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# Brimstone, sea and sand : the historical archaeology of the Port of Sandy Point and its anchorage, St. Kitts, West Indies

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# Brimstone, Sea and Sand

The Historical Archaeology of the Port of Sandy Point and its Anchorage, St. Kitts, West Indies

Leiden

2020

# Brimstone, Sea and Sand

The Historical Archaeology of the Port of Sandy Point and its Anchorage, St. Kitts, West Indies

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ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,

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Motto

Aut viam inveniam aut faciam (I shall either find a way or make one). Hannibal, Carthaginian general, 247 BC-183 BC

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# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Prior research on Caribbean towns

The small islands strung together in the North-East of the Caribbean archipelago, despite their diminutive size, even collectively, played a disproportionately significant role in the creation of the Atlantic World System. The early emergence of the plantation system on the English colonies within this group, that came to be known as the Leeward Islands, produced a model for the export oriented Caribbean plantation economy (Knight and Liss 1991, 117-148). This plantation economy would produce staggering riches and turn the metropole into a superpower, which at its height would have many rivals but few equals. The sixty-eight square mile island of St. Kitts (historically known as St. Christopher) would become the pre-eminent plantation colony in the Leeward Islands. In the entire English speaking Eastern Caribbean only Barbados would become a more important sugar producing colony.

Interestingly, the common historical stereotype of colonies such as St. Kitts and Barbados, where the plantation system became very developed and deeply entrenched, is that of little more than floating plantations. However, as one Atlantic historian has noted in a communication with the author, the tendency to overlook the role of the maritime sphere in shaping Caribbean societies and economies is "counter-intuitive" (Gill 2009). With careful thought it is difficult to refute this argument. After all, any export driven economy, such as the plantation system which came to dominate the economic (and physical) landscape of St. Kitts from shortly after the arrival of Europeans and Africans up until well into the twentieth century, would be greatly dependent on seaports to connect them with vital markets. The plantation era Caribbean ports were also indispensable conduits for importing the enslaved labour and material (tools, machinery etc) necessary to keep these island economies running smoothly and creating wealth for the colonial power.

Despite this, while there has been a recent increase in serious research on the historic towns of the Eastern Caribbean (Mitchell 2012), much of this still pays scant attention to the maritime function of these predominantly coastal towns, the manner in which this function impacted their society and economy, and affected their connection with the Atlantic World (Gill 2013). Pedro Welch (Welch 2002, 183-198) and Lennox Honychurch (Honychurch 2013) are two notable exceptions who have paid serious attention to the port functions of coastal towns (Bridgetown, Barbados and Portsmouth, Dominica respectively). In the case of Honychurch, the centre of his focus was on the historic relationship between Portsmouth's Prince Rupert's Bay and Fort Shirley, the coastal fort built to defend this strategic anchorage. The imperative to accumulate wealth from trading is often accompanied by the need to defend the sources of that wealth from rivals and enemies. Therefore, Honychurch's use of archaeological and historical research methods to investigate the relationship between Fort Shirley, commonly known as The Cabrits, and Prince Rupert's Bay is a welcome, and highly enlightened, step in the right direction. The important relationship between a strategic anchorage and the fortifications built to defend it shall

also be one of the central tenets of this research. The reason why such emphasis shall be placed on this relationship is that, as several scholars have noted, the relationship between port and fort is often an inseparable one (Charbonneau et al 1982; Corney 1984; Honychurch 2013; Roman et al 2009; Dym and Offen 2012, 98-103; Segovia 1998).

The creation and extension of fortifications to guard the commerce and trade at a port town has forever changed the layout, architectural character and history of many towns and their surrounding regions. Several historic towns in the Americas which are listed by UNESCO as World Heritage Sites were inscribed largely (e.g. Old Havana, Cuba) or solely (e.g. Québec City, Québec and Old San Juan, Puerto Rico) because of their fortified landscapes.[1] In the eighteenth century the importance of fortifications as part of the infrastructure of ports would become even greater as the rivalry between England on the one hand and France and Spain on the other; intensified, necessitating an expansion in port defences (Polonia 2007, 28-39). There is perhaps no more dramatic example of this than the revolutionary extension of the fortifications guarding Sandy Point after the Great Siege of 1782.

Even when a fortification is not physically located within the boundaries of a town it can still loom large, historically and metaphorically, over that metropolis and the life of its inhabitants. One example is the city of Santiago de Cuba and San Pedro de la Roca Castle, the latter is located six miles from the city, guarding the mouth of the sheltered bay up which the port of Santiago is located.[2] In the case of Sandy Point and Brimstone Hill; the fortress, which is just one mile outside of the town's limits, looms over the port of Sandy Point in not only a historic and metaphoric sense but a physical one as well. One of the purposes of this research is to provide evidence to strengthen the argument that were it not for the port of Sandy Point the fortress atop Brimstone Hill which overlooks the town would not exist. While the historic relationship between the port of Sandy Point and the Brimstone Hill Fortress has never before been extensively researched, it is quite obvious that successive generations of Sandy Pointers have not been oblivious to the existence of this relationship. Quite often Sandy Pointers refer to Brimstone Hill as "our fort".

### 1.2 By land and sea, investigating Sandy Point's terrestrial and maritime spheres

In investigating the relationship between port and fort this dissertation seeks to go even further than Honychurch has done by fully utilizing the various research methods necessary to investigate the two spheres in which a port town and its associated anchorage exists, the terrestrial and maritime spheres. This researcher's objective in doing this is to illustrate how a port town is able to impact on the archaeology of the two spheres in a way that few other sites can. Oral, archival and historical source research complement terrestrial archaeological fieldwork (including in the coastal littoral zone) focused mainly on two types of sites. One group of sites are those related to the trade which propelled Sandy Point's ascendancy as one of the most important ports in the Eastern Caribbean: warehouses; facilities for storing and shipping molasses; and structures, whether domestic, commercial, ecclesiastical, public or military which

[1] UNESCO World Heritage Centre - World Heritage List: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list Paris: Accessed 3 January 2015

[2] San Pedro de la Roca Castle, Santiago de Cuba - UNESCO World Heritage Centre: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/841 Paris: Accessed 4 January 2015

feature ballast material in their construction. The other group of sites is the extensive complex of fortifications constructed to present a credible deterrent to attacks by rival European powers and pirates on this important trade centre and to mount a respectable defence in the event of such attacks.

Oral, archival and textual source material are likewise used in conjunction with underwater archaeological fieldwork to yield information on: Shipping, through studying anchors and other submerged artifacts, as well as locating and recording shipwreck sites; submerged sites which were part of the port infrastructure, such as piers and the machinery located on them; other submerged or partially submerged coastal structures, such as fortifications.

This dissertation takes a holistic approach to researching a port town, incorporating terrestrial and underwater archaeology, not as separate disciplines but as complementary ones. Such an approach is necessary because the terrestrial and maritime spheres which a port town occupies are not two separate ones but are both interwoven in that town's economy, society and the lasting legacy of its cultural heritage. In his study on the Pacific Coast Gold Rush port of San Francisco, maritime archaeologist James Delgado frames the port as a "macro-artifact" of the Pacific maritime system which existed during the early nineteenth century (Delgado 2006, 6-7). Delgado's argument is a valid one because port cities both influence and are influenced by the particular maritime sphere within which they operate. As we journey through the four centuries of Sandy Point's history as an Atlantic World port we shall examine the mutual influences Sandy Point and the rest of the Atlantic sphere exerted upon each other; for instance, the relationship between Sandy Point and several neighbouring islands. Particular attention shall be paid to how Sandy Point shaped the relationship between St. Kitts and the important Dutch trading entrepot of St. Eustatius just eleven miles (17 kilometres) to the north.

A research approach that holistically considers the terrestrial and maritime spheres a port town occupies is essential because such towns and their associated anchorages exert a major influence on what Christer Westerdahl terms the "maritime cultural landscape" (Westerdahl 1992, 5-14). In his maritime cultural landscape approach Westerdahl creates a methodology that addresses "the unity of the remnants of maritime culture on land as well as underwater" (ibid). Westerdahl recognizes that aspects of human activity in the terrestrial sphere, such as sites, artifacts, oral traditions and place names were strongly influenced by, and in many cases only exist because of, maritime activity such as shipping, maritime trade, fisheries, shipbuilding and naval warfare (or the threat of attack from the sea).

In his examination of the maritime cultural landscape of St. Eustatius, Ruud Stelten demonstrates the applicability of the maritime cultural landscape approach to archaeological investigation of a Caribbean island colony whose history, society and economy were shaped by maritime trade, naval conflict between rival powers, and the ever present threat of attack by hostile nations and pirates (Stelten 2019). Whereas Muckelroy argues that coastal communities and sites due to their terrestrial location have only marginal connections with maritime material culture, both Westerdahl and Stelten demonstrate that the link between the maritime sphere and such communities and sites is more than just a tenuous one (Muckelroy 1978; Stelten 2019; Westerdahl 1978, 5-14) .

With respect to the Caribbean, the geographic region we are primarily concerned with here, the maritime sphere would have had a definite impact on coastal communities. Fledgling island

colonies established half a world away from the countries of origin of their founders would have to depend on a vast sea for all the needs which the metropole had to meet: supplies, communication, an export market, defence etc. Most of the settlements established on these outposts of aspiring empires were located on the more sheltered leeward coasts (Stelten 2019, 34). Take St. Kitts for example, of the five major settlements on the island: Old Road, Basseterre, Sandy Point, Dieppe Bay and Cayon, the two that became important ports, Sandy Point and Basseterre, are located on the leeward coast. Maritime environmental conditions on the Atlantic coast would have prohibited the establishment and development of ports. How successful or important a Caribbean port town became was often influenced by the size of its anchorage, which shall be discussed further in this study.

The shipping flowing through a prosperous port would leave a tangible mark on that port as well as its surrounding maritime and terrestrial environment. In an age centuries before the invention of electronic navigational aids and meteorological equipment shipwrecks were inevitable due to vessels running aground or being caught in tropical cyclones. Shipwrecks were often also caused by man-made maritime events as a prosperous and/or strategically located colonial port would also draw attacks from rival naval powers or pirates. The remains of wrecks become part not only of the underwater environment of the anchorage but of the history (both recorded and oral) of the port and sometimes the folklore of its inhabitants. Many vessels that were fortunate not to have been wrecked would have lost anchors in the waters of the ports. Maritime archaeological investigation of these anchors can contribute invaluably to developing a picture of the types and volume of shipping passing through the port.

Structures would have to be erected to facilitate, control and defend the maritime trade being directed through the port, such as jetties, warehouses, customs houses and fortifications. Some of these structures; for example jetties, occupy the littoral zone between the terrestrial and maritime sphere. Many others such as customs houses are located in the terrestrial zone. However, regardless of their location, none of these structures would have come into existence were it not for the maritime world with which the port was engaged. We can see from the preceding arguments therefore that contrary to Muckelroy's assertion, the connection between coastal communities and maritime material culture is anything but marginal (Stelten 2019, 32).

Before going any further it is important, in reference to the title of this dissertation, to provide the reader with two things. The first is a definition of historical archaeology, while the second is a clarification of the distinction between a port and an anchorage. Historical archaeology combines documentary research with identification, description and interpretation of artifacts and features that represent man-made products from the same period as the documentary evidence. According to the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), Historical Archaeology is:

> …the study of the material remains of past societies that also left behind documentary and oral histories. This subfield of archaeology studies the emergence, transformation and nature of the Modern World.[3]

[3] https://sha.org/

A further explanation of historical archaeology and how it has been applied in this research from the perspective of both terrestrial and maritime archaeology is provided in Chapter Three's discussion of methodology. Now with regard to the differentiation between a port and an anchorage, the latter is a site selected by mariners, which could be either an open roadstead or an enclosed natural harbour, for anchoring their vessels. This anchorage may be selected for several reasons: The site may provide a safe haven to ride out storms; the site may be a good source of fresh water and/or fresh fruit or other provisions for ships' crews.

A port is a site through which the movement of goods and people, the latter in the form of forced and/or voluntary migration, takes place. While an anchorage can exist successfully with the complete absence of man-made infrastructure, for a port significant infrastructural investment is needed in the form of docking facilities and warehouses as well as facilities to monitor and defend the traffic through the port such as customs houses and fortifications. It should be noted that while possessing a good anchorage is almost always a prerequisite for a site becoming a successful port, not all anchorages can or do become viable ports.

### 1.3 Research questions

The major research questions being investigated in this study of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage are, first of all, how (and why) a site that occupies less than two miles (or just slightly under three kilometres) of coastline on an island less than 70 square miles came to assume such importance to Atlantic World trade and geopolitics. The maritime subset of World Systems Theory shall be utilized as a theoretical framework for analyzing a two way process. One side of the process is where rivalry between Atlantic World powers shaped the history and archaeology of Sandy Point. From the other side of the process Sandy Point and its anchorage, by virtue of location and other factors, exerted an influence on rivalry and trade that both had a distinctly maritime character.

The second major research question is how (and why) did Sandy Point come to gain the prominence it did in the society and economy of St. Kitts and several neighbouring islands, even after the decline of its strategic importance to Britain and her rivals. Decolonizing methodology shall be applied to gain the perspective of Kittitians and others on the relevance of the sites investigated and the impact of Sandy Point on their social and economic lives. As with the first major research question official narratives from primary and secondary sources of what made Sandy Point an important port shall be analysed in conjunction with conducting archaeological fieldwork. Additionally, this second question engages oral histories which are vital to placing Sandy Point and its anchorage in the context of historical meaning to present generations.

These broad research questions can be broken down into five parts:

a. How and why did Sandy Point emerge as an important port city from the early seventeenth century onwards?

b. Why was the anchorage at Sandy Point of such strategic value that it influenced the construction of the most extensive fortification system in the English speaking Americas for its defence?

c. What was the nature of trade into and out of Sandy Point: with whom did this port conduct most of its trade; what were the most important commodities traded and during what periods?

d. How did Sandy Point's early emergence as an important port shape the town's society and the way its people identify themselves? For instance, does the cosmopolitan nature and stridently proud community pride and loyalty of Sandy Pointers, often remarked on by other Kittitians and even expatriates, stem from the town's early ascendancy as a major port city?

e. What role did Sandy Point play in trade, communication and social interaction between the British and Dutch West Indies? Why did it continue to play such a significant role in this arena even after being eclipsed by Basseterre as the island's largest port?

### 1.4 Chapter outline

Historical archaeology plays an important role in answering these research questions. Archaeological field investigation, whether terrestrial or underwater, provides data or gives rise to theories not possible by relying solely on documentary or oral sources. Now that I have outlined what the research questions are for this research I shall now proceed to discuss how, in the chapters to follow, I intend to address and hopefully answer these intriguing questions.

In Chapter Two, which I shall begin by tracing the early settlement and colonization of St. Kitts, we shall discuss further how and why Sandy Point may have assumed such importance early in the history of the English Atlantic World System as both an anchorage and a port town. From circa 1625 when the island was shared between the English and the French, up until 1713 when the Treaty of Utrecht put an end to constant armed hostilities between the two groups of settlers and ceded St. Kitts to England, Sandy Point, located on one of the frontiers between English and French St. Kitts, was also of strategic significance not only to England but to France as well. Why two "emerging" European "superpowers" (to use twentieth century terminology) became so preoccupied with a slightly less than two mile stretch of coastline on this tiny Caribbean island is a fascinating question which we shall begin to get to the bottom of in this chapter.

There is; however, one major challenge one encounters in investigating this early period of St. Kitts' history, many important historical episodes were either not recorded or recorded long after the fact (Dyde 2005, 22, 303). An example of this is the problem of discerning the exact year the town of Sandy Point was founded. While we know that Old Road, the first English town on St. Kitts was founded by Thomas Warner and his small group of settlers circa 1624, the exact date for the establishment of Sandy Point is uncertain. Therefore, primary source references to Sandy Point, as well as early maps and illustrations are investigated.

In Chapter Three we shall examine the theoretical approach taken in conducting this research. As the reader will be taken on a journey over the five centuries of Sandy Point's life as one of the most strategically, economically and socially influential ports and anchorages in the Eastern Caribbean, a theoretical perspective must be employed which is appropriate to analyzing the long term currents which shaped the town's history and created its archaeological sites, terrestrial and maritime. Long term forces will most certainly be analyzed; for instance, the emergence of an Atlantic World trading system that propelled the rise of merchant capitalism and fuelled an

industrial revolution before eventually running out of steam (pun fully intended). However, at the same time that these long term currents are being examined it is equally important not to overlook the momentary ripples that would have both been a product of forces long in the making and would have themselves served as either catalysts or brakes accelerating or slowing down those forces, or influencing their course.

For example, the Siege of Brimstone Hill in 1782, a conflict in which the town of Sandy Point and its fortifications were thrust onto centre stage. This campaign, which saw the French land on St. Kitts one of the largest invasion forces ever assembled in the Caribbean, was a long time in the making, long before it was actually planned. The seeds for the Siege were planted by the rivalries between England and France in the Americas from the early seventeenth century onwards, which were played out on fertile Kittitian soil by conflicts between the two groups of European settlers. These seeds were germinated by events such as the Battle of Sandy Point in 1667 and the first mounting of guns on Brimstone Hill by the English in 1690 which succeeded in routing the French from Charles Fort which they had overrun. The seeds became bitterer with the expulsion of the French from the island in 1713 and the American Revolution of 1775-83 gave France opportunity for a revenge served cold. Official correspondence shows that in the intervening decades between 1713 and 1782 the English, both in London and St. Kitts, knew that the day which finally arrived in January 1782 was inevitable. There is perhaps no better evidence of this than the increasing concern over the state of fortifications on St. Kitts as the eighteenth century advanced and saw Brimstone Hill eventually surpass Charles Fort as the most important fortification defending the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage.

England regained St. Kitts in 1783, a year after the Great Siege, but the repercussions of this event were far from over and they would continue to shape geopolitics and military strategy in the Caribbean as well as sculpt permanent changes into the landscape of St. Kitts. Britain, using huge numbers of African enslaved labourers and artisans, embarked on an extensive rebuilding campaign at Brimstone Hill which would be unequalled anywhere else in the English speaking Americas. In Hispanic America, some of their bastioned fortifications rivaled Brimstone Hill in size but the polygonal battlements of the "Gibraltar of the West Indies" ushered in a new era in fortification architectural technology preceding even the polygonal forts at the Royal Navy's home, Portsmouth Naval Base in the UK (Corney 1984). The rivalry between the English and French for military, naval and as a consequence economic dominance in the Caribbean was a long term contest spanning several centuries, which brought about events such as the Great Siege of 1782. In turn, the Siege and related naval battles such as the Battle of Frigate Bay and later the Battle of the Saints influenced the outcome of this contest by ensuring that Britain, despite determined challenges and some setbacks (such as the loss of many of her North American colonies), would be the pre-eminent military and naval power in the Caribbean (Gill 2010).

I've used the 1782 Siege as just one example of how, as Fernand Braudel would put it, we need to place the long term forces at play or "movements" and the individual historic events or "momentary pressures" in their proper context with each other so as to understand the overall historical "constellation" (Lee 2012, 241-76). I would argue that Braudel's *Longue Duree* is an appropriate theoretical framework within which to study an Atlantic World port over the five century span of its rise to prominence and eventual decline within the Atlantic World System. A

similar and also highly relevant theoretical construct is Immanuel Wallerstein's World-Systems Analysis. Wallerstein not only, like Braudel, argues that events should be interpreted within a longer, though not infinite, temporal perspective but also that the human race is part, not only of the separate political constructs, (whether colonies or nation states) within which we live but that we are also part of a larger world system made up of several institutions, groups and individuals that create the relations, complementary, competing and conflicting, that shape history (Wallerstein 2004, Introduction). When one considers the various institutions (the plantations, merchant interests, the military), groups and individuals (enslaved Africans, European migrants, smugglers, slave traders, pirates, privateers, venture capitalists, sailors, soldiers etc) that a major Atlantic World port such as Sandy Point would have connected to each other on either side of the Atlantic divide, a very strong argument can be made for the applicability of World-Systems Analysis to this research. My discussion of the relevance of world systems theory to this research is influenced not only by Wallerstein's contribution to this theoretical approach but also by the contribution of Oliver Cromwell Cox. Cox's development of this line of analysis predated Wallerstein's, yet Cox's contribution to world systems theory has been largely overlooked.

Delgado has illustrated quite well the applicability of World-Systems Analysis to maritime archaeological and maritime historical research into a port which emerged within the context of the growth of a worldwide capitalist system (19-29) that as Wallerstein shows saw its genesis in the sixteenth century (Delgado 2006; Wallerstein 2004). After all, when one considers that the world's oceans and seas cover seventy percent of its surface, is not the sea (whichever sea the specific port of one's analysis is connected to, whether Atlantic, Caribbean, Pacific or Mediterranean) a world system in its own right? Seas facilitate the movement of people, and over the centuries have satisfied mankind's growing desire to trade goods and accumulate capital. This maritime world system leads to the building of ships, creation of anchorages, and growth of ports and related agricultural, industrial and defensive sites. The various research methods utilized in this research shall reveal more to us about the relationship between Sandy Point and the Atlantic Maritime World-System. A world system comprised of the Atlantic and Caribbean Seas (it is important to keep in mind that the Caribbean Sea, due to its geographic location and historic linkages, is actually a sub-zone within the Atlantic System), together with the people, events and sites connected and created by this world system.

The research methodology used shall be outlined and discussed within the context of two important considerations. The first consideration is the role of community or collaborative archaeology. One of the stated goals of this research project is to increase awareness of the historical significance of a now largely forgotten port town. It is hoped that this research can contribute to local efforts to regenerate Sandy Point's economy and curb some of the social ills that have befallen it. With this in mind, it is important that the community be involved in research activities, not just as oral historical subjects and archaeological fieldworkers. Their perspectives on how this research could and should benefit their community should be gained. This research needs to be not just a theoretical academic exercise but also one in which the community is actively engaged in interpreting their heritage and creating grassroots, community based initiatives which shall seek to ensure sustained awareness and protection of cultural heritage from one generation to the next. The second vital consideration is how the various research methodology employed contributes to answering the overriding research questions outlined above in Pages 4-5.

Chapter Four shall lead us into a description and discussion of the various types of fieldwork employed: Terrestrial and underwater archaeological fieldwork, as well as oral historical fieldwork. In this chapter I shall also discuss the archives visited and documents accessed at these archives. Terrestrial archaeological fieldwork took the form of surveys of sites connected to trade and commerce at Sandy Point as well as the control and defence of that trade. In researching any historic town one of the first priorities should be ascertaining where the historic town centre was located. With some towns and cities, particularly the Spanish towns in the Caribbean such as Havana, Cuba and San Juan, Puerto Rico, the location of the town centre remains the same up to the present day. Fort Street and its environs, the present centre of St. Kitts' capital Basseterre, is also its historic centre. We know this because the former gateway to Basseterre, the archway of the Old Treasury Building is located at the seaward foot of Fort Street. One must be careful though, not to always assume that the present centre of commerce and social life in a town was where such activity was always concentrated. In the case of Sandy Point, the location of its historic town centre was not as obvious. The present centre of commerce and social activity in Sandy Point is situated along the stretch of the island's main road that runs through the town from Mount Idle when one enters Sandy Point coming from Basseterre or Old Road in the South. This road runs parallel to the coast.

However, many of the historic maps referred to above depict a street in Sandy Point which runs perpendicular to the coast with a fort located at its seaward end and prominent buildings depicted along both ends of the street. This street is depicted more prominently than all of the other streets in Sandy Point on historic maps. In fact, on the 1698 Norwood Map the cartographer has placed the legend "Sandy Pt." right below this street. The still existing, partially submerged ruins of the fort at the seaward end of Downing Street have made it possible to identify it as the historic town centre identified in these maps. Therefore, Downing Street was selected as one of the areas of study for terrestrial archaeological fieldwork. The ruins of a structure which was used as a warehouse or storehouse were comprehensively surveyed. One of the reasons for selecting this structure for survey was the extensive use of imported red clay brick, which may have come to Sandy Point as ship's ballast, in its construction.

It is hoped that samples of red clay brick taken from Downing Street, along with samples taken from other sites in Sandy Point, Brimstone Hill and Fig Tree, will reveal further data about the origins of ships sailing to Sandy Point to conduct trade. It should be noted however, and this is a point that shall be discussed further in Chapters Four and Five, that the success of using analysis of imported brick samples to discern provenance of the clay from which the brick was made is dependent on the laboratory conducting the testing having other samples in its collection that match the soil type occurring in the brick being sampled.

The landing area and partially submerged remains of Sandy Point Fort, also known as Fort Hamilton, at the foot of Downing Street, give the area high potential for underwater archaeological survey. However, heavy surf and rocky conditions offshore of Downing Street, combined with a sewage pipe emptying household effluence into this area, have presented huge challenges to engaging in any underwater archaeological fieldwork. Therefore survey of the area has thus far been limited to remote sensing using sidescan sonar and aerial photography conducted from an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV), commonly known as a drone.

