12

IMPERIAL WET-NURSING IN ITALIAN EAST AFRICA

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Italian imperialism in East Africa began as an economic venture, a late entrée into the European Scramble for Africa. Missionary Giuseppe Sapeto, based in Abyssinia, gained the ear of King Vittorio Emanuelle II. Italian presence in the area, he argued, would promote trade. At the same time, Raffaele Rubattino planned to establish a steamship line through the newly opened Suez Canal and the Red Sea to India. The King, the monk, and the magnate agreed: Rubattino's company would purchase the Bay of Assab (in the future Eritrea) in its own name and with its own funds, but would use the port to further Italy's national interests. By March 1870 an Italian shipping company had thus become claimant to territory at the northern end of Eritrea, with its beaches and outlying islands. Two years later Italy formally took possession of the nascent colony from its commercial owners. Eritrea became Italy's *colonia primogenita*, the first-born colony, soon to be followed by Somalia and Ethiopia in the formation of Italy's East African empire, known by the Italian acronym AOI.

Military action bolstered financial outlay, pushing Italian imperial rule southward across the Horn of Africa. In 1887, roughly 500 men comprising the Italian forces were defeated at Dogali, the famous *cinquecento* for whom the Roma Termini's Piazza Cinquecento is named.[1] The Battle of Adwa, another disaster for the Italians, took place in 1896. Feeling that these two military defeats were insults to be avenged, the Italians strove to establish other forms of control. Further south, in Somalia, Italians worked to establish indirect rule, again through economic means. First, they placed the Filonardi Company in charge of the Somali Benadir Concession. New oil refineries and banana plantations further increased trade between Mogadiscio and Rome. Next, commercial treaties with Sultan Said of Zanzibar established Italian access to ports up and down the Somali coastline. Somalia was declared an Italian colony three years later, in 1908.

Ethiopia was not a colony but rather an occupied territory in Benito Mussolini's East African empire. Italian forces invaded in 1935, taking Addis Ababa and deposing Emperor Haile Selassi. Occupation turned on brutality. Geneva Convention violations included the use of dum dum bullets and poison gas.[2] Marshal Graziani's troops bombed military outposts and Red Cross hospitals alike. In 1938 the Race Laws underwrote and further developed a policy of segregation into the colonial urban sphere. Different city quarters in Addis, Asmara, and Mogadiscio separated Italians, East Africans, "mixed races," and industrial zones along regularized grids, incorporating rivers and trees as buffers between the homogenized neighborhoods. It is in this milieu that interracial wet-nursing emerged.

On April 5, 1939, the racialist periodical *The Defense of Race* (*La difesa della razza*) published recommendations for the proper nutrition for Italian infants born in the colonies. The guidelines condemned one feeding practice in particular: *il baliatico mercenario indigeno* (Figure 12.1). Interracial wet-nursing, or "mercenary breastfeeding" in the regime's parlance, was a

