Introduction

There are other aspects of the question that require the attention of the government, *the existence on the border of a population, now numerous, descendants of those* [*Haitian*] *immigrants who are generally known by the name RAYANOS*. The task of determining the true nationality of these rayanos is a very difficult undertaking, given that the majority do not have civil documents. They live far from the urban centers, and they have the inveterate custom of eluding the requirements of the law that could give them their documents. Are they Dominicans? Born in our territory and from a constitutional point of view, yes, THEY ARE DOMINICANS, independent of their parents' condition of illegal foreign residents; but in reality they are and they consider themselves Haitians with all of their characteristics, language, habits, and customs. None, neither these people of doubtful nationality, nor their parents of established or easily established juridical nationality, nor the rest of those established in the interior of the Republic and who form the largest nucleus or colony of foreigners in our country, fulfill the requirements of the immigration law, since the small number of those who possess the entry permit or immigration license have obtained it through the effort and expense of the sugar companies who employ them in their agricultural labors . . .[1]

– Reynaldo Valdez, Director of Immigration, *Listín Diario*, December 1, 1937

[1] Reynaldo Valdez, Director General de Inmigración, "Consideraciones sobre La inmigración haitiana," *Listín Diario* (Santo Domingo), December 14, 1937, 1 (all emphases in original). "Hay otro aspectos de la cuestión que reclama la atención del Poder Público *la existencia en la frontera de una población ya numerosa, descendiente de esos inmigrantes que se denomina con el nombre genérico de RAYANOS*. Son Dominicanos? Nacidos en nuestro territorio y bajo el punto de vista constitucional si SON DOMINICANOS. La tarea de determinar la verdadera nacionalidad de estos

In December 1937, three months after his government had orchestrated the killing of an estimated 20,000 ethnically Haitian civilians,[2] the Dominican Director of Immigration, Reynaldo Valdez, who supervised the government's campaign against ethnic Haitians from 1937 to 1939, published an especially important article regarding the problem of ethnic Haitians living in Dominican territory. By referring to *rayanos*, or

rayanos es empresa harto dificil pues la mayoría carece de estado civil. Viven lejos de los centros urbanos y tienen la inveterada costumbre de eludir el cumplimiento de la ley que pueda conferirles tal estado Independiente de la condición de extranjeros con residencia ilegal de sus padres; pero de hecho son y se tienen por haitianos con todos sus caracteristicas, idioma, usos, y costumbres. Ninguno ni estos de nacionalidad dudosa, ni sus padres de nacionalidad juridicamente establecida o facil de establecer, ni los demás radicados en el interior de la Republica y que forman el mayor núcleo o colonia extrangera en nuestro país, cumplen con la prescripciones de la Ley de inmigración, pues el corto número amparado con permiso de entrada o de permanencia, lo ha obtenido a diligencia solicitud y costo de las empresas azucareras que los emplean en sus labores agricolas." See also Julián Díaz Valdepares, "Alrededor de la cuestión haitiana," *Listín Diario* (Santo Domingo), December 10, 1937, 1.

[2] Many scholarly estimates for deaths at the height of the massacres in the weeks from late September through November 1937 cluster near the round numbers of 15,000 or 20,000. But this figure does not take into account ongoing killing in late 1937, 1938, 1939, and the 1940s. My understanding of the 1937 Genocide has led me to entertain a higher potential number of ethnic Haitian victims on the basis of postmassacre killings and deaths as well as deaths on Haitian soil from famine, injury, and despair. Also, figures and estimates based on the testimonies of survivors taken down in Haiti could not accurately account for families who did not have a single relative survive to tell their story. It is also difficult to imagine that Haitian officials, notaries, and clergy could have possibly interviewed every single refugee who survived and settled in the Haitian border. Survivors generally insist that many refugees were killed in the aftermath, and that the number of victims of the massacre itself was horrifically vast.

