Cookbook* by stating that the recipes in the book were given to her by Doña Lola Chaves de Armijo, then tested by Miss Estelle Weisenbach, a domestic science teacher, who adapted them for a modern kitchen.⁸⁸ *Mexican Cookbook*, then, drew its authority from the cultural authenticity of a New Mexican woman, the adaptation and approval of a domestic science professional, and the ultimate compilation and publication by trusted cultural broker Erna Fergusson. Philosopher Lisa Heldke explains, “[The author] identifying as an insider gives one almost immediate authority in the eyes of an outsider audience (sometimes regardless of the amount of relevant cooking experience one has had), while being an outsider means that one must bolster one's credentials, and establish one's authority and legitimacy as a chronicler of the cuisine.”⁸⁹ Fergusson was impelled to prove both her ability and her right to publish *Mexican Cookbook*.

Fergusson directly addressed an audience unfamiliar with New Mexico chile, acknowledging the digestive difficulties it could cause while still lauding its flavor. Their bodies were unable to break down the food, and chile was an unknown ingredient that did not fit within the American cuisine of the time. She continually warned her readers about the spicy intensity of chile with cautionary notes like “[r]emember that seeds are the hottest part and be guided

accordingly” and “[c]hile must be handled very lightly, as it will burn the hands.”⁹⁰ She offered her readers alternatives to make chile sauce milder, by adding a beaten egg or increasing the flour and reducing the chile. In her recipe for green chile sandwiches, she claimed that “mayonnaise is better than butter because it mitigates the burning of the chile.”⁹¹ Chile tasted good and was worth eating, but it needed to be modified for Euro-American consumption; it was not digestible “as is.” She made green chile palatable both literally and also culturally to an audience accustomed to eating sandwiches with mayonnaise. In other words, she *whitened* New Mexican food. As Helen Zoe Viet argues that white Americans as a whole were disgusted by foreign foods at the beginning of the 20th century, “a disgust sharpened by the conviction that eating gloppy foreign foods had racial consequences.”⁹² Yet through the Progressive Era, white Americans incorporated blander versions of dishes from foreign cuisine—like Fergusson’s green chile sandwiches—into their diets.

From Fergusson’s perspective, New Mexican food was pre-modern until brought into the present—according to the Euro-American standards of a healthy, balanced meal. She wrote,

Apparently everything was done in the hardest possible way, but these methods were the result of conditions so *primitive* that we can scarcely believe them now. Corn and wheat were ground on *metates* because there were no mills. Chile likewise. Fruits were dried because there was no sugar for preserving.⁹³

She did not recognize these long-standing means of preparing food as technologies in and of themselves, but assumed New Mexican cooks worked that way because they hadn’t the privilege of exposure to better American practices. Fergusson insisted that modern technologies could replicate traditional tastes without the traditional means of preparing them. The recipes in *Mexican Cookbook* were processed, fed through a Euro-American filter to remove the ingredients and methods indigestible to Euro-American stomachs and sensibilities: “Miss Estelle

Weisenbach, a domestic science teacher who has tested all these recipes, finds them thoroughly practicable for a modern cook in a modern kitchen.”⁹⁴

Fergusson’s cookbook reinforced her tourism pitches of New Mexico as a virgin and primitive land. She appealed to a humanist discourse of science that was borrowing from the discourse of colonization—placing Western values on top of preexisting practices to validate them for Western consumption. She claimed New Mexican food could be integrated into the “healthy” American diet according to modern nutritional standards *only* with certain additions and subtractions, implying that New Mexican culture was backward and in need of contemporary Americanization. Fergusson claimed that New Mexican food was only nutritious when modernized: “In a typical menu there were several meats and only one vegetable, various health rules not having been discovered. . . . By substituting supper menus for lunch and using less meat and more vegetables, and by the addition of salads, very satisfactory modern menus can be adopted from the old ones.”⁹⁵ In other words, the New Mexicans did not know better, Fergusson claimed, but because she and other modern Americans *did*, they should use their scientific knowledge to improve New Mexican health and standards of living.

“Care must be taken that the product is pure”⁹⁶: Fabiola Cabeza de Baca’s Formations of Tradition and Resistance

Fabiola Cabeza de Baca also worked to assert the positive contributions of the state to local and national audiences and change the image of New Mexican food.⁹⁷ She embodies the tensions of assimilation—the necessity to be integrated into the nation as a means of survival, but also the resistance to being reduced or co-opted. Though she facilitated the state’s incorporation into the nation, she also sharply critiqued American culture and foodways. She defended the dignity of New Mexico through complicated claims to Spanish identity, traditional values, and

nutritional science. Born in 1894, Cabeza de Baca was the product of two prominent New Mexican families, the Cabeza de Bacas and the Delgados.⁹⁸ Her family claimed kinship to conquistador Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who arrived in the “New World” in 1528 with Estebanico, his moorish slave.⁹⁹ She grew up on what was formerly part of *Las Vegas Grandes*, a half-million acre land grant given to her family in 1923 by the Republic of Mexico.¹⁰⁰ Cabeza de Baca was very proud of her family lineage, noting that “the Delgados and the Cabeza de Bacas in New Mexico are what the Cabots and the Lodges are in Boston.”¹⁰¹ She earned a bachelor’s degree in education from Highlands University in Las Vegas and another degree in home economics from New Mexico State University.

In 1929, Cabeza de Baca began a thirty-year career as a home demonstration agent for the Agricultural Extension Service, bringing modern technologies and values to rural communities across the state. She helped provide important means of subsistence to rural New Mexicans through the Great Depression, and stability in the years after. Cabeza de Baca was the first Extension agent assigned to New Mexico’s Pueblos, and also the first to work specifically with Hispanic women.¹⁰² She married Carlos Gilbert in 1929, the same year she began Extension work, and they remained married for ten years, but never had children.¹⁰³ For twenty years, she wrote a weekly homemaker’s column in Santa Fe’s *El Nuevo Mexicano* newspaper, a Spanish-language weekly with a circulation of more than 8,000 distributed in New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado.¹⁰⁴ She published two Spanish-language pamphlets through the Extension Service, *Los Alimentos y su Preparación* (1934) and *Boletín de Conservar* (1935), which offered information on nutrition and canning to Hispanas. *Historic Cookery* was first published as an Extension Service pamphlet in 1939, and by 1970, had reportedly sold more than 100,000 copies.¹⁰⁵ She published her memoir and best-known work, *We Fed Them Cactus*, in 1954. She is widely

considered one of New Mexico's earliest Chicana writers and both a historically significant and beloved figure.

Fabiola Cabeza de Baca's work largely aligned with Erna Fergusson's, but with sometimes slight and often significant differences. She participated directly in the Americanization of Hispanic and Indian communities through her work for the Extension Service, and wrote cookbooks directed at least in part to Euro-American audiences. However, where Fergusson emphasized integrating New Mexican food into a generic American diet, Cabeza de Baca assimilated some American nutritional standards and kitchen technologies into already existing Hispano traditions. She was an active promoter of Spanish culture and folklore, both implicitly through her cookbooks and more explicitly in her other written work and public talks. Following Raymond Williams' definition of tradition as selective and political, a version of the past that validates and ratifies the present, the promotion of the Spanish tradition as a way to claim political legitimacy. Williams wrote that tradition is never simply tradition but "a *selective tradition*: an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification."¹⁰⁶ Between approximately 1890 and 1940, New Mexico's tradition shifted, as "Mexicans" and *mexicanos* became "Spanish-Americans" and *hispanoamericanos*.¹⁰⁷ During those fifty years, New Mexico's self-identification went through an important transition:

Linked to a thriving Hispano culture, the modern Spanish heritage was always more than a fantasy heritage or a so-called invented tradition. Based on actual events and practices, it molded the Catholic ceremonies, artistic forms, and memories long preserved by Hispano families into a distinctive Spanish colonial inheritance, one that recognized but subordinated Mexican, Indian, and Anglo influences.¹⁰⁸

The modern Spanish tradition, as Charles Montgomery argues, was an ethnoracial re-packaging of traditions that were already in place. As Cabeza de Baca emphasized, the recipes she included

in her cookbook were for dishes families had been eating for centuries; they were distinctly New Mexican, she insisted, not a regional cuisine of Mexico. So, while she certainly endorsed the progressive American agenda and fought against association with Mexico, she also fiercely defended New Mexican culture in the face of stereotypes and misrepresentations. She invited Euro-American cooks to try New Mexican recipes, but barred them from full access to the food by withholding secrets and maintaining that certain techniques cannot be learned through reading. She at once welcomed the foreign reader and resisted the commodification of New Mexican food and culture.

Cabeza de Baca's work across the state as a home demonstration agent for the Agricultural Extension Service made her a political actor in the movement to culturally assimilate New Mexicans. It both implicated her in a hegemonic project and provided her a space to resist that project.¹⁰⁹ Just two years after New Mexico was granted statehood, the federal government established a nation-wide system to bring the benefits of Progressive modernity and university research to the rural population of the country.¹¹⁰ The 1914 Smith-Lever Act created the Agricultural Extension System, which was designed to improve the quality of life in rural America and also to keep people from migrating to the already crowded cities.¹¹¹ It also, however, worked to standardize a certain way of life—one that was largely modern, white and middle class. In states like New Mexico, where the population was predominantly rural and often struggling, it took particular hold. From its initial focus on agriculture, the Extension Service expanded to the home sphere, utilizing the burgeoning sciences of home economics and nutrition to organize outreach to women. Beyond the material benefits it offered, the system sought to mold the rural population into proper citizens—industrious housewives and productive farmers—in order to integrate them into the greater national political economy. The work of the

Extension Service, particularly its home demonstration agents, revealed the centrality of food to government efforts to assimilate and “modernize” the rural population.

In New Mexico, the Extension Service aimed to stabilize subsistence communities and ensure they were self-sufficient in meeting their own basic needs, which had become increasingly difficult in the decades after the American conquest of the region. As railroads, mines, and large-scale agricultural ventures infiltrated New Mexico in the late 19th century and Euro-American courts authorized the dispossession of communal lands, communities became increasingly reliant on the wage economy.¹¹² Hispanic farm families were displaced all across the state; the subsistence farmers of northern New Mexico lost 80 percent of their land grant acreage during the territorial period. This loss of grazing and farming land, paired with drought and the Depression, created great economic hardship in subsistence farming communities.¹¹³ Because of the changing economy, environmental difficulties and continuing racial tension, New Mexico was a source of national anxiety. Curtis Marez notes,

With a large population of often rebellious Indians and Mexicans, New Mexico was, in effect, deemed not white enough for incorporation as a state until 1912. ... The border conflicts that characterized the years immediately following statehood further fueled fears that New Mexico might become engulfed in revolutionary violence against capitalism and private property.¹¹⁴

By attending to rural needs and working to assimilate rural families, the Extension Service sought to relieve some of this racial and post-colonial tension. Historian Joan Jensen argues that the Hispanic agents, including Cabeza de Baca, who worked in Hispanic communities were particularly successful, accomplishing the changes the Extension Service hoped to integrate with little tension or hostility.¹¹⁵

Historic Cookery created an early marriage between state tourism marketing and New Mexican food, one that has grown continually since. In the late 1940s, New Mexico Governor

Thomas Mabry reportedly thought the book would be a good public relations tool, so, according to one newspaper article, he sent a copy to the governor of every state, along with a sack of pinto beans.¹¹⁶ The photographs in *Historic Cookery* were reproduced courtesy of New Mexico Tourist Bureau. The inclusion of state-sanctioned tourism images underscores the function of *Historic Cookery* to present the best face of New Mexico to those who were not familiar with it. The images in the book are serene and pastoral, portraying families working together to husk corn, string chile into ristras or pull water from a well, the social processes that compose tradition. They illustrate the “good life” to which Cabeza de Baca always referred. New Mexicans are shown representing what are arguably quintessential American values of hard work and family. One image portrays a family outside of a house, the father standing on a ladder hanging ristras, the mother and her daughter sitting facing each other stringing the chile peppers into ristras, and four other children next to the house playing.¹¹⁷ These images present New Mexicans as non-threatening, depicted in wholesome, pastoral scenes imbued with values aligned with white, heteropatriarchal norms.

While her work sought to defend the moral worth of New Mexicans, Cabeza de Baca was keenly aware of the ethnoracial criticisms levied at New Mexicans in the guise of food rhetoric. In her 1942 article “New Mexican Diets,” published in the *Journal of Home Economics*, she claimed that the railroad not only brought New Mexico modernity, but also “adventurers” who “found the Indian and Spaniard hard to understand and criticized and ridiculed their social customs, religion, and food habits. The Spanish people became sensitive to such criticisms as ‘How can they eat such hot stuff?’ and ‘Give them beans and chili and that is all they need.’”¹¹⁸ These outsiders criticized New Mexican culture and the food habits that were central to it. In the twenty-five years after the completion of the railroad, Cabeza de Baca lamented that most New

Mexicans had assimilated to the U.S. national diet, eating mostly fried and processed foods. In 1929, when Extension work began in New Mexico, she recalled, “the people still had some good food habits but tended to change to the poorer urban diets.”¹¹⁹ New Mexico’s incorporation into the national capitalist economy and culture, including food consumption, damaged the people’s healthful indigenous foodways. She worked largely to recover New Mexico’s “true” Spanish past, its traditional foods and traditional values that the greater United States threatened to undermine. In other words, she turned the argument around: New Mexicans were not eating the poor, substandard food, but rather, the white Americans were. New Mexican food traditions, and thus health, were suffering, not improving, through American influence. Through Extension work, she sought to restore traditional foodways, not advocate the adoption of new American ones. Being consumed by the U.S. nation—being Americanized—harmed communities.

Drawing from her professional training as a home economist and extension worker, Cabeza de Baca used the modern science of nutrition to assert the inherently healthful value of New Mexican food in her cookbooks. In *Historic Cookery*, she continually emphasized the nutritional richness of foods New Mexicans had been eating for centuries: “recent research has proved that many of our basic foods—chile, beans, purslane, lamb’s quarters, goat’s cheese, and whole grain cereals, for example—are highly nutritious.”¹²⁰ And further, she explained: “With the new knowledge of nutrition, we have learned that the organs of the animals are good sources of different vitamins. The New Mexican families learned from colonial times how to use every part of the animal. They eat the blood, stomach, intestines, liver, kidneys, and glands.”¹²¹ Unlike Fergusson, who saw New Mexican food as nutritionally sub-standard, Cabeza de Baca insisted on the indigenous wisdom and inherent health of New Mexican diets. This sentiment lingers today, as in the 2006 Bueno Foods cookbook, *Harvesting Our Heritage*:

It has been well documented that the chile pepper improves digestion, eases pain, destroys bacteria and boosts metabolism. . . . This nutritional powerhouse has helped countless generations of New Mexicans not only to survive but also to thrive.¹²²

Modern science and societal nutritional values has thus validated New Mexicans' cultural agency—their choices to eat and cultivate particular foods. Their knowledge of health was inherent; they were eating healthfully before those standards were “discovered.” Cabeza de Baca did not use her position as a government agent to force Euro-American values on Hispanic New Mexicans but rather, used her expertise to defend New Mexico to a broader American audience. She resisted full incorporation into the white nation, instead fitting New Mexican food and culture into the nation through nutritional and moral values, pointing out its already existing digestibility rather than modifying it to make it digestible.

For Cabeza de Baca, modern kitchen technologies were useful because they saved time, but she often articulated steps to remove the ill effects of those technologies on the traditional taste of food. For cooking beans, she wrote, “an earthenware pot is the best utensil, but metal kettles may be used successfully.”¹²³ She also admitted that pressure cookers could be used to cook beans, but after the pressure was released, the beans should be cooked uncovered “for at least 20 minutes to remove the pressure cooker flavor which many people find objectionable.”¹²⁴ While Fergusson had faith that food prepared in the modern way could taste the same as that prepared by hand, Cabeza de Baca was not so trusting. Perhaps for her, food was not simply about the end product but the process that went into it—the chopping, the cooking, and the grinding had cultural and personal significance to her. Cabeza de Baca, as Tey Diana Rebolledo notes, “had a deep respect for native ways and for traditional preparation of foods. Although she recognized the value of canning, which was just coming into its own for home economists, her recipes were full of the ‘old way’ of doing things, such as drying corn and chile.”¹²⁵ For Cabeza

de Baca, authentic and good food was not simply a finished product, but the result of a particular and meaningful method.

Though Cabeza de Baca's recipes were full of the "old" ways of food preparation, she acknowledged certain modern aspects of cooking and eating as important. She used New Mexican ingredients and flavors to modify standard Euro-American fare: "While salads are not typically New Mexican, yet no menu today is complete without them. The recipes given for salads are those which because of their flavor or texture blend with New Mexican foods."¹²⁶ Her salad recipes in *The Good Life* include an avocado salad—composed of garlic, avocado, tomatoes, radishes, onion, lettuce, salt, olive oil, chile powder and vinegar or lemon juice—combining elements of the European salad with New Mexican flavors. All six recipes in the section, even the simple lettuce and onion salad, are flavored with chile powder, either in the dressing or as a garnish; the addition of chile powder, then, makes an otherwise generic salad into a New Mexican dish.¹²⁷ Cabeza de Baca's training in nutrition and home economics led her to produce a hybrid cuisine—one that combined traditional foods with modern tastes and nutritional standards.

Foodways can be a means of resisting assimilation because they are an inextricable part of social relationships. Historian Jeffrey Pilcher writes, "Many believed the newcomers would never accept the social and political values of the United States until they abandoned the lifestyles and eating habits of the old country. One social worker described an Italian family as 'still eating spaghetti, not yet assimilated.'"¹²⁸ Harvesting crops and preparing them for consumption requires a social division of labor. In the case of New Mexico, for example, picking and drying chile, then cooking it into a sauce, or raising and slaughtering livestock, rely on daily efforts. As the manufacture of products began to take place elsewhere, increasingly after 1880,

the social interactions that went into producing those goods were no longer required. Cabeza de Baca was not simply concerned about the taste of commercially prepared food, but that the ways of life sustained by local food production would disappear. I do not want to idealize this labor or suggest that purchased commodities somehow ruin a “pure” tradition, but as processes of production are removed from everyday life, the social aspect of those processes necessarily shifts. As Cabeza de Baca wrote in an unpublished manuscript titled “Chile,”

Unless one has watched the farm families as they weave and string the chile pods, one has missed a delightful work of art and skill. It is work which is shared by neighbors. Several families get together in the evenings such as a social gathering to make up the beautiful strings of red chile. Men, women, and children join in the task.¹²⁹

Cabeza de Baca knew that foodways were an important means of sustaining cultural autonomy against the powerful American influence.

Cabeza de Baca often spoke to the non-New Mexican reader warmly, seeming to welcome him or her into the text; this gesture and tone encouraged an intimate connection between the reader and the author. While her intended audiences seem numerous, at points she seemed to address the Euro-American woman newly settled in New Mexico: “This little booklet will help you get acquainted with real New Mexican dishes,” and later, “Your experiments in New Mexican cookery can be fascinating.”¹³⁰ Here, Cabeza de Baca established her audience as a particular race and class of women who would have had the desire, the means, and the time to experiment with exotic cuisine. She reminded the reader that real New Mexican food cannot be quickly replicated or easily grasped: “Remember, though, that when you try any of these recipes, you should be prepared to spend plenty of time.”¹³¹ She was a cultural ambassador, introducing the reader-cook to the New Mexican way of life through instructions for the recreation of authentic food. In this way, New Mexico was invited into the American home, took a place on the American table and in the American stomach.

While Cabeza de Baca encouraged cooks to experiment with New Mexican cuisine in her introduction to *Historic Cookery*, she maintained a critical distance, implying that it was inaccessible to non-New Mexicans, or at least to non-Spanish speakers. She claimed cultural authority and ethnic particularity even as she shared some of the intimacies and intricacies of food preparation. She wrote that *guisar*,

which has no exact English equivalent, is the most popular word in the native homemaker's vocabulary. Roughly translated, it means to dress up food, perhaps only by adding a little onion or a pinch of oregano; good food always deserves a finishing touch. Food must never taste flat, but it will—if it's not *guisado*.¹³²

The most important part of a New Mexican dish, then, could not be properly translated into English; from the start, those who did not speak Spanish were barred from full access to the dishes the recipes promise. There was something about food that could not be transferred merely in words; even by following the recipes exactly, taking the time, a non-native could simply never be a New Mexican cook. There was a secret, a special touch, an untranslatable *guisado* to cooking. As Cabeza de Baca wrote: "The secret of tasty beans lies in cooking them just right. They must be cooked at low temperature and for a long time. An earthen ware pot is the best utensil."¹³³ At a low temperature and for a long time are very vague, certainly not level measurements or precise amounts of time. She instructed the reader-cook and, at the same time, withheld the secret, which could not be translated or transcribed. Cabeza de Baca did not simply explain how to prepare good, traditional New Mexican food, but offered the reader a narrative of New Mexico, continually locating herself within it. The *guisado*, the magic of cooking, could not be gleaned by reading directions, but had to be embodied. Cabeza de Baca's simultaneous offering of yet withholding of information suggests that, like tasty pinto beans or hand-pressed *tortillas de nixtamal*, New Mexico could not be contained in a text.