Pump Bay and the adjoining Pump Estate (the former received its name from the latter) were also areas of focus for both terrestrial and underwater archaeological fieldwork. Pump Bay was

the centre of maritime commercial activity at Sandy Point, with much of the cargo and enslaved Africans being brought into St. Kitts being landed here. Most of the port infrastructure, such as piers, customs houses and warehouse facilities, was concentrated at Pump Bay. Unique poured concrete structures found at Pump Estate, dating to circa early twentieth century, which were used to store molasses before it was pumped via steel pipelines onto ships at Pump Bay, were comprehensively surveyed. Underwater archaeological survey of Pump Bay consisted of snorkel and SCUBA (Self Contained Underwater Breathing Apparatus) surveys closer to the coastal littoral, and SCUBA surveys at depths up to 25 metres. These surveys revealed the location of the submerged ruins of the last pier at Pump Bay and enabled the recording of a significant assemblage of anchors located at depths of seven to twelve metres.

Located on what is now known as Lazaretto Point, the bluff which forms the southern extremity of the Sandy Point Anchorage, Charles Fort was the largest coastal fortification erected to defend the anchorage and the approaches to it (Smith 1994, 73-109). An initial archaeological and architectural assessment of Charles Fort from May to June 2000 led by Gerald Schroedl of the University of Tennessee has provided much valuable data of the site which this research has sought to build upon (Schroedl 2000). Schroedl's survey concentrated mostly on the area enclosed within the fortress' walls, including those structures constructed during Charles Fort's latter life as a leper asylum named the Hansen Home from 1890-1996. Investigations by Schroedl's team outside the fort walls focused on sites such as the chapel built in 1926 for patients at the Lazaretto and test pits dug in the ditch outside the entrance to the fortress. As we shall discuss further in this research the ditch was probably a settlement site for ex-soldiers of British Army soldiers.

For the present research therefore, much of the fieldwork conducted at Charles Fort focused on the site's coastal elevation. This consisted of mapping sections of the seaward defensive wall, and related artifacts such as cannon, which had collapsed onto the beach as a result of coastal erosion. Students from two high schools in the community, the Verchilds High School and the Charles E. Mills Secondary School were heavily involved in this fieldwork which formed part of the community archaeology approach that has been a guiding principle of this research.

Located to the North of Sandy Point and just 414.48 metres from Sandy Point's most northerly community, Crab Hill, the village of Fig Tree, which today is jurisdictionally part of Sandy Point, plays a major role in this research. Fig Tree sits partially on Pump Bay and partially on Belle Tete (which is discussed below). During the period in which St. Kitts was partitioned between the English and the French, Fig Tree was positioned in French St. Christophe, just across the border from Sandy Point. The French built a sizeable coastal fortification here, which when the island came fully under the control of their English foes was taken over by the latter. Depicted on various English and French maps of the seventeenth to nineteenth century as Fort François and Fig Tree Fort, Fort Charles (not to be confused with Charles Fort, which it often is) had a footprint at least as large, if not larger, as Charles Fort. Unlike Charles Fort however, there are very few intact standing remains of Fort Charles. As Charles Fort and Fort Charles were located just slightly over two kilometres from each other on either side of the Anglo-French boundary they would have played a major role in the tensions between both groups of European settlers. The above facts make Fig Tree another obvious choice for terrestrial archaeological fieldwork, much of which is focused on investigating the remains of Fort Charles.

Reports by Sandy Pointers and Fig Tree Villagers, including employees of the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, of significant shipwrecks off Belle Tete have made this site, which forms the northerly bluff of the Sandy Point Anchorage, an area of strong interest for underwater archaeological fieldwork. Attempts to conduct this fieldwork were initially hampered; however, by the extremely strong currents typical of Belle Tete, which can render diving unsafe. Tapping into local knowledge of the area about the times of the day when the currents are less treacherous enabled the survey team to overcome this challenge and after three years of trying we were able to locate one of the shipwrecks. Thus far, two large cannon and a large amount of ballast stones have been noted at this wreck site where locals report also seeing large amounts of roundshot (or cannonballs as they are commonly referred to in everyday language). One of the goals of investigating this wreck is to ascertain whether or not this may be the wreck of a French vessel carrying munitions which ran aground off Sandy Point during the January 1782 Siege of Brimstone Hill (Matheson 1987; Smith 1992). If this is indeed the wreck of the *Lion-Britannique*, then further investigation of it could yield more information about the Siege of Brimstone Hill, such as the type of military technology employed by the French during their month long bombardment of the Hill.

This research project was a reconnaissance study in which both the terrestrial and underwater sites were extensively surveyed using a non-invasive and non-intrusive approach. An explanation of this approach and the reasons for adopting such an investigative approach shall be elaborated

Next to the archaeological fieldwork, oral historical fieldwork has also been indispensable to this research. Information gleaned from oral sources often helps to refine the research questions and may even cause new questions to arise. These sources can also usually guide the archaeologist as to which general areas and specific sites archaeological fieldwork should be conducted. For the archaeologist wishing to engage in community archaeology, oral sources are indispensable to the process of identifying individuals and groups who are important stakeholders in the community. Some of the oral sources who participated in this research were instrumental in the establishment of two stakeholder groups in the community, the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group and the St. Thomas/St. Anne Heritage Trail Fundraising Committee.

Archival research usually forms a significant component of any major archaeological and historical research project. As with oral sources, archival sources quite often act as a guide to a researcher as what research questions should be asked. Archives may also lead the researcher to where archaeological and oral fieldwork should be concentrated (likewise events and incidents recounted by oral sources can influence the direction of archival research). The National Archives of St. Kitts, situated at Government Headquarters and the UK National Archives at Kew, London are the two major archival repositories tapped into for this research. Archival images of the port showing shipping as well as features and structures no longer existing, such as jetties, were obtained from the St. Kitts National Archives and the Documentation Centre of the St. Christopher National Trust. The St. Kitts National Archives also proved to be an invaluable source for many early maps of St. Kitts.

As is often the case when seeking to conduct archival research in the Caribbean, many primary source documents related to Sandy Point are located in the former metropole. Therefore, it has been found necessary to visit the UK National Archives at Kew to access a range of documents referencing such topics as the lodging of British troops in Sandy Point, smuggling activities at

the Sandy Point Anchorage, the fortifications which guarded the town and its anchorage, and the importance of Sandy Point to Atlantic World trade and geopolitics.

In Chapter Five I shall engage in analysis and interpretation of the results of the terrestrial and underwater archaeological fieldwork. Data and evidence uncovered from this fieldwork shall be discussed in the context of how successfully the research questions have been answered and what new questions have arisen. Chapter Six shall follow in a similar vein with analysis and interpretation of the results of archival and historical research.

Chapter Seven shall be the conclusion of this research. Here the results of my research shall be discussed. Within this discussion there shall be particular emphasis on what this research has achieved, not only with respect to advancing academic knowledge and the historical archaeology of port cities but even more importantly how this research has contributed to raising awareness of Sandy Point's rich heritage. Sandy Point was a port town which played a towering role in propelling St. Kitts to the position of Britain's pre-eminent Leeward Island colony. Even after the decline of its strategic importance to the British Empire, the town continued to play an important role in the social and economic life of several neighbouring English and Dutch islands up to the mid twentieth century. Yet Sandy Point has now become something of "forgotten town" (Rawlins 2014, Appendix B), which has been overlooked in the country's official tourism marketing despite the town's strong potential as a heritage tourism asset.

Marketing by tourism authorities of the Brimstone Hill Fortress, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, makes little or no mention of the fortress' connection with Sandy Point. Even the Brimstone Hill Society's own marketing has, up until this research was commenced, only made passing mention of the fortress' original reason for existence, defence of Sandy Point and its anchorage. Chapter Seven shall discuss what the engagement of community stakeholders in this research has achieved with respect to raising awareness, at both the local and national level, of the town's contribution to the social history and economic development of St. Kitts. If the archaeologist or the historian wishes their work to be truly relevant and meaningful to the communities where that research is conducted then they need to look not only backward in time but forward as well. In that spirit, Chapter Seven shall conclude by examining what future benefits it is hoped these community stakeholders will continue to reap from this research.

# Chapter Two: Early Beginnings of an Atlantic World Port

## 2.1 Geography of St. Kitts

Situated at approximately 17 degrees North Latitude and 62 degrees West Longitude, the 68 square mile island of St. Kitts is located close to the north of an archipelago of small Caribbean islands which extend, like a nautical string of gemstones, from off the east coast of Puerto Rico in the north to north west of Trinidad in the south. Excluding the U.S. and British Virgin Islands, the more northerly islands in this group are known as the Leeward Islands. These are: St. Kitts, Nevis (which today are a single Federation enjoying full political independence since 1983), Anguilla, Montserrat, Antigua and Barbuda, St. Maarten/St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Saba, St. Bartholomew and Guadeloupe. The more southerly islands in this chain: Dominica, Martinique, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, and Grenada make up the Windward Islands.

This archipelago is comprised of two parallel arcs of islands. The outer arc is made up of the older formerly volcanic islands thrust up from the seabed during the earlier part of the last 40 million year period. Erosion has flattened the topography of these islands and their volcanic base is now mostly covered by coral limestone. St. Kitts is part of the younger, still volcanic and more mountainous inner arc, which also includes. St. Maarten/St. Martin, St. Eustatius, Saba, St. Bartholomew, Antigua and Barbuda, and the eastern half of Guadeloupe (Dyde 2005, 1).

While most of the islands in the inner arc are mountainous, each having one or two mountains, St. Kitts is unique, having an entire mountain range. This range runs like a spine down the centre of the main body of the island. The highest peak in this range is Mount Liamigua; rising 3,792 feet above sea level (This mountain was previously named Mount Misery by the European settlers. After St. Kitts and Nevis gained independence in 1983 it was renamed to carry the name originally given to the island by the pre-colonial inhabitants). Separate and apart from the Central Mountain Range are several other striking points of high elevation. One of these is the series of hills on the islands geologically older South East Peninsula.

The other is a 790 foot high upthrust of igneous rock located on the western side of the Central Mountain Range. Forced up violently from the ocean floor by volcanic activity, this steep sided peak is formed mainly of volcanic andesite but is also characterized by dramatic limestone cliffs. This prominent feature on the landscape of St. Kitts would assume the famous and daunting *nom de guerre* Brimstone Hill because of its limestone deposits and subterranean sulphuric vents. As the reader shall come to see as they progress through this research, Brimstone Hill, located approximately a quarter mile inland of the West or leeward coast of the island and a mile southeast of the town of Sandy Point, would come to play a prominent role in the history and archaeology of Sandy Point.

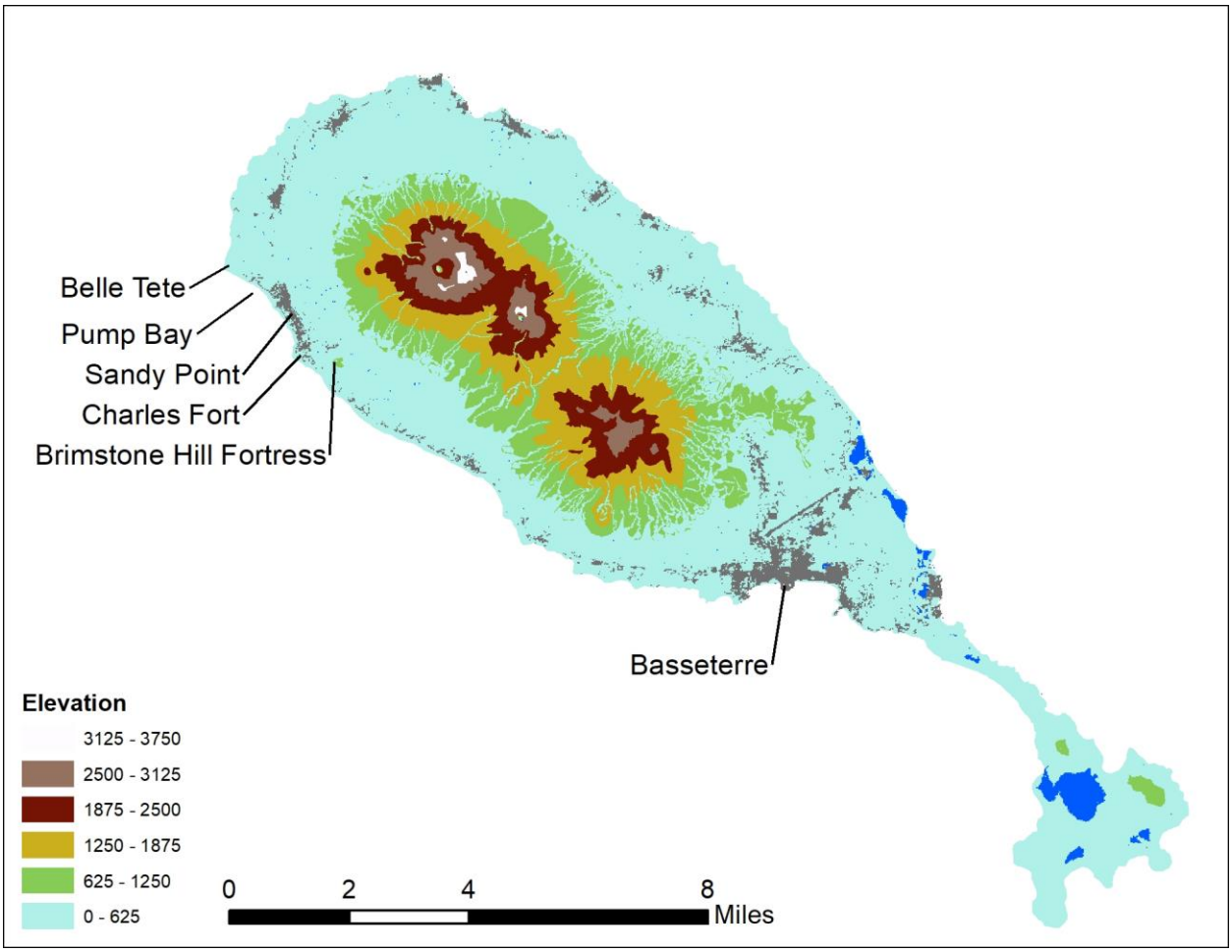


Figure 1 Map of St. Kitts by Todd Ahlman, Center for Archaeological Studies, Texas State University

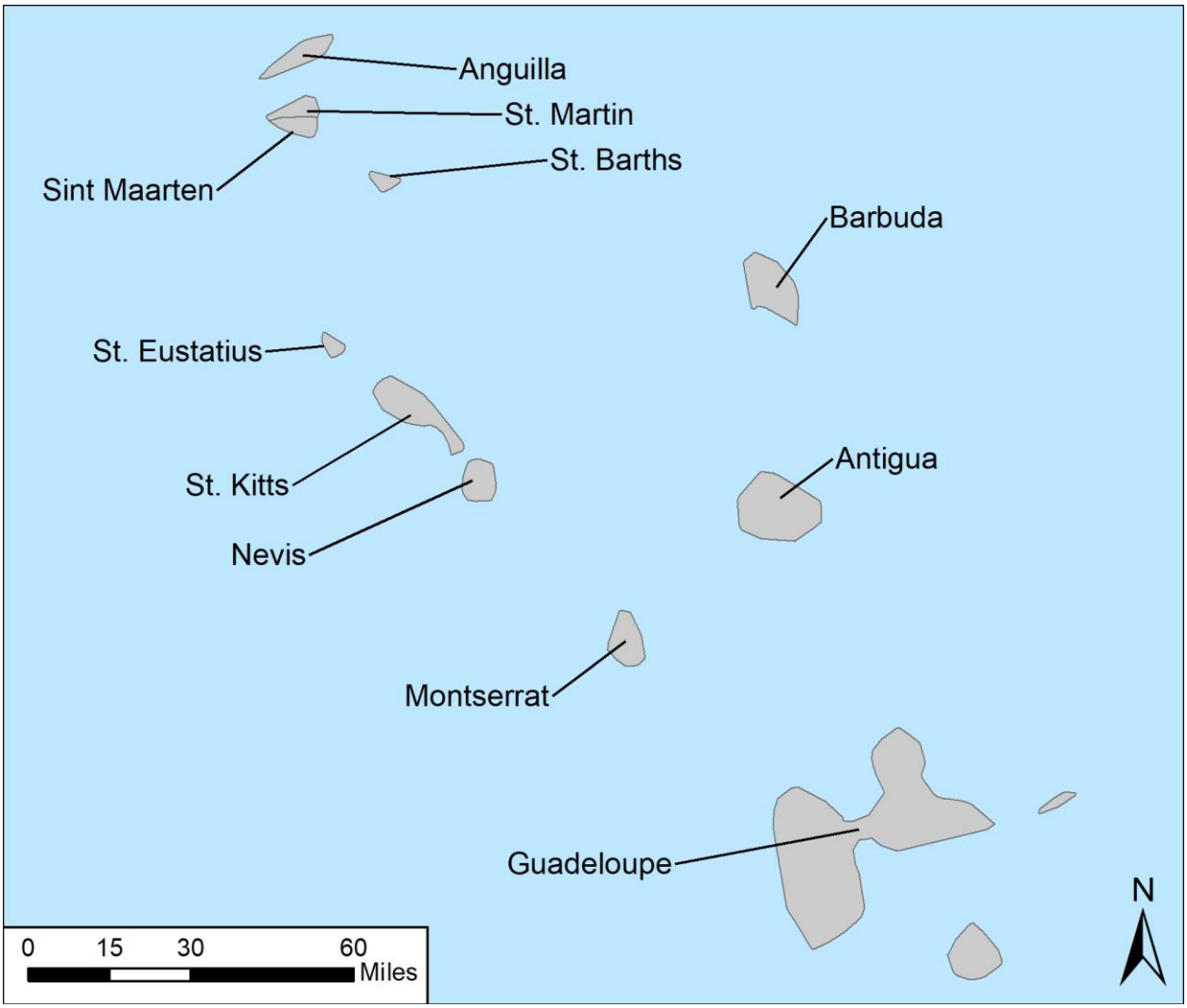


Figure 2 Map of the Leeward Islands by Todd Ahlman, Center for Archaeological Studies, Texas State University

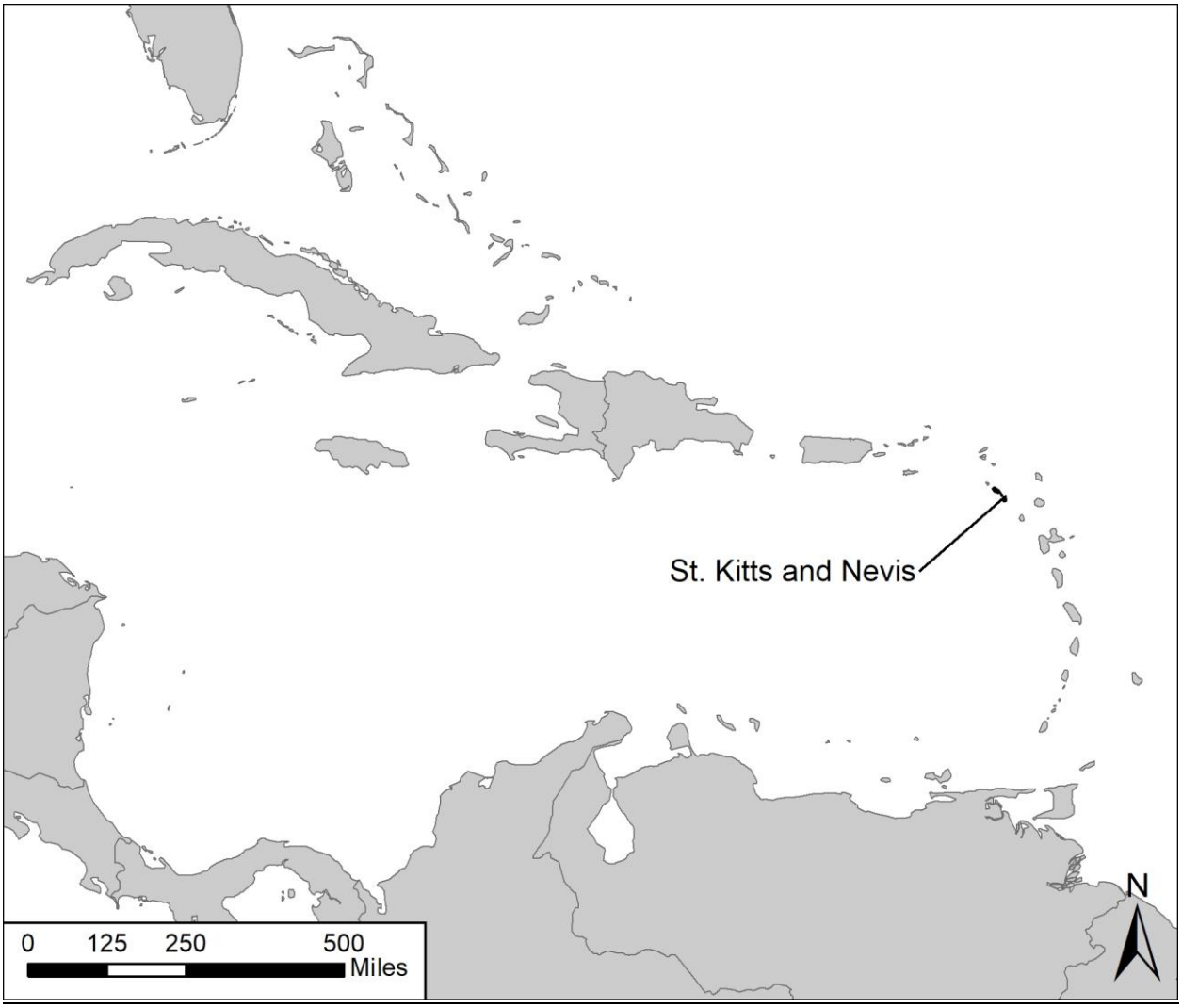


Figure 3 Map of the Caribbean by Todd Ahlman, Center for Archaeological Studies, Texas State University

**2.2 First societies**

From approximately 6000 BC the first societies were being established on the islands of the Caribbean by migrants from the South and Central American mainland (Hofman et al 2018, 200-216). These first settler societies were maritime ones depending on the sea for communication, trade and sustenance (Siegel 2018, 34-56). By the time Columbus initiated European contact with the indigenous societies of the Caribbean in the last decade of the fifteenth century, the islands of the archipelago were populated by the Caquetio, Carib and Taino people (Keegan and Hofman 2017). Many aspects of the socio-political organization of the indigenous societies of the late ceramic age Lesser Antilles are still open debate. However, the societies of the northern Leeward Islands, where the English and French first challenged Spanish hegemony in the Caribbean, show archaeological evidence of similar socio-cultural traits to those of the Greater Antilles and the Virgin Islands (Keegan et al 2013, 205-20). It has also been suggested that the indigenous settlements in the Lesser Antilles functioned as ports facilitating trade between the

Greater Antilles and South American mainland, as well as outposts allowing Greater Antillean caciques (chieftains) to extend their influence throughout the region (ibid). This is a rather interesting theory because the Leeward Islands would later come to serve a similar purpose for the English and French, which is ports facilitating trade with a metropolitan base and outposts from which to extend a Caribbean empire. Evidence thus far suggests then that the maritime cultural landscape would have influenced the siting of both pre-colonial and colonial era settlements in the Leeward Islands.

### 2.3 European arrival and settlement

The preoccupation of Spain, the first European power to stake out territorial claims in the Americas, with gold and silver, and therefore with the mainland and the Greater Antilles, made the Lesser Antilles invitingly open virgin territory to Spain's three main rivals, the English, French and Dutch. Nonetheless, those adventurers who sought to explore and settle the Lesser Antilles on behalf of these three powers still risked incurring the wrath of the Spanish. Spain saw the entire Western Hemisphere west of the line drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas as her domain, including those territories she had no intention of settling and she tolerated no trespassers.

However, having carved out a huge empire for themselves on the Spanish Main, as Spain's territory on North, Central and South America came to be called, the Spanish found their military and naval resources overstretched, and they were unable stop the English, French and Dutch pirates and privateers who began using the Lesser Antilles as bases for freshwater, food and supplies in the early sixteenth century. St. Kitts became a favourite among these interlopers because of the island's excellent anchorages (Dyde 2005, 17). The Spanish were likewise unable to prevent their rivals from establishing a more permanent presence on these islands from the early seventeenth century onwards and St. Kitts would play a key role in this challenge to Spanish hegemony in the "New World".

In 1622, Thomas Warner, the son of a Suffolk farmer, was seriously weighing up his options and it became clear to him that the fledgling English colony in Guiana had little chance of success. Warner was part of a group of optimistic adventurers who, led by Roger North, sought to establish the first English settlement on the South American mainland. The settlement found itself targeted for attacks from the Spanish who were determined to keep other European powers off the mainland. Displaying the shrewdness he would become noted for, Warner left Guiana to investigate the prospects for settling one of the Eastern Caribbean islands (Dyde 2005, 19; Matheson 1973, 4-5).

