

Introduction

Development Begun

From Colonialism and Modernity
to Tourism and Hotels

A series of tropical print shirts are suspended on hangers over backgrounds of similar tropical prints; in some cases, it is almost impossible to distinguish between background and fabric patterns. Artist Joiri Minaya's *I can wear tropical print now series* (2018) asks viewers to pause and consider the politics of what many consider innocuous activities—wearing tropical print fabrics and partaking in tropical vacations (see plate 1). Using new and old fabrics, the artist brings into focus the persistence of a romanticization of tropical space—which she characterizes as a non-space constructed into a fantasy of “watered-down, decontextualized capitalist production” that “commits violence.”¹ Having grown up in the Dominican Republic, Minaya astutely understands contemporary tourist geopolitics and the negative effects this has on the local population. For example, most significant infrastructure such as hotels and restaurants are owned by foreigners or Dominicans of colonist ancestry, locals are not adequately compensated for work, and many spaces (often through government corruption) are designated for tourists and made inaccessible to locals. The trends Minaya points out have persisted for well over a century and define late modern tourism systems throughout the Caribbean.

The connection between contemporary tourism and Minaya's contemporary artwork offers an entry point into tourism's past and its ties to colonialism and the

project of modernity more broadly. As Minaya herself points out, the botanical illustrations produced by European colonists and “explorers” as a means to assert control over the Caribbean through knowledge and systems of production are directly linked to the tropical print of the textiles she uses. The vestiges of colonialism are not just European but are also of US imperialism, its global reach and exertion of power and control present in the history of tropical shirts. Those associated with the Caribbean were born out of the US occupation of Hawai’i and the ensuing interest in the aloha shirt on the part of those from the contiguous United States. This is another reminder that tropical paradise is a non-place as configured by US imperial agendas and US practices that exert power and violence over other societies through a manipulation and a disrespect for their culture and sovereignty.

The construction of the tropical paradise non-place enacts a violence against very real places. In this book I explore the history of how projects built in pursuit of tropical paradises were part and parcel of fraught geopolitics and complicated projects of development. A vacation in the Hispanic Caribbean conjures notions of quaint colonial architecture, fruity cocktails, and picturesque views of coconut palms and turquoise surf from a hotel window. Although easily dismissed, these vacation dreams reveal the interwoven histories of politics, design, and development in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba. Newly constructed hotels were a driving force in both the expansion of and the shifts in these insular economies and urban landscapes. The hotels functioned as sites and symbols of development, tied to notions of advancement, progress, and modernization as defined by European and US systems and values. Through attention to the intertwined politics and practices of twentieth-century design and development, I illustrate how tourism was seen as a means to arrive at economic prosperity and to accomplish social reform in Hispanic Caribbean countries, and I reveal how hotel design came to represent ideas about development that both coalesced and clashed with issues of sovereignty and autonomy, national identity, and international relations.

The modern hotel was positioned—discursively and physically—as one of the best public exemplars of modernization and progress in the Hispanic Caribbean. In contrast to other types of buildings associated with development projects and infrastructure, which were often viewed as utilitarian or mundane, representations of hotels were proudly and widely distributed; these representations, along with their material forms, allow us to parse out the ways in which the modern hotel projected idealistic, compromised, and negotiated visions of development. All aspects of hotel design, including industrially produced goods and furniture, vegetation

and landscape, art, architecture, interior schemes, and urban planning, as well as graphic advertising material, contributed to positioning hotels as important sites for negotiating national identity vis-à-vis development and in turn shaping international relationships.

But who was positioning these hotels and to whom? Which people and groups saw tourism as a positive instance of development? In this study I dive into the muddy waters of the various agents who instigated and responded to the development of hotels and the tourism industry on these islands. In considering the varied relationships diverse people had with these hotels and what they represented, my aim is to give structure and detailed definitions by framing the study through different conceptual frameworks. These frameworks are interrelated on many layers and presenting them in a hierarchy is no easy task, but I attempt the best I can to bring clarity to the conceptual orientation of the book.