Cabeza de Baca also resisted assimilation into the market economy by challenging the easy commodification of New Mexican food products. *Historic Cookery* with recipes for chile sauce, which was important to prepare properly, as it is foundational to New Mexican food. She explained, “[s]ince many New Mexican dishes require a little chile sauce, it is appropriate to explain its preparation first. Ground or powdered chile may be purchased, but care must be taken that the product is pure. Sauce prepared from chile pods is more satisfactory.”¹³⁴ There is a right and a wrong way to prepare chile, and she warned readers to not readily trust commercial products. New Mexican food, here representative of its culture and people at large, cannot be fabricated on an assembly line or purchased ready-made. Cabeza de Baca resisted the all-encompassing national identity that desired to know, to own and contain New Mexico—that would make it available equally to all, on a tour or in a book. She insisted that “[i]n order to have the dishes taste as one has eaten them in the New Mexican homes or genuine New Mexican restaurants, one must use New Mexican products. These can be obtained commercially, of course, but if substitutions are necessary, be prepared for a difference in flavor.”¹³⁵ Using genuine New Mexican products ensured the quality and flavor of a dish, which suffered with the use of commercially prepared products.

While typically subtle, even conservative, in her political critique, in a manuscript entitled “Hunger – New Mexico Northern Counties,” Cabeza de Baca directly addressed what she felt was a poor and ill-informed rendering of New Mexico in the popular press.¹³⁶ “There has been too much generalization, as if the conditions just mentioned [poverty, hunger and ignorance] were found only in New Mexico. One does not read about the progress in the northern counties or any of the good things that have helped to improve the conditions. There is poverty in these counties but no hunger.”¹³⁷ She was proud that despite difficult circumstances,

New Mexicans had not been hungry or pathetic, as she viewed the poor. Her anger in this piece was palpable:

When some of our politicians made visits to some of our villages, they did not go inside of the homes; they did not report that the families owned their homes and the surrounding lands, that there were no tenant farmers or sharecroppers. . . . One of the most humiliating acts lately was the Poverty March to Washington by a few misinformed New Mexicans led by an outsider who has done so much damage to our culture.¹³⁸

Though Cabeza de Baca's career was as an agent of a federally-funded program, she valued the self-sufficiency the Extension Service fostered, and detested those who sought government assistance for what she saw as exaggerated problems. Despite the "diminishing of pastures due to the Forest Service taking over the grazing lands," she claimed that "even when my work first started I did not encounter hunger."¹³⁹ In the four-page typewritten draft, she asserted on six separate occasions that there was not, nor had there ever been hunger in northern New Mexico. She differentiated between hunger and malnutrition, admitting that malnutrition had at times existed due to ignorance or neglect, but never hunger. This was a telling distinction, as it revealed her belief in modern nutritional science as well as her conviction that New Mexicans had long been living "the good life" of happiness and abundance. Her emotional reaction in this piece came both from New Mexico's unfavorable national portrayal, and also from the negative influence American culture had had on the state. By recalling the way American conquest had disadvantaged New Mexicans, she countered the narrative that they were racially or culturally inferior. She brought to the surface the structural oppression that put New Mexicans in an inferior position, with fewer material resources and political rights:

My work was started before the Public Welfare program was initiated, yet no one went hungry. Children took care of their aging parents. Families took in aged aunts, uncles and orphan children or provided food for them including any poor neighbors. Until lately there were close family ties among the Spanish, Mexican or whatever you may wish to call us.¹⁴⁰

Where her tone in *Historic Cookery* and *The Good Life* was subdued, in this article, her anger erupted, though her message is the same: that New Mexicans were good and healthy people who did not need modern American assistance, but should instead rely on their own, more nourishing traditions.

Cabeza de Baca did not universally resist colonizing forces in New Mexico. Indeed, while she opposed total American hegemony, she embraced the tradition of Spanish colonizers. Lisa Heldke argues that “[c]olonized cultures often have adhered to their own food practices as one important symbolic way to resist colonial incursion.”¹⁴¹ Significantly, however, New Mexico experienced what Laura Gómez terms a “double colonization,” and Cabeza de Baca’s resistance to colonial incursion was only directed toward the American. She identified with the Spanish, even as she resisted the American colonizers. Cabeza de Baca used food to construct a particular palatable colonial and racial history that appealed both to her and other Americans’ desires to present New Mexicans not as a “mongrel” race but as traditional and respectable people. Food is imbued with symbolic significance that is greater than the sum of its ingredients, and it provided a way for Cabeza de Baca to tell a particular story about Hispanic New Mexicans. She claimed the recipes in *The Good Life* “are the same as those used by our Spanish forbears and those adopted from their Indian friends.”¹⁴² There is little racial mixing in Cabeza de Baca’s rendering of New Mexico’s history—there is cultural mixing, recipe sharing and blending traditions—but to her, the Spanish were the forbears, and the Indians simply their friends. Though Cabeza de Baca referenced Indians infrequently, the very reason New Mexican food is distinct from other Mexican American or regional Mexican cuisine is precisely because of the influence of Pueblo Indians. As Cabeza de Baca wrote in a presentation, titled “New Mexican Cultural Foods,”

The Indians were friendly and generous with whatever foods they had and shared with the new arrivals. The Spaniards brought cattle, sheep, goats, swine and chickens, these

they shared with the aborigines. ... The mingling of the two cultures, Indian and Spanish in New Mexico, has produced distinctive New Mexican diets.¹⁴³

Cabeza de Baca considered Spanish colonization the genesis of New Mexican identity.¹⁴⁴

Cabeza de Baca portrayed a conflict-free Spanish colonial past, instead finding discord in the more recent American colonization of the region. In this way, like Fergusson, Cabeza de Baca aligned with the proponents of the progressive view of race by promoting “a glorious Spanish past that erased the brutality of Spanish colonialism toward Indians.”¹⁴⁵ At the beginning of *Historic Cookery*, she asked readers to “Try the recipes. And when you do, think of New Mexico’s golden days, of red chile drying in the sun, of clean-swept yards, out-door ovens, and adobe houses on the landscape. ... And think too of families sitting happily at the tables.”¹⁴⁶ As Anne Goldman points out, Cabeza de Baca described a healthy community with a well-ordered domestic economy and happy families. And while she modeled this depiction on romantic, nostalgic narratives of the disappearing native, “by defining cultural practice as a conscious choice, she asserted the cultural agency of the New Mexicans whose lives she depicted.”¹⁴⁷ She insisted New Mexicans did not need the often-detrimental American cultural influences to be healthy and content.

As a prominent member of Santa Fe’s La Sociedad Folklorica, founded in 1935 by Cleofas Jaramillo, Cabeza de Baca was integral to the establishment and proliferation of New Mexico’s Spanish heritage. Cabeza de Baca understood La Sociedad and the revival of colonial traditions as a reaction to, or resistance to, American colonization. In a 1977 newspaper article, she wrote that La Sociedad stressed “the folkways of the first white colonists [of] New Mexico,” but also served as a way to “learn the history of an amalgamation of cultures, Spanish, Aztec and our own Indian.”¹⁴⁸ Though not explicitly, she cited the American incursion as the motivating

factor for redeeming this Spanish colonial past: “The Spanish colonial señoras did not begin to wear hats until the American occupation.”¹⁴⁹

In an unpublished and undated speech titled “New Mexican Spanish Culture,” Cabeza de Baca demonstrated her investment in the Spanish cultural heritage, and also posited a theory as to the lasting existence of that tradition:

As I have said, the Hispanic culture has endured in New Mexico for many centuries. As one looks at other parts of the United States, where emigrants have settled from all over the world, one finds that after the third generation, they have become amalgamated by the American culture. Why, after ten generations, has New Mexico been able to preserve its Hispanic culture. There may be several reasons. One, in my opinion, is that the New Mexicans of Spanish descent colonized this area and took deep roots in its soil. . . . In other words, they were not exposed to other cultures. . . . In our Sociedad Folklorica, we are trying to preserve the Spanish customs . . . Our aim is not to live in the past, but to contribute to the history of our Great State and to portray our true cultural heritage.¹⁵⁰

Indeed, as Montgomery has argued, Cabeza de Baca and her contemporaries were not living in the past, but actively creating the present—not by inventing, but refiguring. *Historic Cookery* was more than a souvenir for tourists. It was also a historic text—one that New Mexican women could hold onto and refer to as evidence of their authentic cultural heritage. As with La Sociedad, Cabeza de Baca sought to “preserve” these traditional foods in print—and in New Mexican homes—because she feared their immanent disappearance within the continually encroaching American culture. Cultural preservation ran directly counter to the aims of Americanization efforts; maintaining cultural specificity stands in the way of assimilation that sought to eradicate cultural difference.

One means of reconciling the tension between the region’s Mexican-ness and the Euro-American desire for a white nation was through linking the Spanish colonization of Mexico with the European colonization beginning in New England. Lebaron Bradford Prince, governor of the territory from 1889 to 1893, made these arguments as a way to fold New Mexico into the

nation's origin myth.¹⁵¹ Claiming Spanish heritage served as a strategic separation from Mexico and to a whiteness that promised full political incorporation into the U.S. nation. "In the quest for full inclusion in the nation's body politic, the challenge for Nuevomexicanos, then, was to establish their whiteness and, with the rise of Mexican immigration in the early years of the twentieth century, to distance themselves from 'Mexicans from Mexico.'"¹⁵²

A critical part of establishing and presenting a unique New Mexican identity was distancing it from Mexican identity. Fabiola's grandfather, Don Tomás Cabeza de Baca, wrote in a 1909 letter, "Luis, as a friend I ask you a favor, and that is, that you never let them call you Mexican, because that is a great insult, and the lowest slander that can be leveled against a Spanish American."¹⁵³ In her cookbooks, Cabeza de Baca's separation between Mexico and New Mexico emerged: "*Tacos* are definitely a Mexican importation but the recipe given below is a New Mexican adaptation."¹⁵⁴ Cabeza de Baca made a clear distinction between the two cuisines, perhaps including the recipe to satisfy an audience who might expect a taco recipe, and likely would not be able to differentiate between the cuisines. In her rhetoric, New Mexico was firmly within the boundaries of the United States, and food coming in across the southern border was imported. Just as salads were not natively New Mexican and needed to be adapted, so were tacos a foreign food that required culinary adjustments to become part of the New Mexican diet. Cabeza de Baca figured New Mexican food as neither Mexican nor American, but was open to incorporating the culinary contributions of each.

Charles Montgomery argues that it was in the best interest of both Anglos and Hispanos to claim a redemptive Spanish past, to shed the negative image of the Mexican immigrant. He claims that for Anglo tour promoters like Erna Fergusson, Spanish symbols brought more and wealthier visitors; Anglo investors "believed that the Mexican image retarded economic

development and undercut efforts to present New Mexico as a progressive American state.”¹⁵⁵ More generally, however, Anglos in the region bolstered their reputations, their cultural capital, by promoting this Spanish tradition to a national audience. Hispanos, Montgomery argues, had different motivations: “Faced with diminishing fortunes and political sway, they sought to cement their positions as leaders of a distinctive Spanish-speaking culture, one made up of people wholly unlike the Mexican immigrant.”¹⁵⁶ While Cabeza de Baca fit Montgomery’s paradigm and perpetuated New Mexico’s Spanish heritage, Fergusson more often located New Mexico’s past as *Mexican*. Fergusson certainly perpetuated the myth of tri-cultural harmony among Indians, Hispanos and whites, but openly acknowledged the state’s Mexican legacy, which included, but was not superseded by Spanish colonization.

Through the discourse of food and nutrition, Cabeza de Baca gave voice to thinly veiled critiques of American colonization, cultural hegemony and race relations even as she reproduced them. Cookbooks, and writing about food and the home more generally, was a means of women’s subtler political critique. Anne Goldman argues that “[h]ome economics ... serves as a suitably genteel forum for theorizing about the social and political economy,” rather than the less acceptable explicit expression of discontent with the American conquest of the region. A 1954 newspaper article on “New Mexico’s Famous Home Economist” reveals some of this subtle critique: “[Cabeza de Baca] affirms that the Indian housekeeper is as anxious as her white sister, to have ‘nice things in her home.’ ... Many Indian women now have a better ‘table setting’ than some of the Anglo families about them, says this home economist.”¹⁵⁷ Whether her response here was to direct questions from the reporter or from stereotypes in circulation at the time, she defended Indians to counter negative representations. And she did not simply praise Indian women, but said they were often *better* than white women. A tension emerged here between

Cabeza de Baca's defense of Indians and her investment in New Mexico's Spanish colonial heritage, which was founded on the subjugation of indigenous people. Nonetheless, she recognized that Hispanos and Indians were both subordinate within the white, Euro-American racial hierarchy.

It is too simple to argue that Cabeza de Baca was blindly and eagerly complicit in the efforts to make New Mexico digestible to the nation at large, though she through her work, she supported its successful integration into the capitalist economy. Cabeza de Baca asserted the ethnic particularity of New Mexico, both against identification with Mexico and firmly against the Americanization of the region and Euro-American assumptions of cultural superiority. In claiming Spanish identity, she drew authority from lineage to a European colonial power. Cabeza de Baca is a complicated figure, in many ways embodying the paradoxes of race in New Mexico. Her work thus provides fertile ground for examining not only her own efforts and beliefs, but the larger hegemonic forces at play in the mid-twentieth century. Between and within the lines of recipes for *tamales* and *posole*, she couched sharp racial and political critiques; she was cooking up more than New Mexican dishes. Through the burgeoning modern sciences of nutrition and home economics, she legitimated the food and the indigenous wisdom of the people who had consumed it for centuries, while also serving as a broker of Progressive reform.

Conclusion

The border of the U.S. nation had expanded to bring formerly Mexican land within the geographical body of the United States, yet without the full sovereignty of statehood. The whitening of the region was a purposeful effort to assimilate the state within the body of the nation by increasing white population and by negotiating the familiarity and desirability of New

Mexican culture, food, and people. It also marked efforts to maximize Anglo wealth and political power while limiting that of New Mexicans and Natives. I argue that New Mexico's long period of territorial status was also a long process of digestion within the national body politic. Settler colonialism can be seen as a process of digestion, one that is about consuming land, absorbing and extracting resources and eliminating that deemed indigestible to the national body.

Cookbooks contributed to the incorporation of New Mexico into the United States in several ways. They familiarized New Mexican people and culture to a Euro-American audience through demystifying New Mexican food. Cookbooks also instructed people in how to prepare food so that it would be physically digestible to unaccustomed stomachs. Digestion is a process of sorting, of taking in useful elements and eliminating the indigestible. Tipton, Fergusson, and Cabeza de Baca all created easily digestible versions of New Mexican food and culture, though different. The metonymic leap for Euro-American readers is that if they could know and consume food in New Mexico, if their white bodies could digest chile, so could the U.S. national body digest New Mexico.

With food, the word *consume*, and its derivative *consumer*, has a double meaning. First, to consume is to eat; and second, purchasing food commodities makes one a consumer. As Laura Briggs writes, "Food supplies and populations do not exist in stable, simple relationships. Food is a commodity, exchanged for cash through elaborate networks of trade, transportation, and political relations."¹⁵⁸ So we consume both by eating and also by participating in a political economy of food. The root of the verb *consume* is explicitly violent, meaning to destroy, to wear away, to kill, annul, extinguish, wear down, eat, devour.¹⁵⁹ When we consume and subsequently digest a substance, the substance itself is destroyed, becoming an indistinguishable part of the system. In the broader metaphorical sense, consumption and digestion by colonizers of a place

and the people living there can become nearly genocidal. Modifying a cuisine for the easy consumption of outsiders or neo-colonial visitors is thus a violent action. When tourists are invited to get to know New Mexico using their tongues, they are encouraged to consume its food and its history. This ingestion is at once destructive and also productive, as a profitable industry that persists in the 21st century. This is all to say that food and its consumption are not only culturally significant and politically useful, but the very language we use to describe food and eating is inherently political, wrought with linguistic baggage that is inseparable from seemingly benign recipes for beans and chile.

Through discourses of food and eating, New Mexico and New Mexicans were made palatable to the greater United States. Foodways are cultural practices that mark foreignness; by making those foodways familiar, fitting them into “American” standards of health, nutrition and tradition, New Mexicans like Cabeza de Baca asserted their similarities to Euro-Americans while maintaining their ethnic distinctiveness. New Mexico was incorporated into the U.S. once it was palatable and digestible. It had to be desirable, familiar and friendly; it had to be wholesome, healthy and worthwhile. If New Mexicans were seen as eating foods indigestible by the dominant class, if the food literally made them sick, the New Mexicans themselves were then *culturally and socially indigestible*, or inassimilable. Cabeza de Baca and Fergusson introduced Americans to New Mexico through their cookbooks, inviting culinary tourists to meet the state through eating, a practice that endures. New Mexican food and culture became familiar as more people consumed it, and it transformed from a foreign, indigestible element within U.S. borders to an assimilable part of the multicultural American story. I have shown that the political processes of incorporation and assimilation are inseparable from the practices of cooking, eating, and digesting.

CHAPTER 4: Indigestible to the State: The Black Panthers' Revolutionary Nationalism

Thus far, this dissertation has focused on the constitution of the U.S. body politic in relation to the external coming in—immigrants entering from outside the nation and formerly Mexican land and people being incorporated through conquest. The questions surrounding both immigration and conquest have been: Who is American? Who can become American over time? And, who cannot? Whether the introduction of new populations to the United States was primarily a matter of their own volition (even if under duress) or a matter of imperial expansion, the anxieties evident in political and popular discourse concern how to reckon with otherness and the impact of that perceived otherness on national identity. My analysis has focused on how the bounds of the national body and understandings of various racial groups were produced through negotiations of belonging and logics of digestibility. Americanization projects forced immigrants to assimilate; belonging to the nation required the shedding of foreignness. Those rendered indigestible to the state—not capable of becoming part of the national body—have historically been expelled or prohibited from entering. Black Americans' relationship to the white U.S. body politic differs slightly from that of immigrants and the colonized. Despite the legal gains of 1960s civil rights legislation, Black people in the U.S. continued to live in conditions of poverty and oppression. The Black Power movement was a reaction to these conditions, a claiming of power through “any means necessary,” because formal legal equality and integration were insufficient. The Black Panther Party (BPP) arose in response to police brutality and Black people's oppression in the United States, which they theorized as internal colonization. Concentrating their power by organizing in the urban colonies, or ghettos, as they referred to

them, they fashioned a revolutionary politics of resistance to the state. The Black Panther Party's revolutionary nationalism, I argue, was a politics of militant indigestibility from *within* the white U.S. body politic that was also a refusal to leave.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense was founded in 1966 by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, students at Merritt College in Oakland. President Johnson had signed the Civil Rights Act in 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965, the same year Malcolm X was assassinated. The growth of the party drew energy from the frustration that conditions of racial oppression persisted despite Civil Rights victories for formal legal equality. They began by drafting the Party's Ten Point Program—a list of demands that would guide their political actions and community organizing. Throughout 1967, the party held political education meetings, organized protests, and policed the police. The first issue of *The Black Panther* newspaper was published on April 27, 1967. Its cover story was the killing of 22-year-old Denzil Dowell by the police. The newspaper was a key tool of movement building; it circulated the party's ideology. Beginning in 1968, federal and state authorities, including, most notoriously, the FBI's COINTELPRO program, began brutal campaigns repressing the Panthers, yet the Party grew. They shifted their focus to community survival programs, demonstrating that the War on Poverty had not met the needs of the people. And despite intense repression, the Panthers continued to draw coalitional support. From its origins in Oakland, by 1970, Panther offices had opened in 68 cities. The *New York Times* published more than 1,200 articles on the Party that year and the circulation of the weekly *Black Panther* newspaper was 150,000.¹ By 1970, the Southern California chapter's Free Breakfast program was serving more than 1,700 meals a week.

The rhetorical force of the Black Panthers emerged largely from their visual and embodied politics. Lisa Corrigan theorizes the Black Power vernacular as “a series of symbols dramatizing oppression and resistance.”² In this chapter, I unpack the symbols used by the BPP—both the use of their bodies to create image events and the use of visual imagery in *The Black Panther* newspaper—through which they claimed colonized status within the United States and rejected digestion by the state in favor of establishing their own body politic. This imagery was produced through the public spectacle of armed Black Panthers policing the police, and through the Party’s ideology, which was disseminated in text and image through *The Black Panther* newspaper. The Panthers also spread their ideology through bodily practice, using their Service to the People Programs to enact the sovereignty and community control they spoke and wrote about. I argue that the Panthers’ revolutionary nationalism was a bodily ideology through which they enacted a politics of indigestibility, refusing assimilation into the state and feeding a new sovereign Black body politic. The Party’s ideology was rendered textually, visually, and it was embodied—performed by armed patrols of Panthers policing the police and experienced by those participating in the survival programs.