During the difficult days of the Guiana settlement Warner remembered the advice of sea captain Thomas Painton, whose acquaintance he made on the voyage from England to South America to start the colony. Painton had argued that the initial English settlements should be established on the small Caribbean islands, his logic being that the sea would constitute a natural defence against attack by hostile forces. As Matheson notes, Painton's theory was that a small group of settlers on an island "…ought to be able to hold their ground against the natives of a single island" (Matheson 1973, 4). The captain also felt that the sea would be an asset to plantation agriculture in making it difficult for the more fickle from among the settler population to move on to greener pastures (ibid 4-5).

Leaving Guiana, Warner set sail for the islands of the Eastern Caribbean. Within the volcanic inner arc of the archipelago there would have been a few good prospects. Warner's choice of St. Kitts, one of the smaller yet more fertile islands, appears to have been influenced by Capt. Painton's philosophies. During the days of his initial reconnaissance mission on St. Kitts (how long Warner spent on the island and how many men accompanied him during this first visit is uncertain) Warner found that in addition to the Kalinago there were also several Frenchmen living on the island engaged in the planting of tobacco. These may have been deserters from a French vessel or the survivors of a shipwreck. The amicable reception he received from Tegremonde, leader of the pre-colonial people on the island also further convinced him of the viability of establishing a settlement on St. Kitts (Dyde 2005, 19).

Warner departed the island for England. Upon reaching his native land, he joined forces with a friend from his youth, John Jeffreason, also of Suffolk and an ancestor of Thomas Jefferson, one of the founding fathers of the United States of America, in raising funds for the expedition to settle St. Kitts. Warner and Jeffreason were able to secure funding from Ralph Merrifield, a London merchant who himself had been considering the possibility of establishing a plantation in the Americas. Merrifield in turn was able to convince several other London merchants to also fund the expedition. Attracting potential settlers to St. Kitts turned out to be more of a challenge than raising funds; however, so when Warner and the first contingent bound for the island departed England aboard the *Marmaduke* in 1623, this pioneering group, which numbered less than twenty, comprised only men, including Warner's eldest son (Dyde 2005, 21; Matheson 1973, 5). The size of this group may be explained by the fact that transatlantic voyages were extremely hazardous (This also explains the gender composition of many early pioneering voyages such as this one) and that St. Kitts was for the most part an unknown entity.

The *Marmaduke* arrived at St. Kitts on 28 January 1624 and anchored in a sheltered bay on the West (leeward) coast that the colonists would soon name Old Road (the term "road" referring to a roadstead). The settlement established here between two fast flowing rivers would adopt the same name as the bay. Old Road was also the site of what was probably the largest pre-colonial (Along with "pre-colonial" and "pre-historic", another term used by historians and anthropologists that shall alternatively be used in this research is "pre-contact", signifying cultures that existed in the Americas before the first recorded contact with Europeans) settlement on the island. It is worth noting that European settlers selecting the same sites preferred by indigenous people for settlement was not an uncommon pattern in the Americas.[4] Despite obvious differences in the technology of their material culture, both groups often had the same needs, such as a sheltered bay with a gently sloping beach where they could repair their vessels and proximity to rivers, which were an important source of fresh water.

It is recorded that the English settlers lived with the pre-contact people for a month before constructing their own houses. The latter seemed to have had no objections to their guests' home building endeavour. However, it was the erection of another structure; a fort, which aroused suspicion and concern among the indigenous population. Warner was questioned by his hosts as

[4] For instance, European settlers choosing to live in the same sites along the Chesapeake Bay in North America occupied by Native Americans due to "congenial environmental advantages". See Roller, M. and J. Schablitsky, 2010. Ecology, Commerce, Conflict and Transportation along the Anacostia River. *MAHS News* Volume 21(1): 14-17.

to the purpose of the timber fortification and his answer illustrates the low esteem that the English (like other Europeans) had for the intelligence of indigenous people. Warner's apparently tried to convince Tegremonde that the structure, who's "loopeholes (sic)" and other defensive features were obvious to the latter's people, was a mere fowl pen. The Kalinago were neither impressed nor amused by this explanation (Dyde 2005, 21).

The erection of this structure, the first fort on St. Kitts, would signal a turning point in the history of the island. Not only would it cause a worsening of the relationship between indigenous and European, it was also the material manifestation of the beginning of an early English philosophy on colonization in the West Indies. This was the philosophy first espoused to Thomas Warner by Captain Thomas Painton, a colony on a small island whose defence, both against other Europeans and against the native population, was influenced by the maritime sphere. In the case of rival European groups, the sea would make any attack more difficult (Although certainly not unlikely or impossible, as shall be illustrated at several points in this research). With regard to the native population, the sea would make it more difficult (although again not impossible) to receive reinforcements in the event of any conflict. All that was missing thus far from Painton's original picture was the plantation but those would come. The English settlement at Old Road was the prototype for a model that would be repeated, expanded and improved upon in the other coastal towns that would be established on St. Kitts and elsewhere in the islands of the Eastern Caribbean, settlements shaped by a dependence on the sea for trade, sustenance and defence. While it is true that coastal towns and cities the world over, from Bristol to Halifax, have historically shared a similar relationship with the sea, those on a small island are unique because the same relative geographic isolation that Painton pointed too as an advantage have also, in times of war and crisis, made their existence and survival precarious.

Another group of European settlers would arrive on the island close on the heels of the English. As mentioned earlier, the Caribbean Sea was a popular stomping ground for English, French and Dutch privateers attracted by the riches of Spain's American empire. In 1625 one French privateer met its match during an engagement with a Spanish galleon somewhere in the waters of the northern Caribbean (Some sources describe the encounter as taking place off Cuba, others as taking place off the Cayman Islands). The encounter left the privateer incapable of making an Atlantic crossing back to her home port of Dieppe. Weighing his options, the ship's captain, Belain d'Esnambuc, decided to seek a suitable refuge on one of the smaller islands in the Lesser Antillean chain where he could safely careen and repair his damaged vessel. Knowledge that there were already a small number of Frenchmen living on St. Kitts influenced his choice of destination (Dyde 2005, 22; Matheson 1973, 12).

Knowledge of the deteriorating relationship with the island's indigenous inhabitants similarly influenced the hospitable reception which the English settlers extended to the new arrivals. The English settlement was said to have been temporarily led at this time by Warner's friend Jeffreason who had arrived on the island earlier that year. Warner had reportedly sailed back to England with St. Christopher's second tobacco crop so as to lobby for official royal authorization of the colony (Dyde 2005, 22-23). Like Warner, d'Esnambuc too soon realized the island's potential as a permanent colony. Between the additional English settlers who arrived with Jeffreason and d'Esnambuc's party of privateering Frenchmen, the number of Europeans on the island had now more than doubled, much to the consternation of the indigenous population. Tegremonde's people, in alliance with their compatriots on other islands, particularly Dominica,

plotted an attack on the Europeans. However, the ensuing battle ended disastrously for the pre-contact people, whose plans had been revealed to the Europeans, reportedly by a female member of St. Kitts' pre-contact community who was probably a captive from another pre-contact group and therefore felt no sense of allegiance to Tegremonde's people (Dyde 2005, 22-23; Matheson 1973, 12-13).

Interestingly, this incident changed the dynamic of the French relationship with the indigenous people on St. Kitts. French settlers in the West Indies, at least in the early period of settlement, such as the castaways Warner met on St. Kitts, tended to integrate more and enjoy a closer relationship with indigenous societies than their English counterparts who more aggressively pursued a policy of large scale land acquisition for the purpose of sugar cane cultivation (Shafie et al 2017, 52-70).

Many of the pre-colonial population who were not killed in the battle were forced to flee their island home. They would prove to be a tenacious people though and not long after, again reinforced by allies from neighbouring islands, they attempted another attack on the newcomers. The Europeans suffered heavy casualties, reportedly losing over 100 men to their enemies' poisoned arrows but they were able to inflict much higher casualties with their firearms. The river valley, or "ghaut" as they are known colloquially in St. Kitts, where much of the battle took place, is today still known as Bloody Point because according to Kittitian folklore the river ran red with blood several days after (Matheson 1973, 13).

The indigenous population of the island declined drastically after this incident, arguably the first act of genocide to be committed by the English or the French in the West Indies. The removal of a significant number of the population of a competing ethnic group from the island would set the stage for English and French colonial expansion on St. Kitts and the rest of the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean. Ironically, the Battle of Bloody Point would also be one of the few memorable instances of unity between the English and French on St. Kitts. From thenceforth, relationships between both groups of Europeans would dramatically shape the history, archaeology and built landscape of the island.

Sometime between 1626 and 1627 d'Esnambuc and another important member of St. Kitts' French settlement, one Urbain du Roissey, travelled to Paris to, like their English counterpart Warner, seek a royal commission from their respective monarch. Like Warner, they were successful and armed with a commission establishing the Compagnie de Saint-Christophe, journeyed back across to St. Kitts aboard three vessels carrying a complement of close to 500 settlers (Dyde 2005, 27; Matheson 1973, 13). Lack of sufficient preparation with respect to the necessary supplies for an Atlantic crossing resulted in high mortality aboard the vessels and by the time the first ship arrived at St. Kitts on 6 May 1627, fifty four of the original complement of seventy had perished (ibid).

Having received their respective commissions to settle St. Kitts and several other neighbouring islands, the English and French proceeded to draw up a treaty dividing the island between themselves, signed on 13 May 1627. The English colony of St. Christopher was established in the middle of the island where the English were already settled. The French colony of St. Christophe was established in two areas, the northern and southern parts of the island. As is commonplace in many parts of the world, the borders between the two nations on this tiny Caribbean island followed natural features. Both borders ran from the island's leeward to its

Atlantic coast, traversing the mountain range. The border between St. Christopher and northern St. Christophe ran through the northern part of a bay on the leeward (Caribbean) coast which would later become known as Pump Bay. Pump Bay was part of an anchorage that due to its location on this boundary would acquire strategic interest to both English and French, and would serve as the flashpoint for some of their most historically significant conflicts in the Atlantic World (see Figure 4). These conflicts occurred despite a treaty which the two sides also signed assuring mutual defence in the event of an external attack on the island and neutrality during times of war between England and France. According to the treaty, the neutrality clause would be nullified only "under direct order from their respective sovereigns" (Matheson 1973, 14).

Figure 4 French map of St. Kitts by Etienne Vuillemont 1667. Note red boundary lines running through the island which signify demarcation between English St. Christopher in the middle, and French St. Christophe in the East and West. Sandy Point Anchorage on the South coast (which includes Pump Bay) is highlighted by the author with a box. Note the border running through the anchorage. Courtesy St. Kitts National Archives

As stated earlier, the English established their first town at Old Road, which like the overwhelming majority of towns in the Eastern Caribbean islands, is a coastal settlement. Old Road was the first English capital of St. Christopher and the first English town in the English colonized islands within the archipelago of the Caribbean Sea that would later become known as the British West Indies. Within England's wider Caribbean empire Old Road is the second oldest town after St. George's, located on the northern Atlantic island of Bermuda (Harris 1997, 46).

In the year that the treaty was signed, the French established their first West Indian capital on the Leeward (southern) coast of southern St. Christophe, christening it Basse Terre. The coastal settlement at Basse Terre, located in a valley below the mountain range, was endowed with a large roadstead which made for an excellent natural anchorage. It should be noted that Basse Terre was the name not only for the town but also for the whole of South St. Christophe. This was not a unique practice, the French settlement of Quebec on the North American continent is another example of a colony and a city sharing the same name (Charbonneau et al 1982), as well

as the Spanish settlement of Santo Domingo on the Greater Antillean island of Hispaniola. Meaning low land in English, the name Basse-Terre is descriptive of the valleys which define the landscape of the island between the mountain range and the South East Peninsula. On the Atlantic (northern) coast of southern St. Christophe (Basse Terre), the French established the town of Cayon (see Figure 5), the only inland town on St. Kitts and one of the few inland towns in the Eastern Caribbean.[5]

Figure 5 1667 Vuillemont map of St. Kitts, towns highlighted by the author with stars. Clockwise from top: Cayon, Basse Terre, Old Road, Sandy Point

The rugged terrain of northern St. Christophe earned it the official French name of Capisterre or head land (Inniss 2012). On the border with St. Christopher, on the Leeward coast, the French had erected a fort which is depicted on at least one early French map as Fort Francois (see Figure 6) and at least one early English map as Fig Tree Fort (see Figure 7). The section of coast on the north of Pump Bay and south of the bluff known as Belle Tete or Point or Pointe de Sable (see Figure 6) became known as Fig Tree, as with the example given above of a town and an area, it was not uncommon for a particular region to take the name of a fortification or defensive site.

Today the village of Fig Tree is a small, close knit maritime community whose residents live literally on the footprint of the French coastal fort which once stood here. Thus far one has not been able to determine precisely when this community and its larger neighbour to the south, the town of Sandy Point (Fig Tree is today jurisdictionally part of Sandy Point. This is one more reason why, along with the two communities intertwined histories and the obvious fact that Fig Tree sits right on the Sandy Point Anchorage, why Fig Tree will feature prominently in this research. In Chapters Three and Four one shall note that many of the important oral sources who contributed to this research are persons who reside in or originated from Fig Tree) were founded.

[5] It is worth noting that the term inland is used here in a very relative sense. On a 68 square mile island, which is only 5.81 miles across from coast to coast at its widest point, one is never very far from the sea. Therefore, the term inland, in reference to St. Kitts, is used to refer to any site, whether settlement, fort etc., or natural feature which is not located directly on the coast.

Figure 6  1667 Vuillemont map of St. Kitts, detail showing Fort Francois and boundary running through Sandy Point Anchorage

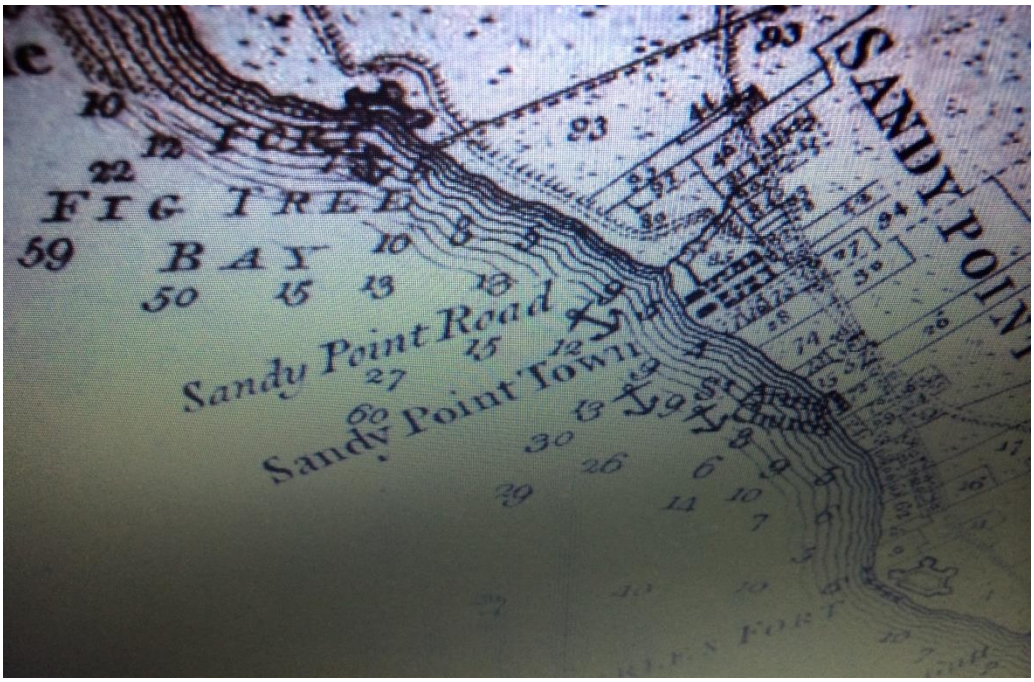


Figure 7  Detail of 1775 English map of St. Christopher by Anthony Revell showing Fig Tree Fort and Fig Tree Bay.  Courtesy David Rumsey Map Collection

## 2.4 Origins of Sandy Point

The inability to chronologically pin down the exact founding of the subject of this research, the town of Sandy Point, is worth commenting on, for it highlights a challenge (one which can be at the same time intriguing and frustrating) which confronts researchers investigating the early history of the island of St. Kitts. Bryan Dyde has alluded to the less than precise nature of much of the early chronology of St. Kitts, with accounts of many historic events being recorded long after the fact and with the absence of exact dates (Dyde 2005, 303).

Many early cartographic illustrations show a geographic feature named Point (or Pointe) de Sable on both the English and French maps. Point(e) de Sable, is the prominent bluff distinguished by an extensive sandy beach which marks the northern point of the Sandy Point Anchorage. Point(e) de Sable literally means Sandy Point in French. Figures Six (above), as well as Eight to Twelve, illustrate various depictions of Point(e) de Sable.

Figure 8 Detail of 1714 map by Buor depicting Pointe de Sable on northern French St. Kitts. Note the Pointe de Sable bluff also bears the name Belletefte (sic). Courtesy British Library

Figure 9 Map titled the Island of St. Christopher's, alias St. Kitts by Herman Moll 1732. Detail showing "Point Sable and Fort". Courtesy Antique Map Resources

Figure 10 Map of Bermuda and St. Kitts by Emmanuel Bowen 1752. Detail showing (at bottom) Point Sable and Point Sable Fort. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress

Figure 11 Baker Map 1753, detail showing "Sandy or Beltates Point". Image courtesy Francois van der Hoeven, Foundation for Maritime Archaeology in Curacao (STIMACUR)

Figure 12 Map of St. Christopher 1775 by Anthony Ravell Esq. Detail showing (at top) "Belle Tete or Pointe de Sable". Courtesy Antique Map Resources

Two things must be noted, in Figures Eight, Eleven and Twelve Point(e) de Sable is also signified as Belle Tete. Meaning Pretty Head in French, Belle Tete is the name by which this bluff has commonly become known and is the name depicted on present day maps such as the 1985 Ordnance Survey Map of St. Christopher and Nevis. Secondly, in Figures Nine and Ten the fort at Fig Tree is depicted as "Point Sable Fort". This depiction is understandable, as the coastal fort erected here would have sat on the coast overlooking the Point(e) de Sable or Belle Tete bluff.

It is obvious that the coastal town of Sandy Point, as well as much of the surrounding hinterland, earned its name from the prominent Point(e) de Sable bluff. The 1753 map of St. Kitts by the English cartographer Baker (see Figure 1) depicts both the town and the surrounding area bearing the name Sandy Point. The Baker map seems to suggest that by this period the name Sandy Point was also being used interchangeably as an alternative name for the Parish of St. Anne. The practice of also referring to the area around the town as Sandy Point is one which continues to the present day. Another English map, one published two decades later and attributed to the cartographer Ravell (see Figure 12), shows the roadstead and the town carrying the name Sandy Point. Ravell's map also bears the legend "Anns (sic) or Sandy Point Parish". Other geographic features in the area were also given the name Sandy Point. Moll's 1732 map clearly depicts a major river valley in St. Anne's Parish as the "Sandy Point Gutt" (see Figure 9). Fast forward two and a half centuries and this 'ghaut' or 'ghut" (Dry river valleys, a common geographic feature that the island of St. Kitts has become known for, are known colloquially as ghauts. The name ghaut or ghut is also seen on official map representations) is still depicted with the name Sandy Point attached to it (see Figure 13).

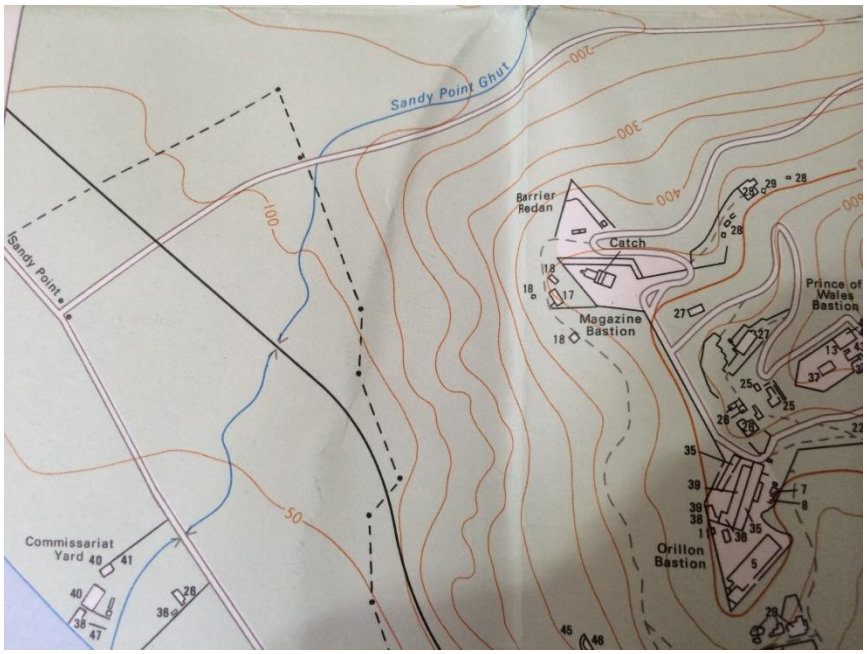


Figure 13 1985 Ordnance Survey Map of St. Christopher and Nevis. Detail showing Sandy Point Ghut (blue line) and the North West Work of the Brimstone Hill Fortress. Courtesy Directorate of Overseas Surveys. It should be noted that the boundary line between St. Anne and St. Thomas Parishes runs partly along this "Ghut". Brimstone Hill Fortress is on the St. Thomas side of the boundary

The earliest map representation encountered with the name Sandy Point signifying an existing settlement and not just the bluff at Belle Tete is the Norwood Map of 1698 (Figure 14 below).

Figure 14 1698 Norwood Map, detail. Legend "Sandy Pt." signifying coastal fort and town, both of which are surrounded by a dotted line. Courtesy St. Kitts National Archives

On the Norwood Map, the legend "Sandy Pt." appears to refer to both the coastal fort built on the shoreline in the middle of the bay and off the town centre, as well as to the town itself. The fort and the town are represented similarly on the 1714 Buor Map (Figure 8 on Page 24). On a 1780 map by the French cartographer Bellin, in addition to the Sandy Point bluff being depicted as "La Pointe de Sable", the area where the town is located is itself depicted as "Pointe de Sable" (Figure 15 below).

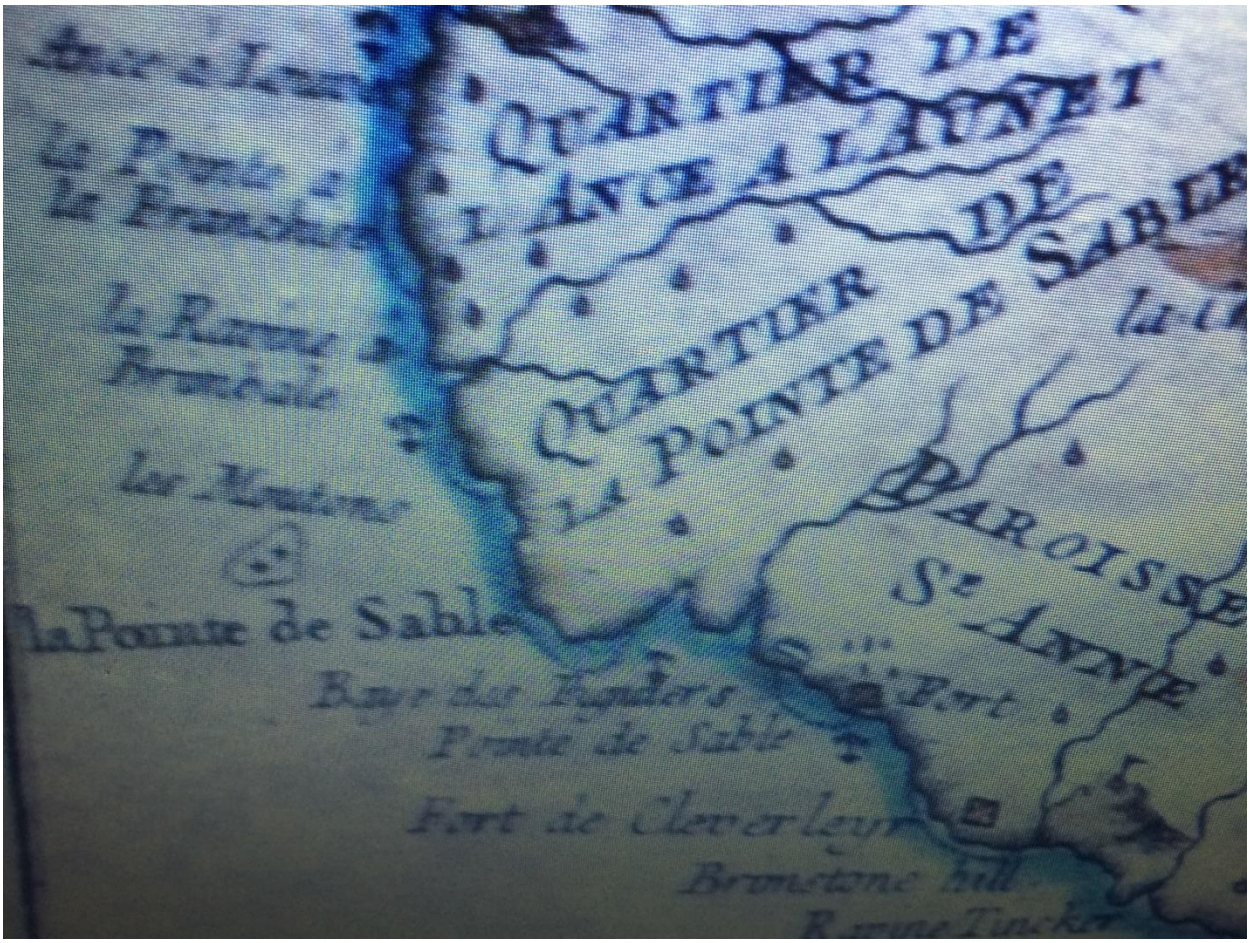


Figure 15 Map of St. Kitts by Jacques Nicolas Bellin published 1780. Detail showing Sandy Point bluff depicted as "La Pointe de Sable" and stretch of coast where town of Sandy Point sits as "Pointe de Sable". Image courtesy Donald Lloyd Matheson Collection, Matheson House, Headquarters of the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, St. Kitts

Of the cartographic sources discussed thus far, the earliest one depicting Sandy Point as an established settlement is Norwood's map of 1698. This still leaves unanswered the question of when this coastal town was founded. While this question may remain unanswered, at least for now, we do know; however, from another illustrative source, that the town of Sandy Point was in existence by the middle of the seventeenth century (Figure 16 below).