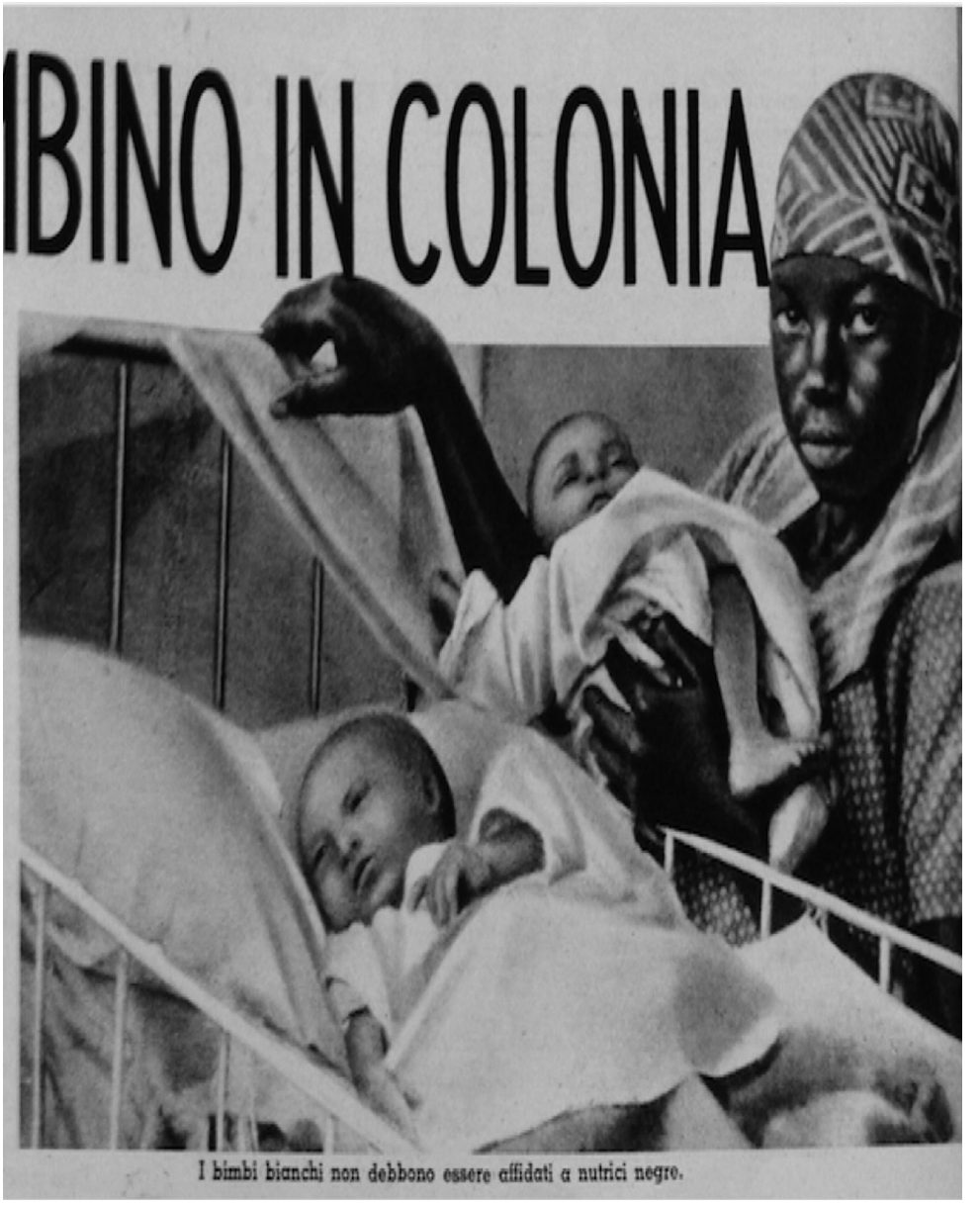

Figure 12.1 An illustration for an article on interracial wet-nursing, "Feeding children in the colonies," in *The Defense of the Race* (*La difesa della razza*). The text reads, "White infants should not be trusted to black wet-nurses." Article by Giuseppe Lucidi, Rome, Italy, April 1939. (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Italy)

common form of domestic labor in the colonies, a fact decried by Giuseppe Lucidi, the article's author.[3] He cited dubious studies claiming to have analyzed African women's milk in comparison with that of European mothers, and found it too high in fat and too rich for consumption by colonists' children. Lucidi went so far as to say that native pathogens would render Ethiopian wet-nurses' milk undigestible for Italian infants. Fascist women's groups unleashed fleets of prophylactic pamphlets decrying interracial wet-nursing by equating light color with superior nutrition. How could white milk come from black bodies? Fake science and Fascist government intertwined (Figure 12.2) and leapt toward literature. The opening car crash of F.T. Marinetti's famous Futurist Manifesto sends the protagonist flying from metallic vehicle to muddy earth, and from European adulthood to colonial infancy: "Oh maternal ditch, brimming with muddy water! Fair factory drain! I gulped down your bracing slime (*melma*), which reminded me of the sacred black breast of my Sudanese wet-nurse."[4] The *melma* he speaks of refers to a factory run-off.