The book can be seen as engaging with two broad historiographic trajectories in architectural history. The first, the more established trajectory, is the history of modernization, with roots in the consideration of European and US architecture, which has since been used to view architecture and urbanism of the global South. The second trajectory, emerging more recently, is the historiographic account of colonization as a means to understand architectural and urban histories. This offers a different lens through which to view built environments such as those in the Caribbean. When I began this research, I initially conceptualized the project under the former trajectory. However, across the fourteen years I have been working on this topic, I have deliberately shifted more attention to the latter trajectory. Despite their differences, they are not mutually exclusive, and their connection gets to the heart of this book and its examination of tourism not in a broad ethnographic sense but as the concrete manifestation of a form of economic colonialism. Viewing tourism as economic colonialism—in particular, within the Hispanic Caribbean's twentieth-century colonial/postcolonial/imperial setting—offers a new lens through which to write architectural histories.

From Plantation to Hotel

Modern hotels—their designs, the spaces they constitute, and the practices they support—reflect the persistence of an older colonial system. Changes to the system are made for the purposes of maintaining control over the colonized land and its people, with the main goal being to wield power for financial gain. As configured in the Caribbean, colonizers sought profit through the exploitation of labor for

extraction of goods and resources that were then consumed primarily elsewhere in the world. This initially took the form of the plantation system, but over time it shifted to the tourist system, as Jamaica Kincaid so eloquently captures in her book *A Small Place*. Kincaid vividly describes how, after emancipation and independence, Antigua (though she could be referring to almost any postcolonial Caribbean island) was operated by locals in a manner similar to the previous colonizers, continuing a cycle of violence, corruption, and (for most locals) poverty. Visitors, like colonizers, have the ability to come and go as they please, take what they want, and may choose to shield themselves from the realities of local Antiguan life. Kincaid notes how Antiguan go to the Hotel Training School to learn how to work in the tourism industry and be good servants. She observes that, “in Antigua, people cannot see a relationship between their obsession with slavery and emancipation and their celebration of the Hotel Training School.”²

The tourist system and the hotels of the twentieth century and today were built off earlier tourism practices born out of the modernity/coloniality project that has persisted for more than five centuries.³ In analyzing Puerto Rico, Paul Niell captures Aníbal Quijano’s configuration of modernity/coloniality when he states that it “identifies the darker and transnational side of Western modernity, that of the racism, genderism, and imperialism instrumental to capitalism’s expansion worldwide,” one that continues well beyond the seeming end of colonialism.⁴ Indeed, the end of the Spanish-American War in 1898 can be seen most productively as the transfer of Puerto Rico and other Spanish colonies to the control of the United States (as well as its acquisition of other newly claimed places), rather than liberation.⁵

The possibility of travel by those in the contiguous United States to Caribbean islands was first facilitated by the fast fruit trade steamships that early travelers took in the nineteenth century.⁶ This type of mobility was one of privilege, enacted by those who had the money and time to engage in leisure travel, and, as tourism became formalized, transportation dedicated to tourists became the norm. The New York & Porto Rico Steamship Company was marketed in Grand Condado Vanderbilt promotional materials and served as a transition zone from the everyday to the holiday as guests enjoyed deck games, dancing, and the “thoroughly modern and complete appointments” of the guest cabins.⁷ Travel and its cost became easier, faster, and cheaper after this, as more tourism infrastructure and promotion created both the need for and the competition in this sector.

The failed agricultural reforms of the early 1940s that prefigured Puerto Rico’s industrialization project Operación Manos a la Obra (Operation Bootstrap) were

meant to move power from the few wealthy landowners to the masses of agricultural laborers who worked the land, but these land reforms were not adequately conceptualized to support an alternative system that empowered agricultural laborers. This is but one example of the failure to reconfigure the spatial arrangement of the plantation system, which invites questions about the hotel as plantation. Ian Strachan explores this question and unequivocally positions tourism as “an indispensable part of the plantation economy,” a conclusion he supports through the invocation of Antonio Benítez Rojo’s configuration of the plantation as a repeating machine, a “proliferating regularity in the Caribbean sphere.” Concurrently, Strachan also reminds us of Edward Kamau Brathwaite’s observation that plantation discourse may be as much a trap as a tool.⁸ Thinking about plantation discourse and hotels in terms of consumables, profit, and labor is a way to leverage it as a tool.

Undergirding the spatial shift from plantation to touristic landscapes was the change in focus concentrated less on extractive practices of raw and agricultural goods and more on the consumption associated with tourism. However, the two are not so far apart; tourism participates in cycles of extractive practices. Some of the materials and products cultivated in Puerto Rico—coffee, pineapple, or sugar, for example—and their literal ingestion invite connection to tourist consumption, which can happen on visual and cerebral levels. The product of consumption for these tourists is a highly constructed one and often the result of a careful negotiation between foreign fantasies and local agendas.

