

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Laurent DuBois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004). An account of this archival fragment frames Madison Smart Bell's novel *All Souls' Rising* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1995).
2. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 2.
3. Martha Hodes, *White Women, Black Men: Illicit Sex in the Nineteenth-Century South* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), 9. Hodes refrains from calling this "interracial sex," avoiding the fixity of racial categories. I want to hold on to this term to suggest its weight in societies organized around race—even when whiteness is murky—even while racial hybridity is celebrated. Furthermore, while the "one drop rule" marks persons as black in the United States, the reverse logic applies to the Caribbean—one drop away from blackness and one's brownness can be celebrated.
4. Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, 2. For slave laws, see Elsa Goveia's *Slave Society in the British Leeward Islands at the End of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965); Cecilia A. Green, "A Civil Inconvenience? The Vexed Question of Slave Marriage in the British West Indies," *Law and History Review* 25, no. 1 (Spring 2007) 1-60; and Thomas Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992). See also Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Tracy Robinson, "Taxonomies of Conjuality: A Caribbean Grammar Book"—unpublished paper. (NYU Law - Global Fellows Forum: Spring 2006).
5. Articles thirteen and fourteen of this new constitution are instructive. Article twelve delimits whites from property ownership or becoming masters. The rapid succession of constitutions in the early Haitian republic really reveals how the meaning of freedom is worked out as each ruler pens his own constitution: in 1801, Toussaint Louverture; in 1805, Jean-Jacques Dessalines; in 1806, the constitution post-Dessalines's assassination; in 1807, Henri Christophe's; in 1811, Christophe's second constitution; and the 1816 Alexander Petion constitution is used for the remainder of the nineteenth century. See Sybille Fischer, *Modernity*

- Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 227–44. See also Doris Garraway, *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 292.
6. Kamau Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770–1820* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Hilary Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Evelyn O’Callaghan, *White Women Writing the West Indies, 1804–1939: “A Hot Place, Belonging to Us”* (London: Routledge, 2004), 24.
 7. Using Antigua’s court records, legal anthropologist Mindie Lazarus Black points out that “not one case of the union of a white woman with a black man appears in any of the historical records from Antigua.” Mindie Lazarus Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 94. See also Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
 8. This interracial coupling will have a charged implication with the development of national literatures. Belinda Edmonson, for example, demonstrates that for the Anglophone Caribbean, masculinist versions of revolution and resistance were often marked by gratuitous enactment of violence on white women’s bodies in their bids for anticolonial self-government. See Belinda Edmondson’s *Making Men: Gender, Literary Authority, and Women’s Writing in Caribbean Narrative* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
 9. My reading here challenges Doris Garraway’s claim that, in recasting black as a political identity, this legislative maneuver “masks the continuance of metissage on the white woman’s body” (Garraway, *The Libertine Colony*, 292). Instead I suggest that the white woman’s body as a reproductive source of mestissage was always obscured and rendered unthinkable. Therefore, in legislating and attaching mixed offspring to white women, Dessalines commits a radical act for this historical moment.
 10. Selwyn Cudjoe, *Resistance and Caribbean Literature* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 1980).
 11. David Scott, *Refashioning Futures: Criticism after Postcoloniality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 5. For analysis of this quieter postindenture-ship period, see Brian Moore and Michele A. Johnson’s *Neither Led nor Driven: Contesting British Cultural Imperialism in Jamaica, 1865–1920* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2004).
 12. Feminist scholars have generated substantial critiques about the inadequacy of the public/private gender divide; key among them for my purposes here are Ruth Lister, “Citizenship: Towards a Feminist Synthesis” *Feminist Review*, 57 (1997): 28–48. Nira Yuval-Davis, “The Citizenship Debate: Women, Ethnic Processes and the State,” *Feminist Review* 39 (Autumn 1991): 58–68; and Saud Joseph, “The Private/Public—The Imagined Boundary in the Imagined Nation/State/Community,” *Feminist Review* 57 (Autumn 1997): 73–92. Other central texts on citizenship include T. H. Marshall, *Class, Citizenship and Social Development* (New York: Anchor, 1965); Will Kymlick and Wayne Norman, “Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory,” *Ethics* 104, no. 2

- (January 1994): 352–81; and Stuart Hall and David Held, “Citizens and Citizenship,” in Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques (eds) *New Times: The Changing Face of Politics in the 1990s*, London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1989. Here I also want to mark the salience of race in understandings of citizenship; the North American case exemplifies this point with antimiscegenation laws prohibiting interracial intimacy between whites and blacks.
13. M. Jacqui Alexander, “Not Just Any Body Can Be a Citizen: The Politics of Law, Sexuality, and Postcoloniality in Trinidad and Tobago and the Bahamas,” *The Feminist Review* 48 (1994): 5–23; Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); and Siobhan Somerville “Queer History of Naturalization,” *American Quarterly* 57, no. 3 (2005): 659–75. The task thus becomes examining which couplings and reproductions are sanctioned and which are prohibited and why. Christine Barrow, “Caribbean Masculinities and Conjugal Relations: Ideologies and Contradictions,” in *Gender and the Family in the Caribbean. Proceedings of the workshop Family and the Quality of Gender Relations*, ed. Wilma Bailey (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1998) 32–52.
 14. David Evans, *Sexual Citizenship: The Material Construction of Sexualities* (London: Routledge, 1993); Ken Plummer, “The Square of Intimate Citizenship,” *Citizenship Studies* 5, no. 3 (2001): 237–53; and J. Weeks, “The Sexual Citizen,” *Theory, Culture and Society*, 15 (1998): 35–52.
 15. Again invoking Foucault, I mean to examine the ways in which “the body and sexuality” become “areas of investigation” through which we can see the operations of power and the production of knowledge. See his “Methods,” in *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 98.
 16. Within the region (and the United States), public discourse positions Caribbean women as succeeding and outpacing men in educational achievement. Such representations imply that the problem of gender inequity has been solved to the detriment or expense of young men and boys who are now in crisis. But this discussion equates women’s greater participation in the public sphere with a higher degree of empowerment, which does not always necessarily add up across the board, especially in the intimate domain. See Eroll Miller’s *Marginalization of the Black Male: Insights from the Development of the Teaching Profession* (Mona, Jamaica: Canoe Press, 1994); and Paula Morgan and Valerie Yousef’s rebuttal in *Writing Rage: Unmasking Violence through Caribbean Discourse* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006).
 17. Much recent scholarship has argued for the complexity of the romance plot to accommodate dissent from this conventional trajectory. I find Ann DuCille’s reading of the uses late-nineteenth century African American women writers made of the form particularly instructive; *The Coupling Convention: Sex, Text and Tradition in Black women’s Fiction* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993). See also Susan Strehle and Mary Paniccia Carden, *Doubled Plots: Romance and History* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2003); Ian Balfour, *Northrop Frye* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), 40–65; Belinda Edmondson *Caribbean*