Why devote so much panting press to interracial wet-nursing? In a historical period when the Fascist Italian press actively worked to construct racial difference, this particular form of domestic labor challenged the binary of dark and light at a cellular level. Scholars of the colonial intimate such as Ann Stoler and Anne McClintock have focused on the bodily

Figure 12.2 An illustration for an article on interracial wet-nursing, "Feeding children in the colonies" in *The Defense of the Race* (*La difesa della razza*). The text reads, "A contradiction and a danger: black wet-nurses for white children." Article by Giuseppe Lucidi, Rome, Italy, April 1939. (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome, Italy)

contact of interracial sexuality. This analysis builds on Stoler's account of wet-nursing in the colonies and expands the scope of intimacy to include childrearing practices. I argue that the physical intimacy and exchange of fluids involved in wet-nursing and breastfeeding are critical to our understanding of race, gender, and sexuality in the colonial world. Feeding and eating transcended the gap between self and other, blurring the line between subject and object as food turned into tissue, muscle, and nerve and provided the energy to fire them all.[5]

Interracial wet-nursing was a "reproductive regime." Through ingestion and digestion it held Fascist imperial power in place by consolidating hierarchies of bodily labor in colonial homesteads. At the same time, it also defied the 1938 Race Laws that segregated urban space and criminalized sexual contact across racial lines. This paradox points to divergent meanings of white lips on black breasts in Italian East Africa: the intimacy of interracial wet-nursing differs from the intimacy of interracial sex. Interracial sex eventually produced a generation of children who confused racial borders and boundaries. But the problems associated with interracial breastfeeding were more subtle and more immediate. Proximity and ingestion between wet-nurses and infants muddled an Italian understanding of motherhood in which breastfeeding implicated biological and cultural inheritance.

Broadly speaking, the Fascist regime objected to wet-nursing as the moral foe of breastfeeding. More and better breastmilk promised to minimize infant mortality while fortifying the national body, a key plank in the regime's platform for demographic control of the Italian populous. Recognizing how this food could promote their party's pro-natalist goals, the Fascist regime approached the promotion of breastfeeding and the denigration of wet-nursing with biopolitical considerations in mind. Key objections were two-fold. First, faulty knowledge of biological inheritance framed wet-nursing as a threat to the nascent racial hierarchy that the regime attempted to build in the Italian empire. In Medieval Rome, breastmilk was believed to transmit moral qualities as well as fats and vitamins.[6] Previously these concerns had been couched in terms of class. Accounts of wet-nursing in Renaissance Florence decried wealthy infants' absorption of base moral values via peasant wet-nurses.[7] During the 1930s the cooking magazine *La Cucina Italiana* provided recipes for nursing mothers that aimed to improve the flavor of their breastmilk (Figures 12.3 and 12.4). The tastes of the infant, not the mother, mattered: these recipes aimed to fortify the bodies of the nation's future soldiers. With the invasion of East Africa in 1935, interracial contact replaced interclass contact as the key threat. If white infants suckled from a black breast, they were believed to inherit the crude characteristics of their wet-nurse rather than the civilized traits of their biological mother. The industrialization of women's health care during the interwar period aimed to bring reproductive care under state control in continental Italy. Italian wet-nurses lacked formal association with the Fascist government. Because of their status as independent practitioners dealing with women's reproductive health and labor, wet-nursing evoked privacy issues and created woman-to-woman relationships of financial interdependence and physical intimacy between adult and infant bodies across social classes. Transferring these concerns from Italy to Ethiopia, wet-nursing undermined regime efforts to uphold its tenuous grasp on white superiority by bringing non-white, colonized subjects into precisely the domain deemed most sanctified: the Italian homestead with its Catholic family.

Put more broadly, wet-nursing threatened to undermine Fascist hierarchies of race, gender, and class by placing local infant foodways in private homes, outside of regime control. By extension, wet-nurses—working-class women and, crucially, women of color—could have an outsize impact on the regime's national economic and demographic projects. Little surprise, then, that Fascist propaganda worked to ameliorate wet-nurses' moral hygiene through greater intensity of medical surveillance and regimentation of feeding.