As Kincaid, Strachan, and others have articulated, one parallel between the plantation system and the tourist system is the extraction of profits. Just as plantation owners often lived outside the islands and funneled profits to their homes elsewhere, so too hotel owners were often foreign corporations. Profits leaving the islands impoverish these places, a process compounded by the attendant colonial practice of importation, which promotes further impoverishment and dependency. As Strachan points out, costly imported foods have seeped into local culinary traditions, making locals dependent on these imports, which often comprise the familiar dishes that visitors wish to consume on vacation. Tourism monopolizes not only food resources, both imported and the prime locally produced foods, but other resources such as electricity, clean water, and labor (often inadequately compensated or exploited). Even when hotel owners are not slave owners, the state, as Kincaid compellingly captures in her work, repeats the same corrupt and violent practices of the previous colonial government, perpetuating societies of extreme disparity between the “haves” and “have-nots.” A similar way to think of this is through Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui’s discussion of the internal colonialism that

persists in many postcolonial states.⁹ A section of elite—often white—society continues to implement the same practices of colonialism that existed before state sovereignty.

Consideration of resource extraction in cultural terms reveals significant implications for the built environment.¹⁰ Examination of the impulse to visit historic sites provides some insight. Tourism boosters and guidebooks from the nineteenth century to the present encourage visitors to experience what are deemed to be significant Spanish colonial monuments, in effect privileging a white European heritage over the history of Indigenous, Black, and Asian communities.¹¹ As a result, resources were allocated to facilitate the visitor's movement to and consumption of these sites. To be sure, locals did find ways to profit from this, whether by driving a taxi or selling souvenirs outside a sixteenth-century cathedral, but the emphasis on Spanish heritage also wrought negative economic consequences and shaped urban and rural landscapes and their circuits and routes—in terms of people, goods, and money—in forms that were often contrary to the needs and concerns of locals.

Tourism (As) Development

Underscoring the complex and varied approaches to state involvement in and use of design as integral to tourism development, I utilize an interpretative framework that foregrounds insular agency in these hotel projects. Looking across three islands during periods of colonial governments, democratically elected governments, and dictatorships, in this study I underscore governments' use of hotel design to promote a development agenda as well as local engagement with hotels to enact resistance and to project desires. Eschewing a colonialist viewpoint, I focus less on the tourist experience in order to contemplate what the representations and spaces of the hotel were meant to convey in terms of local concerns. However, I am not interested in an uncritical celebration of local agency. Rather, I explain insular perspectives through the framework of the legacy of colonialism-imperialism, which allows for a contextualization of insular projects as bound to the legacy of modernity/coloniality.

In this study I attend to all that is associated with development—progress, modernity, and the idea that with development comes higher living standards, a better national economy, and more international prestige, though development was not without critics. I illustrate how this history is represented through hotel design and, more broadly speaking, how design was seen as a mode of visualizing

and materializing development. However, the focus remains on how development projects and programs meant to elevate and liberate places deemed under- or undeveloped in reality often deepened dependence and inequality, both on a national level to developed countries and on individual levels to the state. In the case of the Hispanic Caribbean, development was heavily colored by US imperial impulses, most formally structured in its maintenance of Puerto Rico as a *de facto* colony, on the one hand, and more ambiguously charted in back-channel financial and political dealings in the Dominican Republic (as well as multiple occupations by the US Marines), on the other, with Cuba positioned as a quasi-vassal state until the abrogation of the Platt Amendment in 1934.

In this book I renounce partiality toward US imperial perspectives, but US foreign relations and imperial politics—and the fact that tourism to the Hispanic Caribbean was comprised predominantly by visitors from the contiguous United States—played a notable role in how development played out on these islands. Tourism in the Hispanic Caribbean was bound to the history of Spanish colonialism and the past and persistent legacy of US imperialism. Despite the realities of unequal power relations and the fact that the adopted forms of development ultimately deepened imbalances, both insular governments and other individuals embraced development in a genuine and optimistic manner.