- Romances: The Politics of Regional Representation* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1999); Doris Sommer, *Foundational Fictions: The National Romances of Latin America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991); Joyce Carol Oates, "Romance and Anti-Romance: From Brontë's *Jane Eyre* to Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea*," *The Virginia Quarterly Review* (Winter 1985, 44-58); and Hayden White, *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987).
18. This term is Krista Thompson's. See her *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
 19. *Ibid.*, 29, 45.
 20. Belinda Edmondson, *Caribbean Romances*, 2.
 21. *Ibid.*, 246.
 22. For example, sexual violence is unwittingly secondary to Glissant's, Benitez-Rojo's, and Brathwaite's theorizations. See Benitez-Rojo's *The Repeating Island: the Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992) and Brathwaite's *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971.
 23. Myriam Chancy, *Framing Silence: Revolutionary Novels by Haitian Women* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 107-8.
 24. Several critics identify transgenerational narration as a key component of Caribbean women's writings. For example, Carole Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido's claim that "storytelling becomes a central metaphor for the ability to communicate oral history through generations." *Out of the Kumbula: Caribbean Women and Literature* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990). To this statement I would add that oral histories often become the only way of knowing their intimate historical pasts.
 25. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
 26. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 73.
 27. Fanon describes this particular interracial union as "a giving, not a seizing"—to highlight, in his estimation, the voluntary nature of this coupling in distinction to the historically coerced dynamics of interracial unions between white men and black women. See his *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967). See also Evelyn O'Callaghan's *White Women Writing the West Indies, 1804-1939: "A Hot Place, Belonging to Us"* (London: Routledge, 2004).
 28. Here, I have in mind Michelle Cliff, *Abeng* (New York: Plume, 1995); and Frieda Cassin, *With Silent Tread: A West Indian Novel* (Oxford: Macmillan Education, 2002).
 29. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, 26.
 30. Paraphrasing Edward Said, I study how those in power exercise the right to narrativize their own points of views while willfully blocking other subordinate narratives. Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1993).

31. While the book focuses on these five writers, Marlene Nourbese Phillips, Dion Brand, and Claire Harris could also be included.
32. See Bridget Brereton's "Gendered Testimony: Autobiographies, Diaries and Letters by Women as Sources for Caribbean History," in *Slavery, Freedom and Gender: The Dynamics of Caribbean Society*, ed. Brian L. Moore, B. W. Higman, Carl Campbell, Patrick Bryan (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2001), 232–253. Joan W. Scott, "The Evidence of Experience," *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 17, No. 4. (Summer, 1991) 773–797.
33. I am reading production here in two ways: first, as it produces subjectivities, and second, as it impacts the production of history.
34. Aihwa Ong, "(Re)Articulations of Citizenship." *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 38 (2005) 697–699.
35. For scholars with similar reservations about resistance narratives see Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (Fall 2003): 113–24; and Shalini Puri, "Beyond Resistance: Notes Toward a New Caribbean Cultural Studies," *Small Axe* 7, no. 2 (2003): 23–38.
36. See Jenny Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).
37. Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-making in Nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4.
38. Michel Foucault, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 11.
39. Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*. Trans. Robert Hurley. (New York: Vintage, 1990 [1976]) 95.
40. My emphasis here echoes Ann McClintock's reading of agency as "multiple rather than unitary, unpredictable rather than immanent, bereft of dialectical guarantees and animated by an unsteady and non-linear relation to time. There is no preordained rendezvous with victory." Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 364.
41. Lucia Suarez, *Tears of Hispaniola* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2007).
42. Sandra Paquet's study of the Caribbean autobiography argues that the literary quest for self-definition often leads the individual on a journey beyond the region. See her *Caribbean Autobiography: Cultural Identity and Self-Representation* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2002). See also my article "Uncovered Stories" in which I trace three generations of Caribbean women's writings. One of the points I argue is that scholars of the region, especially nationalist intellectuals, have been committed to demonstrating the *different but functional* order of Caribbean family life; meanwhile, the creative output of writers endeavored to image and imagine all that we were and could be. "Uncovered Stories: Politicizing Sexual Histories in Third Wave Caribbean Women's Writings," *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire* 6:1 (September 2004): 61–81.
43. See Elizabeth Nunez's introduction to her edited collection, *Stories from Blue Latitudes: Caribbean Women Writers at Home and Abroad* (Emeryville, CA: Seal Press, 2006), 4.

44. Silvio Torres-Saillant, "Writing Has to Be Generous: An Interview with Angie Cruz," *Calabash: A Journal of Caribbean Arts and Letters* 2, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2003): 124.
45. See Ann Laura Stoler's call for comparative study of empires, "Intimidations of Empire: Predicaments of the Tactile and Unseen" in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
- Finally, I do not cover the four Dutch-speaking Caribbean islands of Curacao, St. Martin, Surinam, and Netherland Antilles. For productive comparative work in this area, see Natasha Tinsley's scholarship: "What is a Uma?: Women Performing Gender and Sexuality in Paramaribo, Suriname." *Sex and the Citizen: Interrogating the Circum-Caribbean*. Ed. Faith Smith. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, (forthcoming 2010). "No Storm to Blow Me Over? Mapping Same-Sex Sexuality in the Other Americas." *Perspectives on the "Other America": Comparative Approaches to Caribbean and Latin American Literature*. Ed. Michael Niblett and Kerstin Oloff. London: Macmillan, 2009. and "'Rose is My Mama, Stanfaste is My Papa': Hybrid Landscapes and Sexualities in Surinamese Women's Oral Poetry." *Caribbean Literature and the Environment*. Ed. Renee K. Gosson, George Handley, and Elizabeth De Loughrey. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2005.
46. See Elizabeth Nunez's introduction in *Defining Ourselves: Black Writers in the 90s* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999). See Carole Boyce Davies's discussion of the expansiveness of the "black" category in *Black Women, Writing, and Identity: Migrations of the Subject* (London: Routledge, 1994). Aisha Khan, "What is a 'Spanish' Ambiguity and 'Mixed' Ethnicity in Trinidad," in *Trinidad Ethnicity*, ed. Kevin Yelvington (Knoxville, KY: University of Tennessee Press, 1993), 180–207.
47. Curdella Forbes and Victor Chang, for example, critique Powell for writing a Chinese woman's story as an Afro-Jamaican. See Forbes' *From Nation to Diaspora: Samuel Selvon, George Lamming and the Cultural Performance of Gender*. (Kingston, Jamaica : The University of the West Indies Press, 2005). Pointedly, Asian American studies scholars do not prescribe such authenticity tests, and engage the novel for the productive questions raised in regards to gender, subjectivity, and history. See Lisa Yun's article "An Afro-Chinese Caribbean: Cultural Cartographies of Contrariness in the Work of Antonio Chuffat Latour, Margaret Cezair-Thompson, and Patricia Powell," *Caribbean Quarterly: The Chinese in the Caribbean* 50: 2 (June 2004): 26–43; and Lisa Lowe. "Intimacies of Four Continents" in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
48. Amy Kaplan and Donald Pease, *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993); Allan Isaac, *American Tropics: Articulating Filipino America* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2006); and Harvey Neptune, *Caliban and the Yankees* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
49. Davies, *Migrations of the Subject*, 2, 37.

50. Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert contributes to this regional aesthetic project when in 2001 she returns to Caribbean religions and offers healing as a central metaphor in Caribbean literature and stresses that, especially for diasporic writers, healing emerges as the most salient theme in response to alienation in metropolitan centers. *Healing Cultures: Art and Religion as Curative Practices in Caribbean and its Diaspora*. Eds. Margarite Fernandez Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert. New York: Palgrave, 2001).
51. Silvio Torres-Saillant, *Towards a New Caribbean Poetics in the 21st Century*," in *Reading the Caribbean: Approaches to Anglophone Caribbean Literature and Culture*, ed. Klaus Stierstorfer (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag, 2007), 13–50.
52. Guillermina De Ferrari, *Vulnerable States: Bodies of Memory in Contemporary Caribbean Fiction* (Charlottesville: UVA Press 2007) 11.
53. Carine M. Mardorossian, *Reclaiming Difference: Caribbean Women Rewrite Post-colonialism* (Charlottesville: UVA Press 2005) 3.
54. I find useful Rawwida Baksh-Sooden's article, "Issues of Difference in Contemporary Caribbean Feminism," charts the largely Afro-centric focus of second wave Caribbean feminism and the need for a more multicultural valence. *Feminist Review*, 56 (Summer 1998): 74–85.
55. The recent scholarship of Alison Donnell and Paula Morgan addresses Caribbean women's sexuality comparatively. In her essay, "Public Spectacles: Caribbean Women and the Politics of Public Performance," Belinda Edmondson argues that because black women historically have been hypervisible in public through their labor participation, they get read as too strong to be protected. And, because East Indian women, in contrast, have been less publicly visible, they get read as "delicate" in Edmondson's terms ("policed" in mine)—here I take my cue from historian Verene Shepherd, who points out that during the period of indentureship, the scarcity of Indian women migrants meant that Indian men had few suitable partners. The women that were on the islands were highly policed by the Indian community because they were seen as exercising too much sexual freedom: refusing to marry and reproduce but also changing partners frequently. See Verene Shepherd, "Constructing Visibility: Indian Women in the Jamaican Segment of the Indian Diaspora" in *Gender Realities: Essays in Caribbean Feminist Thought*, ed. Patricia Mohammed (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002. 107–28. See also Rhoda Reddock and Shalini Puri's "Race, Rape and Representations: Indo-Caribbean Women and Cultural Nationalism," *Cultural Critique* 36 (Spring 1997): 119–163; and Patricia Mohammed's essay "'But Most of All mi Love Me Browning': The Emergence in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Jamaica of the Mulatto Woman as the Desired," *Feminist Review*, 65 (Summer 2000), 22–48. I am transporting Edward Said's orientalism to a Caribbean landscape. I prefer "tropicalist" to, for example, Mimi Sheller's use of "Caribbeanist," even while I agree with her that the Caribbean provides tropes for Orientalist discourse. See her *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (London: Routledge, 2003), 109–10, 134. See also Krista Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics*. Examples where the depravity of white Creole women is

- marked includes: Lady Nugent's journal of her residence in Jamaica from 1801 to 1805. (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Jamaica, 1966); Deirde Coleman's "Janet Schaw and the Complexion of Empire," *Eighteenth Century Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 169–93; and Robert Young's *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (New York: Routledge, 1995) and his discussion of representations of black women's sexuality in Edward Long's *History of Jamaica, or, General Survey of the Ancient and Modern State of that Island: With Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government* (London: T. Lowndes, 1774).
56. I find instructive critical calls for a relational feminist poetics. See Ella Shohat's "relational multicultural feminisms" in *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in a Transnational Age*, New York, N.Y.: New Museum of Contemporary Art (11); and Susan Stanford Friedman's injunction to examine "how different systems of stratification" impact experiences of oppression in "Beyond White and Other: Relationality and Narratives of Race in Feminist Discourse," *Signs* 21, no. 1 (Autumn 1995): 14.
 57. "Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization," in Chandra Talpade Mohanty and M. Jacqui Alexander, eds., *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York: Routledge) 64.
 58. Kamala Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor*, (New York: Routledge, 2004) 2–4.
 59. Patricia Saunders, Is Not Everything Good to Eat, Good to Talk: Sexual Economy and Dancehall Music in the Global Marketplace, (Small Axe - Number 13 (Volume 7, Number 1), March 2003) 109–15.
 60. Alison Donnell, *Twentieth Century Caribbean Literature: Critical Moments in Anglophone Literary History* (London: Routledge, 2006), 183.
 61. Carole Boyce Davies and Elaine Savory Fido, *Out of the Kumbula*, 16.

CHAPTER 1

1. *The Jamaica Times*, July 1, 1899, p. 9.
2. Timothy Chin, "The Novels of Patricia Powell: Negotiating Gender and Sexuality Across the Disjunctures of the Caribbean Diaspora," *Callaloo* 30, no. 2, (Spring 2007): 533–45. Italics mine.
3. Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post)Colonial Studies," *Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (December 2001) 829–865.
4. Her façade resonates with escapes from slavery to freedom in Afro-American slave narratives in which enslaved subjects dressed as sailors or, if they were phenotypically light enough, as white masters. (*Running a Thousand Miles for Freedom: The Escape of William and Ellen Craft from Slavery*) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1999. Also dressing as boys was one way Chinese women were smuggled into the United States to work as prostitutes. See also Lucie Cheng Hirata, "Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs* 5 (1979): 3–29. (specifically p 12).

5. Patrick Bryan, "The Settlement of the Chinese in Jamaica: 1854 - c.1970" *Caribbean Quarterly* (June 2004) 14–16.
6. Patricia Powell, *The Pagoda* (New York: Knopf, 1998), 103.
7. Jean Besson, *Martha Brae's Two Histories: European Expansion and Caribbean Culture-Building in Jamaica* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
8. We have many nineteenth-century travelogues of anglo-European women travelers, but almost no documents for nonwhite women with the exception of Mary Prince and Mary Seacole.
9. Hortense Spillers, "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book," *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987): 65–81. See also Aliyyah Abdur-Rahman, "'The Strangest Freaks of Despotism': Queer Sexuality in Antebellum African Slave Narratives," *African American Review* 40, no. 2. (Summer 2006): 223–37.
10. See Nigel Bolland's article "Systems of Domination after Slavery: The Control of Land and Labour in the British West Indies after 1838," in *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*, eds. Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd. (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 1993), 107–23. The migration of white indentured workers during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries predates the more visible nineteenth century influx of Chinese, Indian, and Portuguese contract laborers.
11. Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-making in Nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) 6.
12. Invoking a key concept in Caribbean discourse theorized, among others, by Glissant, Dash, and Benítez-Rojo. See *Caribbean Discourse: Selected Essays by Édouard Glissant*; translated and with an introduction by J. Michael Dash (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1989) and Antonio Benítez-Rojo's *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and The Postmodern Perspective*, translated by James Maraniss (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992). Mimi Sheller points out that from its inception the Caribbean was "oriented in relation to Europe's East." See her *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (London: Routledge, 2003).
13. Thomas Holt, *The problem of freedom race, labor, and politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992) xxi.
14. Lok Sui, *Memories of a Future Home: Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005); see also Walton Look-Lai, *The Chinese in the West Indies 1806–1995: A Documentary History* (Kingston, Jamaica: University Press of the West Indies, 1998).
15. Judy Yung, *Unbound Feet: A Social History of Chinese Women in San Francisco* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995); Eithne Luibhéid, *Entry Denied: Controlling Sexuality at the Border* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002); and David Eng, *Racial Castration: Managing Masculinity in Asian America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).
16. See Mindie Lazarus Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994); and Suzanne LaFont and Deborah Pruitt "The Colonial Legacy:

- Gendered Laws in Jamaica,” in *Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Consuelo López Springfield (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997).
17. M. Alexandra Lee, “They Never Looked Back: The role of the Hakka women in Jamaica,” *Caribbean Quarterly*, 50.2 (June 2004) 74-81. Mavis Christine Campbell, *The Dynamics of Changes in a Slave Society: A Sociopolitical History of the Free Coloreds of Jamaica, 1800–1865* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 1976).
 18. The U.S. case demonstrates that once Chinese women came in large numbers, officials created policies to render them undesirable aliens. Lisa Lowe “Intimacies of Four Continents,” in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006) 198.
 19. Rhoda Reddock argues that the “scarcity” of single Indian women in Trinidad meant, first, that they were coming from a subaltern (or laboring) class, and, second, in exercising the right to multiple sexual partnerships, they were meted with violence from their men in attempt to reestablish control over these women’s erotic autonomy. See her “Indian Women and Indentureship in Trinidad and Tobago 1845–1917,” in *Caribbean Freedom: Economy and Society from Emancipation to the Present*, ed. Hilary Beckles and Verene Shepherd (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 1996). See also historian Verene Shepherd’s charting of the lack of economic and social mobility of Indian women in Jamaica from the indentureship period through 1945 in “Emancipation Through Servitude: Aspects of the Condition of Indian Women in Jamaica, 1845–1945,” *Ibid.* See also Walton Look-Lai, *The Chinese in the West Indies 1806–1995* and Patricia Powell, “The Dynamics of Power and Desire in *The Pagoda*,” in *Winds of Change: the transforming voices of Caribbean women writers and scholars*, eds. Adele S. Newton and Linda Strong-Leek, (New York: P. Lang, 1998) 189–94.
 20. Patrick Bryan, “The Settlement of the Chinese in Jamaica: 1854–c.1970,” *Caribbean Quarterly* 50.2 (June 2004) 15–25 (15, 16—specifically). See also Walton Look-Lai, *The Chinese in the West Indies 1806-1995*; Lok Sui, *Memories of a Future Home: Diasporic Citizenship of Chinese in Panama*; and Lisa Yun, *The coolie speaks Chinese indentured laborers and African slaves in Cuba*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008).
 21. Victory Chang, “Editorial-The Chinese in the Caribbean” *Caribbean Quarterly* 50.2 (June 2004): v-x.
 22. Natasha B. Barnes, “Face of the Nation: Race, Nationalisms, and Identities in Jamaican Beauty Pageants,” *Daughters of Caliban: Caribbean Women in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Consuelo López Springfield (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1997) 285-306 (301—specific page reference).
 23. Sara Ahmed, “Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 12.4 (2006) 543-574 (555,556—specific page refs).
 24. Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 522.

25. Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: PNM Publishing, 1962); Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guyanese Working People, 1881–1905* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).
26. Lowe, “Intimacies of Four Continents,” 204.
27. Consider also the celebrated stories of Mary Read and Anne Bonny, white women who passed as men and yet could exercise different kinds of rights. Their stories show both the privileges of white women and the commonness of the practice of gender passing in the nineteenth century. See C. V. Black, *Tales of Old Jamaica*. (Kingston, Jamaica: Carlong Publishers Ltd., 1966), 62–77; R. Norton, “Lesbian Pirates: Anne Bonny and Mary Read,” *The Great Queens of History*, updated January 8, 2000, <http://www.infopt.demon.co.uk/pirates.htm>; K. Wilczyński, “History of Piracy, A Biography of Anne Bonny, A Biography of Mary Read,” <http://www.piratesinfo.com>; D. J. Jones, “Ahoy, Matey! That Pirate Has Breasts!” (2002) <http://www.piratesinfo.com>; and *Lady Nugent’s Journal: Jamaica one hundred and thirty-eight years ago: reprinted from a journal kept by Maria, lady Nugent, from 1801 to 1815, issued for private circulation in 1839* (London: Published for the Institute of Jamaica by the West India Committee, 1939).
28. Nugent, 4. *Lady Nugent’s Journal*.
29. See Antonio Benitez-Rojo, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective* (Durham, NC Duke University Press, 1992) and J. Michael Dash, *The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context* (Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1998 *America*). See Doris Garraway’s *The Libertine Colony* for a sustained critique of the gratuitous violence celebrated in piracy scholarship of Reddiker and Linebaugh.
30. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness*, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 12.
31. *Ibid.*, 13.
32. Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of “Sex”* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 33.
33. Judith Butler, “Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory,” *Theatre Journal* 40, no. 4 (December 1988): 519, 522.
34. Sara Ahmed, “Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology,” 12–13.
35. Yung, *Unbound Feet*, 20.
36. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 37.
37. *Ibid.*, 26, 27.
38. *Ibid.*, 27.
39. *Ibid.*, 243.
40. Sara Ahmed, “Orientations: Toward a Queer Phenomenology,” 17.
41. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 243, emphasis mine.
42. *Ibid.*, 96–100, emphasis mine.
43. George Lamming, *In the Castle of My Skin* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983).
44. Edith Clarke, *My Mother who Fathered Me: A Study of the Family of Three Selected Communities in Jamaica* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1966); and T. S. Simey *Welfare & Planning in the West Indies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

45. Bridget Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
46. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 43.
47. Steven Seidman, “From Identity to Queer Politics: Shifts in Normative Heterosexuality and the Meaning of Citizenship,” *Citizenship Studies* 5, no. 3 (2001): 327.
48. See Lucie Cheng Hirata, “Free, Indentured, Enslaved: Chinese Prostitutes in Nineteenth-Century America.” *Signs* 5 (1979): 3-29; and her “Chinese Immigrant Women in Nineteenth-Century California” in *Women of America: A History*, edited by Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1979. For the nineteenth-century Caribbean context, see M Alexandra Lee, “They Never Looked Back: The role of the Hakka women in Jamaica,” *Caribbean Quarterly*, 50.2 (June 2004) 74-81.
49. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 13.
50. *Ibid.*, 227.
51. *Ibid.*, 39.
52. *Ibid.*, 240, sic.
53. *Ibid.*, 225.
54. *Ibid.*, 221.
55. *Ibid.*, 226.
56. *Ibid.*, 224.
57. *Ibid.*, 229.
58. *Ibid.*, 231.
59. In her 1996 article, Griffin identifies a paradigmatic moment where touch as an instrument of healing was central to the new writings by black women writers. In general, my novels do not offer touch as a means of healing these bodies in pain. Yet this one scene comes close to Griffin’s “textual healing.” I am persuaded that we are at a similar paradigmatic moment in Caribbean women’s writings, a moment where first the project is to make the pain clearly visible and then to show that these bodies in pain have a history that archives or nationalist narratives cannot tell. See Griffin’s “Textual Healing: Claiming Black Women’s Bodies, the Erotic and Resistance in Contemporary Novels of Slavery,” *Callaloo* 19, no. 2 (1996): 519–36.
60. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 240, emphasis mine.
61. *Ibid.*, 40.
62. *Ibid.*, 41.
63. *Ibid.*, 53.
64. *Ibid.*, 41.
65. *Ibid.*, 36, 40.
66. Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002) 352, 367.
67. Deborah Thomas, *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 24.
68. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 63, emphasis mine.
69. See Michel-Rolph Trouillot, “Culture, Class and Politics,” in *State Against Nation: The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism*. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990).