Figure 12.3 Magazine cover for *La Cucina Italiana*. September 1938, Rome, Italy. (Biblioteca Gastronomica, Parma, Italy)

This antipathy is evinced by increasing use of the term *baliatrico mercenario* in the Fascist and far-right press.[8] While so-called mercenary wet-nurses (*sensale* or *mandarine*) provided the necessary nutrients of human milk, regime propaganda linked wet-nurses to mud: that of the Italian countryside and the muck of East Africa as an undistinguished whole. Dirt carried moral opprobrium. Concrete and abstract filth combined to form a lack of moral hygiene. Because some women were physically incapable of breastfeeding, Giovanni Fagioli, founder of the Wet-Nurse Institute "The Nourisher" (*Istituto di Baliatico "La nutrice"*), framed wet-nursing as a necessary evil. At best, the wet-nurse menaced the "material and moral health of the family" ("*la salute materiale e morale della famiglia*"). At worse, she threatened "a moral danger to its physical and moral integrity" ("*un pericolo mortale per la sua integrità fisica e morale*").[9]

A poll of Roman doctors and pediatricians conducted by the right-leaning newspaper *Giornale d'Italia* framed the perceived problem of the wet-nurse as one of hygienic and unhygienic built environments. The newspaper characterized their January 1929 poll as an "exercise in the surveillance of hygiene," regarding the "sanitary conditions," of the wet-nurses' surroundings.[10] But the poll was also an exercise in state surveillance: the regime's

Figure 12.4 Magazine cover for a themed issue of *La Cucina Italiana*, "Woman and Race" ("*La Donna e la razza*"). October 1938, Rome, Italy. (Biblioteca Gastronomica, Parma, Italy)

Office of Hygiene (*Ufficio d'Igiene del Governatorato*) examined, and edited, all interview results prior to publication.[11] Though these medics certainly condemn the wet-nurse for her chief interest in payment rather than infant health, they primarily decry the unhygienic built environments where wet-nursing occurs. Dimestore novel language colors the descriptions: wet-nurses supposedly worked in "lurid and fetid dens" and "altogether unhealthy environments."[12] This booklet highlights regime-affiliated centers for wet-nurses as a hygienic solution, a move that also increased medical surveillance and government oversight of this practice. The only photos in this book show the interior rooms of one such center. In every photo a male doctor surveys the scene, whether in-person at a desk, as in the photo "The Management" ("*La Direzione*") or from the height of a wall-hung portrait, as in "Room for the Selection of Wet-nurses" ("*Salottino per la scelta delle balie*") (Figure 12.5). Portraits of the King and Mussolini hang just to the right of the Director's, creating a space of classed and gendered hierarchy to bring wet-nursing under regime control. In a textual reflection of this visual argument, the article also applauds the regime's recent decision to criminalize wet-nursing without government documentation. Wet-nurses endangered Fascist motherhood.

Figure 12.5 Photograph of *Istituto Baliatrico "La Nutrice,"* 1940, front office. (*Il bimbo al seno: Le grave conseguenze del baliatico mercenario*, 103 [1940])

But why? Collapsing breastfeeding with motherhood allowed the Fascist government to monitor women as well as children. Wet-nursing limited the regime's reach by giving middle- and upper-class women control over their time, and by giving poor and working-class women control over their finances. To the regime, the problem with wet-nursing lay not in its nutritional deficits but its social ones.

To parse the imperial intimacies of feeding and eating, let us examine two photos taken mere moments apart in a marketplace in Harar, Ethiopia, on May 8, 1936. The first of the two images (Figure 12.6) shows an Ethiopian fruit vendor as she breastfeeds her child. The camera work tells us how the photographer framed Ethiopian breastfeeding as anthropological, thus estranging what should have been a common, global feature of motherhood. The mother's head and the background are both blurry, suggesting that the photo was taken in haste, without the subject's consent. It purports to "capture" breastfeeding as through it were an anthropological moment exhibiting characteristic or stereotypical Ethiopian culture. But the furtive nature of the photographer's approach also suggests a latent, secondary motive: the erotics of breastfeeding. And, indeed, the second version of this market scene changes the tenor of the photo (Figure 12.7). Between shutter clicks one and two, the photographer must have interacted with the photo's subjects. He seems to have made two requests: one to the mother alone, asking her to look up