One of the major internecine conflicts between the English and French on St. Kitts took place in 1666. Despite the provisions of the colonists' mutual treaty of non-aggression, the French on St. Kitts seized on the opportunity provided by England's war with the Dutch to declare war on their Anglophone island neighbours.

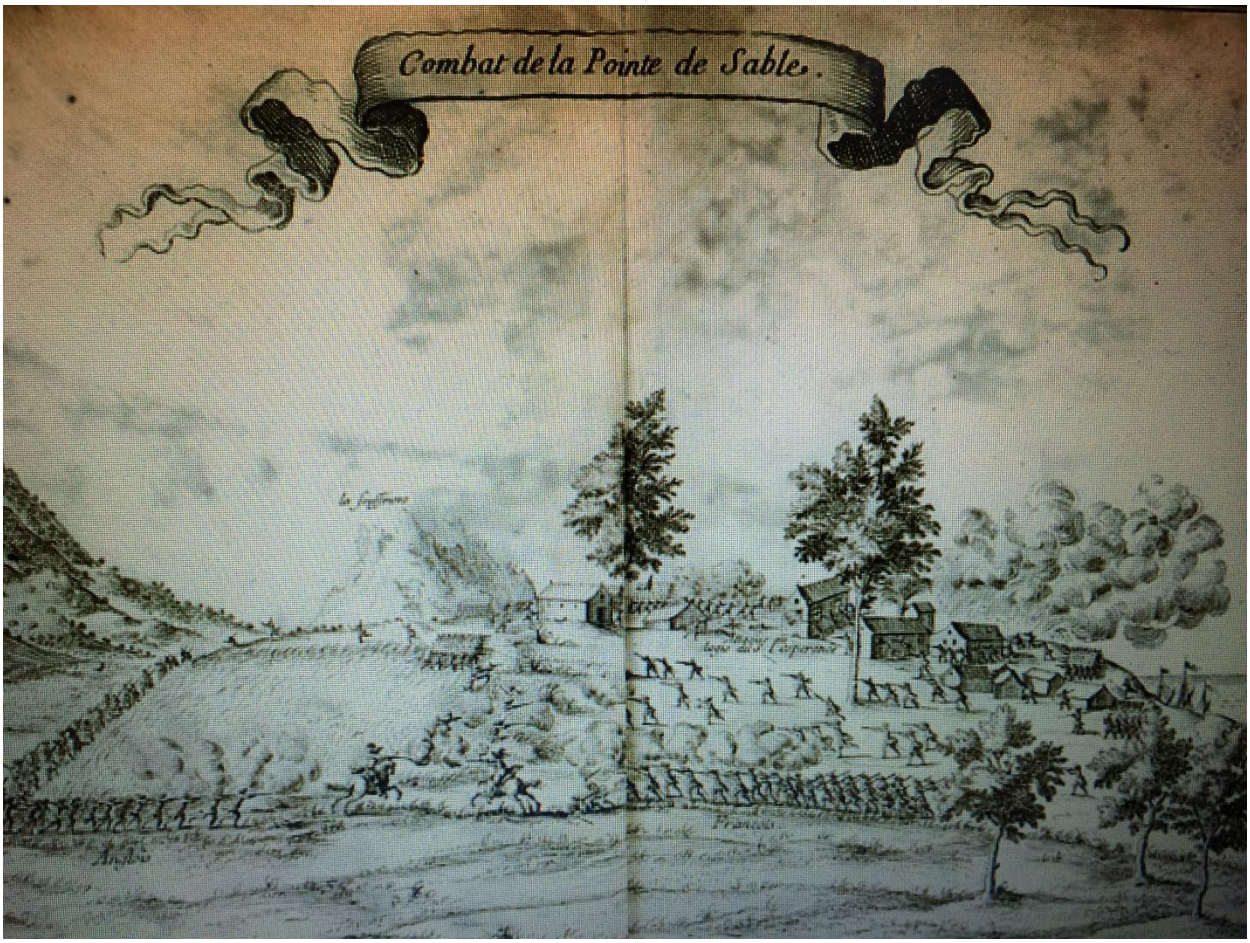


Figure 16 Depiction of the 1666 Battle of Sandy Point from Histoire generale des Antilles par les Francois by R.P. Jean Baptiste Du Tertre 1667. Courtesy Biblioteque nationale de France

Despite being aided by reinforcements from St. Eustatius led by Colonel Morgan, Governor of St. Eustatius (Col. Morgan was an immediate ancestor of the infamous buccaneer and later Governor of Jamaica, Sir Henry Morgan), the English were soundly defeated and expelled from St. Kitts. The English were restored to St. Kitts the following year under the provisions of the Treaty of Breda (St. Johnston c. 1930's, 3-5).

Of most immediate relevance to this discussion is one of the most significant battles which took place during the 1666 conflict on St. Kitts, the English counter-attack around the town of Sandy Point which became known as the Battle of Sandy Point (Parker 2012, 134-36). Jean Baptiste Du Tertre's depiction of this battle is rather enlightening because; thus far, it is the earliest known illustrative source depicting the town of Sandy Point (Figure 16). The background for Du Tertre's artistic rendering of the Battle of Sandy Point is a clearly defined coastal settlement with several sizable structures and it is obvious that the "Pointe de Sable" referred to in the illustration's caption is this settlement.

Therefore, we can arrive at the conclusion that within at least four decades after the first European colonists established roots on St. Kitts, the coastal town of Sandy Point was a well established community, albeit one which, like many early colonial towns still in existence in the Americas today, faced challenges to its continued existence from early on. Sandy Point's location close to a border between two rival European powers seeking to establish a foothold in the Caribbean from their first island colony would thrust the coastal town centre stage in this rivalry.

### 2.5 Creating the most fortified coastline in the Lesser Antilles

It has been noted that soon after St. Kitts was settled by the two groups of Europeans:

> …settlements and harbours became established on the sheltered leeward or western and north-western coasts. These then had to be protected by artillery defences (the English against the French and vice versa) as well as against the predatory incursions of pirates and corsairs, which were as much a threat and danger to both of the occupying powers of the island (Smith 1994, 73-109).

Several coastal forts were constructed by the English and French along the demarcated and contested Sandy Point shoreline. The two largest of these, faced off against each other over the boundary running through Pump Bay (see Figure 6, Page 23 and Figure 17 below). The rather interesting history of the construction of the one on the English side is an indication of the strategic importance which the Sandy Point area would assume from the first century of the island's settlement.

Figure 17 1650 Sanson Map detail showing boundary running through Sandy Point Anchorage and forts on either side, French fort to the left and English fort to the right. Image courtesy Francois van der Hoeven STIMACUR

Construction of the fort commenced in the early 1670's on a headland to the south of the town of Sandy Point named Cleverley's Hill (Calendar of State Papers, America and the West Indies, Volume 7, 1669-1674, 282-296). Cleverley Hill is today a leafy middle class suburb of Sandy Point. Construction of Cleverley Hill Fort, as it was originally named (Smith 1994, 73-109), took twelve years and due to its sheer size and the drain its construction imposed on scarce funds, King Charles II had to personally fund its completion (Dyde 2005, 67-68). A European monarch dipping into his or her own purse to fund the erection of a fortification in the Americas is almost unheard of. Charles II's actions show the extraordinary importance that the newly restored King placed on St. Christopher's role in England's colonial ambitions.

More specifically, the actions of the King with respect to Charles Fort, as the fort was renamed after its construction, demonstrate that the Sandy Point area and its coastline were seen as vital to English control of St. Kitts. In fact, two regular infantry companies were stationed at this early fortification even before it was completed. One of the major roles which Charles Fort and its garrison were expected to perform, was to prevent the French, in the event of hostilities, marching from Basseterre in the south to take the important limestone quarry at Brimstone Hill.

Figure 18 King Charles II, financial patron of Charles Fort in St. Kitts. Painting by John Michael Wright or studio. Image courtesy Wikipedia Commons

The manner in which Charles Fort was constructed is also a telling indicator of the significance of both this fortification and Sandy Point.

Most Caribbean forts of the late 17th to early 18th century period, whether coastal forts such as Fort Shirley (the Cabrits) in Dominica or land forts such as Fort Delgres in Guadeloupe, first came into being as simple fortified structures, often initially constructed of timber, whose evolution in construction and design spanned a period of several years, decades or even centuries. In the case of Fort Shirley, the first small military position, consisting of one building and a humble battery, was constructed circa 1765. Construction of the garrison did not commence until the 1770's and continued sporadically until 1825 (Honychurch 2013, 54-61). Fort Delgres began life as a fortified house built as the Governor's residence circa 1650 and saw major periods of expansion gradually transforming it into a fortress during the 18th century.

San Pedro de la Roca Castle in Santiago de Cuba and its associated defensive works today constitutes the most extensive and comprehensive example of Renaissance military engineering in the Caribbean. In its present form San Pedro de la Roca represents an evolution and extension of a fortress that spanned the period from 1638 to 1898.[6] Similarly, the other major fortifications of the Spanish Caribbean, famous for the magnificence of their sheer size and scale of their dimensions, are the result of several centuries of rebuilding and extension (Roman et al 2009).

By comparison, Charles Fort was conceived from the initiation of its construction in 1670 as a comprehensive masonry fort with curtain walls fully enclosing the site and linking the various artillery positions (see Appendix B, Smith 2012).

[6] San Pedro de la Roca Castle, Santiago de Cuba – UNESCO World Heritage Centre: http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/841 Paris: Accessed 4 Jan. 2015

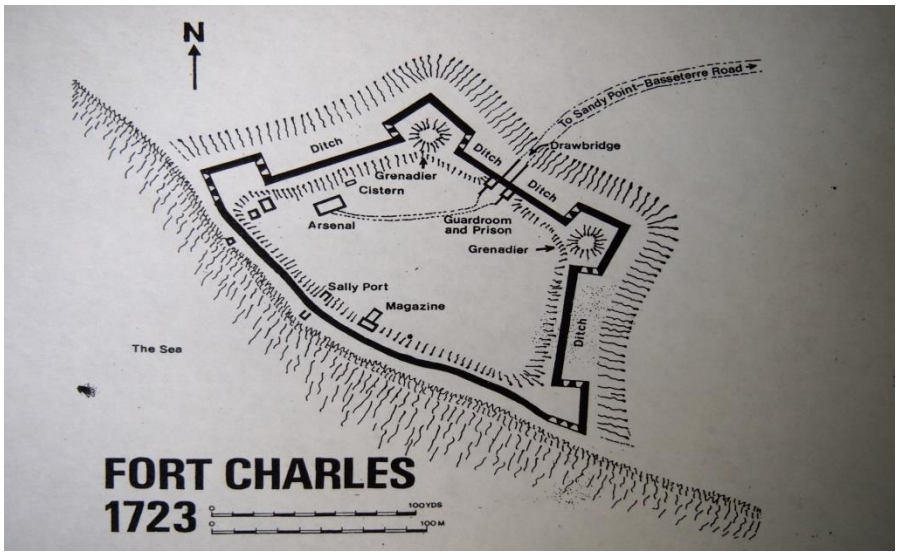


Figure 19 Earliest known plan of Charles Fort after V.T.C. Smith 1992. Based on an original in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch

Figure 20 Google Earth image of Charles Fort downloaded 29 September 2015. In this satellite image the bastions and curtain walls are still visible despite the heavy vegetation which has encroached onto the site, and when one makes a comparison with Figure 19 above it is obvious that the design of the fortification remained largely unchanged from the period of its initial construction

Charles Fort was held in great esteem by one English colonial official of the time who derided the other fortifications on St. Kitts by stating that they served "…only as batteries to defend so many landing places and roads (roadsteads) from pirates and privateers (CSP, A&W.I., 1724-1725, 143-57)". While this official's assessment of the fortifications on the island may seem unnecessarily harsh, it actually highlights a critical shortcoming of coastal forts. While capable of defending a port or anchorage from a few pirate or privateering vessels, they were unable to mount an effective defence against the kinds of large naval fleets that soon began extending the scale of the proxy wars being waged by European powers on the Caribbean Sea (Pares 1963, 245-46).

With respect to providing defence against an invasion force, the most that a coastal fort could realistically be expected to achieve was to slow the enemy's advance long enough for his forces to succumb to the climate and tropical diseases (Pares 1963, 248), or until friendly reinforcements arrived. It should be remembered that even the largest fortification would be limited as to how many artillery pieces it can mount, how much ordnance it can store and how many troops it can accommodate. An invading power is only limited by how many resources (ships and men) it is willing and able to commit (Segovia 1998, 25-26). Bearing these factors in mind, it can be understood that fortifications located on the coast were extremely vulnerable.

Why then, one may ask, were so many of the Caribbean's primary fortifications (and so many major fortifications in the rest of the world) built along the coastlines? The answer is simple; their locations were dictated by technological limitations of the time. In the seventeenth century, the limited range of artillery meant that forts erected to defend coastlines and strategically vital coastal settlements, had to be sited on the coast in order for their guns to pose a realistic threat to hostile ships (Buisseret 2008, 8; Smith 1994, 73-109).

Now that we have clarified the rationale behind coastal fortifications, and discussed their relative merits and drawbacks, we can return to our discussion of the strategic significance of the town of Sandy Point and its anchorage. The strategic value of an area can be deduced by the scale and intensity of defensive sites constructed in that area. While most of the leeward coast of St. Kitts was dotted with forts erected by the English and the French, the greatest concentration within this chain of fortifications occurred in two areas, the Basseterre Roadstead and the Sandy Point Anchorage. The same official quoted above who in the early eighteenth century voiced criticism of St. Kitts' fortifications, listed seven English forts located along the island's coast. Of these, Charles Fort and Fort Hamilton (The latter is the same Sandy Point Fort seen on several seventeenth and eighteenth century maps. Figures Eight, Nine and Fourteen, Pages 24-28) are located on the Sandy Point Anchorage, while Fort Smith and Basse Terre Fort are sited on the Basseterre Roadstead (CSP, A&WI, 1724-1725, 143-157).

Two centuries later, Royal Engineers officer Lieutenant R. Inglis' map of St. Kitts shows twelve forts along the coast. Of these there are three guarding the Basseterre Roadstead. One of these, Fort Smith, is depicted as a simple battery and the other two, Londonderry Fort and Bluff Point Fort (the latter is also known as Fort Thomas) as major fortifications (UK National Archives MPH1/1126).

For the Sandy Point Anchorage, Inglis' map depicts Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill as major fortifications, with the latter depicted with a red icon, perhaps to signify its colossal size and scale. Fig Tree Fort is the third defensive position shown at the Sandy Point Anchorage and is

depicted as a minor fortification (UK National Archives MPH1/1126). Therefore, at any one time at least half of the island's fortifications would have been dedicated to defending the two major anchorages. However, as we shall see, the fortifications at Sandy Point would far surpass those of Basseterre with respect to their scale and military architecture.

Even the relatively minor Sandy Point Fort, also known as Fort Hamilton (CSP, A&WI, 1724-1725, 143-570), raises some interesting questions with regard to the impact that Sandy Point's strategic importance may have had on fortification construction and design. This fort is located at the seaward end of Downing Street, a thoroughfare running perpendicular to the coast, which is clearly depicted on the 1714 Buor Map and the earlier 1698 map by Norwood as the town centre of Sandy Point (see respectively, Figure 8 on Page 24 and Figure 14 on Page 28).

Sandy Point Fort is today an almost completely submerged structure in the shallow coastal waters off Downing Street and both of the above mentioned maps depict the fort as a structure jutting out into the sea from the coast and surrounded by a dotted line. The current status of the fort as a submerged site and its intriguing cartographic representation raises two questions in the mind of this researcher. First, did Sandy Point Fort fall victim to a natural and pronounced sea level rise, a phenomenon which is not unusual on the leeward coast of some Eastern Caribbean islands? The second question raises the alternative scenario that the fort may have been erected on land reclaimed from the sea.

Two mid eighteenth century maps, the 1752 Map of Bermuda and St. Kitts by Emmanuel Bowen and the 1753 Baker Map of St. Kitts, appear to confirm the latter scenario that Sandy Point Fort or Fort Hamilton, was built out onto the sea (See Figures 21 and 22). Both maps clearly show the fort jutting out from the coast onto the water. No other known map of St. Kitts depicts any of the island's other forts in this manner.

Figure 21 Map of Bermuda and St. Kitts by Emmanuel Bowen 1752. Detail showing Sandy Point Fort

Figure 22 Baker Map 1753 detail clearly showing Sandy Point Fort (at the centre of the Sandy Point Anchorage)

One archaeologist and military historian who has conducted extensive fieldwork in both the UK and the Caribbean has observed that "The idea of building on reclaimed land and into the sea – *where compelled by the constraints of the site or tactical imperative to do so* – was universal (see Appendix B, Smith 2013)". Along the Thames from the sixteenth century into the eighteenth and later, some of this vital river's defences were erected out from the land onto the water and secured by timber pilings back-filled from behind (Appendix B, Smith 2013). With respect to providing defences for new harbour works it may in some cases be necessary to select an entirely new area off shore for reclamation. There is some evidence to suggest that reclamation was undertaken using boulders at English Harbour in Antigua (Appendix B, Smith 2013). One recorded instance of a coastal fort being constructed on reclaimed or at best initially less than stable coastal terrain is Fort Augusta in Kingston, Jamaica (Buisseret 2008: 10).

The cataclysmic earthquake which struck Port Royal in 1692 opened up an undersea passage below Port Henderson Hill which allowed deeper draught vessels access to Kingston. This was a mixed blessing for Kingston in that it enabled the city to come into its own as a major port but at the same time it created a new challenge, which was that large shipping calling at the burgeoning port of Kingston were out of the range of protection from Port Royal's guns. The only suitable area where a fortification could be placed to address the defence gap at Kingston harbour was at Mosquito Point which was afflicted with marshy soil unsuitable for construction. The solution found was to drive piles deep into the marsh to create the foundation upon which was erected a new coastal fort christened Fort Augusta (ibid).

Clearly, as the examples above show, where there was a strategic or tactical imperative it was not unheard of for land reclamation, using boulders or timber pilings, to be pursued as a viable

option for erecting a coastal fort, if circumstances necessitated it. Cartographic evidence suggests that Sandy Point Fort was one such example. The question that remains is exactly how Sandy Point Fort's challenging construction was undertaken.

In addition to its location on the border between St. Christopher and northern St. Christophe, another major factor which would have influenced Sandy Point's strategic importance was the size of its anchorage. During the period that the island was shared between two groups of European settlers, the Sandy Point Anchorage was the only relatively large roadstead available to the English. At 0.83 miles (1.34 kilometres) in straight line length, the anchorage at Old Road is significantly smaller than the anchorages at Basse Terre or Sandy Point. When one compares the Sandy Point (1.82 miles straight line length) and Basse Terre (1.95 miles straight line length) anchorages to other anchorages in the Eastern Caribbean which assumed importance with respect to shipping and trade, these two Kittitian anchorages are clearly two of the largest in the region (Gill 2013).

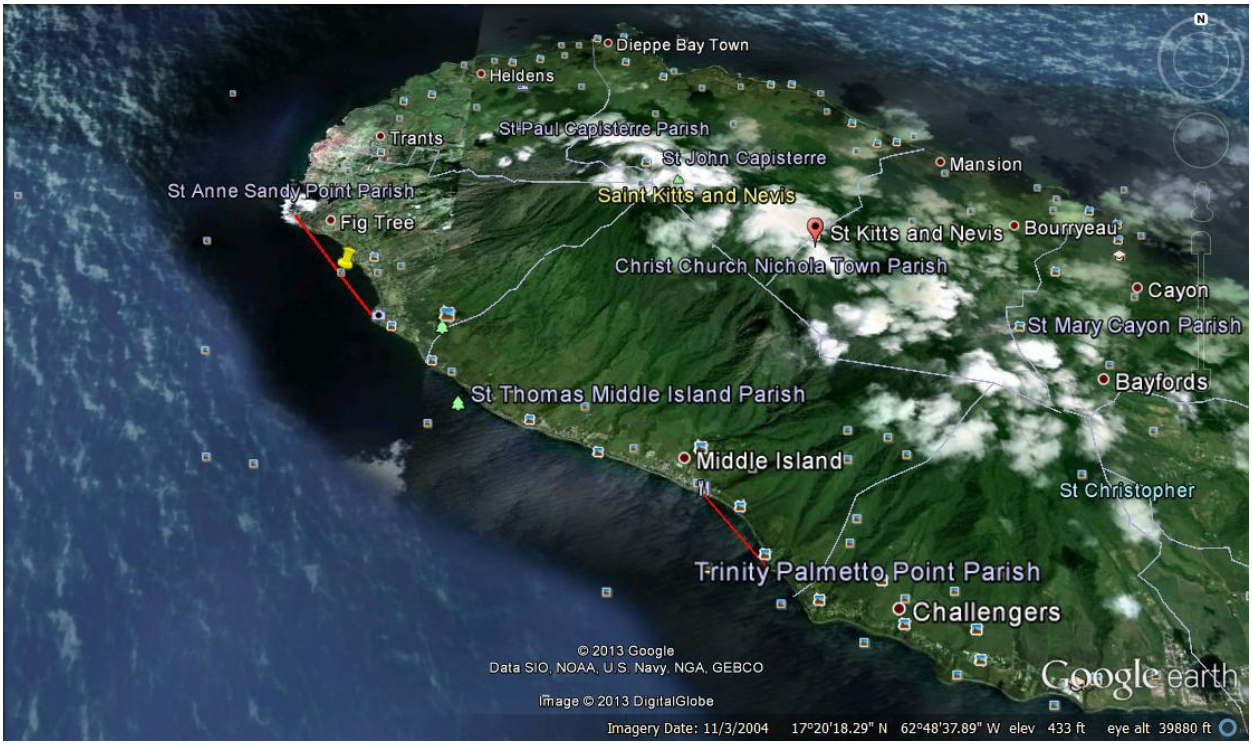


Figure 23 Google Earth image of Sandy Anchorage (Left) and Old Road Bay (Right), both delineated by red lines for purposes of visual comparison. Line demarcations by the author. Image accessed 13 April 2013

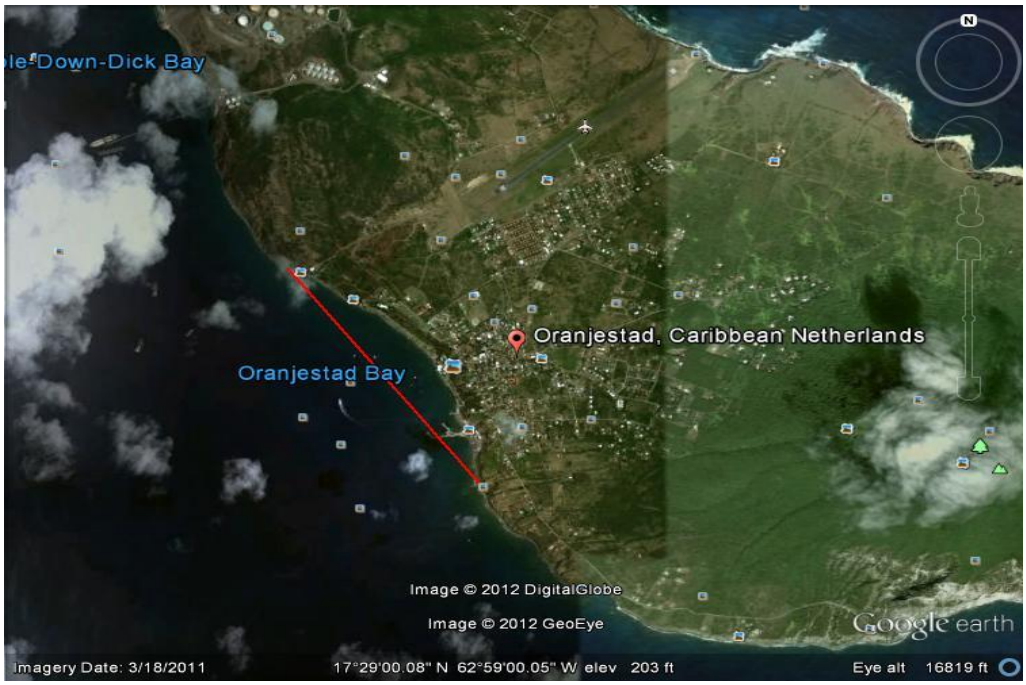


Figure 24 Google Earth Line Measurement of Oranjestad Bay, St. Eustatius. 1.17 miles (1.88 km, 1.02 nautical miles, heading 143.08 degrees). Line measurements by author. Image accessed 3 April 2012