A definitive death toll is impossible to know for reasons that I explore throughout this book. No less an authority than Joaquín Balaguer, a major culprit and top functionary under Trujillo, who would have had no interest in exaggerating the body count, published an estimate of 17,000. Joaquín Balaguer, *La palabra encadenada* (Santo Domingo: Taller, 1985), 300. The varying estimates have become one more of history's macabre numbers games, with figures ranging from 4,000 to 40,000. Richard Turits points out that at Dajabón alone, an estimated ethnic Haitian population of 30,000 was reduced to nearly zero, and an estimate of the numbers of refugees who reached Haitian territory ranged from six to ten thousand. The numbers of ethnic Haitians that died in the 1937 Genocide is a contested terrain. Dominican historian Bernardo Vega argues that early observers such as Élie Lescot and Quentin Reynolds all advanced inflated figures, and that subsequent scholars have generally exaggerated the death toll. His study of primary accounts and the evolving range of scholarly estimates over the years leads him to advance an estimate of four to six thousand victims. This extremely low estimate minimizes the catastrophic event and does not give sufficient consideration to the reports compiled in 1937 by Haitian officials and clergy such as Father Émile Robert. Haitian historians including Suzy Castor and Jean-Price Mars estimate twelve thousand victims or more. Vega's calculations are based on population figures drawn from the 1920 census conducted by the US military as

border-dwelling people of Haitian descent, Valdez characterized an entire class of people as a challenge to the Trujillo regime's vision of mono-ethnic national unity.[3] Written shortly after the 1937 Massacre, Valdez's article conceals the fact that any killing took place or that the killings occurred under his supervision and at the order of the dictator Rafael Trujillo. But the article includes the crucial admission on the part of one of Trujillo's leading functionaries that, "from a constitutional point of view," descendants of Haitians who were "born in our territory" legally qualified as Dominican citizens. Valdez's article represents a kind of historical smoking gun in the sense that it amounts to an official admission that Trujillo's top officials were fully aware that they had killed not only unauthorized Haitian immigrants in 1937, but also people whom the constitution legally defined as Dominican citizens. Valdez's article encapsulates the racial views of the leading officials who supported the displacement and denationalization of ethnic Haitians that began in

well as the 1935 census conducted by Trujillo's government. These figures suggest that the Haitian population of the Cibao, Montecristi, and other northern border areas somehow declined by over five thousand from 1920 to 1935. Such a figure does not fit well with the multiple reports of large, growing Haitian enclaves around Dajabón, Restauración, and Loma de Cabrera. In addition, the numbers of children born to ethnically Haitian families from 1935 to 1937 would not appear in these statistics, and represent merely one of many factors that unsettle any effort to arrive at an exact figure, let alone to revise estimates downward. The events discussed in this book indicate that the populations involved were not well documented, and many of the region's residents, including people who would have fallen victim in 1937, could have crossed the border at any point in time confounding the reliability of the 1935 government census for determining the number of victims. Please see Bernardo Vega, chapter 11, "El número de muertes," in *Trujillo y Haití* (Santo Domingo: Fundación Cultural Dominicana, 1988), vol. II, 341–353; and Richard L. Turits, "A World Destroyed, a Nation Imposed: The 1937 Haitian Massacre in the Dominican Republic," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 83, no. 3 (2002): 590.

[3] Valdez employed the term *rayano* solely to describe the descendants of Haitian immigrants born in the Dominican border provinces and thereby silenced long-standing patterns of ethnic mixture along the border. Derived from the word *raya*, meaning "line," the term refers to the border separating the Dominican Republic and Haiti. Uses of the term have varied, but it has generally been used to describe a person from the border who lives literally and figuratively along the line between two cultures. It has most often been used to describe people of mixed Haitian and Dominican ancestry. The term appears in Joaquín Balaguer's *La isla al revés: Haití y el destino dominicano* (Santo Domingo: Fundación José Antonio Caro, 1983), where he laments the mixture of Haitians and Dominicans. Interestingly, local border residents do not seem to have used it to identify themselves. Today the term is not especially common, but it carries a negative connotation related to the social stigma of Haitian ancestry. See Silvio Torres-Saillant, "La condición rayana: La promesa ciudadana en el lugar del 'quicio,'" in *La frontera: prioridad en la agenda nacional del siglo XXI* (Santo Domingo: Secretaria de Estado de las Fuerzas Armadas, 2003), 220–228.