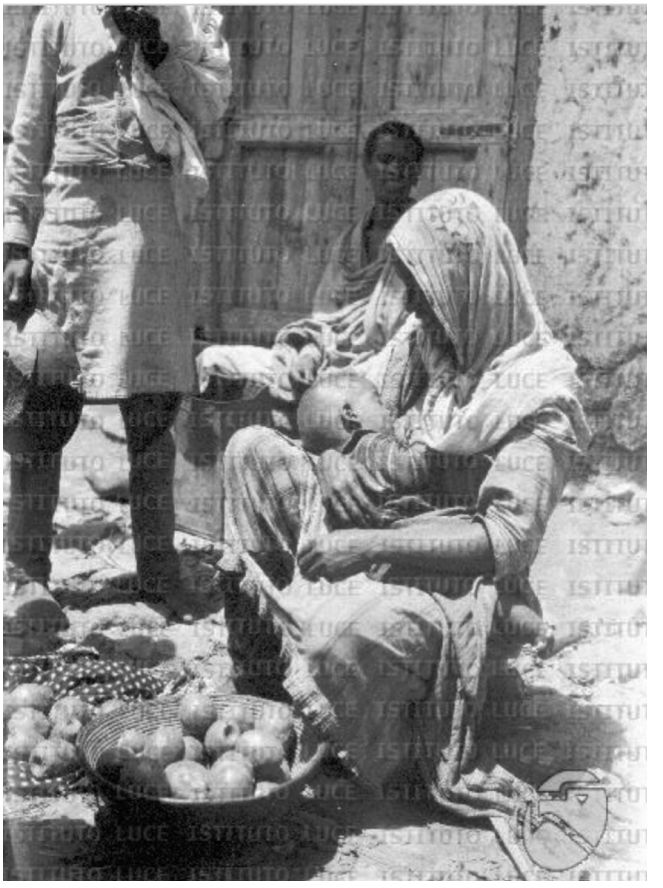

Figure 12.6 Photograph of woman breastfeeding at the Harar market, "Breastfeeding Woman" ("*Donna che allata*"). Photographed for LUCE by unknown photographer, May 8, 1936, Harar, Ethiopia. (Archivio LUCE Photo Code AO00008522, Series S.O. Various 5, Rome, Italy)

from her infant's face to face his camera's lens, and one to the crowd and the mother, asking them all to smile. This smile is key, because it places this second photo within the Italian tradition of Black Venus photography.

How did the regime use these images? Whose hands would have held them, and how would they have understood their content? The Fascist regime's *Milizia Volontaria di Sicurezza Nationale* established and diffused the concept of the "*Venere nera*" by turning these photos into postcards which they distributed to young Italian males, potential soldiers, at barber shops in Italy during the first months of the Ethiopian Campaign in 1936 and later to enlisted soldiers in Italian East Africa. This fact is already a matter of historical record. But perhaps more significant is what happened next: Italian soldiers wrote on these erotic postcards and mailed them home to their wives, mothers, and daughters in mainland Italy. In their texts they often call the loved one's attention to the postcard's illustration, noting that the woman shown is a "characteristic" one. In other words, the soldiers who used these postcards often framed these women in anthropological terms rather than erotic ones.[13] They used the pretext of strangeness to excuse and obfuscate the potential for arousal.