The Black Panthers rejected Civil Rights era measures of inclusion like the 1964 Civil Rights Act signed by President Johnson. While national legal and political gains would support a Black bourgeoisie, the Panthers argued they had not and would not reach urban Black communities and would not fundamentally alter a system that was built on Black oppression. Bobby Seale wrote, “Cultural nationalists say that a Black man cannot be an enemy of the Black people, while the Panthers believe that Black capitalists are exploiters and oppressors.”³ Formal equality might be present on the surface, but it would mask the deep inequalities experienced by poor and urban Black populations. Unlike Garvey-ites who sought a return to Africa, the

Panthers sought to undo the nation-state from within. The Panthers rejected institutions that perpetuated their conditions of oppression—education, health care, and food systems among them. George Jackson wrote that revolution was necessary and “aggressive,” that “the manipulation of the system cannot or will not meet our legitimate demands.”⁴ Seale described revolution as putting economic and political power back into the hands of the people, and in order to restore that power, revolution was necessary. The nation extracted wealth and resources from Black communities through military service and the expansion of the prison system, through exploitative labor practices, perpetuating a regime of racist oppression.

A foundational goal of the BPP was to protect Black people from police brutality. Newton knew that many people in the Oakland community thought the police were oppressive, and he hoped that the patrols would help build the party’s political power.⁵ In taking up the Second Amendment right to bear arms, the BPP enacted sovereignty over their bodies. Armed self defense was an expression of power and a resistance to state violence. The Panthers listened to the police scanner and followed the police, armed with rifles and law books, demonstrating for an audience of Black residents that the police were being challenged. The Panthers publicly performed their rights of citizenship to openly carry firearms and to witness the actions of the police. On one hand, these were actions taken from within the context of the system, militant expressions of their civil rights, and on the other hand, they were revolutionary demonstrations of sovereignty that challenged the system. Because the system was fundamentally built on this exploitation, reforming the system or expanding civil and legal equality was fundamentally insufficient.

The spark that brought the BPP to prominence was the murder of Denzil Dowell by the police on April 1, 1967, and the Panthers’ work to investigate his murder and defend Dowell’s

family from police harassment. Denzil's murder was indicative of the arguments Newton and Seale were making in comparing the plight of Black Americans to colonized people. Denzil lived in North Richmond, an unincorporated part of Richmond, an all-Black city north of Oakland. North Richmond was located between a dump and an oil refinery—an isolated community surrounded by toxic waste.⁶ Because it was unincorporated, it did not receive services from the city, only from the county, and was very isolated. There were just two or three streets into or out of the community of 6,000, each of which was crossed by railroad tracks. Newton writes that “this limited access to the community makes it possible for the police to seal off the area any time they want, and they have used that power often.”⁷ He compared North Richmond to Black communities around the United States, saying they were “cut off, ignored, and forgotten, the people are kept in a state of subjugation, especially by the police, who treat the communities like colonies.”⁸ Police had sometimes blocked all three, preventing people from entering or exiting the area. In the prior year, there had been killings by police that community members suspected were murders, but that had not been investigated to the community's satisfaction. By getting involved, the BPP was serving the people by investigating what the police had refused to.⁹ Bob Blauner writes that what makes Black ghettos different from ethnic immigrant ghettos is that they are “more permanent” and largely “controlled from the outside.”¹⁰ He continues, “Whereas the immigrant ghettos allowed ethnic cultures to flower for a period, in the long term they functioned as way stations on the road to acculturation and assimilation. But the Black ghetto has served as a central fixture of American racism's strong resistance to the assimilation of Black people.”¹¹

In addition to providing physical protection from harm, much of what the Black Panther Party sought to do was address the psychological toll of living as Black people in the ghettos of

the United States. The Panthers used the term “ghetto” to describe the conditions of living in isolated and marginalized communities, and because the rank and file of the party was made up of “brothers from the block,” and designed to serve the people of those communities. Building on the writings of Franz Fanon, Newton addressed the dehumanization of Black people and the toll of considering poverty the result of individual failings rather than systemic oppression. He wrote, “Society responds to him as a thing, a beast, nonentity, something to be ignored or stepped on. He is asked to respect laws that do not respect him. He is asked to digest a code of ethics that act upon him but not for him. He is confused and in a constant state of rage, of shame and doubt.”¹² What Newton points out is that Black people have been treated as animals, as waste in U.S. society. They are subject to the laws and ethics of the nation, yet without the privileges and protections of those laws. The introduction of a law in California that would limit the carrying of firearms on public property was a direct result of the Panthers’ exercising their gun rights; the amendment laid bare the hypocrisy of the law, that it was designed for use by white, not Black, people. Through their party ideology, the Panthers sought to reframe Black suffering to one of injustice rather than personal fault, to constitute Black humanity in the face of white capitalist, imperialist dehumanization. Despite technically belonging to the nation-state, having federal and state citizenship and living within the bounds of the nation, Black Americans were never fully accepted as part of the U.S. body politic. While some people could gain measures of economic or political success, the Panthers argued that it was through adherence to white capitalism and any gains would be partial at best, and to the detriment of Black people generally.

The Panthers astutely harnessed the power of the visual. Sonja Foss has written that “visual images provide access to a range of human experience not always available through the

study of discourse,” as “human experiences that are spatially oriented, nonlinear, multidimensional, and dynamic often can be communicated only through visual imagery or other nondiscursive symbols.”¹³ Eldridge Cleaver, who would become editor of *The Black Panther*, recalled his first encounter with the Panthers in 1967 as one of love at first sight: “I spun around in my seat and saw the most beautiful sight I had ever seen; four Black men wearing Black berets, powder blue shirts, Black leather jackets, Black trousers, shiny Black shoes—and each with a gun.”¹⁴ His recollection details the visual and visceral impact of the moment. The separate mention of each element of clothing not only connotes a vivid portrait but also expresses the significance of the Panthers’ purposeful style in capturing the attention of both admirers and critics. That the men were also armed completed the Panthers’ spectacular visual. Newton wrote that “walking armed through Richmond was our propaganda. . . . This had always been our aim—to arouse interest in the [Denzil Dowell] case and in the Party.”¹⁵ Colette Gaiter writes that “Activists and revolutionaries like the Black Panthers worked to make ideas that were once believed to be extreme—like equal opportunity for all Americans—seem like the natural order of things. Representing those changes in images was a fundamental part of the strategy to make previously radical ideas seem normal and universal.”¹⁶ The linking of text, image, and bodily experience, I argue, is what made the Party ideologically and politically powerful—the experience of being nurtured “body and soul” went hand-in-hand with rejecting the conditions of indigestibility within the U.S. body politic. In the following section, I outline scholarship on race and the body politic before moving into an analysis of the Black Panther Party’s rhetoric.

Race and Black Body Politics

Corporeal logics inform what (and how) race means in the United States. Ta-Nehesi Coates insists that the ways people in the U.S. talk about race often obscure the body, that “racism is a visceral experience, that it dislodges brains, blocks airways, rips muscle, extracts organs, cracks bones, breaks teeth.”¹⁷ Angela Davis points out that “The idea of freedom is inspiring. But what does it mean? If you are free in a political sense but have no food, what’s that? The freedom to starve?”¹⁸ From the institution of chattel slavery, under which enslaved Africans’ bodies were property legally owned by white people, through Jim Crow era segregation that dictated where Black people could walk, sit, eat, learn, and live—with legal and extralegal punishments and the threat and reality of lynching always looming, through the mass incarceration of Black men, what Michelle Alexander calls the “new Jim Crow,” structural racism plays out on peoples’ bodies. Alexander Wehiliye insists that race be central in any theorization of the human, writing, “I stress that race be placed front and center in considerations of political violence, albeit not as a biological or cultural classification but as a set of sociopolitical processes of differentiation and hierarchization, which are projected onto the putatively biological human body.”¹⁹ The impacts of racialization play out on the body so much that they even are evidenced in metrics like infant mortality and life expectancy, rates of incarceration and disease. Because race has been projected onto the biological body, the control of reproduction, Dorothy Roberts writes, has been “a critical means of racial oppression and liberation in America,” and more specifically, “regulating Black women’s reproductive decisions has been a central aspect of racial oppression in America.”²⁰ Cheryl Harris writes that whiteness functions as property, which provides access to “a whole set of public and private privileges that materially and permanently guaranteed basic subsistence needs and therefore, survival.”²¹

Ideology is often represented as abstract or conceptual—as something separate from the body rather than produced and performed through the body. Althusser writes that “ideology has a material existence,” that it comes out of people’s material conditions and exists only as reproduced by humans in social structures.²² Ideology, as Stuart Hall defines it, is “those images, concepts and premises which provide the framework through which we represent, interpret, understand and ‘make sense’ of some aspect of social existence.”²³ It was the material conditions of oppression that gave rise to the Black Panther Party, and the body was central to their political ideology. Karen Sánchez-Eppler writes that “the human body has always served as an emblem for conceptions of the body politic. The bodily biases of the state are evident in the white male privilege that has pertained within American society.”²⁴ Dominant ideology inscribes the national body politic; it circulates through the exercise of political power and representations of the state. The body politic is a discursive and material embodiment of a nation’s or a group’s ideology. Bernd Herzogenrath writes that “The history of the Body|Politic has been the history of an image—of representations of the human body as an analogue for the state, for a political system. An established, integral part of what might be termed the *political imaginary*, its origins can be traced back to antiquity, to Plato’s and Aristotle’s prescriptions of how a society should function and how it should be ruled.”²⁵ The body—the raced, gendered, particularly abled body—is inseparable from ideology.

While I argue that understanding BPP rhetoric requires centering the body, analyzing embodiment is a fraught task. Elizabeth Grosz has written that the body “is always in excess of our knowing it. . . . always in excess of any representation, and indeed, of all representations.”²⁶ Any attempt to analyze embodiment inherently reduces and abstracts it through the use of language, as Michel Serres writes,

Many philosophies refer to sight; few to hearing; fewer still place their trust in the tactile, or olfactory. Abstraction divides up the sentient body, eliminates taste, smell and touch, retains only sight and hearing, intuition and understanding. To abstract means to tear the body to pieces rather than merely to leave it behind: analysis.²⁷

I am cognizant of the irreducibility of embodiment to critical analysis and yet, it is impossible to talk about the Panthers' revolutionary ideology without talking about what is at its center: the eating, breathing, bleeding, fleshy body.

Rhetorical scholars of race acknowledge that though race is socially and culturally produced, not biologically real, it is nonetheless made meaningful through and on peoples' bodies. Racialization is an embodied process, and in this way, absolutely material. At the same time, the racialized body, its attendant meanings, and the social order of which it is part are discursively produced. Ronald L. Jackson II offers three premises for the study of race and corporeal politics in his book *Scripting the Black Masculine Body*: "(1) bodies are inscriptive surfaces that are discursive texts, which can be rewritten after acts of struggle toward emancipation, though still not fully divested of prior inscriptions; (2) body politics is the lifeline for race and racism; and (3) corporeal inscriptions stimulate the negotiations of racial identities."²⁸ In other words, race is written on and through the body. What the Black Panther Party sought to do was to rewrite the meaning of blackness and the living conditions for Black people through a corporeal politics.

Calls from rhetoricians to recover the body as a "crucial site of the intersection of persuasion, discourse, and power" emerged in the 1990s.²⁹ By revisiting rhetorical scholarship to account for the body, Randi Patterson and Gail Corning argue we can challenge the hierarchized mind-body split built into Enlightenment thinking. Considering the rhetorical body is paramount when people deliberately use their bodies as communicative tools of protest. Lionel Wee terms hunger striking and fasting "extreme communicative acts."³⁰ The hunger striker's body evokes a

visceral scene of protest, while the statement of purpose that often accompanies the strike expresses the protester's intent. Wee argues that the non-textual dimensions of illocutionary acts are too often ignored by communication scholars and thus uses extreme communicative acts as an example of embodied discourse. Michelle Murray Yang has argued that self-immolation as a mode of protest can itself be a rhetorical act.³¹ The extreme protest tactics Wee and Yang describe, however, are often taken up by those who do not have access to discursive means of advocacy or persuasion; further, they are directed toward an external source of opposition. Chris Earle shows that in order for the tactic of hunger striking to be effective in gaining outside sympathy, the protester must be read as a victim of their circumstances, which is complicated in the case of prisoners.³² In his theorizing of image events, Kevin DeLuca argues that social movement protests are happening outside of the traditional spaces of rational argument—beyond written or spoken argumentation, image events are created through spectacular displays of bodies in juxtaposition.³³ Daniel Brouwer, too, has demonstrated that the body is both a site and means of protest.³⁴ Critics including Gerald Hauser have noted the vulnerability of corporeal argument—that the body needs language to make sense, it is incapable of arguing on its own terms, vulnerable to misunderstanding or appropriation.³⁵ This argument that the body needs language to communicate is another way of saying that the body exceeds our knowing; and yet, it is also the prerequisite for human being and knowing in the first place. In the following section, I demonstrate that the Black Panthers used the frame of internal colonialism to identify the conditions of living as Black Americans and to demarcate the Black body politic. This Black body politic then served as the symbolic resource for the Panthers' embodied revolutionary politics.

An Internal Colony; an Internal Threat

Re-writing the meaning of Blackness meant theorizing the relationship between Black communities in a way that both recognized oppression and created a powerful space from which to resist it. To do this, the BPP portrayed the U.S. as an imperial power and Black Americans as colonized people whose struggles were linked with those of colonized people around the globe. Huey Newton wrote that “the United States is no longer a nation but an empire.”³⁶ They hailed “revolutionary nationalism,” which Alex Lubin explains was “a nationalism of liberation—against forms of racial capitalism and empire.”³⁷ In contrast to assimilationist goals that sought inclusion within the existing system, the Black Panthers and their allies created a revolutionary vision that fundamentally rejected the oppression that came with incorporation into the U.S. state. The Black Panthers radically departed from the politics and the aesthetics of the mainstream Civil Rights Movement. Legal gains in the struggle for racial equality had not addressed the poor living conditions in Black communities around the country, nor had it lessened police brutality. Laura Briggs writes that “to speak of imperialism in the U.S. political context is to refer to an illegitimate, morally reprehensible form of power over a victimized people,” and thus using a term like “internal colonialism” to describe the conditions of Black people in the U.S. is a way to “render it illegitimate within mainstream political traditions.”³⁸

Harold Cruse, a leftist intellectual influential to the Black Power movement, was the first Black writer to “suggest a properly postcolonial frame for U.S. Black politics.”³⁹ In his 1962 essay, “Revolutionary Nationalism and the Afro-American,” Cruse argued that Black people in the United States suffered like colonized people across the globe, from “hunger, illiteracy, disease, tied to the land, urban and semi-urban slums, cultural starvation, and the psychological reactions to being ruled over by others not of his kind.”⁴⁰ He wrote,

From the beginning, the American Negro has existed as a colonial being. His enslavement coincided with the colonial expansion of European powers and was nothing more or less than a condition of domestic colonialism. Instead of the United States establishing a colonial empire in Africa, it brought the colonial system home and installed it in the Southern states. When the Civil War broke up the slave system and the Negro was emancipated, he gained only partial freedom. Emancipation elevated him only to the position of a semi-dependent man, not to that of an equal or independent being. The Negro is not really an integral part of the American nation beyond the convenient formal recognition that he lives within the borders of the United States. . . . The only factor which differentiates the Negro's status from that of a pure colonial status is that his position is maintained in the "home" country in close proximity to the dominant racial group.⁴¹

Black Americans were a product of the European colonial system, and never fully emancipated.

The "convenient formal recognition," Cruse recognizes, is not full recognition or belonging within the U.S. nation. Black Americans were instead like colonized people located inside the geographic boundaries of the nation, but without the freedom and self-determination of white Americans. Eldridge Cleaver wrote that "Black people in America are a colonized people in every sense of the term and that white America is an organized Imperialist force holding Black people in colonial bondage. . . . what we need is a revolution in the white mother country and national liberation for the Black colony."⁴² The term "internal colonization" locates the problem within the nation's borders, rather than locating it as an outside influence. It's a nation colonizing its own people—not extracting wealth from people on distant continents, but turning inward. To say "internal" means there is an external, a bounded unit that has an inside that is contained by an outside. Internal also implies belonging. The BPP claimed status as Americans who were inside the nation, of the nation. Though the U.S. is a settler colonial state, the dominant narrative of the U.S. is as a defender of freedom and democracy, against colonial exploitation, and the Panthers called the lie. As Cleaver noted, "Black people are a stolen people held in a colonial status on stolen land, and any analysis which does not acknowledge the colonial status of Black

people cannot hope to deal with the real problem.”⁴³ It was not only Native nations, but Black people who were colonized peoples in the United States.

The BPP rhetorically constituted a new body politic, a Black body politic that was sovereign despite being geographically dispersed. Eldridge Cleaver wrote,

For those who view the land question, that is, the absence of geographical boundaries of our dispersed colony, as an insuperable obstacle to nationhood, we say that we will hold the land in question in abeyance. We follow the dictum of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, “Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto you.” What the Black man in Babylon needs is organized Black power, and with that political power he can carve out his place in the sun—and it won’t be on a reservation or in the gas chambers.⁴⁴

Cleaver makes clear that creating a sovereign nation—an imagined community—does not require a single contiguous area of land. Nationhood is about first claiming and maintaining political power. In the article titled “Revolution in the White Mother Country & National Liberation in the Black Colony,” Cleaver likened the Black Panther Party to a child born to an oppressive white mother: “The Black Panther Party is less than two years old and the coalition of which we speak is less than five months old. For newborn children, we are already doing a man-size job.”⁴⁵ The Panthers conceived of their party as a distinct Black body politic. Born of and within the white mother country, the BPP is young, but as capable as a man.

The Black Power movement framed the struggle for liberation as one not of civil, domestic rights, but of overthrowing colonial rule and establishing sovereignty. Huey Newton argued that “there is a great similarity between the occupying army in Southeast Asia and the occupation of our communities by the racist police.”⁴⁶ The police were an occupying force preventing the self-rule of Black communities in the U.S. just as imperial armies oppressed and contained colonized people around the world. Emory Douglas’s comic titled “It’s All the Same” shows three armed pigs next to one another, identical except for their labels “Local Police,”

“National Guard,” and “Marines.” The July 20, 1967 edition of *The Black Panther* newspaper was dedicated to the Newark Rebellion, which included photographs of “bloodied and brutalized Black men and women. . . . Another photo showed a military jeep packed with officers carrying machine guns driving past a burned-out building. The caption read, ‘Vietnam? Dominican Republic? The Congo? No!!! Racist NEWARK, U.S.A.’”⁴⁷ Another caption: “Vicious, mad, raving, racist dog, sniping at colonized Black people as though at a foreign enemy.”⁴⁸

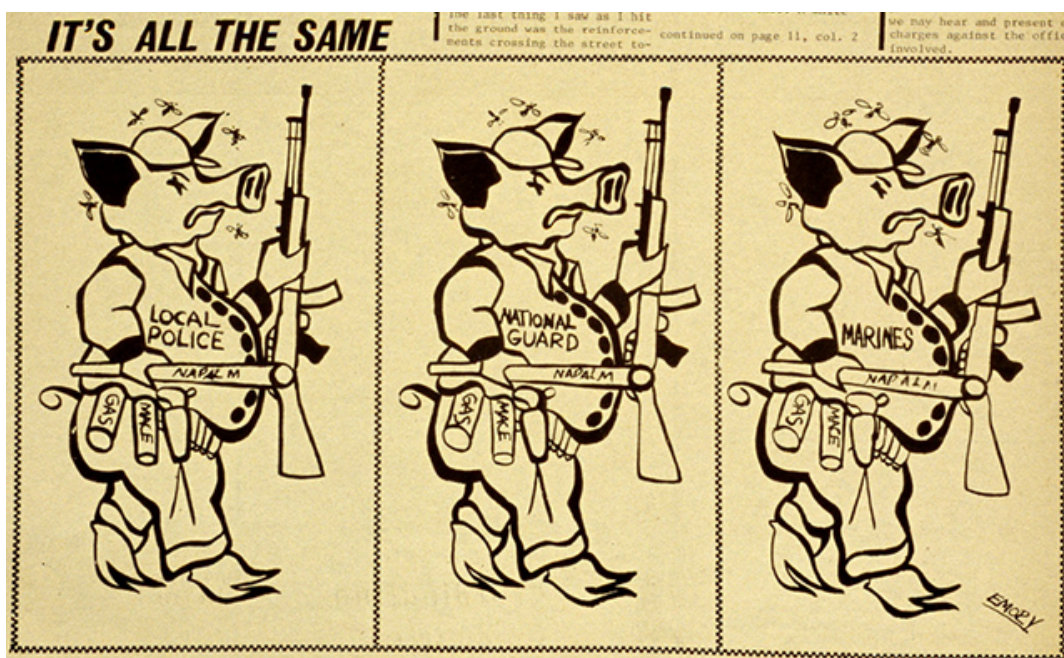


Figure 4. Emory Douglas, “It’s All the Same,” *The Black Panther*, March 16, 1968.