70. Barnes, *Daughters of Caliban*, 111.
71. See Mavis Campbell, *The Dynamics of Changes in a Slave Society: A Sociopolitical History of the Free Coloreds of Jamaica, 1800–1865*; and Gad J. Heuman, *Between Black and White: Race, Politics, and the Free Coloreds in Jamaica, 1792–1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press) 1981.
72. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 14.
73. *Ibid.*, 7.
74. *Ibid.*, 148.
75. *Ibid.*
76. In this article, Foreman discusses passing in the context of African American literature. See Foreman's "Who's Your Mama?: 'White' Mulatta Genealogies, Early Photography, and Anti-Passing Narratives of Slavery and Freedom" *American Literary History* 14, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 505–39.
77. Catherine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830–1867* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
78. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 244–45.
79. *Ibid.*, 71, 72.
80. I am building on Doris Garraway's definition of the incestuous family romance in her chapter "Race, Reproduction and the Family Romance in Saint Domingue" *The Libertine Colony: Creolization in the Early French Caribbean* (Durham: Duke University Press 2005) 240-292.
81. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 226.
82. *Ibid.*, 213, emphasis mine.
83. *Ibid.*
84. *Ibid.*, 5.
85. *Ibid.*, 6.
86. *Ibid.*, 7.
87. See M. Alexandra Lee's article "They Never Looked Back" in *Caribbean Quarterly* 50.2 (June 2004) 74-81. Poignantly when Alexandra Lee compiles the first study focusing on Hakka women in Jamaica (2001), she turns to collecting oral histories. Getting family members to talk about their grand and great-grandmothers, Lee attempts to reconstruct women roles in family life among the Chinese in Jamaica.
88. I am referencing the collection of short stories edited by Pamela Mordecai and Betty Wilson, *Her True-True Name: An Anthology of Women's Writings from the Caribbean* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Educational Books, 1989).
89. Powell's article, "The Dynamics of Power and Desire in *The Pagoda*," in *Winds of Change: the transforming voices of Caribbean women writers and scholars*, eds. Adele S. Newson and Linda Strong-Leek, (New York : P. Lang, 1998) 189–94; and, and personal interview with author Boston, October 15, 2006.
90. Hans Schmidt, *The U.S. Occupation of Haiti, 1915–1934* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1971).
91. Schmidt, *The U.S. Occupation of Haiti*, 5.
92. Powell, *The Pagoda*, 62.

CHAPTER 2

1. Nelly Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2002), 1.
2. I am deliberately invoking Frederic Jackson Turner's American Frontier Thesis.
3. In fact, in 1871, the U.S. Senate Commission of Inquiry explored whether the Dominican Republic was appropriate for annexation. See Silvio Torres-Saillant, "The Tribulations of Blackness: Stages in Dominican Racial Identity," *Callaloo* 23, no. 3 (2000): 1086–1111.
4. Howard Hill. *Roosevelt and The Caribbean* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1965) 157–63; and Richard H. Colin. *Theodore Roosevelt's Caribbean: The Panama Canal, The Monroe Doctrine, and The Latin American Context* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).
5. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 209.
6. M. Jacqui Alexander, "Erotic Autonomy," in *Feminist genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, ed. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (New York: Routledge, 1997) 63–100.
7. Krista Thompson argues that through repetition and reproduction, postcards form a visual grammar for reading the Caribbean. See her *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).
8. Richard Turits, in *The Foundation of Despotism*, argues that the incorporation of the peasantry established the foundation for Trujillo's hegemony over the nation. In 1927, Trujillo was named commander in chief by Vasquez; he then facilitated a coup in which he seized the presidency. *Foundation of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).
9. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 8.
10. Jennifer Yee, "Recycling the 'Colonial Harem'? Women in Postcards from French Indochina," *French Cultural Studies* 15, no. 5 (2004): 6.
11. Allan Wells's book on Jewish refugees to the Dominican Republic which documents that Jewish men and women migrated at a ratio of 2 to 1. *Tropical Zion: General Trujillo, FDR, and the Jews of Sosúa*. (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2009).
12. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 9, 10.
13. See Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
14. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 10–11, emphasis mine.
15. *Ibid.*, 8.
16. *Ibid.*, 12.
17. *Ibid.*, 13.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*, 15.
20. *Ibid.*, 52.
21. *Ibid.*, 64–65, emphasis in original.

22. Ibid., 66.
23. Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
24. Steven Gregory, *The Devil Behind the Mirror: Globalization and Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 2007) 112.
25. Confidential file Record Group 38 10w49/2/4/ entry #21.
26. See Nancy Mitchell's *The Danger of Dreams: German and American Imperialism in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).
27. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 223.
28. Ibid., 43.
29. Ibid., 10.
30. Ibid., 12.
31. Ibid., 46.
32. Ibid., 74.
33. Valentina Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture in the Dominican Republic from the Captains General to General Trujillo* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 35.
34. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 19.
35. Ibid.
36. See Harvey Neptune's *Caliban and the Yankees: Trinidad and the United States Occupation* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2007).
37. Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture*, 12.
38. Herbert Aptheker "American Imperialism and White Chauvinism" in *Toward Negro Freedom*, (New York: New Century Publishers, 1956) 8.
39. See Bruce Calder, *The Impact of Intervention: The Dominican Republic During the U.S. Occupation of 1916-1924* (Austin : University of Texas Press) 39, 58-59.
40. Peguero, *The Militarization of Culture*, 27-43.
41. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 20.
42. Ibid., 21.
43. Ibid., 32, 33.
44. Ibid., 48, 50.
45. Ibid., 99.
46. Ibid., 68.
47. Judith Walkowitz and others show that it is women, especially poor women, who get targeted as disease vectors, while men get to roam. *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
48. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 78.
49. T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting, *Black Venus: Sexualized Savages, Primal Fears, and Primitive Narratives in French* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
50. See Amy Dru Stanley on transactional sex in her *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
51. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 78-79, emphasis mine.
52. Ibid., 80, emphasis mine.

53. See Calder, *Impact of Intervention*. Peguero also briefly signals but does not explore whether the various health and educational reforms actually benefited women and children as they were touted by the American government. She does mention that they ushered in the first Dominican census in 1920 and “created social legislation concerning women and children.” But here again, the impact of such social legislation is undeveloped. (42).
54. Ann Laura Stoler, “Colonial Archives and the Arts of Governance.” *Archival Science* 2 (2002): 87–109.
55. Calder, *The Impact of Intervention*, 88.
56. Executive Order 168, translated by Nathifa Morris.
57. Ibid.
58. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 123.
59. *Listin Diario*, “En la Historia” “Cuanda Se Fueron Los Marineros Americanos” May 9, 1993, p. 8.
60. I have in mind the scene in Joseph Zobel’s *Black Shack Alley* (Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Publishers, 1996) where the mother of a mulatto child begs her white lover to give their son his last name. He replies that it belongs to generations of white blood—the implication being that it is not a name for mulattos.
61. Amalia Cabezas, “Women’s Work Is Never Done,” in *Sun, Sex and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, ed. Kamala Kempadoo (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 93–124.
62. Theodore Roosevelt argued that the United States had “the right” to intervene in the domestic affairs of its neighbors if they proved unable to maintain order and national sovereignty on their own foreign policy that backed up negotiations with the implicit threat of military force.
63. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 15.
64. See Melissa Madera’s unpublished paper, “An Indecently Public Affair: The Regulation of Prostitution in Santo Domingo City during the U.S. Occupation of the Dominican Republic, 1916–1924,” 20–21. Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press) 2002; Eileen Findlay, *Imposing Decency: the Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1999); Philippa Levine, *Prostitution, Race, and Politics: Policing Venereal Disease in the British Empire* (New York: Routledge) 2003; and Laura Putman, *The Company They Kept: Migrants and the Politics of Gender in Caribbean Costa Rica, 1870–1960* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
65. Rebecca Lord, “Quarantine in the Fort Ozama Dungeon: The Control of Prostitution and Venereal Disease in the Dominican Republic,” (*Caribbean Quarterly* 49. 44) 12–29. Fourteen countries under American domination inherited American venereal disease policies See Lord, p. 15.
66. Madera shows the responses on ground that challenges the wholesale importation of American policies.
67. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 80–82.
68. Ibid., 145.
69. Ibid., 141.