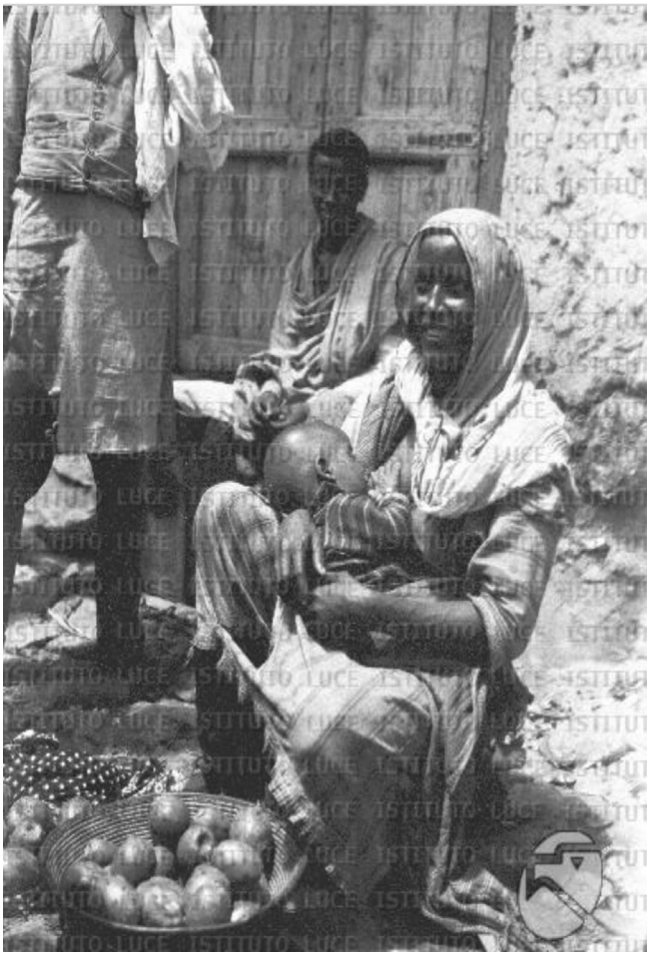

Figure 12.7 Photograph of woman breastfeeding at the Harar market, "An Indigenous Woman Breast-feeding her Son in the Harar Market" ("*Una donna indigena che allata il figlio al mercato di Harar*"). Photographed for LUCE by unknown photographer, May 8, 1936, Harar, Ethiopia. (Archivio LUCE Photo Code AO00008548, Series S.O. Various 6, Rome, Italy)

Anthropological pretexts for looking at erotically posed East African women frame race and ethnicity as unassailable differences, walls that separate the gazer and the object of the gaze. Tautological reasoning ruled soldiers' decisions to send a postcard depicting a topless woman to a female relative in Italy: if they sent the postcard, they declared it to be anthropological in the postcard text, because they would not send pornography to a female family member. If they kept it for themselves then it was pornographic, because they would use it as such. As a result of these two factors, the definition of pornography rested, oddly, on the use of ephemera rather than its content. Read in isolation, the second photo of the smiling Ethiopian fruit vendor does not appear to be particularly sexualized. But when read in relation with the vast iconography of calendars, postcards, and advertisements that sexualized East African women, the photographer's request to smile changes the tenor of the woman's slightly bare breast from maternal to erotic.

More broadly, this photo exemplifies an early twentieth-century variant of a long tradition of the European eroticization of African breastfeeding. For comparison, in Sander L. Gilman's much-quoted essay "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature," he details the history of "the wet-nurse of Negus" ("*la balia del negus*") or, simply, "the wet-nurse" ("*la nutrice*").[14] In the first images of a series of 21.5cm by 16.5cm photographs,[15] she appears as a late middle-aged woman with huge fallen breasts, leaning on rock while holding a tambourine.[16] Later images in the same set show her holding one breast, then both, pinching the nipples. Instead of smiling to beckon the viewer, she grimaces instead, her eyes glazed over with a vague look suggesting mental impairment. The wet-nurse, rendered archetypal by her appellation alone, bridges the erotic and the grotesque via her breastfeeding work. The eroticization of East African breastfeeding also appears in Cesare Lombroso and Guillaume Ferrero's work, where she pops up in a criminal anthropology table as "Dancer and Abyssinian prostitute" ("*Ballerina e prostituta Abissina*"). During the Fascist period her images also appeared on Libyan colonial postcards advertising the Hotel de l'Europe and Oriental and General Stores. This progression from wet-nurse to dancer/prostitute supports Gilman's point that "The perception of the prostitute in the late nineteenth century merged with the perception of the black."[17] It also extends it, and not just temporally into the twentieth century. These images blended nourishment and titillation under the general aegis of the black breast, suggesting not so much a dichotomy as an utter conflation: the *Madonna lattante* and the whore.

While the British army brought an end to the Italian Fascist regime's colonial projects in Italian East Africa in 1941, imperial constructions of race continue to reverberate to the present day. The anthropological and erotic framing of Ethiopian women diffused into a more generalized racism that saturates visual culture in Italy. Companies continue to use race as an advertising gimmick (Figure 12.8), conflating sexualized, dark-skinned women with luxurious, dark-colored food products such as coffee and chocolate. One might argue that, in Italian mass media, all women are sexualized. While this essay readily concedes the point, it nonetheless maintains that contemporary Italian mass media sexualize black and white women in different ways, largely due to the legacy of colonialism in East Africa. Today, Italian advertisements featuring black women overwhelmingly use the color of their skin as a visual pun to connote their similarity to former colonial products, such as chocolate or coffee. Further, the erotic portrayal of black women continues to be tinged with the anthropological. Along those lines, Italian fascination with interracial wet-nursing resurfaces in an image photographed by Oliviero Toscani for the United Colors of Benetton. The Black Venus of this photograph is not only topless but headless. We are meant to notice two iconic elements: her bare, black breast and the white infant she feeds. Even in the modern era, interracial wet-nursing exerts an outsize pull on the Italian imagination. This advertisement for the United Colors of Benetton has won more awards than any other ad in the company's history. I do not include it among the images contained in this chapter. While both the Vergani chocolate advertisement and the United Colors of Benetton spot raise racist tropes anchored in the Italian colonies, only the Benetton ad makes active use of the ongoing wounds of this history, relying on interracial breastfeeding as a visual shockwave to sell its colorful cotton tee-shirts.