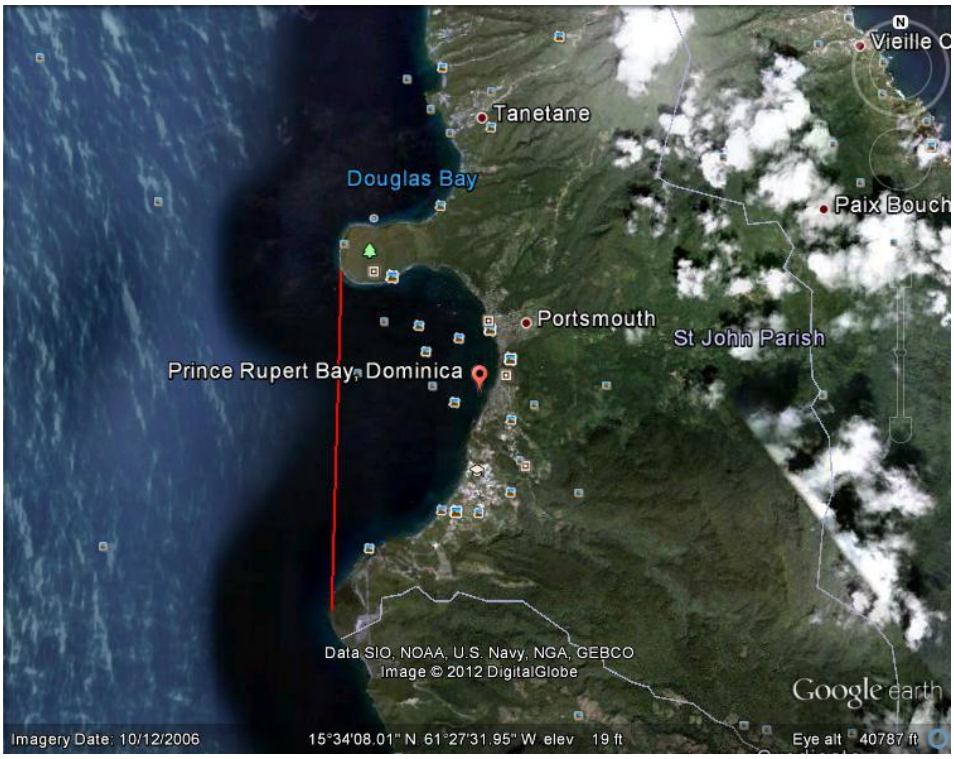


Figure 25 Google Earth Line Measurement of Prince Rupert's Bay, Dominica. 3.16 miles (5.08 km, 2.74 nautical miles, heading 181.67 degrees). Line measurements by author. Image accessed 3 April 2012

Figure 26 Google Earth Line Measurement of Speightstown Anchorage, Barbados. 0.77 miles (1.23 km, 0.67 nautical miles, heading 181.64 degrees). Line measurements by author. Image accessed 3 April 2012

Figure 27 Google Earth Line Measurement of Carlisle Bay, Bridgetown, Barbados. 1.09 miles (1.76 km, 0.95 nautical miles, heading 161.94 degrees). Line measurements by author. Image accessed 3 April 2012

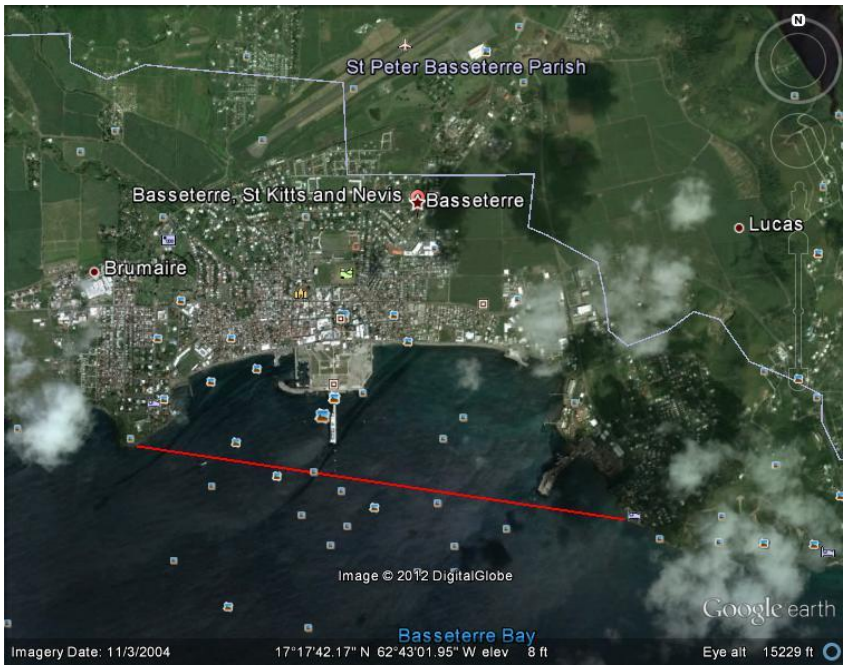


Figure 28 Google Earth Line Measurement of Basseterre Roadstead, St. Kitts. 1.95 miles (3.14 km, 1.69 nautical miles, heading 98.57 degrees). Line measurement by author. Image accessed 3 April 2012

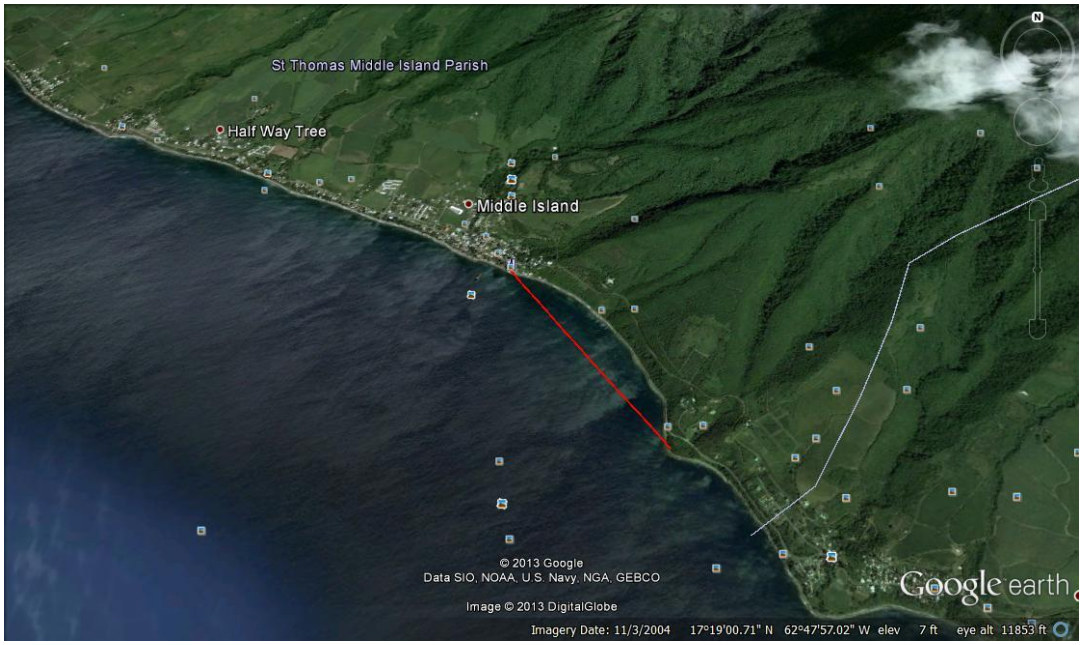


Figure 29 Old Road Bay Line Measurement. 0.83 miles (1.34 km, 0.72 nautical miles, heading 145.84 degrees). Line measurements by author. Image accessed 13 April 2013

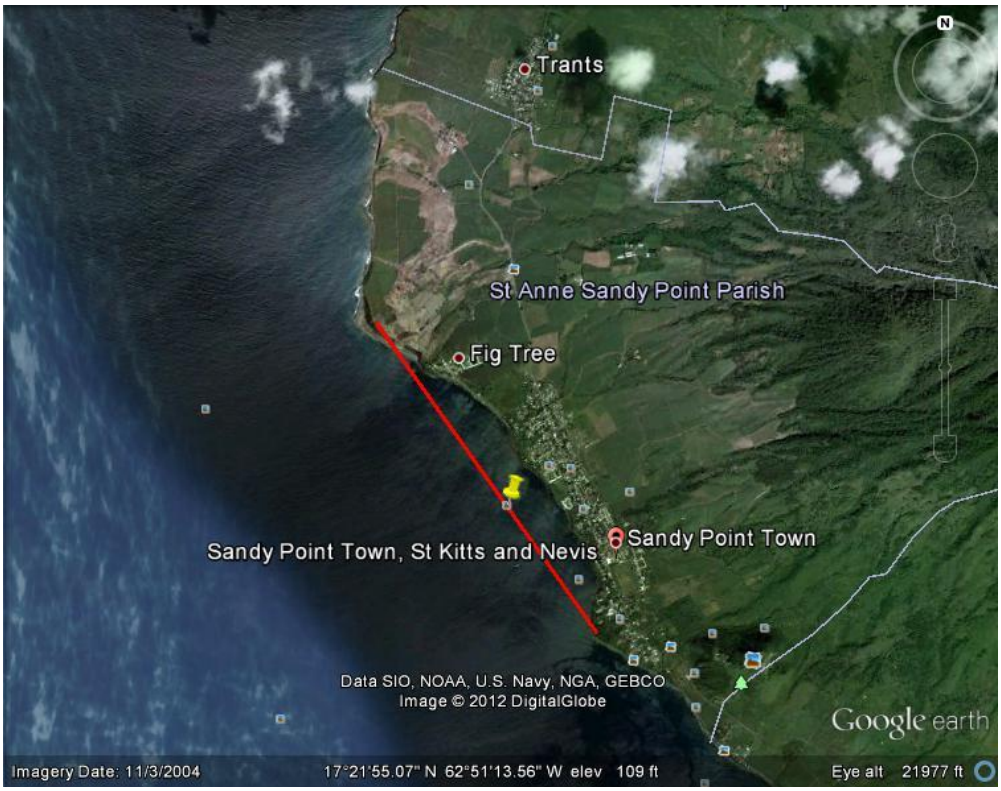


Figure 30 Sandy Point Anchorage Line Measurement. 1.82 miles (2.96 km, 1.59 nautical miles, heading 144.62 degrees). Line measurement by author. Image accessed 3 April 2012

There was at least one other anchorage in the Eastern Caribbean, of similar size to Old Road's, whose size did not hinder it from becoming, up until the middle of the twentieth century, a primary port, that was the Speightstown Anchorage in Barbados (see Figures Twenty Four and Twenty Seven). However, unlike Old Road which is in very close proximity to the Sandy Point Anchorage (one can actually see Brimstone Hill from Old Road Bay), Speightstown was of a much greater distance from Barbados' other major port, Bridgetown (Gill 2009; Gill 2013). The combination of Old Road's proximity to another anchorage that was not only significantly larger but was located on a hostile frontier, is probably the reason why Old Road, St. Kitts' first English town, became the administrative seat of St. Christopher, while Sandy Point became its heavily defended commercial hub. Actions such as the erection of a large comprehensively planned fortress like Charles Fort support the argument that the English intended to maintain a highly visible presence at Sandy Point and that the perceived merits of the site caused the investment in infrastructure, defensive or otherwise, to be deemed worthwhile, despite the potential risks posed in siting a major port town cheek and jowl with French St. Christophe.

The steady deterioration in the relationship between the English and French on St. Kitts (Influenced by hostilities in Europe) after the partitioning of the island in 1627 would influence long term and permanent changes in the built landscape of the town of Sandy Point and its environs. In 1689, a reportedly 2,000 strong force of French troops from Guadeloupe and Martinique, led by the Comte de Blenac, invaded St. Kitts and gained control of the entire island. In June of the following year, an English fleet with 3,000 men aboard under the command of Colonel Christopher Codrington, Governor of the Leeward Islands, arrived off St. Kitts. A 550

strong detachment commanded by a Barbadian Baronet named Sir Timothy Thornhill landed at South Friar's Bay on the South East Peninsula and routed a French force, which theoretically speaking, had the tactical edge because of the terrain they occupied. A hill on the leeward coast of the South East Peninsula which saw some of the most dramatic action of this engagement carries the name Timothy Hill to the present day (St. Johnston c. 1930s, 5-6).

On the other end of the island the French had entrenched themselves within the walls of Charles Fort. Within a month of their landing, the English troops under Thornhill, assisted by sailors from Codrington's fleet and enslaved Africans abandoned by their owners during the fighting, had hauled six cannon up the slopes of Brimstone Hill. These guns, together with those of the English fleet, subjected the French occupiers of Charles Fort to a blistering cannonade, leading to them surrendering the fort and the island on the 12 July 1690 (Dyde 2005, 71-73; St. Johnston c. 1930s, 5-6; Smith 1992, 12).

The successful routing of the French from Charles Fort opened the eyes of the English to the value of Brimstone Hill as a defensive position (Gill 2013). As discussed earlier, coastal forts were inherently vulnerable. The English now saw the potential value of Brimstone Hill in reinforcing Charles Fort both from seaborne and landward attack. Ironically, just two decades earlier, their perspective was the opposite, Charles Fort was seen as a defence against the French taking Brimstone Hill (see Page 33). In fact, English realization of any value at all for Brimstone Hill was rather belated. Their French counterparts had recognized the potential advantage of controlling the Hill for some time and through guile came close at one point to achieving this by almost convincing the English to exchange Brimstone Hill in return for the Salt Ponds at the South East Peninsula and other concessions (Gill 2013). The maxim of better late than never can be applied here, for after 1690 the English began erecting fortifications on Brimstone Hill. However, the full potential of Brimstone Hill was still not yet realized and it was seen as merely a fire support position for Sandy Point's major coastal fortification, Charles Fort, considered "the crown jewel of the forts on St. Kitts (Gill 2013)". In fact, up to 1729 the fortifications atop Brimstone Hill were still being referred to as "this little fort on Brimstone Hills (UK National Archives CO 241/3)".

1690, the year in which the English regained St. Kitts during this war is significant because by the 1690's England was being propelled to the status of a major imperial power by the profits from the sugar and slave trade (Parker 2012, 126-27). Having St. Kitts, which along with Nevis, Antigua and Montserrat, was one of the emerging "sugar powerhouses" of the Leeward Islands, back under their control would no doubt have helped this imperial ascendancy (Parker 2012, 129). Port towns on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean contributed greatly to England's upward trajectory. In the burgeoning West Indian colonies, ports were indispensable for exporting the lucrative product of the sugar plantations and importing the equally lucrative cheap African enslaved labour used to cultivate and harvest this product.

On the other side of the ocean, North Atlantic English ports unloaded, stored and sold the product of the colonies. These same English ports shipped foodstuff to West Indian ports to be consumed by the islands' populations and luxury goods for the members of those populations becoming wealthy from their plantations. English industry found a lucrative market in the West Indies for the machinery and equipment they produced for the plantations. Here again English and West Indian ports made the supply of hoes, coppers and stills to the plantations possible (Parker 2012, 127). However, just as the English had challenged Spanish hegemony in the

Americas, so was England's climb to imperial greatness met with an onslaught of challenges, particularly from France, many targeted at the "mother colony" of the West Indies, focal point for much animosity between the two powers.

French lands on St. Kitts were restored under the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697 but any chance of an amicable, or at least peaceful, relationship between English and French on the island seemed to have been doomed (Dyde 2005, 74). English settlers had engaged in a scorched earth policy before vacating French lands and French demands for reparations and for the original boundaries to be re-instituted went unanswered. The outbreak of the War of Spanish Succession in 1702 provided the English on St. Kitts with the excuse they needed to permanently banish the French settlers from the island. The militia of St. Christopher, bolstered by reinforcements from Antigua and Nevis, marched into St. Christophe and achieved a surprisingly quick capitulation from the French governor. With the French settlers being forced to migrate to other French colonies in the Caribbean, the colony of St. Christophe effectively ceased to exist (ibid).

For the rest of the eighteenth century St. Kitts would find itself on the receiving end of much unwanted attention from French naval and military forces. In 1706 a fleet of thirty French men-of-war under the command of Comte Louis-Henri de Chavagnac attacked St. Kitts after a bungled attempt to take Nevis. The French took control of most of the island, except for Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort, where the plantocracy and other members of the population had taken refuge. In the years preceding the 1706 invasion the two fortresses were developed with just this purpose; deodands (refuge forts), envisaged as one of their main roles. After about a week of plundering, de Chavagnac re-embarked his ships with his troops and departed the island. Some sources claim that he left to join forces with Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville at Martinique (Dyde 2005, 74). Others that his hasty departure was spurred by news of the arrival of a large English fleet in the area (St. Johnston c. 1930s, 7).

By 1712 the Duke of Marlborough's battlefield successes in Europe during the War of Spanish Succession emboldened Queen Anne enough to demand that France completely cede all of French St. Christophe. Under the provisions of the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht the island of St. Kitts officially became entirely English.

As the century progressed the major fortifications around the port town of Sandy Point would assume ever increasing importance as the wealth produced by financially lucrative colonies made them a target for rival colonial powers, for this wealth was the growth engine which drove the rise to economic power and fueled ambitions of military and naval dominance. The British Leeward Islands had become the most important sugar producers of the Anglophone Eastern Caribbean, with St. Kitts in the lead (Hicks 2007, 49). The realization was not lost on the colonial power, or on the settlers in the colonies, that vital West Indian ports and the fortifications protecting them would be high priority targets for enemy attack, especially in times of war.

Despite the above noted strategic imperative, the development of defences in St. Kitts, as in the rest of the Caribbean, was neither steady, consistent or in all too many instances even following a rational pattern. This is due largely to the attitudes of much of the planter and merchant class. This group felt that the metropole should meet all of the colonies' defence needs. They were usually very resistant to raising the taxes necessary to finance the erection and maintenance of fortifications (bear in mind that the colonial legislatures in the West Indies were dominated by

this group) or allowing their enslaved African workforce to be used for the construction of their own defences. Fortifications and other defences were often left to languish with work resuming in a panicked frenzy upon the threat or rumour of an invasion (Pares 1963, 227-64).

At a meeting of the Council in Old Road on 2 October 1706, it was recommended that one in every forty of the island's enslaved African population be employed in repairs to Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill. This engagement of the enslaved on St. Kitts two primary fortifications was to take place under the terms of a proposed "Act for repairing her Majesties fortifications of Charles Fortt (sic) and Brimstone hill (UK National Archives CO 241/1)". It does not appear that this provision had been successfully implemented, for in 1722, 1728, 1740 and 1746 legislation was passed and repassed to raise taxes on slaves or to stipulate the employment of the enslaved in the erection of fortifications (St. Kitts National Archives, Laws of the Island of St Christopher: from the Year 1711 to the Year 1791, 1791). The fact that laws addressing the same topic and laying out virtually the same provisions had to be passed so many times within the space of three or four decades highlights the problem of enforcing legislation pertaining to defence. The Act of 1740 was actually titled "**An Act for reviving an Act** (my emphasis)…for continuing the Work of the Fortifications, Forts, and Batteries of the Island, and for obliging all Owners and Possessors of Slaves to send a Proportion of their said Slaves to the same (ibid)". The Act of 1746 stipulated that commissioners be appointed in the various parishes to ensure its enforcement (ibid).

As the eighteenth century progressed concern about the possibility of a French invasion grew. This concern intensified when in 1778 France allied itself with the North American colonies fighting for their independence from Britain (Dyde 2005, 108-09). A report on the state of the island's fortifications, submitted to the Council in June 1778, highlights the concern about the state of disrepair into which the forts had been allowed to slip and the need to strengthen defences. The report made quite detailed recommendations for each fort. For all of the fortifications, including the two largest ones, Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill, most of the recommendations were similar: Repair of buildings such as guardhouses etc; Replacement or the acquisition of flagstaffs, handspikes, rammers etc; Repair or complete replacement of decayed gun carriages. There is; however, one unique recommendation with respect to Charles Fort that merits specific mention. The committee responsible for investigating the state of fortifications and presenting the report to Council recommended "…that two new embrasures be struck out in wall of the North west battery to command the road of Sandy Point". This is the sole instance in the entire report where a recommendation is made for additional firing positions to be created to cover one of the island's bays (UK National Archives CO 241/17). The island's authorities obviously felt that Sandy Point and its fortifications would be high priority targets whenever the anticipated French attack came. As we shall see, within four years events would justify this expectation.

Minutes of the meetings of the Council and Assembly in 1779 emphasize the increasing importance of Sandy Point's defences to the security of the island. In June 1779 a recommendation was made in Council for the storage of provisions at Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort. These provisions would be to supply the militia and the garrison to enable them to hold out if forced to retire to these two fortifications. It was felt that once they were properly provisioned at Sandy Point's major defences they "…can maintain the sovereignty of the Island and support the Honour and Dignity of our Master's…(UK National Archives CO 241/11)".

An important event that took place in 1779 was the deployment of a large number of British troops to St. Kitts to be garrisoned at Brimstone Hill. The troops were landed at Sandy Point and a committee that reported to the Assembly rented houses in the town to accommodate them (ibid). Clearly, as the defence of the island was being strengthened the relationship between Sandy Point and Brimstone Hill would deepen, a point that shall be discussed much more extensively in Chapters Five and Six. In September of that same year, a motion was passed by Council ruling that "an equal number of 24 pounders to be kept in constant readiness to replace those at Charles Fort" in the event of any emergency (ibid).

While Charles Fort, as noted earlier, would have functioned also as a refuge fort, including functioning as a refuge manor for the island's Lieutenant Governor (UK National Archives CO 241/2), from the fort's inception through the rest of its active life as a military site, Charles Fort's most important role remained to cover the approaches by sea to Sandy Point and to cover the Sandy Point Anchorage (Smith 1994, 73-109). The characterization of Charles Fort as a "fleur d'eau" by one respected authority on fortifications, highlights the fort's overriding maritime defence role in relation to Sandy Point (ibid). With respect to the armament it bore for this purpose, an early eighteenth century document described Charles Fort as having "many fine cannon" (However, these "many fine cannon" were in some instances either not mounted on serviceable carriages or lacking the ancillary equipment such as rammers etc., that would be required to operate them[7]) that covered the coastline from Half Way Tree in the south to Fort Hamilton (Sandy Point Fort) in the north (UK National Archives CO 241/17). The latter fort's role was to protect shipping anchored at Sandy Point Bay or Pump Bay (ibid).

From 1690 up until the Great Siege of 1782 the fortifications being erected atop Brimstone Hill were developed as "…three separate but related works, each being charged with a specific defence task (ibid)." These three defensive works were the North-West Work, the North-East Work and the South-East Work. For two of the three, the North-West Work and the South-East Work, their chief task was covering Charles Fort and defending the Sandy Point Anchorage (ibid). Between the mid to late eighteenth century Brimstone Hill began to supersede Charles Fort as the most powerful defensive position protecting the Sandy Point Anchorage. This was because advances in artillery technology began making it possible to cover the Sandy Point Anchorage with guns located further inland (Smith 1994, 73-109). By the time of the Great Siege Brimstone Hill Fortress had evolved to largely resemble the site that stands today, the major exceptions being the Fort George Citadel and the Prince of Wales Bastion (Dyde 2005, 109). However, Charles Fort remained up until the end of it active military life in 1853, a very important fortification (Smith 1994, 73-109).

Late in 1781, following the surrender of British forces at Yorktown, the Comte de Grasse sailed from the Chesapeake to the West Indies with a powerful fleet of French warships and a large contingent of soldiers hardened by combat in the American Revolutionary War. De Grasse's goal was to strike a blow at the heart of the British Empire by seizing a major sugar colony (Beatson 1804, 449-50). De Grasse's original target was Barbados, Britain's most important sugar colony in the Eastern Caribbean. A very interesting encounter would have taken place had this original plan been followed, for British Royal Navy Rear Admiral Sir Thomas Hood,

[7] However, these "many fine cannon" were in some instances either not mounted on serviceable carriages or lacked ancillary equipment needed to operate them. CO 241/17 State of Fortifications. 12 June 1778

anticipating de Grasse's redeployment from North America to the Caribbean, had arrived in Barbados on 5 December 1781 with seventeen ship of the line and two frigates. However, despite de Grasse's blissful ignorance of the presence of Hood's fleet in Barbados he was forced to call off his attack on the island due to strong easterly winds which prevented his fleet "…from getting so far to windward (Beatson 1804, 450)".