This framing gave the BPP a way to express solidarity with colonized populations around the world as well as a broader framework for understanding oppression and liberation beyond (and yet within) the nation-state. Bettina Aptheker said that “The ghettos have become occupied territories in the United States. . . . For a long time the ghetto communities in this country have borne the brunt of the assault on the democratic rights of all of us.”⁴⁹ The framework of internal colonialism enabled the Panthers to make a critique of power and sovereignty. Kenneth Clark

writes, “Ghettos are the consequence of the imposition of external power and the institutionalization of powerlessness. In this respect, they are in fact social, political, educational, and above all—economic colonies.”⁵⁰ Institutions within the community—businesses, police, schools, policies—are controlled by people and groups outside of the community. It is “administration by outsiders which is also essential to the structure of overseas colonialism.”⁵¹ The BPP was not fighting for inclusion or assimilation, but for self-determination—to establish a Black body politic. Integration, like Stokely Carmichael said, was “an insidious subterfuge for the maintenance of white supremacy.”⁵²

Formal and informal policies of racial containment in the U.S.—red-lining to racial terror, segregation and policing, anti-miscegenation laws—kept Black communities contained in a state the Panthers called variously the ghetto and the colony. This insistence on containing Black populations in colonies belied nativists’ stated aims for a singular, assimilated nation. Nativists made arguments for immigration restriction based on populations that did not assimilate, instead remaining in pockets where they spoke their native languages and ate their own food. Congressman Stengle from New York said in 1924, “America is to-day suffering from racial indigestion. This fact is nowhere more evident than in our large seaboard cities, where we no longer find a society of common spirit, feeling, and race, bound together by language, custom, tradition, and civilization with a sense of unity and distinctness, but rather many colonies of many tongues with ideals far apart.”⁵³ In the U.S., immigrants were chastised for remaining in their own communities rather than Americanizing. That there were undigested pockets of immigrants in the body politic was a key argument for closing the gate of immigration. Black Americans occupied a liminal status, a paradox—at once belonging in the nation but never fully belonging to it. The aim of this logic is to maintain the whiteness of the United States—to

prevent immigrants from setting up foreign “colonies” within the nation and to prevent Black people from leaving the colonies and challenging the whiteness of the body politic. Immigrants had a tenuous and uncertain relationship with the nation. Native-born Black Americans, however, were neither deportable nor assimilable, but were containable, arrestable, killable. In 1951, William Patterson led a delegation to the U.N. who first made the case on the international stage that Black Americans were experiencing genocide. He wrote, “Out of the inhuman Black ghettos of American cities, out of the cotton plantations of the South, comes this record of mass slayings on the basis of race, of lives deliberately warped and distorted by the willful creation of conditions making for premature death, poverty, and disease.”⁵⁴

State actors also recognized the Black Panther Party as separate from the nation. The BPP was thoroughly investigated by the House Committee on Internal Security, which was founded in collaboration with the Internal Security Act of 1950 (the McCarran-Walter Act) “including, but not limited to, espionage, sabotage, and infiltration of persons who are or may be under the domination of the foreign government or organization controlling the world Communist movement or any movement seeking to overthrow the Government of the United States by force and violence.”⁵⁵ The law was anti-foreign born, designed to root out communism in the United States, requiring communist organizations to register with the government. It strengthened the federal government’s ability to detain and deport “aliens” and also made it possible for U.S. citizens accused of subversive activities to lose their citizenship. In the House Committee’s lengthy August 1971 report on the BPP, they cited their mission to “disintegrate” the party, diffuse the “flare ups” and claimed the Panthers “inflamed the police.”⁵⁶ Disintegration harkens back to earlier discourse about immigrants as internal colonies, indigestible knots that needed to be broken down through Americanization, or otherwise contained or removed. The language of

flare ups and inflammation are used to describe health conditions, particularly systemic conditions made worse by irritants. And the Panthers would likely not fight this characterization. Eldridge Cleaver said in a 1969 speech that it was time for “revolution to explode” inside the “fascist” and “imperialist” United States.⁵⁷ The BPP was irritating the system of the body politic.

The McCarran-Walter Act and the House Committee demonstrate that the Panthers occupied a liminal space between American citizen and foreign or “alien” threat. Allegiance to ideals understood as non-American like communism and revolutionary nationalism could make an enemy out of a citizen, and could legally remove a person’s naturalized citizenship for their ideas. That the House Committee on Internal Security investigated the Black Panther Party demonstrates that the party was considered a foreign threat to the domestic space of the nation, a category apart from domestic civil rights groups. As the committee reported: “It is the committee’s conclusion that the Black Panther Party, through its deliberately inflammatory rhetoric and through the actual arming and military training of its members, has contributed to an increase in acts of violence and constitutes a threat to the internal security of the United States.”⁵⁸

The committee report uses a metaphor of indigestibility to challenge the BPP’s intellectual and ideological coherence. It reads: “Statements and speeches by Panther leaders often resembled a not easily digestible hash—the ingredients of which were ideas and slogans culled from prominent revolutionaries, dead and alive, white and Black, foreign and domestic.”⁵⁹ The comparison of BPP ideology to an indigestible hash draws on a long-standing association of mixed foods, stews, and hashes with immigrants and foreigners. As historian Helen Zoe Viet has argued, “For years, doctors, home economists, and efficiency experts had warned that to eat gloppy, mixed foods containing many ingredients—a style of cooking some native-born

Americans had come to define as inherently foreign—was to imperil digestion and to deviate from white people’s so-called natural diet.”⁶⁰ Progressive era nutritional reformers, including medical doctors, “argued that eating mixed foods was tantamount to racial transgression,” and that race determined the foods people could digest.⁶¹ American foods were plain and the ingredients distinct, a national cuisine created as a backlash against the large influx of immigrants into the U.S. after World War I. Though casseroles and hashes were not vilified in the same way by the latter half of the 1960s, metaphorically, the word “hash,” particularly in reference to indigestibility, retains its foreign and negative connotations. The Panthers, the House Committee asserted, were ideologically indigestible.

Embodied Ideology: The Sovereign Black Body Politic

Ideology was patently clear in the Panthers’ organizing, present in each edition of the newspaper, underlying every community program, a code of ethics and values that structured party actions. Huey Newton wrote that “When we formed the Party, we did so because we wanted to put theory and practice together in a systematic manner.”⁶² The Panthers’ 10-Point Platform built on Malcolm X’s platform for Elijah Muhammad and concluded with a direct citation of the Declaration of Independence to establish a case for revolution. It was printed in every edition of the newspaper. From the first point, “We Want Freedom. We Want Power to Determine the Destiny of Our Black Community” to the tenth, “We Want Land, Bread, Housing, Education, Clothing, Justice and Peace,” they made arguments about basic human rights. Through a platform of self-determination, the Panthers enacted a sovereignty beyond the nation, that’s promises to provide “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” did not extend to Black people. Other points include demanding fair trials, employment, and an end to police brutality.

By the end, when they cite the Declaration of Independence directly, they have made a case for the right of the people to overthrow an unjust government: “But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.” They rhetorically constituted a new body politic. By framing their demands with a founding U.S. document, they made an argument that was difficult to refute on its face, as it was based on the principles that founded the U.S. nation. But as historians have noted, the BPP faced unparalleled state repression, federal agencies “attacking the Black Panthers as enemies of the state” in an effort “to repress not just the Party as an organization but the political possibility it represented.”⁶³ It speaks to the effectiveness of BPP rhetoric and tactics that a relatively small group of urban Black youth generated the enormous response from the U.S. government and people around the globe.⁶⁴

The Panthers created a strong distinction between who they were in opposition to state actors. They were revolutionaries who stood up for the people, while the police were pigs, capitalists were vultures, and politicians were rats—all racist oppressors. As Jean Genet observed, “Wherever they went, the Americans were the masters, so the Panthers would do their best to terrorize the masters by the only means available to them. Spectacle.”⁶⁵ Wendy Brown argues that in an era of challenged sovereignty, nation-states constructing walls performatively: “what walls do is help to establish the ‘us’ and the ‘them,’ the threat of the outside to the supposed purity and integrity of the inside.”⁶⁶ The Panthers performatively carved out an “us” and a “them”—not using a physical wall bounding geographic territory, but rather a spectacularly rhetorical one. Gatchet and Cloud argue that the Panthers took up armed self-defense as a rhetorical tool to frame the Party through a David persona, and the nation-state

Goliath: “Just as David’s battle was to define a people united in struggle, representatives of the BPP called attention to how the rhetoric of self-defense was constitutive of collective identity. Thus, like David, Panther discourse positions the ostensibly weaker force as mighty in its invocation of a righteous collective.”⁶⁷ In constituting collective identity through armed self-defense, the Panthers demarcated the edges of their sovereign body, its insides and its outsides.

The BPP performed sovereignty, but importantly, the nation-state did too. Benedict Anderson defines the nation as “an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”⁶⁸ The nation necessarily has edges, though these are not complete or discrete, and are hard to define. The nation is imagined—very powerfully—which is evident in that no one will ever know every person in the nation, and yet people will fight and die in its name. Nikhil Pal Singh writes that the Panthers “were a threat to the state not only because they were violent but because they abused the state’s own reality principle, including its monopoly on the legitimate uses of violence.”⁶⁹ Police carry out the foundational and performance of the state, he argues, creating the “everyday fantasy” of the sovereign state and “by misrecognizing the status of policing as it operated within Black communities, the Panthers effectively nullified this fantasy and substituted a radical alternative.”⁷⁰ The Panthers performed militant resistance, making a spectacle of the ordinary machinations of the state.

The Panthers put their bodies on the line to fight police brutality but did so differently than Civil Rights era non-violent protesters, who absorbed a tremendous amount of state violence. Methods of non-violence relied on the circulation of images of brutality—the police turning fire hoses and dogs on unarmed people, for example—to garner political support. The Panthers used their bodies to create a distinct image, though aimed similarly to demonstrate the state’s violent oppression of Black communities. They refused to absorb this violence and

instead used a display of force to refuse state power. This was at once a message to the state and an expression of Black power designed for Black audiences as a means of drawing others to the movement. On May 21, 1967, armed Panthers entered the State Capitol building in Sacramento—24 men and 6 women, all dressed in Black. They entered the Assembly floor and Bobby Seale read “Executive Mandate #1” challenging proposed laws to limit the right to bear arms. The image of armed Black people in the statehouse was a media spectacle that brought nationwide attention to the Panthers. It launched the Panthers into the national spotlight, creating a spectacular visual argument that can be categorized as an image event, which John Delicath and Kevin DeLuca define as “staged acts of protest designed for media dissemination.”⁷¹ The image event, like much of the Panthers’ media coverage, was designed to build the movement and expand the party’s reach. Their primary and ultimate audience was Black people, the message that they were standing up to oppression. The more that image circulated through the mass media, the more party ranks grew.

The Panthers’ distrust of mainstream media was the impetus for the creation of the *Black Panther* newspaper, yet they were deft at gaining media coverage and strategic in their public image. In 1970, for example, the *New York Times* published 1,217 articles on the party.⁷² Much of the media coverage was one-sided and vilified the Panthers, but through creating dramatic image events, they redefined Blackness through a display of power that could cut across negative press coverage and reach Black audiences. In fact, Angela Davis reported that it was seeing pictures of armed Panthers in the California statehouse in German newspapers, where she was studying abroad, that brought her back to the U.S. to join the struggle.⁷³ The image of Huey Newton sitting in a large rattan chair with a rifle in one hand and a spear in the other became a Party icon—just as Newton and Seale intended from its conception. Erika Doss writes that

“Their dramatic redefinition of Black identity, and in particular their assault on previously held assumptions of the passivity and powerlessness of Black men, garnered the Panthers immediate attention.”⁷⁴ Bobby Seale explains that the shields on either side of Huey’s chair were highly significant. He wrote, “Huey would say many times that a long, long time ago, there was a man who invented a spear, and he frightened a whole lot of people. But, Huey said, the people invented a shield against the spear. The people weren’t so frightened after all. So this is really what Huey P. Newton symbolized with the Black Panther Party—he represented a shield for Black people against all the imperialism, the decadence, the aggression, and the racism in this country.”⁷⁵ Lisa Corrigan argues that while Black Power messages were primarily “directed toward the creation of rhetorical identification *among* Black people . . . activists used the confrontational posture to redefine political terms and relationships, reorder priorities to transcend difference, norm Black people to different assumptions about themselves and others, and assign blame to white liberals and ineffectual Black politicians.”⁷⁶ Especially after Huey Newton’s arrest in October 1967, Panther Party members carried posters of Huey’s iconic image at marches and rallies. Mainstream media coverage that included photographs of protesters holding Huey posters further circulated the icon. The BPP held a large rally on the still-incarcerated Huey Newton’s 26th birthday, February 17, 1968 to announce its merger with SNCC. Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, and James Forman joined Panthers Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver, but center stage was Huey’s wicker throne—empty to mark his symbolic presence and physical absence.⁷⁷



Figure 5. Panther rally outside Alameda Courthouse, September 1968, Stephen Shames.

The Panthers challenged the state and performed their own sovereignty not only by challenging its legitimate use of force, but by providing for people’s basic needs which were not being met by the state. Beginning with armed self-defense as its primary political strategy, in 1968 the Party shifted toward its service to the people programs, what Huey Newton called “Survival Pending Revolution.” These programs, like the practice of policing the police, were rooted in a politics of bodily survival and communal uplift. Newton said,

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs—food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones.⁷⁸

The Black Panther Party understood that politics at its most basic level was about bodily sustenance and security, about physical needs, corporeal survival. Their survival programs were the practice of their politics, and they spread across the country.

In 1968, the Black Panther Party started a free breakfast program for school children in Oakland that was a key site for their enactment of sovereignty. As the first, and arguably most important, of its survival programs, the breakfast program was founded because the Party recognized the significance of nutrition for education and sought to address to the problems of hunger in Black communities. While feeding school children might seem politically neutral, to the FBI, it represented a tremendous threat to national security. Attending to the basic needs of the Black community was political, and the FBI perceived it as such. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover wrote in an internal memo in 1969 that “the [Breakfast for Children Program] represents the best and most influential activity going for the BPP and, as such, is potentially the greatest threat to efforts by authorities . . . to neutralize the BPP and destroy what it stands for.”⁷⁹ Through perpetuating the survival (the thriving!) of Black and low-income communities, the Party articulated a form of resistance perceived as a supreme threat by the U.S. government. In addition to food, the party provided Black history lessons. The Black Child’s Pledge was published in *The Black Panther* in 1968. It begins:

I Pledge allegiance to my Black People.

I Pledge to develop my mind and body to the greatest extent possible.

I will learn all that I can in order to give my best to my people in their struggle for liberation.⁸⁰

Mimicking the form of the pledge of allegiance recited in public schools, the Black Child’s Pledge is a declaration of allegiance not to the U.S. nation, but to Black people and self-care in

the name of liberation. Allegiance to the nation-state is a central practice of sovereignty, and this pledge further reflects the Panthers' enactment of sovereignty.

Beyond the breakfast program, Panther chapters across the country developed and ran dozens of other programs in establishing a community of self-determination in resistance to their colonized status. These included liberation schools, free medical clinics, free ambulance services, sickle cell anemia testing, free food and clothing programs, support and self-defense training for elderly community members, and free busing to prisons so people could visit incarcerated family members. Alondra Nelson notes that the Panthers “understood that the health inequality experienced by blacks and the poor was a dialectic of neglect and surveillance,” and through their programs, they attempted to mediate that divide.⁸¹ Historians Joshua Bloom and Waldo Martin explain that “For the Party, the well-being of individual Black bodies and the collective Black community reflected the overall welfare of the larger Black body politic. Improving the health status of blacks thus went hand in hand with improving their political, economic, and social status.”⁸² Rather than trying to reform the national system from within, the survival programs sought to nourish an autonomous community—liberation from their position as an internal colony. The survival programs represent a refusal to assimilate, since experience had taught the Panthers that assimilation was a ruse, that within the U.S. body politic, their incorporation was partial, benefitting the state over Black people in Black communities. bell hooks writes that “embedded in the logic of assimilation is that the white supremacist assumption that blackness must be eradicated so that a new self, in this case a ‘white’ self, can come into being. Of course, since we who are Black can never be white, this very effort promotes and fosters serious psychological stress.”⁸³ Thus assimilation into white culture means upholding white supremacist norms.

The Panthers refused to be docile; they were militant. They opposed the integrationist policies of the Civil Rights movement and the Black middle class, and refused to feed the U.S. empire abroad. They were always aware that there were limits to their integration. Black people could economically assimilate into middle class status, but Blackness, Black bodies would always be racialized into other discourses, mainly criminality. And middle class status for some did little to improve the conditions for working class and poor people. The Panthers were cognizant that assimilation into the state meant participating in a system of racial capitalism, which Nancy Leong defines as “the process of deriving social or economic value from the racial identity of another person.”⁸⁴ The Panthers responded to conditions of racial violence, ghettoization, and unequal access to resources by rejecting those conditions and rhetorically and materially creating a new Black body politic. Singh argues that the Panthers’ “emphasis on violence may actually have more to do with their repudiation of the imperative of Black assimilation itself.”⁸⁵ This emphasis on “self-presentation,” he argues, “provided a visual vocabulary that was a key component of their politics. . . . that at once revalued blackness positively, while at the same time drawing on its threatening powers within the dominant U.S. racial imagination”⁸⁶ In the next section, I analyze this self-presentation through the Party’s images.

Representing The Revolution

Beyond the Panthers’ militant public spectacle and service to the people programs, the party’s officially titled “Revolutionary Artist” Emory Douglas was tremendously influential in his representation of the people and dissemination of the Party’s bodily ideology. He was the Minister of Culture and the artist whose images appeared prominently in each edition of *The*

Black Panther newspaper. His artwork offered powerful visual representations of the conditions warranting revolution and humanizing portraits of Black people, creating what Colette Gaiter called “a visual mythology of power for people who felt powerless and victimized.”⁸⁷ Martin Medhurst and Michael Desousa argue that political cartoons are largely enthymematic, and thus rely on the artist’s knowledge of their audience: “Cartoons ‘work’ to the extent that readers share in the communal consciousness, the available means of cultural symbology, and are able to recognize that shared locus of meaning as expressed by the caricature.”⁸⁸ Douglas’s comics, as Medhurst and Desousa’s theorization suggests, were made for an insider audience. As Gaiter notes, unlike Civil Rights Movement images that were designed to persuade white audiences that Black people deserved rights, Douglas’s art was “directed to a different audience—not to the oppressors but to the oppressed.”⁸⁹ In an interview, Douglas said that his “inspiration came from the party and the people in the community,” and that “the work changed as the party changed. It reflected the ideological position of the party.”⁹⁰ Douglas played a key role not only in communicating party ideology but in constituting the ethos of Black Power. Douglas used a variety of printing methods and techniques, often collaging illustrations with photographs and newspaper cut-outs. Printed in the paper each week and posted in storefronts and on telephone poles in Black communities across the country, “Douglas’ work shouted the Panthers’ mission through images.”⁹¹

The newspaper became central to party functioning, a way to create the imagined community of the Black body politic that was geographically dispersed across the United States. Huey Newton wrote: “Millions and millions of oppressed people might not know members of the vanguard party personally or directly, but they will gain through an indirect acquaintance the proper strategy for liberation via the mass media and the physical activities of the party. It is of

prime importance that the vanguard party develop a political organ, such as a newspaper produced by the party.”⁹² Newton’s use of the word organ can be read in two different ways—the organ as a musical instrument and a way to carry sound across distance, or that the Party was metaphorically a body and the newspapers one of the vital organs that allowed it to function. A 1970 issue of *The Black Panther* used bodily metaphors to describe the paper: “It is the flesh and blood, the sweat and tears of our people.”⁹³ And the circulation of *The Black Panther* was vast: “According to both BPP sources and government surveillance, by 1968, the BPP was selling 125,000 copies per week of TBP and by 1970, nearly 140,000 copies a week were sold at nearly an average of 13 cents per copy. By 1972 the circulation topped 200,000 copies a week, and during some months, income from TBP generated close to \$40,000.”⁹⁴ Sales of the paper were the most significant source of party income, and the distribution of the paper was a primary activity for members, a means of enacting their belonging to the BPP. Non-party members, too, often children, sold the paper for 25 cents a copy, keeping 10 cents for every copy they sold.⁹⁵ While created for the Black community, Douglas’s comics were a major focus of federal investigators. The visual depictions of violence and of police as pigs were cited alongside quotations from Newton and Cleaver and Seale advocating for revolution as reasons to undermine the Panthers. The House Committee on Internal Security report advocated that the U.S. Postal Service stop delivering copies of *The Black Panther* in part because of its picturing revolutionary violence.