This arresting image brings up a broader debate. How should we read the visual archive of empire? Two broad camps have emerged and are aptly illustrated by the conversation surrounding Tamara Lanier's 2019 lawsuit against Harvard University. The Swiss-born Harvard professor and zoologist Louis Agassiz posed "Papa Renty," the Lanier family patriarch, for a photo as part of a pseudo-scientific study of race. He and his daughter, Delia, were enslaved. They were ordered to strip naked for the demeaning photographs. Now this image illustrates

Figure 12.8 Chocolate box, "WhiteBlack" ("*Bianconero*"). Produced by Vergani Chocolate Company. (https://eng.winestyle.ru/products/Vergani-Praline-Bianco-Nero.html)

the cover of a Harvard anthropology publication that sells in bookstores for forty dollars. Lanier argues that Harvard is "perpetuating the systematic subversion of black property rights that began during slavery and continued for a century thereafter."[18]

For Lanier, these images are personal and they are painful. Because they depict family members, and were taken by force, they do not belong to the public. For historians, they are a critical and damning account: a vital visual testimony to the intimate horrors of slavery. Herein lies the problem: the wrenching moment when Agassiz's shutter clicked matters deeply to both the family and to the historical record of racial violence. Privatizing the photos or, at the extreme, destroying them erases irreplaceable knowledge that could be used to avoid similar horrors in the future. Publicizing the photos or, at the extreme, replicating them in large, glossy books risks replicating racist power. In a parallel debate focused on museum objects rather than archival images, curators and communities ask what to do with the sacred artefacts on display. They too were originally taken by colonial force. Such debates leave us with the question: what concrete steps can we take to study the history of gender and race in a more thoughtful way?

Feminist pedagogy might guide these discussions through models for diffused authority and inclusive debate. The primary goal must always be to promote better relationships between people. Feminist pedagogy decenters the scholar and focuses on the scholarship. It changes monologues to dialogues and creates the space to apologize and to learn new approaches. As Ijeoma Oluo has phrased it in her oft-quoted guide, *How to Talk about Race*, "It is not about feeling better. It is about doing better."[19] To apply these ideas to the visual archive of empire, we need to think about how style signals values. There is more than one way to reproduce a colonial image, and some choices replicate imperial power structures overtly. Consider the controversy surrounding the publication of *Sexe, Race, & Colonies*. [20] This

compendium, co-edited by 97 historians, included more than 1,200 paintings, drawings, and prints of colonized women and men from across the French, Spanish, American, and Japanese imperial regimes. Typography centered the word "Sexe" on the book cover, in a font three times larger than the words "Race" and "Colonies." Set against a darkened backdrop, the glowing white title evoked strip-bar lighting. Critics noted that the book's large, glossy images evoked a coffee table book, a genre that provokes voyeurism and its lurid pleasures. By contrast, a book focused on text, with small images on matte paper, might communicate similar messages but to a lesser degree. Museums such as the Luigi Pigorini National Museum of Prehistory and Ethnography in Rome have started to address the politics of presentation by restructuring their display boxes. Objects are now presented according to their creator's intended meaning and cultural context: art, not anthropology. As per contemporary gallery conventions, Pigorini now presents these objects alone, where they had previously been massed into rough groups. Glass cases provide a black background lit by multiple beams to accentuate each art piece. Problems remain: the provenance and authorship are still unstated. None of these solutions is perfect. But having these conversations, however uncomfortable, is the first step toward learning from and representing the history of empire through the voices of those most affected by its brutality.