The Comte de Grasse then made a history changing alteration to his plans and decided to set his sights on the second most important English speaking sugar colony in the Eastern Caribbean, St. Kitts (ibid). De Grasse's fleet of twenty four large combatants along with several smaller support vessels was sighted off the south of Nevis from the island's Saddle Hill Fort on 9 January 1782 (Dyde 2005, 109). Upon the news of the sighting of the French squadron having been received in St. Kitts, the island's militia and the garrison of regular troops all withdrew to Brimstone Hill (ibid). This tactical decision would have been influenced by the knowledge that the powerful French force would easily overcome St. Kitts' other defences and that no enemy could fully control the island as long as the Brimstone Hill Fortress stood.

A blow by blow of the 1782 Siege of Brimstone Hill and the Battle of Frigate Bay (The accompanying naval engagement which took place in the waters between St. Kitts and Nevis) shall not be given here as there are already several excellent primary and secondary sources which cover the events of 1782 in St. Kitts.[8] What shall follow; therefore, is a discussion of the events of 1782 in a context of relevance to the topic of this research, the Sandy Point Port and Anchorage, and their fortifications.

On 11 January 1782 a force of 8,000 French soldiers were landed near Sandy Point from de Grasse's fleet, under the command of the Marquis de Bouille. The size of the invasion force which landed on the tiny island sixty eight square mile of St. Kitts is amazing when one considers that the English invasion force, commanded by Penn and Venables, which seized the much larger 4,244 square mile island of Jamaica from the Spanish in 1655 numbered 7,000 men (Parker 2012, 97-102). Exactly fifteen years after the Siege of Brimstone Hill ended, in February 1797, the British invaded the 1,833 square mile island of Trinidad with an invasion force which at 10,000 troops was only slightly larger than the French force which had besieged Brimstone Hill. The deployment by the French of such a large land force with the aim of capturing islands as small as Barbados or St. Kitts, is perhaps a telling indicator of the strategic and economic value placed on the smaller but extremely lucrative sugar islands of the Eastern Caribbean.

By 12 January, Sandy Point Fort (Fort Hamilton) and Fig Tree Fort had fallen to the French, Charles Fort fell as well, perhaps on the same day. After the French had occupied all of the coastal forts in Sandy Point, elements of the Sandy Point militia retreated to Brimstone Hill to join the garrison there (Dyde 2005, 110; St. Johnston c. 1930s, 11; Matheson 1987, 17).

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[8] Perhaps the best primary source on the Great Siege of 1782 and the Battle of Frigate Bay is Robert Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783 Vol.V. 450-458; Some very good secondary sources on these two related battles are: Brian Dyde, Out of the Crowded Vagueness: A History of the Islands of St. Kitts, Nevis & Anguilla. 109-114; G.H. King, Brimstone Hill: The Gibraltar of the West Indies. 9-11; Kathleen D. Manchester, Historic Heritage of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla. 33-38; D.L. Matheson, The Brimstone Hill Fortress. 16-22; Sir Reginald St. Johnston, The French Invasions of St. Kitts-Nevis. 11-14; Victor Smith, Fire and Brimstone: The Story of the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. 1690-1853. 21-25

A careful examination of the 1782 Siege emphasizes a vital point made by Richard Harding about amphibious warfare in the Caribbean in the eighteenth century, which is that an invading army needed to secure a port or town in order to engage in an extensive campaign (Cited by Geoffrey Ward 2012). There are several advantages which possession of a port or town, or better yet a port town, would offer to an invading army. Pre-existing port facilities would facilitate the landing and storage of supplies. Buildings in a town or village could be appropriated as accommodation for troops, field headquarters etc. Then of course there are other facilities which one normally finds in a port town, such as taverns and brothels, which may provide welcome stress relief from the blood and gore of combat. Within four days of landing the defenders at Brimstone Hill could easily observe the French "…forming camps and landing baggage and stores at Sandy Point (Matheson 1987, 18)". During the intense exchange of artillery fire which characterized the Great Siege of 1782, the defenders at Brimstone Hill, obviously realizing the need to dislodge the French from their base at Sandy Point, set ablaze the French headquarters in the town "with red hot cannon balls (St. Johnston c. 1930s, 12)". Despite the gallant resistance of the defenders, the French were able to entrench themselves within Sandy Point and by 18 January the latter had dug themselves in at positions just 700 yards from the Hill (Matheson 1987, 18).

Not only was the town of Sandy Point placed at centre stage in the drama of the 1782 Siege but so was its anchorage. On 16 January the French suffered a setback when one of their ships carrying ammunition and stores of ordnance, including bombs, ran aground off Sandy Point (Manchester 1971, 35; Matheson 1987, 18; Smith 1992, 22). One of the objectives of the underwater archaeological survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage, conducted in collaboration with the Foundation for Maritime Archaeology in Curacao (Stichting Marien Archeologisch Onderzoek or STIMACUR), as part of this research is to locate and survey the remains of this vessel. The wreck of the Lion Britannique may yield data on the Siege, primarily on the military technology employed by the French during this major operation to take St. Kitts.

Figure 31 Prise de St. Christophe par de Grasse 1782 by August-Louis de Rossel de Cercy. Courtesy Musee de la Marine, Paris. Note on the left hand side of the image, the masts of a vessel which appears to be aground on the shore at the bluff just below Brimstone Hill. Perhaps the Lion Britannique?

The less than 1,000 besieged defenders at Brimstone Hill, commanded by Major General Thomas Shirley, Governor of the Leeward Islands and overall commander of the forces on St. Kitts, and Brigadier General Thomas Fraser, commander of the regular forces, held out against a French force of 8,000 until 13 February (Dyde 2005, 113-15; St. Johnston c. 1930s, 12-13. Enslaved Africans who had escaped from the surrounding plantations during the hostilities had also engaged in guerilla warfare against the French (Matheson 1987, 17). After the garrison surrendered, the gallantry of the defenders was recognized by the French, who allowed them the rare honour of marching out of the fortress with their drums beating and colours flying (Not surprisingly, no such official recognition was given to the Africans whose campaign of guerilla warfare so harassed the French). Brimstone Hill, the island's chief fortification and the anchor in the chain of fortifications defending the Sandy Point Anchorage had fallen, St. Kitts was now French and would remain so until the Treaty of Versailles in 1783 (Dyde 2005, 113-15); St. Johnston c. 1930s 12-13).

The geopolitical ramifications of the 1782 Siege of Brimstone Hill and the Battle of Frigate Bay (Also referred to by some sources as the Battle of St. Kitts) should be noted here. It had already been mentioned above that Admiral Hood, expecting de Grasse to arrive in the Caribbean, had anchored his fleet in Barbados. On the 21 January 1782, Hood's fleet arrived in Antigua from Barbados and commenced provisioning of his ships (Matheson 1987, 19). It was here that he

learned of the French assault on St. Kitts but he was not able to receive any reliable accounts of the size of the French naval and military forces. Hood embarked troops onto his ships under the command of General Robert Prescott and sailed for St. Kitts with a fleet of twenty two ships of the line (Beatson 1804, 450-51).

On the 25 of January, following a brief delay caused by a collision between two of his ships, Hood arrived off St. Kitts. By a clever feint crafted to give the impression that he meant to attack the enemy fleet, Hood caused de Grasse's squadron to leave the position in which they had been anchored off the Basseterre Roadstead and sail towards the British fleet. Hood then manoeuvred his ships to occupy the position abandoned by the French ships. Despite a determined attack on the British formation the French were unable to rout them and were forced to retire to anchor in the channel between St. Kitts and Nevis where they repaired damage suffered by some of their ships in the engagement and kept a watchful eye on Hood's fleet during the remainder of the Brimstone Hill Siege (Beatson 1804, 452-53; Matheson 1987, 19-20).

It was only upon reaching St. Kitts that Hood learned that the troops onboard his ships would not be enough to reinforce the besieged Hill. However, the presence of the British fleet served an important purpose by keeping the French tied up off St. Kitts. Hood's fleet remained until he received intelligence on the evening of 13 February that Brimstone Hill had capitulated. At 10 pm on the 14 February the British fleet slipped away in the dead of night, undetected by the French one anchored only five miles away (Beatson 1804, 454-59).

The determined and prolonged defence by the besieged garrison at Brimstone Hill combined with the presence of Rear Admiral Hood's fleet prevented de Grasse from sailing to Havana, Cuba, to join forces with a powerful Spanish fleet for a planned invasion of Jamaica. This invasion may well have been successful, for the combined French and Spanish fleet would have been much more powerful than any force that the Royal Navy could muster in the Caribbean at the time. For this was a time when Britain was reeling from the loss of their thirteen North American colonies, and Spain had invaded Minorca and were besieging Gibraltar. It was not until April that de Grasse completed refitting his ships at Martinique and was ready to sail to Cuba for the belated rendezvous with the Spanish Navy. Royal Navy Admiral George Rodney, whose fleet had been standing off St. Lucia's Pigeon Island waiting for the French to take to sea, engaged them on 12 April 1782 in the now legendary Battle of the Saints which saw the Royal Navy emerge triumphant. This naval battle was so named because it took place off the chain of islands north of Dominica known as Les Saintes (King 1965, 9-11; St. Johnston c. 1930s, 13).

The 1782 Siege of Brimstone Hill and its related Battle of Frigate Bay are nowhere near as well known as the Battle of the Saints, not even among most historians. This is one of the great ironies of history, for if not for the events which occurred in St. Kitts from January to February 1782, both in and around Sandy Point as well as in the waters off Basseterre, the Battle of the Saints, which restored Britain's status as a pre-eminent naval power, could never have taken place (Gill 2011; King 1965, 9-11; St. Johnston c. 1930s, 13).

After the restoration of St. Kitts to British rule in 1783, priority was given to repairing the damage done during the Siege to the main defensive position defending the Sandy Point Anchorage, the Brimstone Hill Fortress. There was also serious discussion on further strengthening of Sandy Point's defences. In a presentation to Council in 1784, General Shirley,

one of the British commanders during the Siege of two years prior, proposed more forts and batteries for Sandy Point and Basseterre. Shirley's proposal was rejected by a Council reluctant to raise the taxes to pay for additional forts (UK National Archives CO 241/18). In 1785, a suggestion was made in Council of repairing two buildings at Charles Fort (Most likely timber structures, perhaps on masonry foundations) to accommodate two additional infantry companies (ibid).

Between 1789 and 1805 two powerful new defensive positions were erected at the Brimstone Hill Fortress, the Prince of Wales Bastion and the Fort George Citadel. Both of these fortifications served two main purposes, to defend the Sandy Point Anchorage and, incorporating the lessons learned in 1782, to cover ground that could be occupied by an enemy during a siege. The Prince of Wales Bastion, which was completed by the mid 1790's as a lunette (A bastion with two faces and two flanks), had its seaward facing guns placed so as to provide a field of fire covering the coast from the Sandy Point Anchorage to New Guinea where the fortress' Commissariat was located. The landward guns of the Prince of Wales Bastion covered positions which the French had occupied during the Great Siege (Smith 1994, 77-106).

With its construction commencing in 1789 and being completed by 1805, the Fort George Citadel would become the most formidable defensive position at the now radically refortified Brimstone Hill Fortress. All of the guns at the Citadel's Western Place of Arms and a significant number of those on the gundeck were positioned "to project a direct fire on the possible sites for breaching batteries in a siege and on the Sandy Point Anchorage, as well as to contribute to the rear defence of Fort Charles (Charles Fort) (ibid)". The innovative military architecture of the Fort George Citadel represented a new type of fortification design known as a polygonal fortification (Smith 1994, 73-109). This fortification design provided more effective field of fire. Another feature of the polygonal system was the placement of long range cannon gun positions and close range musketry positions on separate levels (Smith 1994, 77-106). The polygonal fortification system represented by the Citadel was a quantum leap in design over the similarly sized bastioned fortifications of the Spanish Americas, which were influenced by the design principles of the legendary military architect Vauban (Cliver 1999). By the dawn of the eighteenth century, bastioned fortifications had reached a design apex from which no further advances were possible (Charbonneau et al 1982, 103-09).

The monumental investment in a prototype fortification design on such a small Caribbean island is even more impressive when one considers the fact that the Fort George Citadel predates the first polygonal forts in the British Isles by at least half a century. Fort Elson and Fort Gomer, both constructed in 1852 on Portsdown ridge, were designed to protect the important British naval base at Portsmouth from a perceived threat created by the completion of the new French naval base just across the English Channel at Cherbourg during the reign of Louis Napoleon, seen at the time as having the same potentially hostile imperial ambitions as Napoleon Bonaparte (Corney 1984).

Dan Hicks has noted that despite the pioneering work undertaken in the Caribbean in the field of historical archaeology, Caribbean archaeological research has rarely influenced historical archaeology in the rest of the world (Hicks 2008, 205-227). West Indian colonies can be defined as "peripheral" in terms of an unequal power and economic relationship with the metropole at the "core", with the colony providing the raw material and exploited labour that enriched the metropole but reaping few of the rewards. However, as Hicks argues, the influence of these

imperial outposts on the built landscape of the metropole may have been anything but peripheral. Hicks study focused on how advancements in the layout of Leeward Island sugar plantations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries influenced ideas on landscape "improvement" in Britain (ibid). However, the example of the polygonal fortifications at Brimstone Hill and the later ones at Portsmouth indicate the potential to extend Hick's theory to other types of built landscapes, where prototypical advances were introduced in the Caribbean arena and then adopted in Europe.

Forts Elson and Gomer were investments in new fortification technology seen as necessary to defend a strategic stretch of coastline from a perceived serious threat. The Fort George Citadel was created in response to the same stimulus to serve the same purpose. While the emerging new North American nation represented a threat to British hegemony; France, whose naval and military forces in the America's were mostly concentrated in the Caribbean, still remained Britain's main rival (Harris 1997, 178-79). It thus became an urgent priority for Britain to review the defences of her most economically valuable colonies in the Caribbean. Of the two most important British sugar colonies in the Lesser Antilles, Barbados and St. Kitts, de Grasse had demonstrated in 1782 that the latter was a much easier target to attack than the former. The polygonal fortification system of Brimstone Hill's Fort George Citadel is dramatic representation of British realization of the need to protect a strategically vital anchorage on an important but geographically vulnerable colony.

Figure 32 Prince of Wales Bastion at Brimstone Hill Fortress. Courtesy Cameron Gill

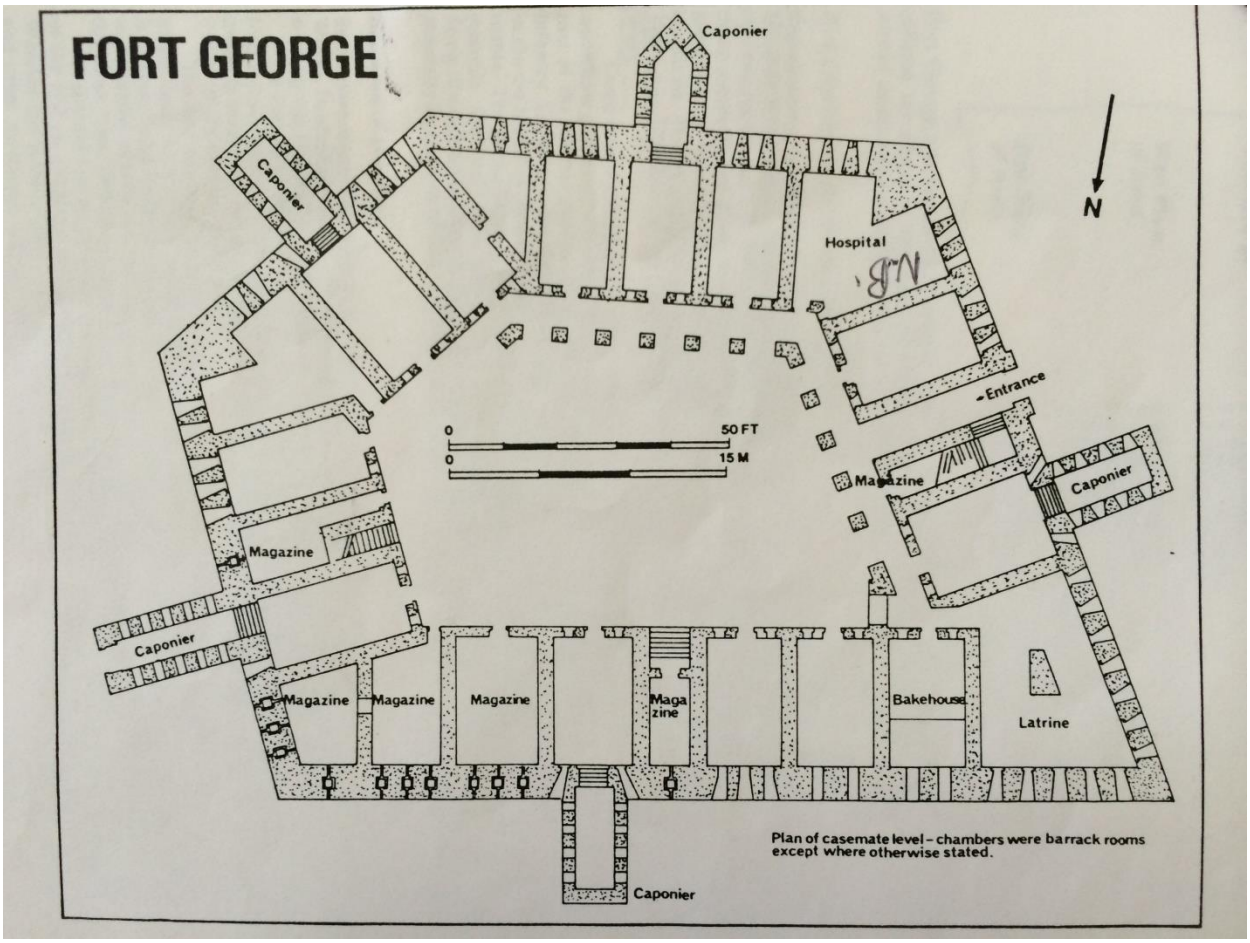


Figure 33 Ground floor plan of Fort George Citadel the earliest known polygonal fort in the English speaking Americas. Fort George Citadel also predates the earliest polygonal forts in Britain. After Victor T.C. Smith 1990

The British were right to expect further offensives against St. Kitts, for they were not long in coming. In 1805 and again in 1806 the French attacked St. Kitts and on both occasions the rebuilt and rearmed Brimstone Hill Fortress proved its utility in keeping the Sandy Point Anchorage from falling into enemy hands. In March 1805, General La Grange was able to land an invasion force from aboard Admiral Messery's fleet of twelve ships of the line. Basseterre fell to the French after Fort Thomas and Fort Smith were captured. However, the French were unable to take full control of the island, or to molest shipping at Sandy Point, because the British troops and militia held out at Brimstone Hill. After taking 18,000 Pounds Sterling in ransom the French departed St. Kitts. On the 3 June or 3 July of the following year, a French fleet under the command of Jerome Buonaparte, entered the waters of St. Kitts. Several merchant vessels fled into the Sandy Point Anchorage to seek shelter under the guns of Brimstone Hill and Buonoparte's fleet attempted to pursue them into the anchorage. A barrage of cannon fire from

Figure 34 Aerial view of Brimstone Hill Fortress. Fort George Citadel is on the upper left hand side, the Prince of Wales Bastion is on the lower right hand side. Photo courtesy Liz Pereira

Brimstone Hill's seaward facing artillery, as well as from Charles Fort, persuaded the French to change their plans (King 1965, 11; Manchester 1971, 38; Smith 1994, 73-109).

**2.6 End of an era**

By the time Buonoparte's ships had slinked away from the shores of St. Kitts after their abortive attack on shipping off Sandy Point, the colonial tides were already changing. Cheaper and more abundantly produced sugar from Cuba and newer sources such as India were undermining the political influence of the West Indian planter lobby. The changing economic fortunes of the sugar interest combined with increasingly frequent slave rebellions not only helped to usher in the Emancipation of Enslaved Africans in the British Empire but also shifted the balance of geopolitical importance away from the British West Indies. Within a climate of declining profits the British West Indian planters also did not do themselves any favours. Their cruelty towards the enslaved Africans, and the Africans sometimes violent responses to such cruelty, enabled the abolitionists lobbying to end the Slave Trade and the Emancipationists agitating to bring a complete end to slavery to realize their aims (Parker 2012, 333-57).

The declining economic and strategic importance of the West Indies as a result of the reasons just outlined above was given a further downward push in 1815 when Britain emerged victorious at the end of the Napoleonic Wars. The fall of the curtain on this conflict meant that Britain now rested secure in being the unchallenged power in the Eastern Caribbean. There was; therefore, less need to retain the fortresses in the region as active garrisons and the diminished strategic importance of the Sandy Point Anchorage to British shipping meant that Brimstone Hill had now become just an expensive trophy fortress (Smith 1992, 44-45).

As with many of the other garrisons in the Eastern Caribbean, the garrisons at Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort were withdrawn, many of the soldiers exchanging the heat, hurricanes and mosquitoes of the Caribbean for the miserable cold of the Crimean Peninsula (St. Kitts National Archives, Council Minutes, Downing St., 21 October 1853, Leeward Islands military no. 2; Smith 1992, 45; Smith 1994, 73-109). The port of Sandy Point and its anchorage were now entering a new phase. This was a phase of declining importance as a catalyst for massive investment in military infrastructure but at the same time continued economic and social relevance to both the plantation interests and the once enslaved people of St. Kitts and several surrounding islands.

# Chapter Three: Theory and Methodology

If we adopt the premise of maritime archaeologist James Delgado in his study of Gold Rush era San Francisco, the port cities that emerged in the Americas during the pioneering, expansionist and colonial era are artifacts "developed within the context of the worldwide development of capitalism" (Delgado 2006, 19). Therefore, it can be argued that the port of Sandy Point and its related anchorage represent an artifact whose creation and evolution of form (Form referring to its built landscape, material culture and underwater cultural heritage) was influenced by the military and economic interests of a nascent English and later powerful British empire. Delgado's research is an interesting and groundbreaking case study of a North American Pacific Coast port which connected Anglo-American mercantile and commercial interests to Asia.

Likewise this study of Sandy Point represents a unique research perspective in that it allows us for the first time to examine the emergence of a port in a space that was contested by both the English and French during their early period of seeking to establish a foothold in the Caribbean and challenge Iberian hegemony. As discussed in the previous chapter, rivalry between Britain and France only intensified as their West Indian empires grew and both powers became more dependent on the wealth generated by their colonies. The prolonged antagonism between the two continued to shape the landscape and maritime sphere of Sandy Point over the course of three centuries. Even after this particular chapter of European conflict receded to the annals of history, Sandy Point continued, at least for another century, to be a vibrant port connecting mercantile interests on both sides of the Atlantic, as well as shaping trade and the movement of people in the northeast Caribbean.

When one therefore considers the temporal and geographic span this research necessarily has to cover, combined with the reality of a complex site that straddles both the terrestrial and maritime realm, two pertinent factors have to be taken into account. The first is that the theoretical approach needs to be appropriate to a research on the archaeology and history of an Atlantic World port and anchorage from the seventeenth to twentieth century. The second factor is that the methodology applied has to be rigorous and holistic enough to take on the challenge of investigating both terrestrial and maritime spheres. The span of time involved demands the pursuit of varied sources.

### 3.1 Primary Sources

For the early to later colonial period primary source documents in whatever form existing and/or accessible (From official correspondence of colonial officials to cartographic sources) were analysed. Several archive and library collections were accessed during the investigation of primary sources. In St. Kitts, the National Archives and the Documentation Centre at the St. Christopher National Trust were visited. With respect to the former, the documents accessed included: maps of St. Kitts spanning the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries; John Newton's 1754 Journal of a Slave Trader; legislation passed throughout the eighteenth century related to the ports on the island and the fortifications that defended them; minutes of council meetings circa the mid nineteenth century; photographs of Pump Bay featuring port infrastructure and shipping activity circa early to mid twentieth century; early twentieth century correspondence discussing the issue of smuggling at the port of Sandy Point.

The Documentation Centre of the St. Christopher National Trust was accessed for: early to mid twentieth century photographs of Pump Bay featuring port infrastructure; photographs of Charles Fort/Hansen Home from the period immediately following the closure of the leper asylum i.e. circa 1990's to 2001.

Archives located outside of St. Kitts were either visited in person or their collections accessed online. As St. Kitts is a former British colony, much of the primary source material that one need to consult when engaging in any serious enquiry into the island's history and archaeology is found in the metropole. Therefore, the UK National Archives at Kew in London became the most important of the overseas repositories consulted. The fact that Kew's collections were accessed both online (In at least one case documents were ordered and posted to St. Kitts after an online search of the catalogue) and in person, is testimony to this archives indispensability. The author travelled to the UK in 2012 and 2013 to access the collection at Kew.