70. Ibid., 98.
71. Ibid., 166.
72. Ibid., 87–88.
73. See Lauren Derby, “The Dictator’s Seduction: Gender and the State Spectacle during the Trujillo Regime,” *Callaloo* 23, no. 3 (2000): 112–146.
74. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 88.
75. Ibid., 91.
76. Ibid., 93.
77. Ibid., 91.
78. Ibid., 203.
79. Ibid., 89.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., 209.
83. Hortense Spillers, “Mama’s Baby, Papa’s Maybe: An American Grammar Book,” *Diacritics* 17, no. 2 (1987) 64–81.
84. Rosario, *Song of the Water Saints*, 100, emphasis mine.
85. Ibid., 138, 139.
86. Ibid., 203.
87. Ibid., 234.
88. Ibid., 232–33.
89. Ibid., 234.
90. Ibid., 235–36.
91. Ibid., 234.
92. Ibid., 237.
93. Ibid., 231–35.
94. Ibid., 234.
95. Ibid., 242.
96. Ibid., 202–3.
97. Ibid., 242.
98. For full discussion see J. Michael Dash, *Literature and Ideology in Haiti, 1915–1961* (New York: Barnes and Noble Books, 1981).
99. Michel-Rolph Truillot, *State Against Nation: The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990).

CHAPTER 3

1. Here I have in mind Danticat’s collection of short stories, *Krik! Krak!*, and her novel *Farming of Bones*.
2. Edwidge Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 208.
3. Ibid., 234.
4. Beverley Bell’s book, which gives the sexual testimonies of Haitian women, includes a preface by Danticat. See Bell’s *Walking on Fire: Haitian Women’s Stories of Survival and Resistance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001).

5. Earlier critical interpretations subordinate the issue of sexual violence to the more generalizable process of migration and transculturation. Scholars, for example, explored how the novel's depiction of daffodils and food/cooking serve as metaphors of diasporic resistance. See Valerie Loichot, "Edwidge Danticat's Kitchen History," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 5, no.1 (2004): 92–116; Jana Evans Braziel, "Daffodils, Rhizomes, Migrations: Narrative Coming of Age in the Diasporic Writings of Edwidge Danticat and Jamaica Kincaid," *Meridians: Feminism, Race, Transnationalism* 3, no. 2 (2003): 110–31; and Dorisia Smith, "A Violent Homeland: Recalling Haiti in Edwidge Danticat's Novels," in *Narrating the Past: (Re)Constructing Memory, (Re)Negotiating History*, ed. Nandita Batra (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), 133–40.
6. Lucia M. Suarez, *Tears of Hispaniola*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida 2006) 8.
7. The Cacos were able to maintain armed resistance against the U.S. Marines for one year, from 1918 to 1919.
8. Mary Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 10.
9. In *Haiti: State Against Nation*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot points out that French only become Haiti's political language during the U.S. occupation through Franklin Roosevelt's constitutional revision. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990, p.151); Clorinde Zéphir, *Haitian Women Between Repression and Democracy*, looks at the consequences of militarization for Haitian women, Port-au-Prince, Haiti : ENFOFANM Editions, 1995.
10. Renda, *Taking Haiti*, 164.
11. Charles, 139. "Gender and Politics in Contemporary Haiti: The Duvalierist State, Transnationalism, and the Emergence of a New Feminism (1980–1990)." *Feminist Studies* 21.1 (Spring 1995) 1-30.
12. Here I am counting the total twenty-nine-year rule of both father and son, François Duvalier ("Papa Doc," 1957–1971) and Jean Claude Duvalier ("Baby Doc," 1971–1986).
13. Charles, "Gender and Politics in Contemporary Haiti," 140.
14. Importantly feminist organizing during this period took place in the Haitian diasporas of Canada and the United States. See Carolle Charles' article "Gender and Politics in Contemporary Haiti."
15. One of the most violent and visible expressions of state repression under Duvalier was the brutal rape by *tonton macoutes* of the feminist journalist Yvonne Hakime-Rimpel, who was an activist and supporter of the opposition. Because Yvonne Hakime-Rimpel's patriotism did not display allegiance to Duvalier's state, she was defined as an enemy of the state and subjected to political repression that took the form of sexual abuse.
16. See Anne Fuller, "Challenging Violence: Haitian Women Unite Women's Rights and Human Rights" Association of Concerned Africa Scholars. Special Bulletin on Women and War (Spring/Summer 1999) ACAS website: <http://acas.prairienet.org>.

17. Terry Rey, "Junta, Rape and Religion in Haiti: 1993/94," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 15, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 79. See also *Haitian Women Between Repression and Democracy*, which chronicles the numerous abuses against women in 1993 alone. Women, for example, were beaten in market places for boycotting elections. Enfofanm Editions, *Haitian Women Between Repression and Democracy* (Port-au-Prince, Haiti: Enfofanm, 1991).
18. Again we see similarities with the Dominican Republic in terms of the language used to justify U.S. intervention. Presently, the visual pictures of the intimate atrocities committed at Abu Ghraib by American servicemen against Iraqi citizens forced the American public to recognize how sexual terror is often deployed during occupations.
19. As Anne Fuller points out, medical certificates are necessary to prove rape, and yet for the majority of women, they are difficult to attain (Anne Fuller, "Challenging Violence: Haitian Women Unite Women's Rights and Human Rights"). Here again, I acknowledge the importance of Bell's new book documenting the testimonies of Haitian women who have suffered sexual violations.
20. Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery* (New York: Basic Books, 1992).
21. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 59. Many in the Haitian diasporic community send messages on cassettes back home rather than the typical immigrant practice of writing letters to those in the homeland.
22. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 61.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. I find instructive Caribbean literary and cultural critics Carolyn Cooper and Michael Bucknor's discussion of body vibes and body memory in Caribbean women's writings. They use it to link the oral and the written as a praxis deployed by Caribbean women writers and, for Cooper specifically, to maintain African cultural practices. My purpose here, however, is to focus on the traumatic histories women's bodies contain and how recent Caribbean women writers have taken up the task of writing these political body histories. See Cooper's *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender and the Vulgar Body in Jamaican Popular Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995) and Bucknor's "Body-Vibes: Spacing the Performance in Lillian Allen's Dub Poetry," *Thamyris* 5, no. 2 (Autumn 1998): 301–22.
26. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 139.
27. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 239
28. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 61.
29. Ibid., 138.
30. Ibid., 138–39, emphasis mine.
31. Ibid., 139.
32. Ibid., 193.
33. Ibid., 74.
34. Charles, "Gender and Politics in Contemporary Haiti," 142.
35. Charles, Ibid., 142.
36. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 38.