1930 and culminated in the 1937 Massacre. Valdez presented three main claims that were used to justify the denationalization: that they generally lacked "civil documents," that they possessed "the inveterate custom of eluding the requirements of the law," and that they were irreconcilably foreign in their "language, habits and customs." Even if the Dominican constitution tied citizenship to place of birth according to the principle of *jus soli*, the Dominican elite and Trujillo's officials had decided that Haitian origin was not congruent with Dominican nationality. This book tells the story of both Haitian immigrants and ethnically Haitian Dominican citizens who had their homes, property, and in many cases their lives taken away by a state that decided to selectively ignore its constitution and promote an exclusively non-Haitian vision of Dominican nationality. By analyzing how and why the legal status of ethnic Haitians changed beginning with the onset of discriminatory legislation in 1919, this book addresses the central contradiction between Haitian ethnicity and Dominican nationality raised by Valdez and the draconian means by which Trujillo's regime chose to enforce its vision of the modern Dominican nation.

Notwithstanding Valdez's acknowledgment that ethnic Haitians born on Dominican soil legally "were Dominicans," most post-1937 Dominican and foreign historiography has tended to ignore this aspect of constitutional law and has accepted the conflation of ethnic origin with citizenship and nationality. Such approaches do more than unwittingly promote the Dominican nationalist narrative. They ignore the prevailing, pre-1937 views of Dominican border residents themselves – both ethnically Haitian and Dominican, as well as those of the Dominican officials who had accepted ethnic Haitians as citizens for decades. From development economist Mats Lundahl to authors such as Robert Crassweller, generations of foreign scholars have accepted generalizations that inadvertently reproduce the nationalist tone and anti-Haitian rhetoric of the Dominican elite.[4] Lundahl is cognizant of "the old racist clichés of Africa" and the ideological "haitiphobia" that characterizes Dominican discourse.[5] Yet he still reproduces the political rhetoric of the Dominican rulers by broadly labeling the early twentieth-century ethnically Haitian residents of Dominican territory as "squatter farmers."[6] This language

[4] Mats Lundahl, *The Haitian Economy: Man, Land, and Markets* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983); Robert D. Crassweller, *Trujillo: The Life and Times of a Caribbean Dictator* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 149–154.
[5] Lundahl, *Haitian Economy*, 133–134. [6] Ibid., 123.

echoes that of Dominican historian Bernardo Vega, who describes the victims of the massacre broadly as "illegal Haitians" and characterizes the event by writing that "the Dominican Republic initiated an act of deadly aggression against citizens of the neighboring country."[7] In the surviving court records of the 1920s and 1930s, ethnically Haitian border residents themselves tell a different story. Rather than immigrant squatters, the majority of the victims of the massacre understood themselves as legal residents of the Dominican Republic on the basis of birthplace, property-ownership, or long-term residency.

From the founding of the Dominican state in 1844 through the rise of Trujillo in 1930, the Dominican Republic had a total of nineteen different constitutions. Starting in 1865, the Dominican constitution formally guaranteed citizenship rights to all people born on Dominican soil. The 1844 constitution had included specific requirements under which foreign nationals could obtain Dominican citizenship, but it did not directly address the question of people born in the Dominican Republic to immigrant parents. The constitutions of 1854 and 1858 granted citizenship to people born to foreign parents on Dominican soil if they voluntarily chose to adopt Dominican nationality upon reaching adulthood.[8] The 1865 constitution flatly declared that anyone born on Dominican soil was a Dominican citizen, "whatever the nationality of their parents."[9] This unqualified declaration of *jus soli* remained the official law of the land in 1930 as Trujillo rose to power, and under the constitution the tens of thousands of ethnic Haitians who were born in the Dominican Republic during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were and knew themselves to be Dominican citizens. What Anne Eller demonstrates in her explorations of the political complexities and racial politics of the Spanish Restoration, and the ensuing second achievement of Dominican national independence, is that there was no nineteenth-century Dominican political consensus on matters of race or citizenship or the country's relationship to the neighboring Haitian Republic. In particular, the 1822–1844

[7] Vega, *Trujillo y Haití*, vol. II, 18, 26. "[T]antos Haitianos ilegales." "Por otra parte, durante la dictadura, por primera vez en nuestra historia, la República Dominicana inició una mortal agresión contra ciudadanos del país vecino."

[8] Gobierno Dominicano, *Colección de leyes, resoluciones y decretos 1854* (Santo Domingo: Imprenta Listín Diario, 1929), 537–538. "Son Dominicanos: … Todos los nacidos en el territorio de padres extrangeros que invoquen esta cualidad, cuando lleguen a su mayor edad."