Documents accessed at Kew include: Official eighteenth century correspondence discussing the issue of smuggling at the port of Sandy Point and shedding light on trade connections between Sandy Point, the Dutch West Indies and North America; eighteenth century documents that shed light on the relationship between the town of Sandy Point and its fortifications; eighteenth and nineteenth century documents, including maps, expressing the concern of officials in London and St. Kitts over the state of the defences erected to protect the island's ports, and the resultant vulnerability to French attack or invasion; early twentieth correspondence discussing the importance of the port of Sandy Point to Atlantic World trade; mid twentieth century de-classified U.S. and UK Government documents highlighting the strategic importance of Sandy Point, due to geographic considerations, during the Cold War.

The collections of other archives outside of St. Kitts were accessed online. In the case of the University of Florida Libraries at Gainesville, copies of letters and documents signed by Governors William Burt and Thomas Shirley regarding defences in the Leeward Islands were ordered and posted to St. Kitts. As St. Kitts was also once a French colony and remained of interest to the French up to the at least the early nineteenth century, the collection of the Biblioteque nationale de France was accessed online and yielded fruit in the form of the first known illustrative depiction of the town of Sandy Point (See Chapter two). A search conducted online of the U.S. Library of Congress' collection of historic resources yielded eighteenth century maps of St. Kitts which were useful (along with the maps accessed from other sources) in analyzing the evolution of the network of fortifications at Sandy Point.

Access gained to several private archives also aided immensely in conducting this research. The collection of the late Donald Lloyd Matheson, located at Matheson House, St. Kitts, was accessed for its collection of eighteenth century maps of the island. Dr. Todd Ahlman, a member of the University of Tennessee team that conducted archaeological fieldwork at Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort during the late twentieth to early twenty first century, generously provided copies of historic prints and photographs of Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort/Hansen Home from his extensive personal collection.

Francois van der Hoeven, currently Secretary of the Board of Directors of STIMACUR and avid yachtsman, provided copies of photographs he took of Charles Fort in the early 1980's during one of his sailing expeditions to St. Kitts. Victor Smith, an archaeologist and historian who has done extensive work on St. Kitts, provided copies of photographs he took between 1989-1990 of

the structures built within the grounds of Charles Fort during its period of occupation as the Hansen Home.

### 3.2 Oral Sources

For the last era of the colonial period, that is the early to mid-twentieth century, oral sources were utilized. Ethnographic sources are hugely important because in St. Kitts, as in so many of the smaller Anglophone islands of the Eastern Caribbean, significant areas of local history remain unrecorded. In addition, while St. Kitts is more fortunate than some other Eastern Caribbean islands with respect to the survival of archival records, there are nonetheless sizeable gaps in archival data (O'Flaherty 2016, Appendix B). Thankfully, in many instances such gaps can be filled by consulting other archives (Such as those in the metropole) but this is not always the case and therefore oral history becomes an indispensable fieldwork method for addressing many of the gaps in historical data.

Individuals interviewed or spoken with as part of the ethnographic or oral research are predominantly persons who reside in St. Kitts or St. Eustatius. The majority of the Kittitians involved in the oral fieldwork originate from and/or reside in Sandy Point or Fig Tree. Of the three individuals interviewed in St. Eustatius, one of them, John James Bass, was originally from St. Kitts and before his retirement was a stonemason by trade. Mr. Bass passed away in June 2012, ten months after I interviewed him and I am eternally grateful for the hospitality and cooperation extended to me by Mr. Bass and his son during my research trip to St. Eustatius in August 2011. Mr. Bass was interviewed while I was formulating my research proposal for submission to the Faculty of Archaeology at Leiden University.

The second individual interviewed in St. Eustatius was William 'Fat' Schmidt. Mr. Schmidt, a "Statian" by birth (People from the island of St. Eustatius or 'Statia' are called Statians), is a retired boat captain who operated a schooner between Oranjestad, St. Eustatius and the ports of Sandy Point and Basseterre in St. Kitts from 1956 to 1966. The third individual, Marvin Ellis, gave revealing insight into the importance of the maritime trade between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius on Statian society.

When I commenced initial enquiries for my research, several fellow Kittitians, both Sandy Pointers and non-Sandy Pointers, recommended that I interview Mr. Joseph Buchanan. The Buchanans are a well known Sandy Point family and Joseph Buchanan, who passed away in 2015, was one of the oldest living residents of Sandy Point. Mr. Buchanan was the first Sandy Pointer to be interviewed by me and like Mr. Bass in St. Eustatius was interviewed while I was drafting my research proposal. The majority of the other oral sources either reside in or possess relevant knowledge of the main areas being investigated for the historical and terrestrial archaeological research: Pump Bay, Downing Street, Fig Tree, Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill.

Two individuals who were invaluable both as oral sources and in suggesting other oral sources were Malcolm Govia and Ralph 'Major' Wilkin. Malcolm was born and raised in Sandy Point, and worked for several years at the Hansen Home leper asylum until its closure in the 1990's. Malcolm also served as a guide for the many excursions into the extensive grounds of Charles Fort/Hansen Home, where due to the heavy vegetation; it is quite easy to get lost. Ralph, a former Chief Fisheries Officer, was born and raised in Fig Tree and resides in Sandy Point. Ralph is a local historian with extensive knowledge of the history of Sandy Point and Fig Tree. A PADI certified SCUBA diver, Ralph's local knowledge of the waters off Sandy Point also

made him a valuable member of the dive team investigating the underwater archaeology of the Sandy Point Anchorage.

Ralph was also one of several key community stakeholders who made an invaluable contribution to the formation and activities of the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group and the St. Thomas/St. Anne Heritage Trail Committee. The Charles Fort Stakeholder Group was established for the purpose of both sensitizing members of the community to the historic importance of the fort and its potential for the economic development of Sandy Point, as well as to garner their insight into the community's perspective of the site and how it should be used. The St. Thomas/St. Anne Heritage Trail Committee was established to raise funds, through community activities (such as fundraising breakfasts) for the creation of a heritage trail promoting cultural and natural heritage sites in St. Thomas and St. Anne Parishes. The idea for the creation of such a heritage trail was stimulated by information uncovered, throughout the course of this research odyssey, into the unique nature of the historic sites located within both parishes.

### 3.3 Secondary Sources

With respect to secondary source material, a debt of gratitude is always owed to those researchers who would in some way have partially covered the ground that one is seeking to investigate. Quite frequently, these researchers' contributions are made from a background of varied research interests. Such is the case with this research, the authors of the secondary sources consulted colour a diverse palate of scholarship.

These researchers include individuals, both from within and outside of St. Kitts, who have written on some aspect of the island's social and economic history; for instance, Kathleen Manchester, St. Kitts' first female historian of note and Bryan Dyde, a former Royal Navy officer. Three archaeologists, Victor Smith (who is also a military historian), Gerald Schroedl and Todd Ahlman, have dedicated considerable research to Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort. There is also a triumvirate of generalists who have written on Brimstone Hill and events related to the fortress, all three of whom, George H. King, Donald Lloyd Matheson and Sir Reginald St. Johnston, forged a relationship with the fortress. King was Postmaster General on St. Kitts during the 1930's and 1940's. On a voluntary basis he monitored the state of the island's historic fortifications and played a major role in early conservation efforts at Brimstone Hill (Martin 2016, Appendix B). Matheson was a founding member of the Society for the Restoration of Brimstone Hill (The Society was founded in 1965. In 1987 after Brimstone Hill was made a national park, the Society was given legal authority to manage the site and its name changed to the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society or Brimstone Hill Society) and is the Society's President Emeritus. The third individual; Sir Reginald, was an influential supporter of those seeking to restore Brimstone Hill during his early twentieth century tenure as Administrator of the Presidency of St. Kitts-Nevis and then as Governor of the Leeward Islands Colony.

Cornelis Goslinga and Richard Pares are two eminent scholars of Caribbean history whose seminal works on relevant topics are essential resources for a research discussing the emergence of a Caribbean port town within an environment of burgeoning Atlantic World trade and intense European competition for military and economic supremacy in the Americas. Goslinga and Pares have conducted extensive research respectively on Dutch trade in the Caribbean and the challenges faced by the English in defending their West Indian colonies. The early nineteenth century monograph by Robert Beatson chronicling British military and naval activities in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century has proven to be goldmine of information related to

topics such as the 1782 Siege of St. Kitts and trading relations between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius.

The preceding discussion is not meant to be an exhaustive catalogue of the secondary sources utilized for this research but merely an indication of some of the more significant sources, some of which served not only as references but helped germinate the idea for conducting this research in the first place. One common thread in the works of many of the authors mentioned above, even if only a minor one in their fabric, is the fact that Brimstone Hill Fortress was erected to defend the strategic Sandy Point Anchorage. Yet, while one finds intriguing passing mention of the once hugely geopolitical significance of a now sleepy coastal West Indian town, none of the sources delve deeper to discuss at any length what made Sandy Point and its anchorage of such great importance that they necessitated such a monumental military infrastructural investment as Brimstone Hill, not to mention the smaller, but far from meagre in dimensions, Charles Fort.

Passing mention of the strategic importance of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage in some secondary sources may have planted the seed; however, it was reports of archaeological surveys, terrestrial and maritime, carried out at port and anchorage sites in the Caribbean and other parts of the world that provided evidence of the feasibility of pursuing this research. In particular, the report on the survey of Kralendijk Anchorage in Bonaire, conducted by the Foundation for Maritime Archaeology in the Netherlands Antilles (STIMANA), now the Foundation for Maritime Archaeology in Curacao (STIMACUR), played a major role in influencing the decision to embark on this research (Hayes and Nagelkerken 2002).

The various survey reports studied also play a prominent role in the discussion of the terrestrial and underwater archaeological fieldwork undertaken, especially with respect to the following areas:

Comparative study of similar research done on urban, port and anchorage sites, with special attention paid to the research questions asked and the methods pursued to resolve these questions.

Best practice with regard to fieldwork methods, post excavation analysis and conservation of artifacts taken from the site.

The involvement and input of community and other stakeholders in the research and the outcomes gained from their involvement, both for the principal investigator and the other stakeholders.

### 3.4 Archaeological field methodology

The most appropriate archaeological approach for investigating a colonial era Atlantic World port town is historical archaeology. This is because, as noted in Chapter One's definition (Page 4), historical archaeology focuses on periods for which documentary sources exist, both in primary and secondary form, which can complement and even guide the research. Additionally, depending on the period being studied, ethnographic sources may also provide data to inform the direction of the research. For the terrestrial survey, documentary and oral sources were responsible for determining which sites should be investigated.

For instance, seventeenth and eighteenth century cartographic sources indicated that Downing Street was once the town centre of Sandy Point and raised questions about the construction of the

fort at its seaward end. Therefore, neither Downing Street nor Fort Hamilton could be overlooked in any archaeological survey. Similarly, both oral and cartographic sources brought the researcher's attention to the structures at Pump Estate, prompting further investigation into infrastructure which facilitated the export of molasses.

The underwater survey of the LB Wreck Site was spurred by oral reports of a submerged shipwreck with what appeared to be an unusually large amount of ordnance present. Both the underwater survey and the accompanying documentary research contribute to the development of the argument that the French ordnance transport that ran aground and sank off Sandy Point in 1782 may be the wreck at the LB Site.

The terrestrial archaeological survey of the port town of Sandy Point concentrated on three main sites:

Downing Street, the historic town centre of Sandy Point.

The coastal elevation of Charles Fort.

Pump Estate, specifically the remains of the molasses storage and pumping facilities.

The methods employed in surveying the above consisted primarily of extensive standing structures survey and the collection of masonry samples for further analysis. At this point, it should be noted that while Brimstone Hill played an important role in the archival and historical research it was not necessary (or even possible due to the fortress's colossal size) to include it as a site in the terrestrial archaeological survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage for two reasons. The first one being that Victor Smith has already conducted a comprehensive survey of the Hill (Gerald Schroedl has also conducted seminal archaeological work on Brimstone Hill as well. However, Schroedl's rather ground breaking investigation was focused on the material culture of Africans who lived on the fortress, rather than the defensive and strategic role of the site). The second reason is that, while Brimstone Hill Fortress was part of the network of fortifications created to defend the approaches to Sandy Point and its anchorage, unlike the other fortifications, Brimstone Hill is not located either in Sandy Point proper or on the anchorage. All of the others: Fort Charles (Fig Tree Fort), Fort Hamilton and Charles Fort, are coastal forts located within what is jurisdictionally recognized as the town of Sandy Point and actually sit on the shore of the anchorage itself.

For the underwater archaeological survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage the following four sites were focused on:

The shoreline of Pump Bay, primarily the submerged remains of port infrastructure such as piers and related features.

The historic anchorage in Sandy Point Bay, both the shoreline and offshore. The anchorage extends from Belle Tete in the north to Lazaretto Point (the promontory on which Charles Fort sits) in the south.

Fort Hamilton (Sandy Point Fort), the submerged fort located at the seaward end of Downing Street. This was primarily a shoreline survey

The wreck of a timber vessel located off Belle Tete. The survey team has named this wreck site the LB Site, as due to the large number of munitions at the site, I am exploring the possibility

that this may be the wreck of the *Lion Britannique*, a French munitions vessel that ran aground off Sandy Point during the Great Siege of 1782.

Snorkel survey was the field method employed for the investigation of submerged structures and man-made features close to the shore at Pump Bay. For both the anchorage at Sandy Point Bay and the LB Site, the survey team utilized SCUBA equipment due to the depths at which fieldwork had to be conducted. The restrictions imposed by safe diving limits meant that the team operated at maximum depths not exceeding 100 feet (30 metres). Because of the challenges of heavy surf combined with a rocky seashore, as well as household effluence being emptied into the sea at the area, remote sensing using sidescan sonar and aerial survey conducted by an unmanned aerial vehicle (commonly referred to as an UAV or drone) were the methods employed for investigating Fort Hamilton. Remote sensing was also employed at the Anchorage in order to create a picture of the nature of the seabed (Changes in depth and what man-made features may be located on the seabed) before any diving was done.

The approach taken in the historical archaeological survey of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage was that of a non-invasive and non-intrusive reconnaissance survey. The survey of terrestrial, littoral and underwater sites was conducted to identify cultural resources, describe relationships, and correlate the relative locations of all sites within the anchorage and the town. For land-based sites a non-invasive and non-destructive survey methodology was chosen because all of the sites deemed appropriate for this study are standing structures, which exist either in the form of ruins or complete structures. It should be noted that historic landscapes are considered artifacts in modern historical archaeology. Deetz' argument that the landscape is the largest artifact which can be archaeologically analysed has become widely accepted by archaeologists (Wilkins 2017, 32). This study examines how the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage shaped the unique cultural landscape formed in and around the town of Sandy Point. The definition used here for cultural landscape is the one offered by Deetz of landscapes on which human action have wrought changes (Wilkins 2017, 32-33). The strategic importance of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage led to an unparalleled development in fortifications. While some of these individual fortifications have been the subject of prior archaeological and historical study, the entire fortified landscape of Sandy Point had not been studied as a comprehensive whole. In the present study each of these sites is placed spatially and historically in context with the other. Such an approach is a necessary precedent to placing Sandy Point in the context of British defence strategy in the Caribbean. Similarly, sites created to facilitate port activities are placed in spatial and historic context. In studying the historic landscape of Sandy Point the material culture of Sandy Point and its environs is examined with respect to the built heritage created by the needs to protect and enable trade at the port. This study of the built or cultural landscape of Sandy Point therefore falls within the remit of historical archaeology.

At Downing Street and Pump Estate, standing structures surveys were conducted to investigate the dimensions of the structures, ascertain the methods of construction and form theories about their use. At Charles Fort, a site which has already been extensively surveyed, priority was placed on surveying cultural material deposited at surface level on the seashore along the coastal elevation. While the popular perception of archaeological fieldwork inevitably involves excavation, it should be pointed out that although excavation is an important survey technique, it is by its very nature a destructive one. A site once excavated can never be returned to an unexcavated state, affecting any future research and interpretation of that site. Therefore, excavation should be employed only when a site is under imminent threat from natural or man-

made factors, or as the last possible resource available to answer a research question that has potential to shed light on important aspects of the history of a site, community, society, nation, region or people. Excavation was not conducted at Downing Street, Pump Estate or the seaward elevation of Charles Fort because it was not necessary. The cultural material studied at all three sites existed above ground, either in the form of structures, features or artifacts.

With respect to the standing structures surveys conducted at Downing Street and Pump Bay it is necessary at this juncture to make the distinction between architectural history and buildings archaeology. Architectural history focuses on the evolution of architectural design with respect to form and use of material. Buildings archaeology, on the other hand, "is the study of buildings as archaeological objects in their own right; the building is the archaeological resource and the evidence for archaeological interpretation is contained within it (Morriss 2004, 10-14)." Buildings archaeology examines a building or structure as material culture; for example, how the use or change in use of the building or structure is reflected in its form and fabric. One major difference between architectural history and buildings archaeology is that the architectural historian would not be concerned with structures that are not "architectural" in nature. In other words, structures such as the molasses storage tank at Pump Estate which are purely functional in design with no priority being given to aesthetics.

Severely degraded structures such as the Downing Street Brick Structure would not contain enough intact architectural elements to enable a study of their aesthetic qualities. However, for the buildings archaeologist a study of surviving form and fabric, as well as features that may be present at the site, may be enough to formulate theories on the structures use. As shall be seen in Chapter Five, scientific analysis of the building's fabric has the potential to confirm the provenance of construction material, at least to confirm whether or not the material is local, providing a tangible indication of the volume of trade through the port.

For the littoral and underwater surveys, again priority was placed on survey techniques that would not affect the integrity of the sites. For example, neither the anchor assemblages in the Sandy Point Anchorage nor the LB Wreck Site required excavation and priority was placed on in situ preservation. Health and safety concerns surrounding any attempt to conduct a dive survey at Fort Hamilton restricted survey methods to remote sensing and aerial photography.

### 3.5 Theoretical Approach

We shall now venture into discussion of the theoretical premise on which this research is based. The emergence of the Leeward Island port town of Sandy Point followed the small island maritime settlement model visualized by Captain Painton (See Chapter Two). Sandy Point's trade, in slaves and commodities, depended on the sea. The defences which sprang up to protect a valuable trading port from rivals were largely influenced, in terms of their design and placement of armament, by proximity to the sea and expected threats, whether from pirates or rival European powers, which could only approach the island from the maritime realm. The maritime realm, or maritime system as Delgado would call it (Delgado 2006, 19-21), connected Sandy Point to the rest of the Atlantic World and created a maritime oriented built, archaeological and oral heritage, or maritime cultural landscape that would define the port town as well its surrounding terrestrial and maritime environment. This researcher would argue that a port town such as Sandy Point, located both terrestrially and in the littoral zone connecting land and sea, yet inextricably linked to the maritime sphere that influences its society, economy and material culture needs to be studied incorporating more than one theoretical approach.

Therefore, the most appropriate theoretical bases from which to study the archaeology and history of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage are the "maritime system subset of world system theory (Delgado 2006, 19)" and the maritime cultural landscape (Stelten 2019; Westerdahl 1992). The latter has been discussed in Chapter One.

The maritime system subset places the historical archaeology of the development of the port of Sandy Point firmly within the context of an Atlantic World System with which the creation of the port and the trajectory of its development and decline are inseparably intertwined.

World systems theory is a theoretical approach attributed largely to Immanuel Wallerstein. The basic premise of world systems analysis is that historical events and even historical epochs need to be analyzed within the context of the impact of events and periods predating (even by several centuries) the particular occurrence or epoch. Wallerstein argues that to understand twentieth century historical phenomena one needs to look at "…important turning points of our modern world-system" such as "the long sixteenth century during which our modern world-system came into existence as a capitalist world-economy (Wallerstein 2004, ix-x)".

Another "architect" and perhaps the original "architect" of world systems theory, who has never received anywhere near the same level of recognition as Wallerstein, is Trinidadian born sociologist Oliver C. Cox (Hier 2001, 69-86). World systems theory came into vogue in the 1970's and is seen as being largely influenced by the publication in the middle of the decade of Wallerstein's *The Modern World System* (ibid). However, almost two decades earlier, Cox published *The Foundations of Capitalism*. In this and subsequent publications he argued that the capitalist system was essentially a world system built on "forced labour and racial humiliation", as well as the economic predominance of certain (European) political entities to the detriment of other (non-European) entities. The less fortunate entities, according to Cox, were the victims of resource exploitation for the benefit of the dominant entities (ibid).

Cox's thesis should be seen as the precursor to one of the most important tenets of Wallerstein's world systems analysis, which is the existence of core and periphery zones. The imperial European metropole where political, economic and military power was concentrated formed the core which was fuelled by human raw material from the African periphery. In the initial period of colonization of the West Indies, indentured and convict labour from the core also fuelled the building of empires. Transported to the "New World" peripheral zone, cheap labour produced the agricultural raw material, especially cane sugar, which created wealth for the core and propelled Western European kingdoms to a position of economic and cultural dominance, not only on their continent but on a global scale as well.

An early Leeward Island port such as Sandy Point would have played an important role in the development of this unequal capitalist system. The Sandy Point Anchorage was the point of arrival for much of the exploited human resource that arrived in St. Kitts, England's first West Indian colony, to toil on the sugar plantations that grew the most lucrative source of wealth (Here again resource exploitation) for an ascendant empire. The same anchorage served as the transit point for the exportation of a valuable agricultural resource. Despite the role their people, plantations and ports played in propelling European powers such as Britain (the core) to political and economic primacy, Caribbean islands such as St. Kitts (the periphery) still remained starkly underdeveloped well into the middle of the twentieth century

For this research the maritime system subset of world system theory fits ideally with another relevant theoretical perspective, Fernand Braudel's *longue duree.* Braudel has argued that no proper study of a city can be done purely from a present day sociological perspective (Wallerstein 2012, 258). Braudel's intention is not to slight sociology and the meaningful contribution the academic discipline makes to the study of urban centres and urban life. Rather, Braudel is making the point that thorough research of a city should place that city within a long term historical context, a context that includes the city's societal "…conflicts, with its crises, its ruptures, its breakdowns, its inevitable scheming (ibid)". The long term historical context of the city should also include "…the context of the countryside that surrounds it, and also within those archipelagos of neighbouring cities (ibid)".

My research on Sandy Point embraces this approach by setting the town's history and archaeology, which have been shaped by conflict and the threat of conflict, within the context of the long historical span of the Atlantic World from the fifteenth century (when European exploration and exploitation of the Americas begun in earnest, and brought European conflicts to the Caribbean) up to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (when declining geopolitical importance combined with the increasing social and economic needs of the people of the Leeward Islands became latter day historical forces impacting on the present form of the human and physical landscape of Sandy Point).

As discussion initiated in the preceding chapters show "the context of the countryside that surrounds it" both coastal and hinterland, shall be a significant feature of this research. After all, Sandy Point's greatest claims to fame are the massive fortifications built on or outside of the city's limits which have come to be seen as inseparable parts of Sandy Point's identity. Then of course there is the impact of the coastal landscape; for instance, the Belle Tete or Point(e) de Sable bluff, on the town's history, including even Sandy Point's very name.

Ironically, Braudel's "archipelagos of neigbouring cities" is a rather fitting context to consider in researching a small Eastern Caribbean island port town. This is in respect both to comparing and contrasting Sandy Point's rise as a port town to the two other Kittitian ports of Old Road and Basseterre, and in examining the trade and social linkages developed with port towns on other islands in the north eastern Caribbean, particularly the one which with it developed the closest relationship, the Dutch entrepot of Oranjestad in St. Eustatius.

# Chapter Four: Fieldwork and Archival Research

The preceding chapters have outlined the major topics of enquiry focused on in the conduct of oral and archival research and the sites selected for archaeological fieldwork investigation. This chapter shall endeavour to describe and discuss the various types of fieldwork conducted (Terrestrial and underwater archaeological fieldwork, oral interviews) as well as the archives visited and archival resources accessed.

## 4.1 Terrestrial archaeology

### 4.1.1 Downing Street masonry ruins

As noted earlier in Chapter Two, seventeenth and eighteenth century maps distinctly depict this thoroughfare. In fact, it is the only street in Sandy Point depicted on these historic cartographic resources. Next to Sandy Point's four fortifications: Fig Tree Fort, Sandy Point Fort (Fort Hamilton), Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill, this street is the town's most prominently depicted man-made terrestrial feature. The origin of the street's name is uncertain. Popular folklore among Sandy Pointers is that the street is named after the City of London's famous Downing Street, a fact which they point to proudly as an indication of Sandy Point's importance. However, there is no evidence to verify this explanation for the name of Sandy Point's former town centre.

An alternative explanation which this researcher would like to offer for the origin of the street's name is that it may have been named after Sir George Downing. Downing was an active member of one of the imperial government's select boards of trade. This group, which represented important colonial interests, was known as the Lords of Trade and Plantations (Root 1917, 20-41). Downing was perhaps the most dominant member of this powerful and elite group during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. One area he was known to have exerted his considerable influence was in "shaping Anglo-Dutch relations in the interests of English merchants (ibid)". This may have endeared him to the prominent individuals and families that resided on what became known as Downing Street in Sandy Point, which was after all a port that developed important trading links with the Dutch West Indies.