37. Ibid., 155.
38. Ibid., 84–85.
39. Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 214.
40. Ibid., 239
41. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 155.
42. Ibid., 156.
43. Ibid., 200
44. Ibid.
45. Becky Wangsgaard Thompson, “A Way Outa No Way: Eating Problems Among African-American, Latina, and White Women,” *Gender and Society* 6, no. 4 (1992): 551.
46. Bordo, Susan. “The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity: A Feminist Appropriation of Foucault.” *Gender/Body/Knowledge: Feminist Reconstructions of Being and Knowing*. Eds. Alison M. Jaggar and Susan R. Bordo. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1989. 13-33. 20.
47. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 88.
48. Ibid., 196.
49. Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-making in Nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 51.
50. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 206.
51. Griffin, Farah Jasmine. “Textual Healing: Claiming Black Women’s Bodies, the Erotic and Resistance in Contemporary Novels of Slavery,” *Callaloo* 19.2 (Spring 1996): 519–36.
52. Ibid., 201.
53. Ibid., 202.
54. Ibid., 203.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 60.
57. Ibid., 217.
58. Ibid., 224.
59. Ibid., 150.
60. Ibid., 234.
61. Karen McCarthy Brown, *Mama Lola: A Vodou Priestess in Brooklyn* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 227.
62. In the voodoo pantheon, Erzuli is a powerful pair of female spirits: Erzulie Danto is the hardworking black, single mother. According to the lore, because of her race and class she does not marry; but because she is fertile she is assured that her children will take care of her as she ages. In contrast, Erzulie Freda is the white, elegant and sensual and as such will secure status and security through marriage. Brown, *Mama Lola*, 228, 256.
63. Ibid., 229.
64. Ibid., 225–257.
65. Danticat, *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, 234.

CHAPTER 4

1. Elizabeth Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus* (Seattle, WA: Seal Press, 2000), 4–5.
2. *Ibid.*, 6.
3. *Ibid.*, 23.
4. *Ibid.*, 39.
5. M. Jacqui Alexander, “Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization,” in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, ed. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (New York: Routledge, 1997), 63–99. Again the discourse analysis offered by Morgan and Youssef confirm my reading here: Morgan, Paula and Valerie Youssef, *Writing Rage: Unmasking Violence through Caribbean Discourse* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2006). See also Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-making in Nineteenth-century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Tracy Robinson (unpublished paper), “Taxonomies of Conjugality: A Caribbean Grammar Book.
6. For instance, Jamaica’s “Out of Many, One People” and Guyana’s “One People, One Nation, One Destiny.” Here I have in mind Merle Hodge’s critical and creative works, *Crick Crack Monkey* (London: Heinemann, 1981); and George Lamming’s *In the Castle of My Skin* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1991).
7. Belinda Edmondson, *Caribbean Romances: The Politics of Regional Representation* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999), 2.
8. Shalini Puri, *The Caribbean Postcolonial: Social Equality, Post-Nationalism, and Cultural Hybridity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004).
9. In their very thorough interdisciplinary study, Trinidadian scholars Paula Morgan and Valerie Youssef engage in a thorough reading of societal acceptance of family and domestic violence as it appears in newspapers and novels. See *Writing Rage*.
10. Morgan and Youssef, *Writing Rage*, 2.
11. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 4.
12. *Ibid.*
13. See Belinda Edmondson’s “Race, Privilege, and the Politics of (Re)writing History: An Analysis of the Novels of Michelle Cliff,” *Callaloo* 16, no. 1 (1993): 180–91; and Paula Morgan, “A Tall Far Island Floating in Cobalt Paint: Race and Displacement in Rhys’s Fiction.” www.cavehill.uwi.edu/BNCCde/dominica/. . . /morgan.html (2005).
14. See p. 105 of novel. See also Aisha Khan, “What is a “Spanish” Ambiguity and “Mixed” Ethnicity in Trinidad,” in *Trinidad Ethnicity*, ed. Kevin Yelvington (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1993).
15. Faith Smith, *Creole Recitations: John Jacob Thomas and Colonial Formation in the Late Nineteenth-century Caribbean* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2002), 172.
16. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 201.
17. *Ibid.*, 280.
18. *Ibid.*, 14, emphasis mine.

19. Ibid., 25, emphasis mine.
20. , emphasis mine.
21. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 51.
22. See Belinda Edmondson's *Making Men: Gender, Literary Authority, and Women's Writing in Caribbean Narrative* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 1999).
23. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 112.
24. Ibid., 124.
25. Ibid., 130.
26. Ibid., 126.
27. Ibid., 127, emphasis mine.
28. Ibid., 128.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 126, emphasis mine.
31. See Reddock, "Douglarisation and the Politics of Gender Relations in Trinidad and Tobago," in *Caribbean Sociology: Introductory Readings*, eds. Christine Barrow and Rhoda Reddock (Oxford, United Kingdom: James Currey, 2001). Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001., pp 322, 325.
32. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 109.
33. *The Wide Sargasso Sea*, for example. See my article, "Uncovered Stories: Politicizing Sexual Histories in Third Wave Caribbean Women's Writings," *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire* 6 (September 2004): 61–81.
34. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 64.
35. Ibid., 152.
36. Ibid., 43.
37. Ibid.
38. This practice is consistent throughout the region. In Haiti, extreme examples seen in cases of *restavecs*. See Jean-Robert Cadet's book, *Restavec: From Haitian Slave Child to Middle-class American* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998). Glenn R. Smucker & Gerald F. Murray, "The Uses Of Children: A Study Of Trafficking In Haitian Children" USAID/Haiti Mission, Port-au-Prince, Haiti (December 2004). See also Nancy Solien, "Household and Family in the Caribbean." In *Peoples and Cultures of the Caribbean*. Michael M. Horowitz, ed. Garden City: The Natural History Press, 1971; Olive Senior Working Miracles: women's lives in the English-speaking Caribbean, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1991) 12–18; S. Gordon, "I Go to Tantie: The Economic Significance of Child-shifting in Antigua, WI," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 18, no. 3, 427–43; and Christine Barrow, "Caribbean Masculinities and Conjugal Relations: Ideologies and Contradictions," in *Gender and the Family in the Caribbean: Proceedings of the Workshop "Family and the Quality of Gender Relations,"* ed. Wilma Bailey (Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1998), 70–71.
39. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 82.
40. Ibid., 81.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid., 43.