The general characteristics of this development were a move toward industrialized production, whether in manufacturing, agriculture, or resource extraction; the attention to and enrichment of urban centers; and enhanced modern infrastructure, generally in the form of large urban works programs, electrification, water and sewage systems, and transportation systems. Development was not just a process, I argue, but came to be embraced as a notable facet of insular identity. Hotels came to symbolize these larger projects, which I demonstrate as I connect, for example, modernist lobbies to factory construction and wicker furnishings to paved road programs. I make a pointed argument about the specific ways in which hotel design worked as part of a larger network of systems and structures of development. Through hotel design, I sketch out the larger picture of development by offering a visual and material critique.

The modern hotel is employed here as a means to expand outward to capture a larger system or infrastructure of development in the Caribbean, a system in which it is but one instance of the built form of development and but one instance of the way in which development was a negotiated arena. Therefore, the focus here is on tourism as a development program and practice. Tourism is certainly not the only approach to understanding development in the Caribbean, but the heavy

investment in tourism on the part of many Caribbean nations and the large part of the GDP that it comprises for many Caribbean states set it apart. Moreover, tourism policies and practices do much to create powerful representations of the Caribbean that reverberate throughout the world.

The development programs and tourism practices that define the decades under study here (from roughly the 1910s to the 1960s) were established through an embrace of the modernity/coloniality project across more than five centuries. Quijano defines coloniality as “the most general form of domination in the world today” after the world order of colonialism was destroyed.¹² This system of domination relies upon the construction of race and gender as determining factors in questions of labor and the world capitalist system. As products of coloniality, I situate these hotels as a continuation of—rather than a rupture from—the colonial project. By doing so, I show that a more comprehensive picture emerges of how, why, and when development was valued and implemented by powerful local and US businessmen, and how hotels were instrumental in the lasting effect this has had on the islands.

The Modern Hotel

Although the modern hotel—in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries referred to the world over as the “American hotel”—was understood to be a unique product of the United States, its implementation in the Hispanic Caribbean complicated simplistic understandings of geopolitics and agency.¹³ Constructing “American” hotels in the Hispanic Caribbean thus proffers a paradox—at once, trying to raise the level of the island through modern buildings and social practices while relying on models of imperial and economic dominance inherited from historic colonial relationships. The capital cities of the Hispanic Caribbean offered temporary accommodation before modern hotels were built, usually in the form of lodging and guesthouses. Employing the most modern technologies in order to ensure the satisfaction of large numbers of guests, the modern hotel was known as a machine of efficiency, which differentiated it from its predecessors. The specific technologies incorporated in these hotels changed over the long arc of the modern hotel’s evolution from the nineteenth into the twentieth century, but hotels were consistently some of the first spaces where new technologies were integrated and employed, technologies such as running water, indoor bathrooms, machines to aid in laundering, equipment for cooking and cleaning on a large scale, gas and then electric lighting systems. Also integral to the definition of the modern hotel was

a specific attention to cleanliness, privacy, and social propriety. Modern hotels were understood to be good business, especially in places that were otherwise not considered to be beacons of modernity.

Modern hotels first took hold in cities, because they relied upon water and sewage infrastructure, gas and later electricity, and other utilities, services, and systems initially developed in urban areas. Marked by the comings and goings of large numbers of people who needed temporary lodging, cities provided modern hotels with the steady flow of guests upon which they relied; they were considered public spaces for locals of a certain social standing to utilize as much as foreigners. In the Hispanic Caribbean, this hotel typology quickly moved outside urban areas as destination tourism to more remote locations became increasingly accessible and popular in the nineteenth century, largely thanks to improved technologies of transportation such as the railroad and steamships. Coincident with this spatial move was the shift in the hotel's public areas, which increasingly became reserved for hotel guests, who were predominantly from the contiguous United States.

In the context of Hispanic Caribbean development and its politics, this urban form was tied to Spanish colonialism, US imperialism, and insular movements for self-determination. The most influential modern hotels, I argue, were those that were constructed at the peripheries of cities, what can be called suburban resort hotels, and which urged urban growth while still reinforcing the centrality of the historic core. I trace this type of hotel from its first instance in the 1910s to its decline in the 1960s, when secluded and more removed resort hotels became the dominant form. I do this through a sustained examination of a number of hotels that were instrumental in advancing development agendas and that were significant in shaping local politics and foreign relations at critical moments in history. In each chapter I analyze history beyond the design and construction of these sites as a strategic move to capture some of the voices, viewpoints, and controversies that otherwise are not represented in traditional archival narratives.