[9] Dominicano, *Colección de leyes*, 447. "Son Dominicanos: Todos los que hayan nacidos o nacieren en el territorio de la República, sea cual fuere la nacionalidad de sus padres."

period of unification under Haitian rule, as well as Eller's observation that at least some intellectuals at Puerto Plata in 1865 called for a new era of unification and dual citizenship on Hispaniola, demonstrate that some subset of early Dominican political thinkers had pro-Haitian, pro-Black, and anticolonial points of view.[10]

Historians are increasingly aware of the 1937 Haitian Massacre along the northern Dominican border.[11] However, the deportation campaign that occurred prior to the 1937 Massacre and the experience of ethnic Haitians in the aftermath of the event remain largely unknown. This book narrates the transformations in the legal status of ethnic Haitians throughout the early twentieth century and examines the ethnic Haitian experience both before and after 1937. The critical question that this book addresses is how and why the legal status of ethnic Haitians in the Dominican Republic changed during the twentieth century. I argue that

[10] Anne Eller, *We Dream Together: Dominican Independence, Haiti, and the Fight for Caribbean Freedom* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), 229.

[11] See Richard Lee Turits, *Foundations of Despotism: Peasants, the Trujillo Regime, and Modernity in Dominican History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003); Turits, "A World Destroyed, a Nation Imposed"; and Edward Paulino, *Dividing Hispaniola: The Dominican Republic's Border Campaign against Haiti* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016). Paulino, Turits, and historian Lauren Derby have all conducted oral-history research that has shed new light on the 1937 Massacre. See also Jose Israel Cuello, *Documentos del conflicto domínico–haitiano de 1937* (Santo Domingo: Editora Taller, 1985); Thomas Fiehrer, "Political Violence in the Periphery: The Haitian Massacre of 1937," *Race and Class* 32, no. 2 (1990): 1–20; Arthur Matteis, *Le massacre de 1937, ou, une succession immobilière internationale* (Haïti: A. Matteis, 1987); Juan M. García, *La matanza de los haitianos: Genocidio de Trujillo, 1937* (Santo Domingo: Editora Alfa y Omega, 1983); Suzy Castor, *Migración y relaciones internacionales: El caso haitiano–dominicano* (Santo Domingo: Editora Universitaria UASD, 1987); Eric Roorda, *The Dictator Next Door: The Good Neighbor Policy and the Trujillo Regime in the Dominican Republic, 1930–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998); and Michael Malek, "The Dominican Republic's General Rafael L. M. Trujillo and the Haitian Massacre of 1937: A Case of Subversion in Inter-Caribbean Relations," *Secolas Annals* II (March, 1980): 137–155. Influential fictional representations of the 1937 Massacre include Louis-Philippe Dalembert, *L'autre face de la mer: Roman* (Paris: Stock, 1998); Edwidge Danticat, *The Farming of Bones: A Novel* (New York: Soho Press, 1998); Danticat, "Nineteen Thirty-Seven," in *Krik? Krak!* (New York: Soho Press, 1995), 31–50; René Philoctète, *Le peuple des terres mêlées: Roman* (Port-au-Prince: H. Deschamps, 1989); Jacques S. Alexis, *Compère général soleil* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982); Anthony Lespès, *Les semences de la colère* (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1970). Several Haitian fictional representations of the 1937 Massacre reproduce the association of ethnic Haitians with the sugar industry that came to characterize the Haitian presence in the Dominican Republic afterwards. Even Philoctète's work, which focuses exclusively on a border region, narrates characters' experiences in the sugar economy. The most prominent Dominican fictional portrayal of the 1937 Massacre is Freddy Prestol Castillo, *El masacre se pasa a pie* (Santo Domingo: Taller, 1998).

prior to the 1937 Massacre, ethnic Haitians living in the Dominican Republic faced a mounting campaign of ethnic profiling. The first year of the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo, 1930, marked a fundamental turning point for the country's ethnically Haitian population since, in that year, Dominican-born people living along the northern border were first legally reclassified as foreigners, deported to Haiti, or forced to pay immigration taxes to remain in the country of their birth. This process of ethnic cleansing through the reversal of citizenship rights and forced displacement exemplified the official discrimination that characterized an increasingly tense border in the years leading up to the 1937 Genocide.[12] By the 1930s, official discrimination even contributed to outbursts of popular anti-Haitianism unknown in the 1920s. In this sense, my book revises the view of historians who have argued that official anti-Haitianism appeared only after the 1937 Massacre.[13] Rather than approaching anti-Haitianism by searching for ideological pronouncements in newspapers or other mass media, this book emphasizes the actual mistreatment, abuse, and deportations that ethnic Haitians experienced at the hands of the police and military both before and after the 1937 Massacre.