43. Ibid., 81.
44. Stephanie Daly, *The Developing Legal Status of Women in Trinidad and Tobago* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: National Commission on the Status of Women, 1982), 7. See also Rhoda Reddock's unpublished paper on Marriage Acts: "Gender, Nation and the Dilemmas of Citizenship: The Case of the Marriage Acts of Trinidad and Tobago."
45. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 65.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 35.
48. Ibid., 136.
49. Ibid.
50. Caryl Phillips, *Cambridge* (London: Bloomsbury, 1991) and Alejo Carpentier, *The Kingdom of this World* are both novels that address this interracial union.
51. Nunez's article explores white women's belonging in the region. See "The Paradoxes of Belonging: The White West Indian in Fiction," *Modern Fiction Studies* 31, no. 2 (Summer 1985): 287.
52. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 18.
53. Ibid., 135.
54. Ibid., 133.
55. Mindie Lazarus Black, *Legitimate Acts and Illegal Encounters: Law and Society in Antigua and Barbuda* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994).
56. Bridget Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
58. Evelyn O'Callaghan's recent scholarship proves useful in the ways it unpacks the complex heterogeneous social world white women inhabited in the nineteenth-century Caribbean. While we arrive at a discursive sexual typology that casts the white creole woman as "sexually ravenous" and the white English woman as "chaste," O'Callaghan's historical and literary fieldwork tells us how we got there. During the early period of colonial settlement, some white women entered the region as indentured servants and worked alongside black enslaved women; yet to mark the racial distinction between black slave and white servant, white women were removed from this labor force and "had become rare by the mid-eighteenth century" (20). If, at times, white women outnumbered their men in the colonies, who they were partnering with? If we stay within the bounds of compulsive heterosexuality, then we have to at least take seriously black and colored men, which historical sources confirm. For example, Kamau Brathwaite documents "fourteen instances of white women marrying free colored men" and Hilary Beckles "records evidence of sexual relations between black men and white women in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Barbados" (quoted from O'Callaghan 23?). See also Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002), 6.
59. Nunez, *Bruised Hibiscus*, 20.
60. Ibid., 46.
61. Ibid., 125.

62. Ibid., 104.
63. Ibid., 183–84.
64. Ibid., 282.

CHAPTER 5

1. Kamala Kempadoo, “‘SanDom’s’ and Other Exotic Women: Prostitution and Race in the Caribbean,” *Race and Reason: Journal of the Institute for African-American Studies, Columbia University* (1996): 48–54; 51 specifically.
2. Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (London: Routledge, 2003). See Deborah Thomas’s *Modern Blackness: Nationalism, Globalization and the Politics of Culture in Jamaica* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Harvey Neptune’s *Caliban and the Yankees* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). See also Connie Sutton’s “The Caribbeanization of New York City and the Emergence of a Transnational Socio-Cultural System.” *Caribbean Life in New York City*. Eds. Connie Sutton and Elsa M. Chaney. (NY: Center for Migration Studies of NY, 1987); and Bruce Robbins’s *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).
3. Bill Maurer, *Recharting the Caribbean: Land, Law, and Citizenship in the British Virgin Islands*. (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
4. Kamala Kempadoo, *Sexing the Caribbean: Gender, Race, and Sexual Labor* (New York: Routledge, 2004).
5. Ibid., 3.
6. Ibid., 202, 205.
7. Ibid., 5, 203.
8. Brennan builds on Arjun Appadurai’s five terms—ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, finanscapes and ideoscapes to explain the critical role the social imaginary plays in processes of contemporary globalization. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1996. Brennan, Denise. *What’s Love Got to do with it?: Transnational Desires and Sex Tourism in the Dominican Republic*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004. p.21.
9. Denise Brennan, *What’s Love Got to do with it?*, 211.
10. Ibid., 23, 45.
11. See M. Jacqui Alexander, “Erotic Autonomy as a Politics of Decolonization,” in *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures*, ed. M. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade Mohanty (New York: Routledge, 1997), 63–99.
12. Steven Gregory, *The Devil Behind the Mirror: Globalization and Politics in the Dominican Republic* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 9.

13. How the dynamics of masculinity plays on male sex workers is also worthy of exploration, but is not my specific interest here.
14. Red Thread Women's Development Programme, "'Givin' Lil' Bit fuh Lil' Bit': Women and Sex Work in Guyana," in *Sun, Sex, and Gold: Tourism and Sex Work in the Caribbean*, ed. Kemala Kenpadoo (New York: Routledge, 1999), 263–90.
15. Angie Cruz, *Soledad* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 67.
16. *Ibid.*, 45–47.
17. *Ibid.*, 35.
18. *Ibid.*, 9.
19. See Michel-Rolph Trouillot's chapter "Culture, Class and Politics," in his book, *State Against Nation: The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1990).
20. Cruz, *Soledad*, 57.
21. *Ibid.*, 59.
22. *Ibid.*, 89.
23. *Ibid.*, 72.
24. Denise Brennan, "Women Work, Men Sponge, and Everyone Gossips: Macho Men and Stigmatized/ing Women in a Sex Tourist Town." *Anthropological Quarterly* 77.4 (2004) 705–33.
25. Vicki Schultz, "Life's Work," *Columbia Law Review* 100 no. 7 (November 2000): 1883.
26. John K. Anarfi, "Ghanian Women and Prostitution in Cote d'Ivoire", in *Global Sex Workers: Rights, Resistance, and Redefinition*, eds. Kemala Kempadoo and Jo Doezema (New York: Routledge, 1998), 111.
27. *Ibid.*, 112.
28. Cruz, *Soledad*, 58.
29. Vicki Schultz, "Life's Work," 1890.
30. Cruz, *Soledad*, 89, 75.
31. *Ibid.*, 60.
32. *Ibid.*, 60.
33. *Ibid.*, 76.
34. Steven Gregory, *The Devil Behind the Mirror*, 159–60.
35. Cruz, *Soledad*, 149.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*, 123.
38. *Ibid.*, 150.
39. *Ibid.*, 147.
40. *Ibid.*, 151.
41. *Ibid.*
42. *Ibid.*, 152.
43. Quoted in Walt, 1990 p. 8.
44. The film *My American Girls* has a scene in which the mother returns to the Dominican Republic with food to distribute to members of the local community. *My American Girls: A Dominican Story*, videorecording by Aaron Matthews (New York: Filmmakers Library, 2000).

45. Cruz, *Soledad*, 175.
46. *Ibid.*, 145.
47. *Ibid.*, 150.
48. *Ibid.*, 200, italics in original.
49. *Ibid.*, 175.
50. *Ibid.*, 144.
51. *Ibid.*, 201.
52. Silvio Torres-Saillant, "Writing has to be Generous: An Interview with Angie Cruz," *Calabash: A Journal of Caribbean Arts and Letters* 2, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2003): 124.
53. Cruz, *Soledad*, 93–94.
54. *Ibid.*, 118.
55. *Ibid.*, 231.
56. *Ibid.*, 66.
57. *Ibid.*, 200.
58. *Ibid.*, 150.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*, 216, emphasis mine.
61. *Ibid.*, 202–3.
62. *Ibid.*, 205.
63. *Ibid.*, 65.
64. *Ibid.*, 93.
65. *Ibid.*, 205.
66. *Ibid.*, 126–27.
67. *Ibid.*, 127.
68. Steven Gregory, *The Devil Behind the Mirror*, 41.
69. Cruz, *Soledad*, 137–39.
70. *Ibid.*, 168–70.
71. *Ibid.*, 125.
72. *Ibid.*, 235–36.
73. *Ibid.*, 237, emphasis mine.
74. Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 25.

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1. Techno Seduction, "Roshini Kempadoo," *The Cooper Union*, <http://www.cooper.edu/art/techno/artists/kempadoo.html>.
2. *Ibid.*
3. David Scott, *Conscripts of Modernity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
4. *Ibid.*

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