Modern-Tropical-Historic

I engage throughout with three motifs or categories that were central to tourism development in these three nations and to more broader development programs—the modern, the tropical, and the historic. All three themes have shifted and changed depending on time, place, and other contexts. The variety of forms and configurations taken by these themes, especially as regards their relationship to one another, does matter on a detailed level but is additionally revealing in terms

of why and how these themes are leveraged for larger political aims, whether at a state or an individual level.

Across all the objects presented in this study, the notion of the modern was tied to modernity. Modernity was, more or less, understood according to European and US definitions and standards. Insular governments, both foreign and local, sought to develop an environment of modernity, one in which the built environment and material culture supported and impelled social and cultural practices that aligned with definitions of modernity. However, alignment did vary—from desires of exact replication to more differentiated manifestations, which sought to realize modernity in a manner that was unique to the Puerto Rican, Cuban, or Dominican context.

Design was harnessed as a means to represent the modern. It addressed modernity through style but also through its capacity to create spaces or situations to promote specific behavior considered representative of modernity. Therefore, although it was important for something to look modern (whatever that might mean at any particular moment), it was also paramount that it supported modern comportment and values. Tourism itself was seen as a practice born of modernity and leisure time—supported through the design of beaches, swimming pools, golf courses, and other amenities that surrounded the hotel—that allowed visitors to realize their modern selves. (How this played out for locals was a bit different, depending upon one’s opinion of tourism and of the government.) Government officials who were driving tourism saw these hotels as first steps in creating and publicizing modernity in these insular places. While projects of the modern were certainly seen as necessary for a number of reasons, Hispanic Caribbean tourism developers needed to call out something unique about the locale—something visitors would not find at home.

Circling back, it is useful to question tropical space as a non-space in order to understand the constructed nature of the tropical. Geographer David Arnold is specific in proposing the term “tropicality” as a means to indicate the constructed or discursive representation of the tropics. Arnold considers this notion of tropicality to be parallel to Edward Said’s notion of Orientalism as a cultural and political construction of Europe and the United States. However, this does not preclude Caribbean folks from then participating in practices of resistance, redefinition, and negotiation of tropicality in order to stake their own claim to the concept.¹⁴

For visitors, tropicality was—and is—largely associated with the exotic and with escape from the quotidian, and although it is desirable on the part of the tourist, it comes with attendant dangers or a dark side. The concept of the tropical bound elements such as climate, geography, time, and people together in unique

ways that usually served to reinforce ideas of the superiority of modernity, European and US culture and society, and whiteness. For visitors, tropical climate and vegetation were unfamiliar and exotic. Coconut palms and flamboyant trees were enticing and guests swooned for the warm ocean breezes, but other visions of the tropical environment invoked fear of invasive and uncontrollable vegetation, stifling heat, and oppressive humidity.

Indeed, there has been a changing European and US discourse on health and the tropical environment. This fear of and danger associated with the tropics were based on more than just a fear of illness. Historian Nancy Leys Stepan uses visual culture to explore how the tropical region of the world—at one point or another all colonized by Europe and/or the United States—elicited fears in colonists and colonizing nations because of the appearance and the unfamiliar practices of Indigenous groups that foreigners found unusual and uncivilized.¹⁵

Often fashioned as a tropical paradise, the Caribbean landscape in discourse was often connected to the biblical Garden of Eden. Art historian Katherine Manthorne traces how these connections between tropical space and the Garden of Eden are based on associations between the tropical environment and notions of the primordial, primitive, and uncivilized.¹⁶ To many foreigners, Europe and the United States were marching forward with progress, modernity, and development as their guides, while these tropical places were changed either very little or not at all over time. Outsiders viewed this in more than one way, both as a pretext for colonizing and interfering with the sovereignty of these places and as a desirable antidote to the stresses and enervation of modern life.