Although I argue that 1930 was a turning point after which ethnic Haitians experienced the formal reversal of their citizenship status, I also claim that the 1920s witnessed new forms of ethnic profiling and racial discrimination along the border. Moreover, examination of records of arrests for illegal border-crossing and contraband revealed new policies of summary arrest and patterns of anti-Haitian bias in Dominican officials' enforcement of these laws in the 1920s. Scholars have often exaggerated the porous and open character of the border in the years before the 1937 Massacre; I argue that as early as the 1920s, the Dominican border was no longer an unregulated boundary, and that the new patterns of enforcement had serious implications for everyday life in places where people had once crossed freely.

This book tells the story of a successively worsening campaign of explicitly racialized anti-Haitian repression. The Dominican Republic's first formal scheme to incentivize European immigration in an effort to whiten

[12] A constant point of inquiry has revolved around distinctions between "ethnic cleansing" and "genocide." I characterize campaigns of deportation from 1930 to August 1937 as ethnic cleansing, and identify the outbreak of mass murder in September 1937 as the onset of the genocide.

[13] Turits, *Foundations of Despotism*, 146, 159.

the country's demographics came in 1907. Edward Paulino points out that 1907 was also the year that the USA initiated some of the earliest formal efforts to control the Dominican land border by establishing a "Guardia de Frontera," two years after the Americans took the Dominican Republic into "customs receivership" in 1905 in order to secure payments to American creditors.[14] The advent of formally racialized Dominican immigration legislation came in 1912 with a law to control the number of "non-Caucasian" immigrants. The American authorities who contributed to the policing of the border, first through their customs receivership and then during their eventual military occupation of both countries, employed this same language in the 1919 Executive Order 372, which the American occupiers themselves used to arrest and displace ethnic Haitians living along the border. Executive Order 372, issued by American Military Governor Thomas Snowden on December 15, 1919, prohibited the immigration of "*braçeros* [field hands] of any race other than Caucasian" unless they entered through officially designated border checkpoints or seaports and paid for official permits that carried the paradoxically ironic name of *licencia de permanencia temporal* or "license of temporary permanence."[15] Anti-Haitian policy accelerated in 1930 with the rise of Trujillo, who launched campaigns of mass arrest and denationalized Dominican citizens through his application of Executive Order 372, and it culminated in an intense period of violence in the fall of 1937. The closed-border policy and the ideological campaign of "Dominicanization" that immediately followed the 1937 Genocide laid the groundwork for the prevailing conception that has intrinsically defined all ethnic Haitians as foreigners in the Dominican context.

All evidence and testimony indicates that the massacre came as a horrible shock. Survivors who fled to Haiti were lucky if they received even one or two days' warning. But the campaign of killing came after ethnic Haitians in the border region had already experienced a range of dramatic changes in their treatment and legal status in the country over nearly two decades. The years prior to 1937 demonstrate that rather than an event that emerged out of a vacuum, 1937 was the most violent expression of a broader anti-Haitian policy and that the official treatment

[14] Paulino, *Dividing Hispaniola*, 95–96.

[15] Thomas Snowden, Counter-Admiral of the US Navy, Military Governor of Santo Domingo, December 15, 1919, Orden Ejecutiva No. 372, *Gaceta Oficial*, 454. "Queda prohibido en la República Dominicana la inmigración de braçeros de cualquier raza que no sea la caucásica . . . a menos que sea por los puertos habilitados y puntos de la frontera que se prescriban."

of ethnically Haitian Dominicans and Haitian nationals had been worsening along the border since at least 1919. Even before the 1937 Genocide and especially by 1930, many ethnic Haitians in the border region were displaced and denationalized through the enforcement of Executive Order 372. Trujillo used this law to deport both Dominicans of Haitian descent and long-standing Haitian immigrants. Dominican-born people were arrested under this order and forced to prove their birth in Dominican territory or forced to pay the fine and remain in prison for some time. In some cases, the local courts overruled defendants' claims of birth in Dominican territory or failed to give them the opportunity to prove their Dominican birth.