Strikingly, Italian portrayals of interracial wet-nursing continue to speak to larger issues of how race and racism are constructed and consumed. Eroticism and anthropology constitute two planks in the platform. But a less obvious element of these images accounts for their resonance: they are, ultimately, about how people figure in foodways. Although we rarely characterize breastmilk as a food, or breastfeeding as a foodway, both bear consideration as public, political activities. Because the food producer—the mother—and the consumer—the infant—physically connect in a mutual act of feeding and eating, breastfeeding provides a key to understanding all other foodways by clarifying their most basic essence: a one-to-one exchange of nutrients, fats, and vitamins between two human bodies. In the context of imperialism, the Fascist focus on East African wet-nursing and breastfeeding points to the desire to eat the other, to both erase and appropriate through aggressive consumption. Eating the Other, as theorized by bell hooks, revolves around edible power play. One person assumes the power of another by consuming their heart.[21] This theory untangles the cultural significance of breastfeeding photography in the rural marketplace in Harar. Desire intermingles with aggression, which is incarnated through hunger. Mouths sink into flesh. hook's theory underscores a Fascist fear as well. Eating the other was step one. But what happened next? Digestion did not mean disappearance—it meant incorporation. Every meal presented a racial risk: if food remade the body from the inside out, then an Italian infant that consumed East African milk could no longer be considered wholly Italian—local food began to reshape the foreign body that consumed it. This is the second, logical, step of eating the other. With apologies to Salman Rushdie, the empire bites back.[22]

Notes

1 Igiaba Scego and Rino Bianchi reckon with the colonial monuments of the Italian metropole in their textual and photographic exploration, *Roma Negata*.
2 Sbacchi, *Legacy of Bitterness* and *Italian Colonialism in Ethiopia*.
3 Giuseppe Lucidi, "L'Alimentazione del bambino in colonia," in *La difesa della razza* (Rome: La difesa, 1939).
4 Marinetti, "The Futurist Manifesto."
5 For a comparative study of race and ingestion in the American context, see Tompkins, *Racial Indigestion*. Also see Parasecoli, *Bite Me*, ch. 5.

6 Bynum, *Jesus as Mother*.
7 Manes, "The Power of Mother's Milk."
8 Both prior to and after the Fascist period the unmodified term *fare la balia* was more commonly applied to wet-nursing. It could also indicate more general forms of paid infant care provided by a non-relative.
9 Fagioli, *Il bimbo al seno*, 185.
10 *Giornale d'Italia* January 1929 poll cited in Fagioli, *Il bimbo al seno*, 182.
11 Ibid.
12 *Giornale d'Italia* January 1929 poll cited in Fagioli, *Il bimbo al seno, 186*.
13 Sòrgoni, *Parole e corpi*. Also see Tilley and Gordon, *Ordering Africa*.
14 In contrast with the term *balia*, which evokes the wet-nurse in terms of a type of paid work, the word *nutrice* underscores the content and goal of this work in its evocation of nourishment. See Zanichelli, *l'Etimologico minore*.
15 Testifying to the long-lasting international interest in the *balia del negus,* multiples copies of this photographic series can be found in museums in France, Italy, and the United States. Ponzanesi and Gilman cite the locations of the photographs as the Musée Bourdelle in Paris, the Peabody Museum in Boston, and the Società Africana d'Italia in Naples. Image info: H. Arnoux, Port Said, nrs. 1304–1306, Nourrice du Negus d'Abyssinie. (S. Palma in Impero nel cassetto 89).
16 Also see Jennifer Morgan's examination of seventeenth-century travelogue illustrations depicting African women suckling children over their shoulders. Morgan argues that these images laid the foundation for racial slavery by suggesting that African women could simultaneously perform plantation and reproductive labor. Morgan, *Laboring Women*.
17 Gilman, "Black Bodies, White Bodies."
18 Hartocollis, "Who Should Own Photos of Slaves?"; Daley, "Why These Early Images of Slavery Have Led to a Lawsuit Against Harvard."
19 Oluo, *So You Want to Talk about Race*.
20 Blanchard et al., *Sexe, race, & colonies*. Also see Prinscille Lafitte, "Sex, Race, & Colonies book hits nerve in post-colonial France," *France 24,* October 22, 2018.
21 bell hooks, "Eating the Other."
22 Rushdie, "The Empire Writes Back with a Vengeance," 8.

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