Art historian Krista Thompson defines tropicality, as it relates to tourism, as “the complex visual systems through which the islands were imagined for tourist consumption and the social and political implications of these representations of actual physical space on the islands and their inhabitants.”¹⁷ She traces the construction and negotiation of notions of tropicality for nonlocals, in particular through the “exoticism and overabundance of nature.”¹⁸ Tropicality was visually captured through the picturesque, which allowed for the manipulation and containment of tropical nature in a way that allayed nonlocals’ fears that this foreign vocabulary was dangerous. This ability to control was important for visitors from the North, who associated these locales with tropical disease and a lack of sanitation. Historian Catherine Cocks charts how, over time, US visitors came to consider Latin America, often conceived as tropical, as safe enough for travel as ideas shifted about health and disease, race, climate, and the relative modernity of places in Latin America.¹⁹

Thompson illustrates how discourse around tropical travel was about much more than vegetation—discursive representations worked to conflate local people and their culture with the landscape, allowing visitors to see exoticness and a lack of development (for this was seen in contrast to civilization and progress) in the landscapes and people around them. This conflation of people and landscape meant that locals were also ascribed both positive and negative traits in a fashion similar to tropical nature. For example, many guidebooks would describe locals in appealing terms such as humble, warm, and connected to nature, only in the next sentence to warn travelers that they were lazy, licentious, and deceitful. Moreover, these differences were cemented through the racialization of local bodies. Not all local bodies were racialized equally; as Thompson shows, many local elites took pains to align themselves with white visitors.²⁰ Connecting locals to tropical nature and racializing them mutually reinforced their being understood as others by the visitors. The practice of seeing them as others, especially in its racial aspects, was used as justification for European and US colonialism and imperialism in the Caribbean.

Locals were not without agency in engaging with outside conceptions of tropical space and “tropical people,” and they responded in a variety of ways. Some, as we see in the case of Puerto Rico under the governorship of Luis Muñoz Marín, sought to proudly claim tropicality as a positive feature of national identity. Many other individuals reacted in ways that have not been recorded, and unfortunately, their voices are not as present here as they should be. On the other hand, on a state level, government officials perpetuated these tropes in promotional material and the type of tourism development they undertook. We will perhaps never know what those decision makers thought—did they figure it as a compromise for more revenue, did they exclude themselves from the others, or something else?

Despite the discursive practice of ascribing these places and people a timeless or unchanging quality, officials were interested in fashioning a conception of the historic that belied the false narrative that these cultures and places were unvarying and constant. Establishing narratives of the historic played a key role in modernity projects as it helped to delineate differences between past and present. The historic was a malleable arena in which history could be shaped to suit present values and prerogatives. In other words, the national identity campaigns I discuss in most of these chapters relied heavily on careful construction of a colonial past.

Tourism and the built environment played a significant role in this. Modern hotels built in newly developing areas were in direct contrast to new or renewed interest in restoring and conserving a colonial core in each city. State promotion

of colonial monuments and areas as essential to any visit to these cities cemented these historical narratives as both important and legitimate. During the period under study here, the historic entailed a celebratory engagement with the Spanish colonial past, with value placed on European roots and Spanish colonial “accomplishments” and little attention or value placed on Indigenous or African roots or the violences suffered by these groups. The celebration of the colonial past helped justify the imperialistic tourism taking place in the present.

Crucible of Modernity

The hotel designs under study are manifestations of the complexities, nuances, and contradictions inherent in framing a national identity in each of the three Caribbean islands. These hotels also played a role in the unique urban histories of San Juan, Santo Domingo, and Havana. Both national identities and built environments are themselves born out of the longer history of these islands, in particular the spatial practices and history writing that happened after Europeans started colonizing the Caribbean at the end of the fifteenth century. While governments positioned the historic or old nature of the colonial period or the colonial urban core as a foil to the modernity of these new hotels, the Caribbean has in fact been quite modern for more than five hundred years. However, the persistence of the modernity/coloniality project continues to obscure recognition of the Caribbean as a leading site of modernity.

Sidney Mintz dedicated his professional career as an anthropologist to insisting that we see the Caribbean as a crucible of modernity. As he points out, it is the original European colonial site for expansion. Not only is the Caribbean a product of that encounter, but the production of the Caribbean has created the world we know today. It is worth quoting him at length, because his words capture the perspective from which my study is positioned:

In the view espoused here, Caribbean peoples are the first *modernized* peoples in world history. They were modernized by enslavement and forced transportation; by “seasoning” and coercion on time-conscious export-oriented enterprises; by the reshuffling, redefinition and reduction of gender-based roles; by racial and status-based oppression; and by the need to reconstitute and maintain cultural forms of their own under implacable pressure. These were people wrenched from societies of a different sort, then thrust into remarkable *industrial* settings for their time and for their appearance, and kept under circumstances of extreme repression. Caribbean *cultures* had to develop under