Douglas’s artwork both reflected people’s struggles and created empowering identities for them to step into. Erika Doss argues that Douglas’s images played a key role in the formation of a new aesthetic of Black masculinity and Black Power—central to the BPP’s cultural power and appeal at the time and still today.⁹⁶ Collette Gaiter writes about Douglas’s turning ordinary

poor Black people into icons, objects of dignity and respect, in his images.⁹⁷ She also argues that he visualized and branded Black Panther ideology, and he did by deftly using the appealing aesthetic style of advertising to create revolutionary images.⁹⁸ Douglas wrote in a 1968 essay



Figure 6. Emory Douglas, “U.S. Imperialism,” *The Black Panther*, January 3, 1970.

published in *The Black Panther*, “We try to create an atmosphere for the vast majority of Black people—who aren’t readers but activists—through their observation of our work, they feel they have the right to destroy the enemy.”⁹⁹ With few exceptions, the only people Douglas represented in human form were Black (Fig. 4). He invited his audience to view businessmen, politicians, and police as particularly gross and savage animals—he depicted them as pigs, rats, and vultures. He moved state institutions out of the realm of abstraction and into vulnerable bodily form. By humanizing Black people and rendering the oppressors as animals, he created representations that directly countered centuries of dehumanization. His animal caricatures are gluttonous and grotesque, often surrounded by flies, drooling, spilling out of their ill-fitting clothes, pants around their ankles, and with X’s for eyes that symbolize death. This symbolically reverses the power relationship, rendering the colonizers as animals, and the colonized as human

beings. In order for a revolution to seem possible, people first must be able to envision it. In Douglas's words: "Revolutionary art gives a physical confrontation with the tyrants, and also strengthens people to continue their vigorous attack. Revolutionary art is a tool for liberation."¹⁰⁰



Figure 4. Emory Douglas, *The Black Panther*, March 27, 1971.

Douglas's images made the visual dissemination of the Party's ideology possible, and the nature of his images kept the fleshy body present. He created a new visual economy to spectacularly confront the white capitalist economy that dehumanized Black people.

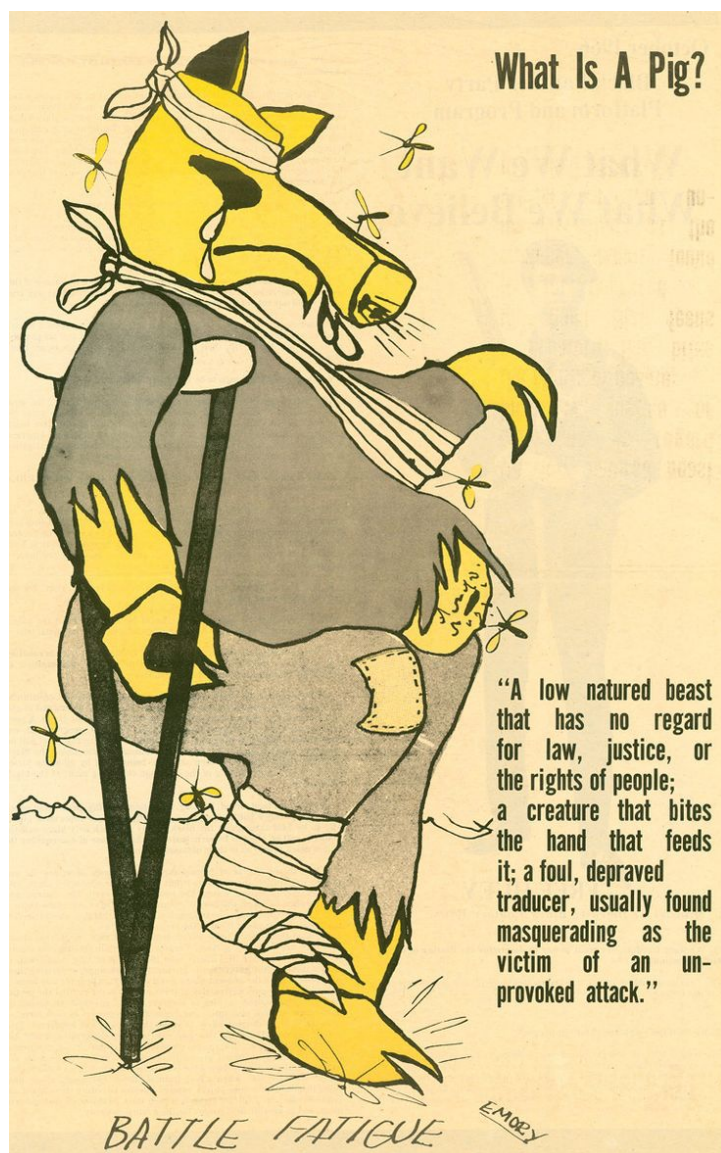
Douglas's imagery took up the grotesque realism that had for centuries been used to demoralize, emasculate, and disenfranchise Black people and used it to instead attack capitalism, racist exploitation, and corrupt politicians. In expanding on Bakhtin's term "grotesque realism," Stallybrass and White write that it is a form that "uses the material body—flesh conceptualized as corpulent excess—to represent cosmic, social, topographical and linguistic elements of the world."¹⁰¹ Grotesque realism featured the uncontained body, with its failures of digestion, its leaking orifices and animal-like fecundity. Images of Black people that circulated in white popular culture were marked by this excess—caricatures of bulbous bodies with exaggerated features repeated through stereotypes like "Mammy" and the "Sambo." These circulated through visual images in print media and on commercial products, and also through the performance of blackface. Stallybrass and White write that "Grotesque realism images the human body as multiple, bulging, over- or under-sized, proturbant and incomplete. The openings and orifices of this carnival body are emphasized, not its closure and finish. It is an image of impure corporeal bulk with its orifices (mouth, flared nostrils, anus) yawning wide and its lower regions (belly, legs, feet, buttocks and genitals) given priority over its upper regions (head, 'spirit,' reason)."¹⁰² Depicting people in this grotesque form marks them as distinct from the full humanity of the rational white man, as childlike and lacking control of their sexual and digestive functions.

Douglas's images flipped the script. It was representatives of the white supremacist state whose bodies were leaking and grotesque, lacking proper digestion and rational control.

The Panthers' representation of police as pigs was a purposeful effort to demonize the police, to wield imagery as an ideological weapon. Huey Newton recalled, "I know sociologically that words, the power of the word, words stigmatize people. We felt that the police needed a label, a label other than that fear image that they carried in the community. So we used the pig as the rather low-lived animal in order to identify the police."¹⁰³ And as the visual arm of the party, Douglas was "credited with inventing the era's visual symbolization of policemen as fat, mean, uniformed pigs," which Erika Doss argues were his most influential images.¹⁰⁴ Douglas had been sentenced to time at a rural juvenile facility, where his main job was to take care of the pigs and clean the pigpens. Doss notes that he was considered the "in-house 'expert on the way pigs look and act'" and though he didn't invent the usage of pigs to represent policemen, he certainly amplified it. Numerous comics portray pigs being threatened or killed by Black people, with Party slogans like "All Power to the People."

In an image published on December 20, 1967, Douglas gave a definition of the pig. The pig is "A low natured beast that has no regard for law, justice, or the rights of people; a creature that bites the hand that feeds it; a foul, depraved traducer, usually found masquerading as the victim of an unprovoked attack." The image shows a pig with its body out of control—swarmed by flies signifying decay or filth, liquid coming out of its eyes, nose, and mouth. The pig is wearing tattered clothing, bandages on its arm, head, and foot, using a crutch to walk. The pig is a particular type of beast, low-natured and immoral set in contrast to the people, who value justice, rights, and the law. The pig was particularly reviled by the Nation of Islam and aligned Black Nationalists. In his 1967 book *How to Eat to Live*, a two-volume handbook on diet and

health, Elijah Muhammad repeatedly maligned the animal and those who ate it beyond expressing the dietary proscriptions of his Muslim faith. He wrote that the pig “is the foulest animal. He lives off nothing but filth.”¹⁰⁵ He rendered the pig as a glutton who “swallows as long as he can, and then regrets that he can’t keep swallowing. He will crawl into his food and wait until he can swallow some more. He is so greedy he won’t leave his food.”¹⁰⁶ The pig for Muhammad was a symbol of white, Christian, imperialist ways. The caption at the bottom of this image, “Battle Fatigue,” tells us that the result of prolonged battle with the Panthers has the pig, representative of abusive police, the military, and other oppressors, nearing demise. This pig is physically vulnerable to injury, not impervious—here, leaking and rotting.



In order for **Figure 5. Emory Douglas, “What is a Pig?” *The Black Panther*, December 20, 1967.** the Panthers to take on the police, or frankly, for any group to take on their oppressors, they must be able to imagine their fallibility, shatter the image of their invincibility even in the face of oppressive force. The comic in Figure 7 portrays a pig exploding into pieces, exed-out eyes, and its face surrounded by “oinks.” A piece of the exploded pig marked with a star where the pig’s heart would be, reads “state.” Douglas graphically depicted the obliteration of the police state, one of many renderings of the state’s destruction in service of the people. The popular Black Panther Party slogan “Death to the Pigs” is represented as an image—a pig at the moment of death/obliteration—and labeled “Community Control of the Police.” This shows their violent rhetoric to be at once both symbolic and corporeal. There was no room for pigs in the Party’s revolutionary nationalist vision. Community control requires the destruction of the police state. The body of the pig is broken into pieces, though not bloodied. It is fragmented more like a puzzle or shards of glass. The explosive force comes from outside the pig, and the liquid coming out of the pig’s nose and mouth betray the moment of and the violence of impact. Douglas wrote that the constructs of “Fascist American empire must be blown up in our pictures.”¹⁰⁷ Upending power asymmetry in this way—fragmenting the police state—created an opening for the formation of a new Black body politic, where the police are controlled by the community. The comic is an argument that the police state cannot be reformed to serve the people, but must be destroyed so community control could be established in its wake. Once the police state has been exploded, the internal colony is no longer subject to it, and moves from conditions of oppression to self-determination.

COMMUNITY CONTROL OF POLICE

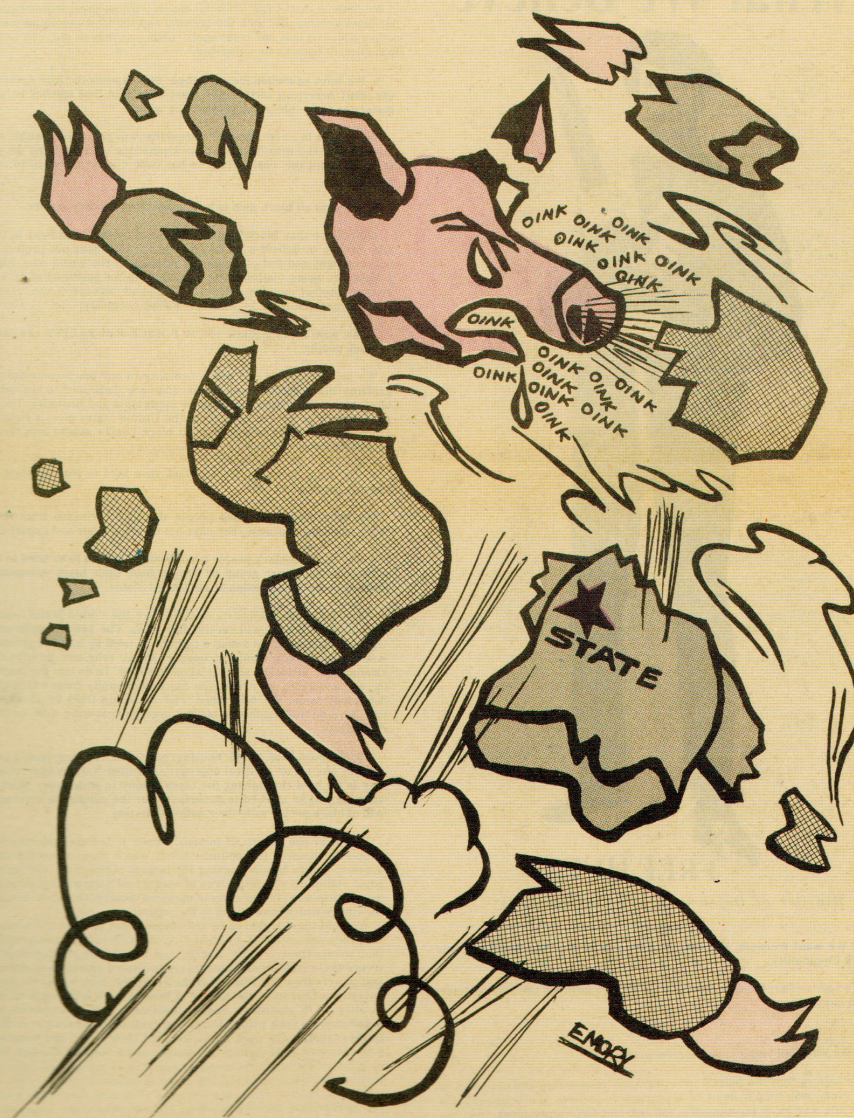


Figure 6. Emory Douglas, “Community Control of the Police,” *The Black Panther*, February 7, 1970.

While Douglas used pigs to represent the police, he used rats to represent capitalist exploitation. Rats have long been symbolically associated with disgust, disease, and urban decay. Stallybrass and White write that “As the connections between physical and moral hygiene were developed and redeployed, there was a new attention to the purveyors of physical and moral ‘dirt’”: the rat, an “object of fear and loathing, a threat to civilized life.”¹⁰⁸ The rat is a “demonized Other.”¹⁰⁹ In the cover illustration of the July 19, 1969 issue of *The Black Panther*, a rat labeled “avaricious businessman” stands in front of a stack of gold (Fig. 7). With one hand, the rat stuffs a gold bar into his mouth. Two human legs that read “Black” and “capitalism” and the American flag hang from his lips. The rat’s pants are around his ankles and he is shitting missiles, dollars, and a pig. The engorged body of the businessman, feeding on the nation’s resources, produces militarism, which seeks and produces more wealth, perpetuating a cycle of death and wealth production represented by the cycles of digestion. That the rat is consuming Black capitalism and turning it into weaponry and profit indicts Black capitalists, demonstrating what it means to be assimilated into the state—that it is a trick: money doesn’t return to the community, it turns into imperial power.

At the same time, Douglas makes a critique of the military and the police state—in this image, they are literally coming out of a rat’s rear end. The avaricious businessman gets fat—the economy grows—and the byproduct is rendered as waste. The comic is a clear statement of resistance, reflecting the Party’s refusal to be consumed by capitalism and its rejection of global imperialism. The economy of war and global imperialism is made abject. The comic is an

argument against being ingested. The Party's survival programs, which took care of people's immediate needs for food, clothing, and health care, represented a rejection of the system that made them expendable. The programs were a method for not being ingested—feeding people's



Figure 7 Emory Douglas *The Black Panther* July 10 1969

bodies and minds was a method of refusing digestibility. Relying on the nation—being part of the national body politic—meant being starved, while the Black body politic fed and nourished people. Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin Jr. write that “community programs concretely advanced the politics the Panthers stood for: they were feeding hungry children when the vastly wealthier and more powerful U.S. government was allowing children to starve.”¹¹⁰ Douglas’s visceral portrait of the businessman-rat, for example, offered a visual argument against assimilation within the capitalist system that extracted wealth and weapons from Black labor. “Feeding into the system” meant reproducing the body politic, further fattening the avaricious businessman rat or the fascist pig policeman. The Panthers depicted the state as a body marked by greed and excess. By rhetorically creating a Black body politic and by materially supporting communities’ basic needs, the Panthers exercised a radical politics of indigestibility.

In other comics, Douglas uses rats representationally, depicting them in pictures with children or in a woman’s arms like a baby to call attention to oppressive conditions in Black neighborhoods. The text at the top of this image from July 25, 1970 reads, “When I spend more time fightin the rats, than taking care of my children, you know, it makes me realize that I have a right to kill the greedy slumlords who forces me to live in these inhuman conditions” (Fig. 9). Inhuman like the pig is inhuman, inhuman like the *conditions* and not the people forced to live within them. The caption at the bottom reads, “We want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings.” The addition of “human beings” in this sentence is a declaration of humanity, a demand for housing that befits human beings. The woman is depicted not with guns, but with a broom

and a measuring cup, her battle set in the domestic space of her home. The rats reaching toward her are aesthetically similar to the rats in Douglas's depiction of businessmen and politicians, inviting viewers to draw the connection between the poor living conditions in Black



Figure 8. Emory Douglas, *The Black Panther*, July 25, 1970.

communities and the gluttonous excess enjoyed by capitalists. For people living in communities infested with rats, connecting a daily struggle (and disgust) with political ideology is particularly powerful. The rat is a byproduct of capitalism, a flesh and blood and fur creature existing in the space of peoples' everyday lives and a symbol for the system overall. Behind the woman, too, you can see Douglas' art from *The Black Panther* newspaper on the walls. The comic depicts a Panther household, a woman with a Huey Newton button, art on the walls calling for liberation and "death to the fascist pigs." She is present to the conditions of her oppression. The picture offers a model to readers, inviting them to relate to their own conditions in this way, to post Panther art on the walls of their houses, to see themselves as standing above oppression and fighting for freedom.

The Politics of Indigestibility, or Revolting

The Black Panthers refused to be digested by the U.S. body politic as a form of resistance. To say: We will not starve or suffer without basic human needs for survival, we will not fight in your wars, we will not be robbed or jailed, we will not accept your image of us, we will not die. To say: If the police try to enter our houses without a warrant, we will shoot. Their creation of militant spectacle through armed self-defense was impossible to ignore. The Panther's rejection of state power is a form of what anthropologists and indigenous scholars have theorized the politics of refusal. Audra Simpson powerfully asks, "How, then, do those who are targeted for elimination, those who have had their land stolen from them, their bodies and their

cultures worked on to be made into something else articulate their politics?”¹¹¹ And she answers, “They refuse to consent to the apparatuses of the state.”¹¹² Certainly, the Panthers refused to consent to the state. In this regard, they built a body politic of their own by feeding the Black community with affirming ideology and actual food—nourishing the people, body and soul. They resisted both by refusing to assimilate and by living in a way that supported the community, taking up eating and self-care as a means of liberation. Where the Panthers’ politics move beyond refusal is in their tactical irritation of the state, through Douglas’s visceral portrayals of the state’s demise, for example, and their armed protest inside the California state Capitol building. They at once refused the sovereignty of the state, establishing their own through social programs, and refused to leave, purposefully creating conditions of indigestion in the nation’s gut by not submitting to the status quo.

To be revolutionary, to revolt, means to constitute your own body politic rather than feeding the empire. Since at least the mid-19th century, “revolting” has been used to mean disgusting—I wouldn’t eat that; it’s revolting. It is an affective bodily response akin to disgust. And to revolt is to rise in rebellion, to refuse authority. Claiming a revolutionary stance is taking the position of *being revolting to the state and being revolted by the state*. “Uprisings” harken the body’s vomit response, like expulsion. The abject, Julia Kristeva writes, is “what does not respect borders, positions, rules.”¹¹³ The BPP rejected allegiance to the U.S. nation-state, and in claiming sovereignty and revolutionary nationalism, they produced a relationship of abjection, rendering the state abject. In the September 7, 1968 edition of *The Black Panther*, they make a claim for revolution that speaks to the creation of disgust:

the only culture worth keeping is the revolutionary culture. Our culture must not be something that the enemy enjoys, appreciates, or says is attractive, it must be repelling to the slave master. It must smash, shatter, and crack his skull, crack his eyeballs open and make water and gold dust run out. We are changing, we are deciding that freedom means

change, changing from the slaves, the cowards, the boys, the toms, the clowns, coons, spooks of the 50s, 40s, 30s, into the wild, courageous, freedom fighting, revolutionary Black nationalists.¹¹⁴

The Panthers rejected the notion that cultural nationalism alone could liberate Black people, that it made Black culture available for appropriation without addressing oppression on a systemic level. Instead, their culture must be revolutionary, meaning that it “must be *repelling* to the slave master” to the point of its violent corporeal demise.

Making the case for revolution through the affect of disgust for the state is a process of bodily differentiation. Differentiation, Stallybrass and White argue, is “dependent on disgust.”¹¹⁵ They write, “The bourgeois subject continuously defined and re-defined itself through the exclusion of what it marked out as ‘low’—as dirty, repulsive, noisy, contaminating.”¹¹⁶ The Panthers differentiated a Black body politic through rejecting capitalism and police brutality, marking both as low and filthy through association with pigs and rats. As we can see very directly in a comic featuring Nixon and Attorney General Mitchell as rats with their pants down, leaking and surrounded by flies, the Panthers abjected the state (Fig. 9). Sara Ahmed argues that disgust is fundamental to relationships of power. She writes, “Lower regions of the body—that which is below—are clearly associated both with sexuality and with ‘the waste’ that is literally expelled by the body.”¹¹⁷ Abjection is violent, a bodily imperative to expel or move away from. Douglas’s images were a constant drumbeat strengthening the association of state actors with waste, gluttony, and uncontainable filth. At the same time, they were designed to be repulsive to the state.