In this book, I argue that 1930 was a fundamental turning point in the transformation of life for ethnic Haitians in the border region. Prior to the 1937 Genocide, legalized racial and ethnic discrimination already existed, which led to frequent arrests, imprisonment, deportation, abuse, and the reversal of citizenship rights. After 1930, many ethnic Haitians in the border region were stripped of their citizenship, formally reclassified as migrants regardless of their birthplace, and forced to pay for a costly immigration permit if they wanted to remain in their homes.

To see the importance of 1930 as a fundamental turning point in the lives of ethnic Haitians is to begin to understand the event from the perspective of many of the victims themselves. Ethnic Haitians in the border region in 1930 knew that their situation in the country had changed. They discussed it among themselves, and a few even made their viewpoints known during trial. In 1930, Elias Hernandez, a native of Santiago de los Caballeros, was arrested in Restauración under Executive Order 372; he called his detention "unjust imprisonment." Hernandez told the judge that it would take time for him to have his birth certificate sent to him from Santiago, so he paid the fine and was officially reclassified, against his will, as a foreign immigrant.[16] The next year, in the same community of Restauración, Juanis Sodis was arrested for taking plantains from a farm along the border. Sodis had been born in that community and had previously worked on the land in question before he was displaced for the creation of a new Dominican "agricultural colony."

[16] Elías Hernandez, August 1931, Alcadías de Restauración, 1930–31, leg. 181, exp. 65, 3/007945, AGN. "El exponente agrega: que si prefieria sacar la licencia de permanencia era por librarse de la prisión injusta que se le ha dado, porque recurrir a su partida de nacimiento era cosa dilatada puesto de que habria que disponer de dias por el hecho de que sus familiares tendrian que ir hasta Santiago que fue el pueblo donde nacio."

In court, Sodis protested that the land had previously belonged to Haitians and that he himself had worked hard on that farm, so he felt that the plantains were rightfully his.

These courtroom testimonies provide rare windows into the evolving political consciousness of ethnic Haitians who bore the brunt of a heightening campaign of repression.

There may be no way to ever confirm whether Elias Hernandez or Juanis Sodis was killed in 1937 or if they were among the surviving refugees who fled to Haiti. Given their previous criticisms of the Dominican authorities' mistreatment of ethnic Haitians, I have often wondered how Sodis or Hernandez might have interpreted the 1937 Genocide. Their voices preserved in courtroom testimony suggest that some of the ethnic Haitians living in the border regions in the 1930s would view the massacre as an extreme escalation in the state's long-standing mistreatment of them as a group. Patterns of repression in the years before 1937 offered no obvious clues that the countryside was soon to witness a campaign of wholesale mass murder. However, this book explores the fact that the repression of Haitian–Dominican border communities did worsen in phases from at least 1919 onward, and that Trujillo and his officials attacked and reversed the citizenship rights of ethnic Haitians before they launched the slaughter. In retrospect, and given its close consideration of legal and military sources from the border region, this book revises a long-standing argument that the 1937 Genocide was fundamentally distinct from other cases, most notably the Nazi Holocaust, because it was not preceded by any "gradual increase" in repressive measures.[17]

NOT AN EXCEPTION: 1937 AND THE LITERATURE ON TWENTIETH-CENTURY GENOCIDES

Historians of the 1937 Massacre have argued that, unlike other genocides in the twentieth century, an ideological discourse did not precede the violence. Rather, anti-Haitianism developed after the killing ended.[18] In this work I take the contrary position, arguing that the 1937 Haitian Massacre was not an exception in this sense. Rather than

[17] Lauren Derby and Richard Turits, "Historias de terror y los terrores de la historia: La masacre Haitiana de 1937 en la Republica Dominicana," *Estudios Sociales* 26, no. 92 (1993): 71.

[18] Derby and Turits, "Historias de terror y los terrores de la historia," 71.