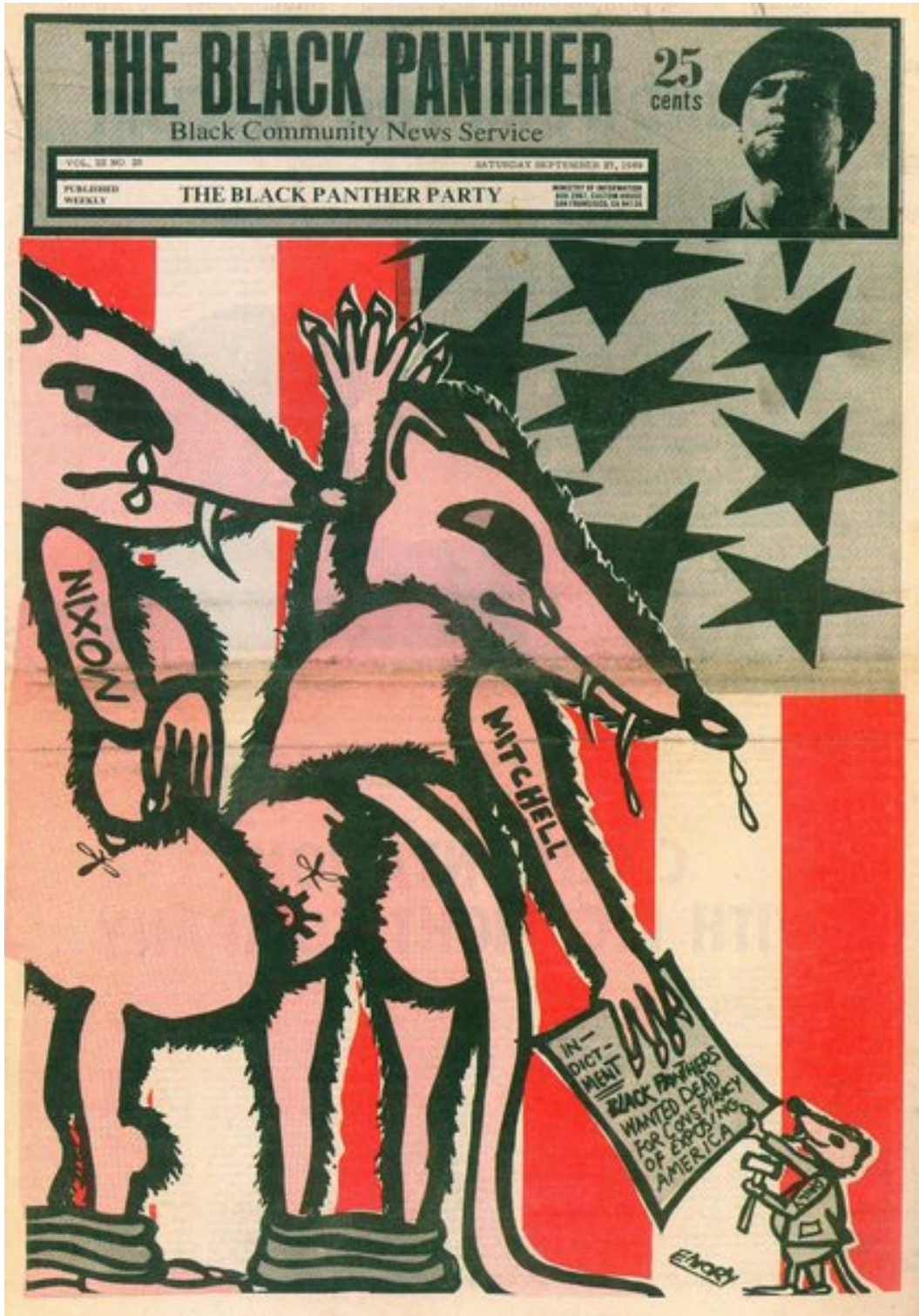


Figure 9. Emory Douglas, *The Black Panther*, September 27, 1969.

In Figure 10, from October 26, 1968, President Johnson is pictured sitting on a toilet marked with stars and stripes in an outhouse filled with flies titled “The White House.” He is a pig and his pants are around his ankles, his legs too short to touch the ground, an allusion to childhood, and he’s saying “Ah, I’ve still got two more months to go.” Playing on the word “go,” Douglas compares Johnson’s two months left in office to “going to the bathroom.” The speech bubble and the slight smile on the pig’s mouth suggest that he is enjoying his time, and will spend the next two months shitting and enjoying being encapsulated in his own filth.

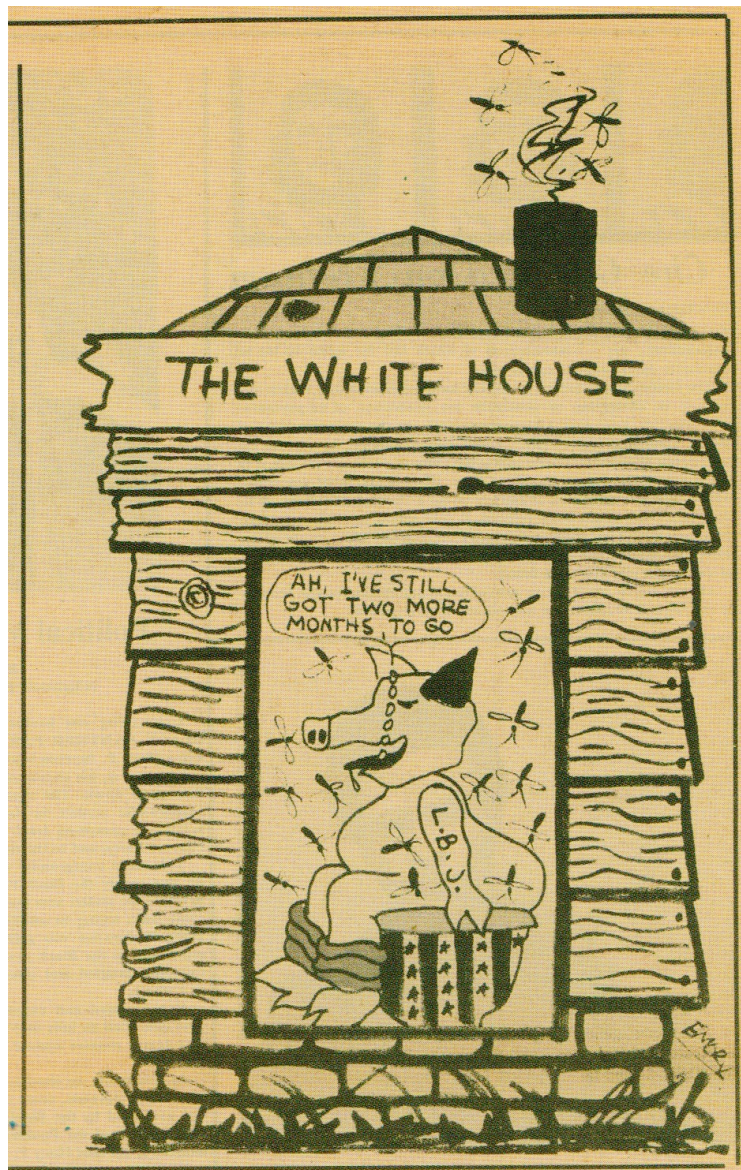


Figure 10. Emory Douglas, *The Black Panther*, October 26, 1968.

In contrast, Figure 11 shows a comic of two young children on training toilets from the September 1, 1973 edition of *The Black Panther*. The caption reads, "I wonder if Nixon is bugging us now?" mocking the COINTELPRO wiretapping of the Black Panther Party, saying



Figure 11. Emory Douglas, *The Black Panther*, September 1, 1973.

that Nixon is so petty that he would bug little kids in the bathroom. This comic alludes to J. Edgar Hoover's assertion that the Free Breakfast Program for Children represented the biggest threat to the internal security of the nation. These two toilet comics demonstrate the dual approach Douglas's art and Party politics took in making the nation-state abject. In the first, Johnson is made into a pig, already an object of disgust. And further, the White House, where he lives, is made into an outhouse, the symbolic seat of the executive branch, a toilet seat. In the second comic, Black preschool-aged kids are made human in their representation on the toilet. Their posture, facial expressions, and clothing mark them as youthful and innocent, potty training and learning how to manage their bodies. The caption makes fun of Nixon—who would be threatened by these kids? Shitting in this comic associates the kids with a natural bodily function, making a joke of the state for intruding on them, petty and paranoid. The Black children's bodies are properly ordered, their digestion healthy, while Johnson is pictured living in a state of defecation.

The Panthers refused to be digested by the white imperialist nation state. In Figure 12, Douglas reverses the power dynamic between the Black community and the state. The comic features a man who is muscular and wearing a beret and fatigues—dressed like a revolutionary. A button on his shirt reads, "For every pork chop, there is a frying pan." Extending the representation of police as pigs (animals) to pork chops (meat), this cartoon shows that pigs are now food for the people. The Black body is the eating body, and the police state, the oppressors, the eaten. Cooking here is rendered as a threat and an empowerment. And in order for a pig to become pork, it must be killed. If the pigs didn't want to become pork chops in the frying pan, Douglas's image asserts, then they had better keep their distance. The man holds a rifle,



Figure 12. Emory Douglas, *The Black Panther*, August 23, 1969.

demonstrating that he is not only capable of self-defense, but capable of aggression and willing to kill pigs. He is sovereign, and an interaction with police would leave the police dead, providing food for the people. The comic represents a drastic change in scale—the internal colony no longer subject to the state but large enough and powerful enough to consume it.

Conclusion

Digestion is a bodily function—what one eating body can digest is not the same as the next. The body politic in the U.S. has been defined as white and European in descent. This is the context. It is not the food or that which is consumed that is inherently digestible or indigestible, it is the relationship between the body and the consumed. And the U.S. is not inherently or naturally white, but continually constructed as such. The nation-state constantly reinscribes its sovereignty over its bodily processes (protects them at all costs), the entrances and exits, the immigrant visas and the deportations. I have argued that the Panthers' ideology was centered on the body as both a site of repression and a source of power. As revolutionary nationalists, they used images and spectacle to create a new imaginary, first for Black people, but also for the state. The Panthers recognized that Black people could not be assimilated or integrated into the United States body politic. They saw efforts towards integration as a trap and a farce. Instead they recognized that they were a “nation within the nation,” to use W.E.B. DuBois's term—that they were internally colonized people.

Black people, indigenous people, immigrants, Mexican Americans—any group that has been made inassimilable within the white U.S. body politic— has been produced as inassimilable through a series of policies and practices, from segregation to criminalization, redlining and various measures of social control through institutions like schools. They have experienced oppression and geographic marginalization, and been blamed for the conditions of their

oppression, either through scientific racism and biological claims of innate inferiority, or through more colorblind logics of cultural difference. The Panthers demonstrated the conditions of indigestibility in the United States. To be rendered indigestible by the state meant to be starved. The conditions of colonized people were the conditions of starvation, deprivation, and oppression experienced particularly at the level of the body. They refused the oppressive sovereignty of the U.S. nation state, setting up community programs to fulfill those functions, and they also rhetorically abjected the state. They set out to create a new body politic, self-sufficient and sovereign, their own Black body politic rather than be absorbed into (or shat out by) by the U.S. nation-state. I contend that attending to the material and embodied dimensions of the rhetorically constructed “body politic” is vital to analyzing rhetorics of race and imagining possibilities for resistance.

CONCLUSION

I have argued that digestion is a fundamental script for racial meaning-making in the United States. The nation is a production, an imagined community. Negotiations about which immigrants can assimilate are also negotiations about what the nation and the national body look like and what they are—about who does and does not belong. Who is a “real” American, and who is constantly rendered an outsider, regardless of their citizenship status. Food and eating are necessities for human survival, not just individually, but collectively. Colonization, migration (forced and voluntary), travel, and war complicate eating and digestive possibilities in material ways. I have been arguing throughout this dissertation that these materialities are what make digestion metaphors so prevalent around encounters of race- and nation-making.

The assumption underlying this project, and the study of rhetoric generally, is that symbolic representation matters, and controlling metaphors is an exercise of power. As racial scripts recur in different eras, they carry with them past arguments and associations. Digestion metaphors are powerful because they tap into somatic ways of knowing. Marking a group of people indigestible or associating them with waste or the experience of food poisoning is powerfully dehumanizing, and this rhetorical effort authorizes violent oppression against them. The metaphor of the nation as an eating body has provided centuries of rhetorical resources—ways to talk about immigration, labor, and policing policies—by using people’s experiences of hunger and overeating, health and illness, and physical vulnerability. This project looks at the ordinary, everyday ways race and the nation are made—what might be disregarded in favor of bigger picture analyses. It is the accumulation of small practices and exchanges that underwrite and reinforce laws and policies that, in turn, shape possibilities.

I chose case studies that allowed me to approach race and the U.S. nation from three different angles: immigration, settler colonialism, and Black power. The first chapter on immigration allowed me to look at the frenetic construction of the nation as a body in a moment of heightened nativism. The overt classification of people emerged through metaphors of digestibility as a way to address belonging and value. This time period matters because the 1924 law had an enormous impact on the racial composition of the United States.

The chapter on New Mexico allowed me to approach racial formation from a different lens: as a colonial project within the territorial boundaries of the U.S. I ask the question, how did a large area of land and people that were formerly Mexico become part of the United States? I begin with early encounters between soldiers and travelers to demonstrate the affective shift from fear, anxiety, and disgust to later pleasure, acceptance, and, of course, (com)modification. Part of New Mexico's incorporation into the U.S. nation happened through making chile familiar to Euro Americans and offering instructions for how to make it digestible, both through official state efforts like Alice Stevens Tipton's cookbook and also cultural ones, like Erna Fergusson's. Fabiola Cabeza de Baca's work exemplifies the racial tensions of the era, and the complex negotiations between sovereignty and Americanization.

The first two chapters cover overlapping time spans between the mid-19th century and mid-20th century. Chapter 3 takes a temporal leap, focusing on the 1960s and early 1970s. The Black Panther Party interpreted the conditions of Black oppression in the U.S. as one of internal colonialism. This chapter adds an additional dimension to the coloniality I discuss in Chapter 2, and brings the analysis of Blackness necessary for any project about race in the United States. The BPP rejected integration into the nation-state, instead practicing sovereignty and creating a Black body politic. It is the final chapter in the book in part because it is the most historically

recent case study, but also because it is about resistance and the rejection of state domination in the face of oppression. The legacy of the Black Panthers' community work continues today, despite the official dissolution of the party. I believe that ending this project about digestibility rhetorics with the Panthers' revolutionary politics is important, especially in the political conditions of 2018.

The central contribution of this project is bridging critical race, settler colonial, and immigration studies. It is a three-pronged study of racial formation and the U.S. nation that responds to the call from Lisa Flores for racial rhetorical criticism. By using digestion as the analytical lens in different cases, it becomes possible to see the ways the national body was constructed in relation to the bodies within and outside of it. I trace the language of digestion where it is found describing things besides actual food and eating in order to ask what that language is doing. Metaphors of consumption, ingestion, eating, indigestion, and so on, can represent a variety of phenomena: movement in and out, delight and disgust, processing and change, health and illness, difference and sameness, familiarity and foreignness, the anxieties around entrances and exits. As such, this project demonstrates, digestion metaphors have functioned as powerful racial scripts in the ongoing formation of the U.S. nation, as well as those who belong to or resist that belonging.

There are, of course, limitations to this project. In linking three case studies that differ in geographic, historical and temporal context, I sacrifice depth for breadth. Focusing solely on digestion discourses in New Mexico over time, for example, or on Blackness in different regions, or exclusively on digestibility and immigration, would enable a more in-depth analysis. By reading these cases in correlation with one another, I insist that in reading the construction of the U.S. nation, colonialism, immigration, and race cannot be isolated from one another.

Similarly, there are limitations in my focus on metaphors of digestion and indigestion to the exclusion of other metaphors that have been prevalent forms of meaning making in constructing the U.S. nation. It can be easy to miss the data that does not fall within the analytical frame, and also possible to overstate the significance of digestion—to see it everywhere because I am looking for it everywhere. My hope, though, is that I have argued convincingly for the significance of digestion rhetorics, not argued that it is the only metaphor warranting lengthy treatment. Certainly, for example, metaphors of infection and flooding deserve extended analysis as well. The fact that digestion appears prominently in cases that span time and space is a testament to its salience.

There is significant decolonial activism happening in the 21st century through food sovereignty movements. As Devon Mihesuah (Choctaw) says, “One symptom of accepting colonization is adhering to the typical American Diet, even while it is killing us.”¹ In their recently published cookbook, *Decolonize Your Diet*, scholars Luz Calvo and Catriona Rueda Esquibel issue a call to “resist the acculturation that tells us white bread is food.”² They write that “For US Latina/o communities, the Standard American Diet has been imposed through Americanization programs, school lunch programs, targeted advertising campaigns, and national food policies. Our communities are now riddled with the diseases of development—diabetes, high blood pressure, heart diseases, and some cancers.”³ And research shows that the more assimilated Latina/o immigrants are, and the more English they learn, the more their health declines. The USDA’s nutritional guidelines demonstrate the codification of colonialism through diet; the Food Pyramid including dairy and wheat prominently, when so many people are lactose and gluten intolerant. The African Heritage Food Pyramid is one example of decolonized eating, “a way of eating based on the healthy food traditions of people with African roots,” based on

“whole, fresh plant foods like colorful fruits and vegetables, especially leafy greens.”⁴ The Pueblo nations in New Mexico are active in the seed sovereignty movement, protecting the biodiversity of plants against monocrop agriculture and genetically modified crops. The New Mexico Food and Sovereignty Alliance, composed of Pueblo, tribal, and acequia community farmers, hosts an annual seed exchange and works “for the purpose of maintaining and continuing our culture and resisting the global, industrialized food system that can corrupt our health, freedom, and culture.”⁵ These and many other efforts like them are forms of resistance to the ongoing impacts of colonization on food systems and physical health. They demonstrate, in fact, that the Americanization of immigrant, indigenous, and Black diets impose indigestibility onto populations, and that reclaiming ownership of food production and consumption is a means of liberation.

Digestibility politics function as a form of respectability politics, one that keeps the body present: palatability is a form of politeness. Radically rejecting the U.S. nation-state, as the Black Panthers did, was refusing to go down smoothly within the white national body. Their tactics were highly visible and impossible to ignore. Beyond mere refusal, they agitated and irritated the nation-state, making it, as Bloom and Martin write, “impossible for the U.S. government to maintain business as usual.”⁶ Colin Kaepernick’s kneeling during the national anthem and John Carlos and Tommie Smith, who raised Black Power fists on the Olympic podium in 1968, are similar refusals of state power. Their actions differ from a boycott, as they are not refusing to play the sport. They also differ from civil disobedience because they are not breaking any laws. Instead, they are demonstratively refusing to participate in the cultural performance of nationalism. Kneeling, or standing with a raised Black power fist instead of a hand over their heart, is militant resistance to conformity and national allegiance. It is a statement of protest from

within the system, and unavoidable. Impossible to miss. It is a refusal to leave, a refusal to conform, and a refusal to go with the flow. This defiance demands attention, and of course, there is a cost. For the BPP, this meant an unprecedented campaign of state repression by the FBI and the police. Between 1967 and 1969, the Panthers paid more than \$200,000 in bail bonds, and at least 28 Panthers were killed.⁷ This manifested in more bodily ways as well. For example, as Jean Genet observed, “there were plenty of stomach ulcers among the Panthers.”⁸ John Carlos paid a huge toll for his Olympic protest, as relentless harassment from right-wing media and the FBI impacted his kids at school and led to his wife’s suicide.⁹ Colin Kaepernick remains a free agent who has not been able to land a job since his contract with the San Francisco 49ers expired at the end of the 2016 season. The Seattle Seahawks postponed a visit with him in April 2018 because he would not guarantee that he would stand for the national anthem.¹⁰ These outcomes demonstrate the impact of refusing assimilation within the nation-state, and the political energy that refusal has generated demonstrates its power and necessity for radical political change.

NOTES

NOTES FOR INTRODUCTION

¹ Chris Megerian, “What Donald Trump Has Said Through the Years About Where President Obama was Born,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 16, 2016.

² Ron Nixon and Linda Qiu, “Trump’s Evolving Words on the Wall,” *New York Times*, January 18, 2018, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/18/us/politics/trump-border-wall-immigration.html>.

³ Tom McCarthy and Oliver Laughland, “Trump Travel Ban: Supreme Court Allows Enforcement as Appeals Proceed,” *Guardian*, December 5, 2017. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/dec/04/donald-trump-travel-ban-on-six-mostly-muslim-countries>.

⁴ Michelle Ye Hee Lee, “Donald Trump’s False Comments Connecting Mexican Immigrants and Crime,” *Washington Post*, July 8, 2015. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2015/07/08/donald-trumps-false-comments-connecting-mexican-immigrants-and-crime/?utm_term=.e6020efa4db1.

⁵ Katie Reilly, “President Trump Again Blames ‘Both Sides’ for Charlottesville Violence,” *Time*, August 15, 2017. <http://time.com/4902129/president-donald-trump-both-sides-charlottesville/>.

⁶ *The Economist*, “A Helluva Handover: What Donald Trump’s Appointments Reveal About His Incoming Administration,” January 21, 2017. <https://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21715018-drama-transition-over-now-drama-government-what-donald-trumps>.

⁷ Julie Hirschfeld Davis, Sheryl Gay Stolberg, and Thomas Kaplan, “Trump Alarms Lawmakers with Disparaging Words for Haiti and Africa,” *New York Times*, January 11, 2018. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/11/us/politics/trump-shithole-countries.html>.

⁸ John L. O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 17 (1845): 5-10.

⁹ O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” 5.

¹⁰ O’Sullivan, “Annexation,” 7.

¹¹ The term “non-white” has been rightly critiqued for centering whiteness. Throughout most of this dissertation, I avoid the term and refer to the specific population I am discussing. I use the term “non-white” only in cases where the big picture issue is about maintaining the whiteness of the nation to the exclusion or containment of all other racial groups. I acknowledge this term is imperfect and in no way intend to collapse the distinctions between the differential treatment of people from different racial categories across geographical space and through time.

¹² Natalie Molina, *How Race is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014).

¹³ E. Melanie DuPuis, *Dangerous Digestion: The Politics of American Dietary Advice* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 3.

¹⁴ Molina, *How Race is Made*.

¹⁵ Janet M. Cramer, Carlita P. Green, and Lynn M. Walters, eds. *Food as Communication/Communication as Food* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011); Joshua Frye and Michael S. Bruner, eds. *The Rhetoric of Food: Discourse, Materiality, and Power* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

¹⁶ Some examples from an increasingly broad area of scholarship: Michael S. Bruner and Jason D. Meek, “A Critical Crisis Rhetoric of Seafood,” in *Food as Communication/Communication as Food*, edited by Janet M. Cramer, Carlita P. Greene, and Lynn M. Walters (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2011), 271-295; Laura Lindenfeld, “Visiting the Mexican American Family: Tortilla Soup as Culinary Tourism,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, no. 3 (2007): 303-20; Simon Ryan, Louise Edwards, and Stefano Occhipinti, “‘Must Have Been the Chinese I Ate’: Food Poisoning, Migration and National Indigestion,” *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies* 13, no. 3 (1999): 315-323; Helene A. Shugart, “Sumptuous Texts: Consuming ‘Otherness’ in the Food Film Genre,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 25, no. 1 (2008): 68-90.

¹⁷ Uma Narayan, “Eating Cultures: Incorporation, Identity and Indian Food,” *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, no. 1 (1995): 63-86.

¹⁸ Kyla W. Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion: Eating Bodies in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2012).

¹⁹ I. A. Richards, *Practical Criticism: A Study of Literary Judgment* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1930), 222.

²⁰ “assimilate, v.,” *OED Online*, March 2018, Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/11928?rskey=Yc3rd6&result=2> (accessed April 15, 2018).

²¹ “digest, v.,” *OED Online*, March 2018, Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/52575?rskey=DkAj8s&result=3> (accessed April 15, 2018).

²² Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 19. He continues, “Many societies . . . focus special attention on the body’s entrances and exits, on those points where social and physical danger are most threatening.”

²³ Nikhil Pal Singh, *Black is a Country: Race and the Unfinished Struggle for Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 37.

²⁴ Siobhan B. Somerville, “Notes Toward a Queer History of Naturalization,” *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (September 2005): 659-675.

²⁵ Henry Cabot Lodge, “The Restriction of Immigration,” *The North American Review* 152, no. 410 (January 1891): 32.

²⁶ Kathleen M. de Onís, “‘Pa’ Que Tú Lo Sepas’: Experiences with Co-presence in Puerto Rico,” in *Text + Field: Innovations in Rhetorical Method*, edited by Sara L. McKinnon, Robert Asen, Karma R. Chávez, and Robert Glenn Howard (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 101-116; Darrel Wanzer-Serrano, *The New York Young Lords and the Struggle for Liberation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2015); Danielle Endres, “The Rhetoric of Nuclear Colonialism: Rhetorical Exclusion of American Indian Arguments in the Yucca Mountain Nuclear Waste Siting Decision,” *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 6, no. 1 (2009): 39-60; Marouf A. Hasian, Jr., *Colonial Legacies in Post Colonial Contexts: A Critical Rhetorical Examination of Legal Histories* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing Inc., 2002).

²⁷ Sara McKinnon makes the argument that postcolonial and transnational scholarship must not ignore the United States' role in global power dynamics. Sara L. McKinnon, "Gender Violence as Global Phenomenon: Refugees, Genital Surgeries, and Neocolonial Projects of the United States," *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* 16, no. 4 (2016): 414-426; Greg Dickinson, Brian L. Ott, and Eric Aoki, "Spaces of Remembering and Forgetting: The Reverent Eye/I at the Plains Indian Museum," *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (March 2006): 27-47; Mary E. Stuckey and John M. Murphy, "By Any Other Name: Rhetorical Colonialism in North America," *American Indian Culture & Research Journal* 25, no. 4 (December 2001); Jason Edward Black, "Remembrances of Removal: Native Resistance to Allotment and the Unmasking of Paternal Benevolence," *Southern Communication Journal* 72, no. 2 (2007): 185-203; Jason Edward Black, "Native Resistive Rhetoric and the Decolonization of American Indian Removal Discourse," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95, no. 1 (2009): 66-88.

²⁸ Doubly colonized, by Spain and the U.S.

²⁹ Nathaniel I. Córdova, "The Incomplete Subject of Colonial Memory: Puerto Rico and the Post/Colonial Biopolitics of Congressional Recollection," *Communication Review* 11, no. 1 (March 2008): 42-75.

³⁰ John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s-1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 47.

³¹ Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: NYU Press, 2007), 97.

³² To describe race in New Mexico, I primarily use the racial terms that the actors and writers themselves used, which is typically "Mexican" for travelers in the 19th century, and "Hispanic" or "Spanish" in the 20th. Despite the work of many scholars that discredits New Mexican claims to a pure Spanish racial history, showing instead a long history of *mestizaje*, I try to engage (and problematize) the terms in use at the time. I use the term "Indian" rather than Native American in part because that is the label Cabeza de Baca, Fergusson and others employ. I follow Gerald Vizenor's definition of the word as "The *Indians* are the romantic absence of natives...and the *Indian* is a simulation and loan word of dominance" (*Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian Scenes of Absence and Presence* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), 14. Native Americans are indeed romantically absent in the narratives I explore here. I primarily use the term Euro American to describe whites of European origin, but acknowledge that Anglo was, and to a great extent still is, a common term in New Mexico. I use "white" occasionally when talking about large-scale racial oppression.

³³ Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 99.

³⁴ E. Melanie DuPuis, Matt Garcia, and Don Mitchell, "Food Across Borders: An Introduction," in *Food Across Borders*, ed. Matt Garcia, E. Melanie DuPuis, and Don Mitchell (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2017), 6.

³⁵ Jenell Johnson, "'A Man's Mouth Is His Castle': The Midcentury Fluoridation Controversy and the Visceral Public," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 102, no. 1 (2016): 2.

³⁶ Tamara Levi, *Food Control and Resistance: Rationing of Indigenous Peoples in the United States and South Australia* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 2016), 18

³⁷ Levi, *Food Control*, 14.

³⁸ DeChaine, ed., *Border Rhetorics*; Ono and Sloop, eds., *Shifting Borders*; J. David Cisneros, "Contaminated Communities: The Metaphor of 'Immigrant as Pollutant' in Media

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³⁹ Parama Roy, *Alimentary Tracts: Appetites, Aversions, and the Postcolonial* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 7.

⁴⁰ Lisa Flores, “Constructing Rhetorical Borders: Peons, Illegal Aliens, and Competing Narratives of Immigration,” *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 20, no. 4 (2003): 362-387; Johanna Hartelius makes a similar argument in “Face-ing Immigration: Prosopopeia and the ‘Muslim-Arab-Middle Eastern’ Other,” *RSQ: Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 43, no. 4 (July 2013): 311-334.

⁴¹ Dreama G. Moon and Lisa A. Flores, “Antiracism and the Abolition of Whiteness: Rhetorical Strategies of Domination Among ‘Race Traitors,’” *Communication Studies* 51 (2000): 97-115; Thomas K. Nakayama and Robert L. Krizek, “Whiteness: A Strategic Rhetoric,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 81 (1995): 291-309; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁴² Helen Zoë Viet, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 126.

⁴³ Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 7.

⁴⁴ Daniel Brouwer, “The Precarious Visibility Politics of Self-Stigmatization: The Case of HIV/AIDS Tattoos,” *Text and Performance Quarterly* 18 (1998): 114-136; Kathleen M. Brown, *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Johnson, “‘A man’s mouth is his castle’”; John J. Jordan, “The Rhetorical Limits of the ‘Plastic Body,’” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 90.3 (2004): 327-358; John Jordan, “Reshaping the ‘Pillow Angel’: Plastic Bodies and the Rhetoric of Normal Surgical Solutions,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 95 (2009): 20-42.

⁴⁵ Though we can say race is a political and economic system, a legal construction, or a social one, it has always been tied to and in relation to the body. As Dorothy Roberts puts it, race is a political category disguised as a biological one. Dorothy Roberts, *Fatal Invention: How Science, Politics, and Big Business Re-create Race in the Twenty-first Century* (New York: New Press, 2011). Blood quantum and the “one-drop rule” are clear examples of biological manifestation (and technology) of political racial formation. On how race is read through peoples’ bodies and their embodiment, see Carlson’s analysis of the *Rhinelander v. Rhinelander* case, A. Cheree Carlson, “‘You Know It When You See It’: The Rhetorical Hierarchy of Race and Gender in *Rhinelander V. Rhinelander*,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 85 (1999): 111-28. On Africans being hailed into the contemporary American racial order as African American, see Sara L. McKinnon, “Unsettling Resettlement: Problematizing ‘Lost Boys of Sudan’ Resettlement and Identity,” *Western Journal of Communication* 72, no. 4 (2008): 397-414. On the affective and embodied politics of fear in relation to race, see Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*

(New York: Routledge, 2004) and Mitchell, *Coyote Nation*. Fundamentally, race impacts how people move through and exist in the world. Our possibilities for being in the world are embodied negotiations.

⁴⁶ Parama Roy, *Alimentary Tracts*, 7.

⁴⁷ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*.

⁴⁸ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 87.

⁴⁹ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 87.

⁵⁰ Johnson, ““A man’s mouth is his castle,”” 5.

⁵¹ Baxter Oliphant, “Views About Whether Whites Benefit From Societal Advantages Split Sharply Along Racial and Partisan Lines,” *Pew Research Center Fact Tank* (September 28, 2017). <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/28/views-about-whether-whites-benefit-from-societal-advantages-split-sharply-along-racial-and-partisan-lines/>.

⁵² Raymie E. McKerrow, “Critical Rhetoric: Theory and Praxis,” *Communication Monographs* 56, no. 2 (1989): 91-111.

⁵³ Marouf Hasian Jr. and Fernando Delgado, “The Trials and Tribulations of Racialized Critical Rhetorical Theory: Understanding the Rhetorical Ambiguities of Proposition 187,” *Communication Theory* 8, no. 3 (1998): 245-270.

⁵⁴ Flores, “Constructing Rhetorical Borders.”

⁵⁵ Flores makes the case that to understand how Mexicans became the quintessential “immigrant” figure and how they are now cast as “illegal aliens” and “criminals,” we must know the representational history.

⁵⁶ Lisa Flores, “Between Abundance and Marginalization: The Imperative of Racial Rhetorical Criticism,” *Review of Communication* 16, no. 1 (2016): 4-24.

⁵⁷ Michael G Lacy and Kent A. Ono, eds., *Critical Rhetorics of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), 3.

⁵⁸ Lisa M. Corrigan, “Blackness in the Rhetorical Imaginary,” *Southern Journal of Communication* 81, no. 4 (2016): 189-191.

⁵⁹ Mark McPhail, *The Rhetoric of Racism Revisited* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002), 5.

⁶⁰ Flores, “Between Abundance,” 6.

⁶¹ Raka Shome and Radha S. Hegde, “Postcolonial Approaches to Communication: Charting the Terrain, Engaging the Intersections,” *Communication Theory* 12 (2002): 249-70.

⁶² Karma R. Chávez, “Beyond Inclusion: Rethinking Rhetoric’s Historical Narrative,” *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 101, no. 1 (2015): 162-172.

⁶³ See, for example, Cecilia Leong-Salobir, *Food Culture in Colonial Asia: A Taste of Empire* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2011); Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010); Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); Frederick Douglass Opie, *Hog & Hominy: Soul Food From Africa to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

⁶⁴ Marouf Hasian, Jr., *Colonial Legacies in Postcolonial Contexts: A Critical Rhetorical Examination of Legal Histories* (New York: Peter Lang, 2002).

⁶⁵ Singh, *Black is a Country*, 19.

⁶⁶ William Franke, “Metaphor and the Making of Sense: The Contemporary Metaphor Renaissance,” *Philosophy & Rhetoric* 33, no. 2 (2000): 151.

⁶⁷ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (1980; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 3.

⁶⁸ Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 503.

⁶⁹ I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 100.

⁷⁰ David Douglass, "Issues in the Use of I. A. Richards' Tenor-Vehicle Model of Metaphor," *Western Journal of Communication* 64, no. 4 (2000): 405-424.

⁷¹ Lisa Flores, "Constructing Rhetorical Borders," 381; Kent Ono, "Borders that Travel: Matters of the Figural Border," in *Border Rhetorics*, ed. D. Robert DeChaine, 24.

⁷² Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1997); Molina, *How Race is Made*.

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⁷⁴ Joshua Bloom and Waldo E. Martin, Jr., *Black Against Empire: The History and Politics of the Black Panther Party* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 14.

⁷⁵ Brian Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect," *Cultural Critique* 31 (1995): 89.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 1

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² Charlotte Biltekoff, *Eating Right in America: The Cultural Politics of Food and Health* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

³ Ralph Gilbert, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 12, 1924), 6262; Addison Smith, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 5, 1924), 5698.

⁴ Benjamin Rosenbloom, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 8, 1924), 5851.

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⁶ Philip Swing, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 12, 1924), 6270.

⁷ Charles Stengle, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 8, 1924), 5848.

⁸ Stengle, *Congressional Record*, 5848.

⁹ "Grave Crisis at Hand, Says Commissioner General Sargent," *New York Times*, January 29, 1905, X1.

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- ¹⁵ Thomas Schall, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 5, 1924), 5695.
- ¹⁶ Clarence Lea, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 5, 1924), 5696.
- ¹⁷ Lea, *Congressional Record*, 5696.
- ¹⁸ Grant Hudson, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 5, 1924), 5641.
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- ²⁰ E. Melanie DuPuis, *Dangerous Digestion: The Politics of American Dietary Advice* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2015), 89.
- ²¹ Quoted in American Federation of Labor, *Some Reasons for Chinese Exclusion: Meat vs. Rice, American Manhood Against Asiatic Coolieism. Which Shall Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), 24.
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- ²⁵ Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 63.
- ²⁶ Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 54.
- ²⁷ Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*, 70.
- ²⁸ Sylvester Graham, *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, 2nd ed. (London: Horsell and Shirrefs, 1854), 567.
- ²⁹ Graham, *Lectures*, 612.
- ³⁰ Graham, *Lectures*, 612.
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- ³³ W. O. Atwater, “Principles of Nutrition and Nutritive Value of Food,” *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farmer’s Bulletin No. 142* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1916 [1902]), 38.
- ³⁴ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 69.
- ³⁵ “Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1904,” (Washington: [s.n.], 1904), 856.
- ³⁶ Addison Smith, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 5, 1924), 5704.
- ³⁷ Of course, in 1865, the great fear of the period was very different in the eastern part of the U.S. In 1865, the Civil War ended, President Abraham Lincoln was assassinated, and the Reconstruction Era began. While foreign labor and immigration were the battlegrounds on the west coast, the question elsewhere in the country was how to reckon with the end of chattel slavery and how to reconstruct the nation after a civil war.
- ³⁸ Peter D. O’Neill, “Laundering Gender: Chinese Men and Irish Women in Late Nineteenth-Century San Francisco,” in *The Black and Green Atlantic: Crosscurrents of the African and Irish Diasporas*, ed. Peter D. O’Neill and David Lloyd (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 125.
- ³⁹ Floyd Cheung, “Anxious and Ambivalent Representations: Nineteenth-Century Images of Chinese American Men,” *The Journal of American Culture* 30, no. 3 (2007): 306.
- ⁴⁰ Graham, *Lectures*, 166.
- ⁴¹ Graham, *Lectures*, 166.

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- ⁴² Graham, *Lectures*, 166.
- ⁴³ Horace Fletcher, *The New Glutton, Or Epicure* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1903), 4.
- ⁴⁴ “Annual Report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1905,” (Washington: [s.n.], 1905), 837.
- ⁴⁵ Fletcher, *The New Glutton*, viii.
- ⁴⁶ Irving Fisher, “The Instinct to Eat,” *The Independent* (New York, NY), August 1, 1907.
- ⁴⁷ Fisher, “The Instinct to Eat.”
- ⁴⁸ “Grave Crisis at Hand,” XI. On immigrants portrayed as pollutants, see Cisneros, “Contaminated Communities.”
- ⁴⁹ John E. Raker, *Congressional Record* 53, Pt. 11 (April 26, 1916), 6882.
- ⁵⁰ Advertisement, *The Salt Lake Herald-Republican*, Salt Lake City, Utah, June 15, 1910.
- ⁵¹ *The Evening World*, New York, N.Y., March 16, 1921.
- ⁵² *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, December 15, 1918, 4.
- ⁵³ *Fort Wayne News Sentinel*, June 1, 1922, 4.
- ⁵⁴ Kenneth L. Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922), 21-2.
- ⁵⁵ Arthur Greenwood, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 12, 1924), 6264-5.
- ⁵⁶ Clara Witt, *The Rose Cross Aid Cook Book: Containing Instructions in the Art of Cooking and the Correct Combination of Foods* (Kansas City, Mo., chapter of the Rose Cross Aid, 1917), 12. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/HumanEcol.RoseCross>.
- ⁵⁷ Charles Stengle, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 8, 1924), 5848.
- ⁵⁸ John E. Raker, *Congressional Record* 66, Pt. 1 (December 20, 1919), 990-1. Earlier that year, anarchist groups had sent bombs to more than 30 government officials, business leaders, and prominent figures.
- ⁵⁹ Raker, *Congressional Record*, 991. The metaphor of the melting pot has been used to represent both the melting together of different metals and the combination of foods into a stew. Though in contemporary discourse the food metaphor is more prevalent, both were frequently used in the early twentieth century.
- ⁶⁰ Raker, *Congressional Record*, 991.
- ⁶¹ Graham, *Lectures*, 170.
- ⁶² Graham, *Lectures*, 170.
- ⁶³ Graham, *Lectures*, 509.
- ⁶⁴ Graham, *Lectures*, 509.
- ⁶⁵ “Legion and Labor Would Bar Immigration,” *New York Times*, March 24, 1924, 2. Emphasis mine.
- ⁶⁶ “The Yellow Peril,” *The Commoner* (Lincoln, NE), Dec. 6, 1901.
- ⁶⁷ American Federation of Labor, *Some Reasons*, 26.
- ⁶⁸ American Federation of Labor, *Some Reasons*, 27.
- ⁶⁹ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2006), 182.
- ⁷⁰ “Annual Report of the Commissioner-General,” (1904), 854.
- ⁷¹ John Cable, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 12, 1924), 6257.
- ⁷² Cable, *Congressional Record*, 6238.
- ⁷³ Arthur Greenwood, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 12, 1924), 6263; Scott Leavitt, *Congressional Record* 68, Pt. 6 (April 12, 1924), 6266.
- ⁷⁴ American Federation of Labor, *Some Reasons*, 16.

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- ⁷⁵ American Federation of Labor, *Some Reasons*, 16.
- ⁷⁶ Julia Kristeva, *The Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 4.
- ⁷⁷ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 89.
- ⁷⁸ American Federation of Labor, *Some Reasons*, 17.
- ⁷⁹ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 97.
- ⁸⁰ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 171.
- ⁸¹ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 361.
- ⁸² Viet, *Modern Food*, 129.
- ⁸³ Viet, *Modern Food*, 149.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 2

- ¹ See, for example, Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 71-78; Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 72-78; Curtis Marez, *Drug Wars: The Political Economy of Narcotics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 127; and Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance: A History of Land Tenure in New Mexico* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 119.
- ² Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 44.
- ³ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 44-45.
- ⁴ Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2001), 215.
- ⁵ See Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*.
- ⁶ Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of Ulysses S. Grant* (New York: Cosimo Inc., 2007), 16. orig 1885-6.
- ⁷ John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant* (Egypt: American News Company, 1879), 448-449.
- ⁸ James M. McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny: The American Soldier in the Mexican War 1846-1848* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 73.
- ⁹ Quoted in McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 97.
- ¹⁰ Zoë Hess Carney and Mary E. Stuckey, "The World as the American Frontier: Racialized American War Rhetoric," *Southern Communication Journal* 80, no. 3 (2015), 166.
- ¹¹ McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 97.
- ¹² Quoted in McCaffrey, *Army of Manifest Destiny*, 97.
- ¹³ Shannon Lee Dawdy, "'A Wild Taste': Food and Colonialism in Eighteenth-Century Louisiana," in *Ethnohistory* 57, No. 3 (2010), 402. Scholars of colonial and postcolonial contexts often employ this mode of cultural analysis. See, for example, Arjun Appadurai, "How to Make a National Cuisine: Cookbooks in Contemporary India," in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, No. 1 (1988): 3; Marouf Hasian, *Colonial Legacies in Postcolonial Contexts*; and Uma Narayan, "Eating Cultures."
- ¹⁴ George Brinton McClellan, *The Mexican War Diary of George B. McClellan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1917), 42.
- ¹⁵ McClellan, *The Mexican War Diary*, 122.

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- ¹⁶ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, ix.
- ¹⁷ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 90.
- ¹⁸ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 94.
- ¹⁹ Drumm, *Down the Santa Fe Trail*, 206.
- ²⁰ Quoted in Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 52.
- ²¹ Quoted in Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 51.
- ²² Quoted in Anthony Mora, *Border Dilemmas: Racial and National Uncertainties in New Mexico, 1848-1912* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2011), 140.
- ²³ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 141.
- ²⁴ Dawdy, “A Wild Taste,” 409. Dawdy argues that colonial administrators often worried about colonists “going native,” particularly by those who adopted Indian food, clothing, or housing.
- ²⁵ Quoted in Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 61.
- ²⁶ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 62.
- ²⁷ Davis stayed at the Cabeza de Baca home about fifty years before Fabiola was born. The family moved from Peña Blanca to La Liendre, eighteen miles south of Las Vegas, where Fabiola was raised. See Ponce, “Life and Works,” 29. In *We Fed Them Cactus*, Cabeza de Baca recalled frequent overnight guests at the sprawling ranch.
- ²⁸ W.W.H. Davis, *El Gringo; Or, New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857), 339-340.
- ²⁹ Davis, *El Gringo*, 340.
- ³⁰ And as I will discuss later in the chapter, New Mexicans’ claims to Spanish colonial identity served as a complex and often problematic means of differentiating themselves from both Mexicans and U.S. Americans.
- ³¹ Davis, *El Gringo*, 340.
- ³² Stories of Indians capturing non-Indians have been extraordinarily popular since the sixteenth century, numbering in the thousands. Puritan Mary Rowlandson’s narrative of her captivity by the Narragansett Indians was first published in 1682, and has been published for more than three hundred years since. Mary Jemison was captured in 1755 by the Seneca, and wrote a captivity narrative first published in 1824. The narrative was so popular it was printed 27 times in 23 editions, as short as 32 pages and as long as 483. Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 62, 79, 167, 190. In addition to narratives based on lived experience, dime novels recounting captivity narratives of white women in the hands of savages and brave white men fighting Indians became popular as well.
- ³³ Quoted in Merrihelen Ponce, *The Life and Works of Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, New Mexican Hispanic Woman Writer: A Contextual Biography* (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1995), 1.
- ³⁴ Susan Pieper, “Fabiola’s Good Life,” *New Mexico Resources* 8 (1995), 10.
- ³⁵ Sara L. McKinnon, “(In)hospitable Publics: Theorizing the Conditions of Access to U.S. Publics,” in Daniel C. Brouwer & Robert Asen, eds., *Public Modalities: Rhetoric, Culture, Media, and the Shape of Public Life* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2010), 131-153.
- ³⁶ Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance: A History of Land Tenure in New Mexico* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), 72.
- ³⁷ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance*, 103.

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- ³⁸ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance*, 102.
- ³⁹ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance*, 101-102.
- ⁴⁰ Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 119-120.
- ⁴¹ Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, 120.
- ⁴² hooks, *Black Looks*, 31.
- ⁴³ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 62.
- ⁴⁴ *New York Times*, January 26, 1882, quoted in Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 63-64.
- ⁴⁵ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 175.
- ⁴⁶ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 14.
- ⁴⁷ Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*, 118-119.
- ⁴⁸ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 185-187.
- ⁴⁹ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 180.
- ⁵⁰ Alice Stevens Tipton, *The Original New Mexico Cookery* (Santa Fe, NM: State Land Office, 1916), 7.
- ⁵¹ Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 7.
- ⁵² *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Public Lands of New Mexico for the Two Years Ending November 30, 1916*, Commissioner of Public Lands Collection, annual reports 1900-1991, series 12065 (New Mexico State Archives, Santa Fe, NM), 12.
- ⁵³ Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 12.
- ⁵⁴ Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 13.
- ⁵⁵ Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 7.
- ⁵⁶ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Lands of New Mexico for the Fifth Fiscal Year, Ended November 30, 1917*, Commissioner of Public Lands Collection, annual reports 1900-1991, series 12065 (New Mexico State Archives, Santa Fe, NM), 33-34.
- ⁵⁷ *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 33.
- ⁵⁸ *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 35.
- ⁵⁹ *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 35.
- ⁶⁰ *Eighteenth Annual Report*, 9.
- ⁶¹ See, for example, Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 71-78; Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 72-78; Curtis Marez, *Drug Wars: The Political Economy of Narcotics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 127; and Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance*, 119.
- ⁶² Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 10.
- ⁶³ Janet Theophano, *Eat My Words: Reading Women's Lives through the Cookbooks They Wrote* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 243.
- ⁶⁴ Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 41.
- ⁶⁵ Tipton, *Original New Mexico Cookery*, 17.
- ⁶⁶ Mora, *Border Dilemmas*, 197.
- ⁶⁷ Alice Stevens Tipton, *The Original New Mexico Cookery* (Santa Fe, NM: R.L. Polese, 1965). The 1965 edition is the only reprint of the book. The edition featured an introduction by Santa Fe New Mexican author Will Harrison, and a mere 1,000 copies were printed.
- ⁶⁸ Malcolm Ebright, *Land Grants and Lawsuits in Northern New Mexico* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 47.

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- ⁶⁹ Erna Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, [1934] 1999): Foreward.
- ⁷⁰ W. A. Keleher, "Erna Mary Fergusson, 1888-1964," *New Mexico Historical Review* 39, no. 4 (1964): 346.
- ⁷¹ Keleher, "Erna Mary Fergusson," 348.
- ⁷² Keleher, "Erna Mary Fergusson," 350.
- ⁷³ Jesse Alemán, "The Other Country: Mexico, the United States and the Gothic History of Conquest," *American Literary History* 18, no. 3 (2006): 409.
- ⁷⁴ Alemán, "The Other Country," 409.
- ⁷⁵ Marta Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation: Mary Colter, Erna Fergusson, and the Santa Fe / Harvey Popularization of the Native Southwest, 1902-1940," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 12.3 (1992): 119.
- ⁷⁶ President McKinley referred to the colonization of the Philippines as "benevolent assimilation." Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 11. Vicente Rafael argues that "the allegory of benevolent assimilation effaces the violence of conquest by construing colonial rule as the most precious gift that 'the most civilized people' can render to those still caught in a state of barbarous disorder." Vicente Rafael, *White Love and Other Events in Filipino History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 21. Fergusson's work as a tour guide and a historian was undoubtedly paternalistic, despite her good intentions.
- ⁷⁷ Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation," 134.
- ⁷⁸ Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation," 130. The Fred Harvey Company opened its Harvey House hotel, the Alvarado, in Albuquerque in 1902. Passengers on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway could eat or stay at the hotel, and view "an exposition or world's fair display of regional goods and native peoples, primarily Indians." Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation," 117.
- ⁷⁹ Weigle, "Exposition and Mediation," 131.
- ⁸⁰ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, Foreward.
- ⁸¹ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, 61, 90, 93.
- ⁸² Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 10.
- ⁸³ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 71, 78.
- ⁸⁴ Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, 204.
- ⁸⁵ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, book jacket.
- ⁸⁶ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, Foreward.
- ⁸⁷ Though Fergusson defended her legitimacy as the author of an ethnic cookbook, she was a native-born New Mexican, and *Mexican Cookbook* had no trouble drawing attention from across the country. In the subsequent years after the book's 1945 publication by UNM Press, it was reviewed in newspapers nationwide, including those in San Francisco, New York, Boston, Salt Lake City, Chicago, San Antonio, and Wichita. Amy Vanderbilt, who was at the time part of the American Spice Trade Association, built a radio script around *Mexican Cookbook* in 1946; the script focused on the book, and true to its title, concentrated on Mexican rather than New Mexican food. Fergusson was widely considered an expert on New Mexican food, culture and history. *Mexican Cookbook* archive, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- ⁸⁸ Research suggests that Chaves de Armijo was permitted to be the New Mexico state librarian in 1914, though as a woman, she could not legally vote. Her case was mentioned in the footnote of a law review article published in 2005. Matthew G. Berger, "Mary Hall: The Decision and the

Lawyer,” *Connecticut Bar Journal* 79, no. 1 (2005): 55, womenslegalhistory.stanford.edu/articles/hall_m_79cbj291.pdf. Her relationship to Fergusson is unclear, though we can infer from the claims on the book jacket that she was a family friend.

⁸⁹ Lisa Heldke, *Exotic Appetites: Ruminations of a Food Adventurer* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 106.

⁹⁰ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, 11-12.

⁹¹ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, 27. Her green chile sandwich recipe consists of chile mashed into a paste with black sage, cilantro, garlic and salt, then spread between two pieces of bread covered in mayonnaise.

⁹² Helen Zoe Viet, *Modern Food, Moral Food: Self-Control, Science, and the Rise of Modern American Eating in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 7.

⁹³ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, 5, emphasis mine.

⁹⁴ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, 5.

⁹⁵ Fergusson, *Mexican Cookbook*, 6-7.

⁹⁶ Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, *Historic Cookery* (State College, NM: New Mexico College of Agricultural and Mechanic Arts, 1951), 3.

⁹⁷ Throughout this paper, I refer to Fabiola by her family name Cabeza de Baca, which is the more standard practice among scholars of her life and work, including Merrihelen Ponce, her most thorough biographer to date, despite the publication of several works under her married name, Gilbert.

⁹⁸ Ponce, *Life and Works*, 55.

⁹⁹ Ponce, *Life and Works*, 22. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca was a part of Governor Pánfilo de Narváez’s expedition, which sailed from Spain and eventually landed in Florida. Of the three hundred who landed there, only four men survived, including Cabeza de Vaca and Estebanico (sometimes Estevanico). They were stranded for almost ten years, living with various Indian groups and often nearly starving to death. When he finally encountered the “Christians,” as he called them, they “were thunderstruck to see me so strangely dressed and in the company of Indians.” Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, *Castaways*, ed. Enrique Pupo-Walker, trans. Frances M. López-Morillas (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), 110. Cabeza de Vaca has been claimed variously as the “first” for many scholars: as an ethnographer, Latin American writer, Chicano writer, American writer and regional Southwestern chronicler. Ralph Bauer, “Laying Claim to the Literary Borderlands: The Contested Grounds of Hispanism in the US,” *American Literary History* 16, no. 3 (2004): 487-495. He spent years not conquering but living with Indians, and even his European rescuers did not recognize him as a Spaniard. Thus, Fabiola Cabeza de Baca’s claim to him as her genealogical tie to pure Spanish identity is already fraught with contradiction and specters of *mestizaje*.

¹⁰⁰ Pieper, “Fabiola’s Good Life,” *New Mexico Resources* 8 (1995): 4.

¹⁰¹ Quoted in Ponce, *Life and Works*, 55.

¹⁰² Pieper, “Fabiola’s Good Life,” 8.

¹⁰³ Ponce, *Life and Works*, 100-101. Gilbert was a successful insurance salesman who was divorced with children from his previous marriage. Ponce notes that little is known about the marriage because Cabeza de Baca never wrote about it in her memoirs or in interviews. Cabeza de Baca’s father never let Gilbert into his home, and according to her niece, Esther B. Sanchez, her family saw the marriage as a mistake. Ponce, *Life and Works*, 116, footnote 72.

- ¹⁰⁴ Pieper, "Fabiola's Good Life," 9 and Ponce, *Life and Works*, 108.
- ¹⁰⁵ Ponce, *Life and Works*, 109.
- ¹⁰⁶ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 114.
- ¹⁰⁷ Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 14.
- ¹⁰⁸ Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 15.
- ¹⁰⁹ I do not intend to imply that she was simply an instrument of the federal government's strategies in New Mexico, though her work was certainly aligned with those goals. I will return to Cabeza de Baca's extension work later to complicate her role within the system.
- ¹¹⁰ New Mexico's rural population topped 80 percent between 1910 and 1920. U.S. Census Bureau, "Urban and Rural Population: 1900 to 1990," <http://www.census.gov/population/censusdata/urpop0090.txt>.
- ¹¹¹ Sandra Schackel, *Social Housekeepers: Women Shaping Public Policy in New Mexico, 1920-1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 113.
- ¹¹² Sarah Deutsch, "Women and Intercultural Relations: The Case of Hispanic New Mexico and Colorado," *Signs* 12, no. 4 (1987), 722.
- ¹¹³ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance*, 102, 121.
- ¹¹⁴ Marez, *Drug Wars*, 127.
- ¹¹⁵ Joan M. Jensen, "Canning Comes to New Mexico," in *New Mexico Women: Intercultural Perspectives*, edited by Joan M. Jensen and Darlis A. Miller (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 242-243.
- ¹¹⁶ Cited in Reed *A Woman's Place: Women Writing New Mexico*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 123, a review of *We Fed Them Cactus*, "'We Fed Them Cactus,' Worthy Addition to Western Americana," *Las Cruces Sun-News*, (Dec. 13, 1954), 2.
- ¹¹⁷ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 12.
- ¹¹⁸ Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, "New Mexican Diets," *Journal of Home Economics* 34 (1942): 668.
- ¹¹⁹ Gilbert, "New Mexican Diets," 668.
- ¹²⁰ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 2.
- ¹²¹ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 8.
- ¹²² Baca Family, *Harvesting Our Heritage*, 5.
- ¹²³ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 21.
- ¹²⁴ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 21.
- ¹²⁵ Tey Diana Rebolledo, *Women Singing in the Snow: A Cultural Analysis of Chicana Literature* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), 134.
- ¹²⁶ Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert, *The Good Life: New Mexico Traditions and Food* (Santa Fe, NM: Museum of New Mexico Press, [1949] 1982), 66.
- ¹²⁷ Salad recipes in *The Good Life*, 66-67 and also in *Historic Cookery*, 22-23.
- ¹²⁸ Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 93-94.
- ¹²⁹ "Chile" is likely the text of a public talk, as it closely resembles other manuscripts that directly address a listening audience. "Chile," Fabiola Cabeza de Baca Gilbert Papers, Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, MSS 603 BC, folder 15.
- ¹³⁰ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 1.
- ¹³¹ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 1.
- ¹³² Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 1.

¹³³ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 21.

¹³⁴ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 3.

¹³⁵ Gilbert, *The Good Life*, 45.

¹³⁶ “Hunger – New Mexico Northern Counties,” Cabeza de Baca Gilbert Papers, University of New Mexico, folder 15. I was unable to determine the place or exact date of publication, but as Lyndon Johnson introduced the War on Poverty in 1964, we can infer it was with a year or two of that date.

¹³⁷ Gilbert, “Hunger.”

¹³⁸ Gilbert, “Hunger.”

¹³⁹ Gilbert, “Hunger.”

¹⁴⁰ Gilbert, “Hunger.”

¹⁴¹ Heldke, *Exotic Appetites*, 10.

¹⁴² Gilbert, *The Good Life*, vi.

¹⁴³ “New Mexican Cultural Foods,” Cabeza de Baca Gilbert Papers, University of New Mexico, folder 16.

¹⁴⁴ In her introduction to *The Good Life*, Ina Sizer Cassidy connected the English colonization of New England with the Spanish colonization of New Mexico: “There is no more delicious way to prepare green corn than any of the several ways derived from the Indian. Roast green corn, steamed dried corn, corn tamales, corn with green chili, as well as our New England corn on the cob, also derived from the Indian. In many ways we of today have lost much in losing the simply prepared staple foods of the American colonial days, the primitive days of our history.” Ina Sizer Cassidy, introduction to *The Good Life*, 3. Cassidy was a poet, writer and lecturer who was appointed the state director of the New Mexico Federal Writers’ Project, with the endorsement of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier. Marta Weigle and Kyle Fiore, *Santa Fe and Taos: The Writer’s Era 1916-1941* (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1982), 50. In Cassidy’s introduction, history begins from the moment of colonization, effectively overwriting pre-contact indigenous existence.

¹⁴⁵ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 79.

¹⁴⁶ Gilbert, *Historic Cookery*, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Anne E. Goldman, *Take My Word: Autobiographical Innovations of Ethnic American Working Women* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 17.

¹⁴⁸ Fabiola Cabeza de Baca, “La Sociedad Folklorica preserves traditions,” Cabeza de Baca Gilbert Papers, University of New Mexico, folder 20.

¹⁴⁹ Cabeza de Baca, “La Sociedad.”

¹⁵⁰ “New Mexican Spanish Culture,” Cabeza de Baca Gilbert Papers, University of New Mexico, folder 16.

¹⁵¹ Gómez, *Manifest Destinies*, 81.

¹⁵² Nieto-Phillips, *Language of Blood*, 48.

¹⁵³ Quoted in Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 54.

¹⁵⁴ Gilbert, *The Good Life*, 71.

¹⁵⁵ Montgomery, *Spanish Redemption*, 16-17.

¹⁵⁶ Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*, 17.

¹⁵⁷ Marie T. Walsh, “New Mexico’s Famous Home Economist,” *California Farmer* (October 16, 1954), 371.

¹⁵⁸ Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California, 2002), 84.

¹⁵⁹ “consume, v.1,” *OED Online*, March 2018, Oxford University Press.

<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/39973?rskey=EzwOV8&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed April 16, 2018).

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 3

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³ Bobby Seale, *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (Baltimore, MD: Black Classic Press, 1991), 23.

⁴ The Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, *The Black Panther Party Service to the People Programs* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 141.

⁵ Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 50.

⁶ Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 51.

⁷ Huey Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 146.

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⁹ Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 51.

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¹¹ Blauner, *Still the Big News*, 98.

¹² Quoted in Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 67.

¹³ Sonja K. Foss, “Theory of Visual Rhetoric,” in *Handbook of Visual Communication: Theory, Methods, and Media*, ed. Ken Smith, Sandra Moriarty, Gretchen Barbatsis, and Keith Kenney (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 2005), 143.

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¹⁶ Colette Gaiter, “What Revolution Looks Like: The Work of Black Panther Artist Emory Douglas,” in *Black Panther: The Revolutionary Art of Emory Douglas*, by Emory Douglas, ed. Sam Durant (New York: Rizzoli, 2007), 95.

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“I will keep myself physically fit, building a strong body free from drugs and other substances that weaken me and make me less capable of protecting myself, my family, and my Black brothers and sisters.

I will unselfishly share my knowledge and understanding with them in order to bring about change more quickly.

I will discipline myself to direct my energies thoughtfully and constructively rather than wasting them in idle hatred.

I will train myself never to hurt or allow others to harm my Black brothers and sisters for I recognize that we need every Black man, woman, and child to be physically, mentally and psychologically strong. These principles I pledge to practice daily and to teach them to others in order to unite my people.”

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- ¹¹³ Kristeva, *The Powers of Horror*, 4.
- ¹¹⁴ *The Black Panther*, 7 September 1968, 12.
- ¹¹⁵ Stallybrass and White, *Politics and Poetics*, 191.
- ¹¹⁶ Stallybrass and White, *Politics and Poetics*, 191.

¹¹⁷ Ahmed, *Cultural Politics*, 89.

NOTES FOR CONCLUSION

¹ Devon A. Mihesuah, "Decolonizing Our Diets By Recovering Our Ancestors' Gardens," *American Indian Quarterly* 27, no. 3/4 (Summer-Autumn 2003): 827.

² Luz Calvo and Catriona Rueda Esquibel, *Decolonize Your Diet: Plant-Based Mexican-American Recipes for Health and Healing* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2015), 19.

³ Calvo and Esquibel, *Decolonize Your Diet*, 26.

⁴ Oldways, "African Heritage Diet," <https://oldwayspt.org/traditional-diets/african-heritage-diet>.

⁵ H.O.P.E., "Seed Exchange," <https://honorourpuebloexistence.com/projects/seed-exchange/>.

⁶ Bloom and Martin, *Black Against Empire*, 14.

⁷ Ollie A. Johnson, III, "Explaining the Demise of the Black Panther Party: The Role of Internal Factors," in *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, ed. Charles E. Jones (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998), 396.

⁸ Jean Genet, *Prisoner of Love* (New York: NYRB Classics, 2003), 57.

⁹ "'68 Olympian: If You're Famous And You're Black, You Have To Be An Activist," *Morning Edition*, NPR, August 18, 2016.

<https://www.npr.org/2016/08/18/490449939/68-olympian-if-youre-famous-and-youre-black-you-have-to-be-an-activist>.

¹⁰ The Seahawks opted instead to sign a quarterback who has never played in the NFL. Conor Orr, "NFL Teams Should Say What They Mean about Kaepernick, Reid and Players Who Protest," *Sports Illustrated*, April 13, 2018. <https://www.si.com/nfl/2018/04/13/colin-kaepernick-seahawks-workout-protests>.