We know that the street depicted by seventeenth and eighteenth century cartographers could be none other than Downing Street because it is the only street in the town running perpendicular to the coast with a fort at its seaward end as depicted on the maps of these periods. This fortification, Sandy Point Fort, shall be discussed further in the following section on underwater archaeological fieldwork. Downing Street's intriguing cartographic depictions, with a fort jutting out into the sea at one end and prominent rows of housing on both sides (the only concentration of prominent housing depicted in Sandy Point), plus its location almost exactly in the centre of the Sandy Point Anchorage (according to Google Earth Line Measurements conducted by the author on 17 April 2016, Downing Street is located 0.89 nautical miles from the northern bluff of the anchorage at Belle Tete and 0.77 nautical miles from the southern bluff at Lazaretto Point on which Charles Fort sits), indicates an avenue that once held great importance in a port town.

This boulevard, which slopes downward toward the coast, is the widest street, in fact the only wide street, in Sandy Point. Downing Street is of similar width to five of the seven main arteries

in the capital; Basseterre, namely: Bay Road, Fort Street, Cayon Street, Central Street and Victoria Road. Of the other two, Downing Street is significantly wider than Westbourne Ghaut and only above the junction with Cayon Street is College Street (along which runs Basseterre's other great ghaut) significantly wider than Downing Street. It should be noted that Basseterre's main thoroughfares were very narrow, as in the other towns of Old Road, Cayon and Sandy Point with the exception of Downing Street. Most of the main arteries in Basseterre were only widened after the fire of 1867. Most other streets in Basseterre are still narrow, including those in the suburban areas created in the twentieth century such as Fortlands, Greenlands, Shadwell and Taylor's Range (Dyde 2005, 204-05). By contrast, early eighteenth century cartographic evidence suggests that Sandy Point's Downing Street was always a wide avenue (see Chapter Two, Figure 8, as well as Figure 35 below).

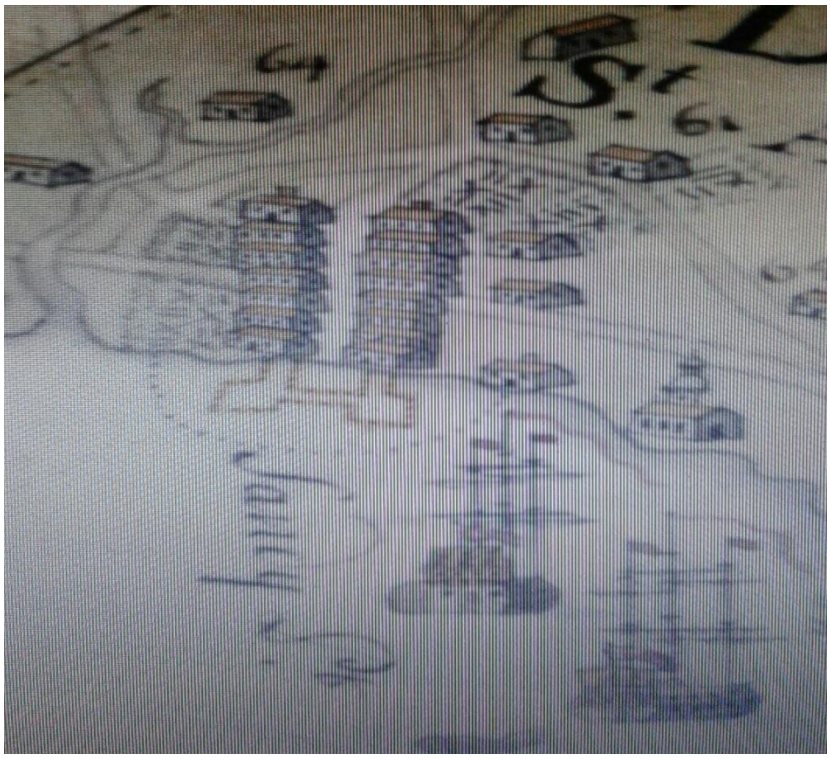

Figure 35 Buor Map 1714, detail of Downing Street and Sandy Point Fort. Courtesy British Library

It should be noted that Andrew Norwood's 1698 map does not portray any of the streets in the French capital of Basseterre anywhere near as prominently as he does Downing Street. One cannot attribute this merely to Anglophone bias on Norwood's part, for no street in the English capital; Old Road, is prominently displayed either. All of the factors discussed above influenced the decision to select Downing Street as the first site for field work investigation as part of the terrestrial survey of the port town of Sandy Point.

At least one major building and one ruined structure on Downing Street were constructed largely using a type of red brick not common to St. Kitts, leading one to the theory that the bricks had been imported, perhaps as ship's ballast.

Figure 36  Manchester Building on Downing Street, Sandy Point.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Of the two, the intact building, known as the Manchester Building, shall be discussed further in the section on oral fieldwork.  The decision was made to survey the other ruined structure because of its smaller size.  Also, the fact that the Manchester Building was at the time of the survey with STIMACUR subdivided into apartments occupied by several tenants would have complicated any survey effort.  A second ruined structure, of similar architecture but constructed of cut stone rather than brick, was surveyed as well.

Figure 37  Downing Street Brick Structure with contemporary timber "chattel house" built atop the basement of the former warehouse.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

In a relatively large town site such as Sandy Point (especially considering this survey project's ambitious goals of investigating the terrestrial and underwater archaeology of the port and its anchorage) not every individual site, no matter how fascinating, can be surveyed.  Judgment calls have to be made and some sites selected for archaeological survey, while for others archival and oral historical research has to suffice, for the time being at least.

The ruins of the red clay brick basement of the Downing Street structure (Which shall hereafter be referred to as the Downing Street Brick Structure) are unoccupied but are topped by a chattel house which is presently occupied.  Chattel houses are movable domestic structures constructed of timber with no permanent foundations.  Common throughout the West Indies, the chattel house is a form of vernacular architecture which originated in the Post-Emancipation period. Due to the fact that much of the land was owned by the plantocracy, it was extremely difficult for freedmen (emancipated persons) to acquire land.  Therefore, the chattel house became an ingenious architectural innovation created by the working class.  In the event of a dispute with the landowner which forced freedmen to relocate, they could transport their homes with them. The author can recall as a child seeing chattel houses being transported on the back of Bedford and Leyland trucks.  Improvements in living standards have seen many of the chattel houses in islands such as St. Kitts being in some cases abandoned.  In other cases they are converted into either more elaborate timber dwellings or masonry dwellings.  However, in some parts of the island they are still a somewhat ubiquitous architectural form.  The occupant of the chattel house

atop the Downing Street Structure, an individual named 'Herbie', was quite gracious in allowing us access to survey the site in May 2012.

The ruins of the Downing Street Brick Structure are one of several in Sandy Point that have been re-utilized as foundations supporting contemporary buildings. Based on the footprint of the ruins, the basement of the Downing Street Brick Structure would have supported a significantly sized timber building. This form of vernacular architecture, typified by a masonry lower elevation and timber upper elevation is traditionally known in St. Kitts and several other islands in the Anglophone Caribbean as "blouse and skirt". The Downing Street Brick Structure ruins consist of red clay brick walls lining a basement that has been cut into the natural slope. The walls are at least seven feet high. Notches for floor joists were observed in the walls and several repairs to the walls were also evident. At the west end of the structure, down slope toward the waterfront, is a cobbled entry way to the basement from street level, possibly used to roll barrels into the basement. To the east are two vaulted passageways leading into the basement, also from the street level, with the remains of wooden sills on the interior. The dimensions of these large vaults are three feet six inches wide and approximately two feet high. Due to their size it can be reasonably assumed that they served other functions besides ventilation (Gill et al 2014, 63-70).

The rear of the Downing Street Brick Structure could not be fully recorded in the limited time available due to heavy overgrowth of vegetation. This section of the building was more complicated than the basement itself, with at least three room like enclosures and two sets of steps. One set of steps lead out of the basement to the backyard area and the other lead down into one of the small rooms. One room was topped by stonework, while another had a vaulted roof constructed of mortared cobbles (ibid).

A sample of brick was taken from the structure for further analysis using X-ray fluorescence, also known simply as XRF. The analysis was conducted at the Conservation Laboratory of the United States Navy's History and Heritage Command's Underwater Archaeology Unit. The laboratory is located at the U.S. Navy Yard in Washington D.C. XRF testing was carried out using an Olympus InnovX Delta analyzer. Interpretation and discussion of the results of the XRF analysis shall be undertaken in the following chapter.

The second structure (Downing Street Stone Structure) was located on the opposite side of Downing Street closer to the seaward end. The foundation consisted largely of dressed or cut volcanic stone. The structure measured 13.9 m (45 ft 6 in) long. Like the brick foundation further up the street, the front part of the structure included paired walls that may once have supported a verandah. Each wall measured two feet thick and together they totaled eight feet in width. Also similar to the brick foundation up the street, two arches cut the front wall leading to a basement. These arches measured five feet wide and three feet six inches high, with barrel vaults constructed of brick. A two feet wide wall lay at the back of the building creating the basement area. The basement measured about 14 feet wide, and the floor was six feet six inches below the walls at the front of the foundation along the street. The basement was too overgrown to allow entry to further document the back wall and areas beyond. The last nine feet at the west end of the building, down the sloping street toward the waterfront, consisted of a stairway to street level. The stonework on this part of the outer wall was unfinished, unlike the dressed stone facing the rest of the wall.

Figure 38  Survey of Downing Street Stone Structure.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

4.1.2 Charles Fort

This coastal fortress, the largest of the three (Charles Fort, Sandy Point Fort and Fig Tree Fort or Fort Charles) coastal defences guarding the Sandy Point Anchorage, sits atop a bluff overlooking the southern end of the Sandy Point Anchorage.  A section of the western (coastal) curtain wall has collapsed due to erosion caused by encroaching wave action.  Remnants of the collapsed wall section are scattered along the beach below.  The survey team walked a 400 foot segment of the beach to observe the condition of the bluff and the features that had fallen from the fort's coastal elevation above.

A pedestrian survey of the fort, encompassing both the exterior of its defensive walls and its interior was conducted with the assistance of Malcolm Govia, former Senior Attendant at the Hansen Home.  Detailed recording of the curtain walls, bastions and interior of the fortress was not conducted as these have already been comprehensively investigated by Gerald Schroedl's team in 2000 (Schroedl 2000).  Initial recording of features included photographic records, brief description in field notes and sketch maps.

More detailed survey was left for the coastal elevation of the fortress.  During the second (2013) field season students of the Verchilds High School (VHS), located in the village of Verchilds in St. Thomas Parish and the Charles E. Mills Secondary School (CEMSS) in Sandy Point (formerly known as the Sandy Point High School) participated in the coastal survey of Charles Fort.  Both groups of students assisted in mapping features on the beach adjacent to Charles Fort's coastal elevation.  Survey work was conducted using baselines stretched along the gravel beach midway between the bottom of the slope down from the bluff and the high water mark. The ends of each baseline were recorded with GPS coordinates.  Student participants recorded

measurements using offsets to features set at 90 degrees, including large wall segments and iron cannon. Each feature was labeled, drawn roughly to scale and photographed. The end result of the Charles Fort coastal survey is a map drawn to scale of artifacts and features located at the base of the bluff. This map will provide a useful benchmark or reference for further investigations of ongoing erosion of the hillside and damage to Charles Fort's coastal wall.

4.1.3 Pump Estate

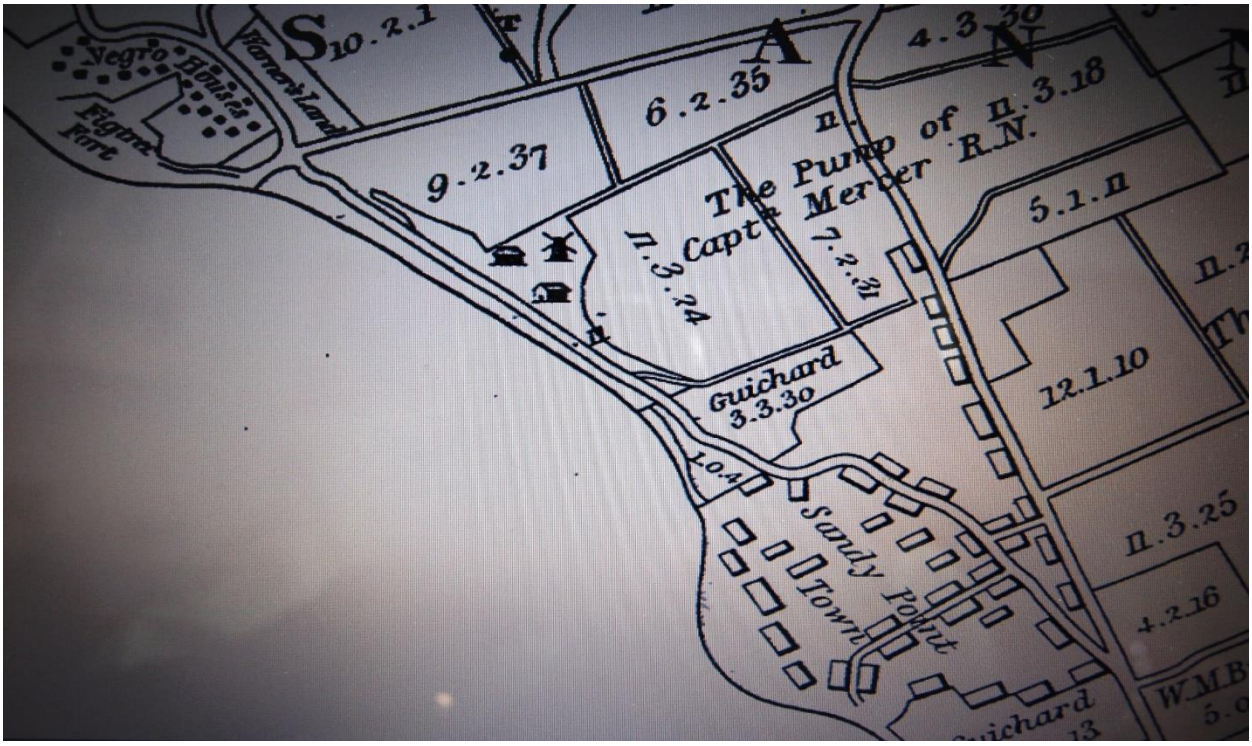


Figure 39 (previous page) 1828 Mc. Mahon Map of St. Kitts, detail showing "The Pump of Capt. Mercer R.N." at Pump Estate. Stretch of coast between two promontories is Pump Bay. Courtesy St. Kitts National Archives

The relationship between Pump Estate and Pump Bay is an intriguing one, not least because this research confirms that the bay derived its name from the estate; specifically, what took place on the estate. Whereas twentieth century maps, such as the Ordnance Survey Map, clearly depict the section of the Sandy Point Anchorage that extends from Belle Tete to the small promontory just north of Downing Street as Pump Bay (see Figure 39), the name is not seen on maps from previous centuries, such as those discussed in Chapter Two.

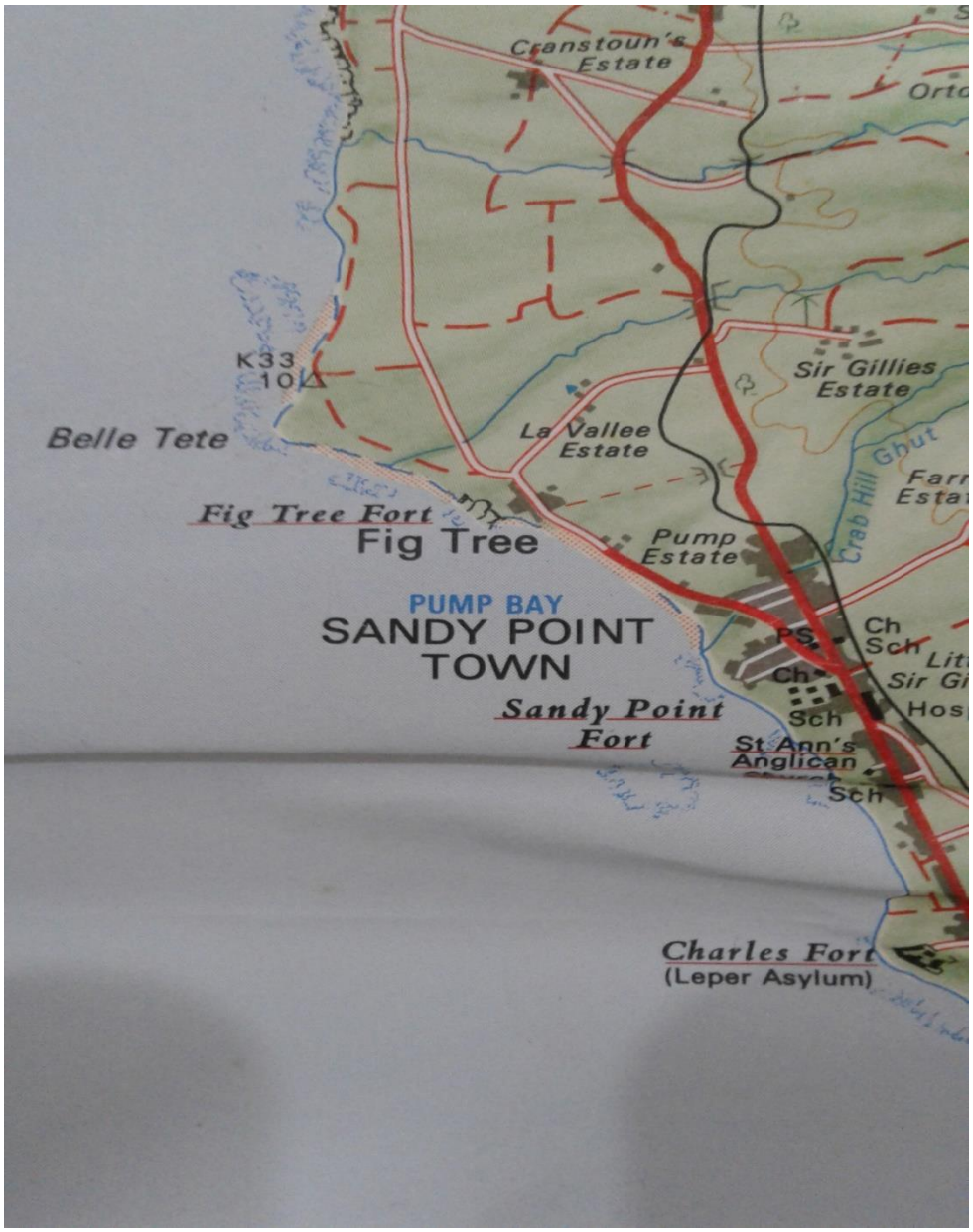


Figure 40 1985 Ordnance Survey Map of St. Christopher and Nevis. Detail of Sandy Point showing legend Pump Bay. Courtesy Directorate of Overseas Surveys

This raises the question of when and why this important stretch of coastline, upon which much of Sandy Point's shipping activity was centred, along with related infrastructure (jetties, customs houses and warehouses etc), became known as Pump Bay. One early nineteenth century cartographic source, the Mc. Mahon Map (Figure 39), sheds light on this enigma.

A legend on this map clearly indicates that a former Royal Navy officer, Captain Mercer, owned an estate on the ridge above the bay with some form of pump mechanism installed on it. Oral sources, which shall be discussed further in this chapter as well as chapter six, recall structures at Pump Estate, the name by which this site is now known, in which molasses was stored. According to these sources, the molasses was conveyed, via metal pipes, to cargo ships berthed

at jetties in the bay below, now known both popularly and officially as Pump Bay. The interesting legend in the Mc. Mahon Map, combined with information gleaned from oral historical research necessitated a site visit to Pump Estate. This site visit confirmed the existence of fascinating industrial heritage at the estate and the decision was made to survey the structures which comprised the molasses storage complex.

Surveyed in May 2012, the huge poured concrete structure at Pump Estate measures 98 feet in length and 42 feet in width. The Pump Estate structure was sectioned into eight bays. Exterior and interior walls both measured 1 foot 4 inches thick. The interior dimensions of each bay were 19 x 22 feet in width and 11 feet 6 inches in depth (Gill et al 2014, 63-70).

A major question is the location of the openings to which were attached the metal pipelines that conveyed molasses to ships docked at Pump Bay. No openings were observed in the side walls of the structure. One possibility is that the pipes may have been attached to the top of the structure. This raises several questions that shall be discussed during the analysis and interpretation of archaeological fieldwork in the following chapter.

The presence of anchor bolts along the top of the interior walls suggests that the top of the structure may have been covered by some form of roofing or superstructure protecting the contents of the bay from direct exposure to the elements. This covering may have been in the form of trap doors, either of metal or timber; however, no evidence remains of these. Attachments for ladders into individual bays were observed at regular intervals at the tops of the walls. A small room like enclosure was found in the north east end of the structure and smaller bays are located at the south end along with room enclosures, doorways and stairs (ibid).

Northeast of the Pump Estate structure, approximately 130 feet up slope, were the ruins of a windmill of typical stonework construction and measuring at least 30 feet in diameter. Several abandoned boilers were also located north east of the molasses containment structure (ibid).

### 4.2 Underwater archaeology

For the 2012 STIMACUR survey season the dive boat used was a 30 foot LOA sport fishing boat named *Miss Allison,* captained by Elsworth Pompey, a retired non-commissioned officer (NCO) in the St. Kitts Nevis Coast Guard. The Coast Guard is the maritime arm of the St. Kitts Nevis Defence Force. *Miss Allison* is based at the St. Kitts Coast Guard base in Basseterre. The Coast Guard base, which was formerly an equipment storage facility for the St. Kitts Sugar Manufacturing Corporation (SSMC) is located in very close proximity to the site of Fort Smith, one of the coastal forts that once defended Basseterre. Point of embarkation and disembarkation for the 2012 underwater survey was a jetty at the St. Kitts Marine Works (SKMW), located in New Guinea, St. Thomas Parish. The owner of SKMW, Regiwell 'Reg' Francis, who was very gracious in allowing us to use his facility, also assisted the survey in other ways which shall be discussed further in this chapter.

Pompey and *Miss Allison* proved to be invaluable assets during the initial survey season. However, for subsequent surveys it was decided for logistical reasons to endeavour to find a reputable boat operator who resided in or close to Sandy Point. Such an individual was found in the person of Ray 'Lomax' Liddie, a fisherman from the village of Fig Tree. Lomax is also the nephew of Ralph Wilkin, whose indispensable contribution to this research is discussed in

Chapter Three (Pages 62-63). Lomax's 24 foot open fishing boat *De Juggle*, powered by two outboard motors, was the dive boat used for the 2013 to 2016 survey seasons. Like many Kittitian fishermen, Lomax is an incredible free diver, a skill which made him not only a dive boat captain but a valuable member of the dive team.

4.2.1 Remote sensing

A remote sensing survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage preceded dive surveys conducted during the initial STIMACUR survey season (3-14 May 2012). Sonar data were collected using a Hummingbird sonar system (Model #797c2 SI HD Combo).

Figure 41 Installing Hummingbird sonar on the stern of dive boat *Miss Allison* at St. Kitts Coast Guard Base. From left to right, Cameron Gill (Principal Investigator), Dennis Knepper (STIMACUR), Raymond Hayes (STIMACUR), Elsworth Pompey (dive boat captain). Photo courtesy François van der Hoeven (STIMACUR)

Sonar imaging was conducted routinely at an operating frequency of 200kHz, with the range for side scan sonar set at 120 degrees. Resulting imagery consisted of both side scan and bottom images, the latter were used to record depths as well as to identify submerged features of potential interest. The purpose of the remote sensing survey was to map the bathymetry (topography of the sea floor) along the coastline so as to locate features such as ledges, terraces, flats, rocks or coral masses that might have served as anchoring areas or artifact traps. Another objective was to capture any large cultural features, such as shipwreck remains, that might be present. Side scan and downwardly directed bottom snapshot images were marked with corresponding GPS coordinates and depths. These remote sensing data were used to plot depths as well as to describe submerged topography of coral reef formations (Gill et al 2014, 63-70).

Approximately 800 readings were taken over the course of one and a half days. The data were collected in three sections:

Belle Tete to the village of Fig Tree

Fig tree to the southern end of Pump Bay

Pump Bay to Charles Fort

The survey was confined to depths not exceeding 150 feet. Although for safety reasons the dive limits for the survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage were set at 100 feet, areas of greater depths were included in the remote sensing survey for the purposes of context. Throughout most of the area that was surveyed the sonar imagery suggested that the bottom was sandy and relatively featureless (Gill et al 2014, 63-70).

Evidence of terraces or wide, flat regions, was observed at several depths, including at approximately 50 feet and again at approximately 100 feet. A few areas of rocky or coralline bottom were also noted, mainly at the north and south ends of the survey area (Belle Tete and Lazaretto Point respectively) at depths ranging from less than 30 feet to no more than 100 feet. The resulting data were used to draw three dimensional surface maps to aid visualization (ibid).

Although an indispensable time saving tool for locating potential sites for further investigation, sonar imagery is incapable of identifying underwater cultural heritage that is overgrown by or in close proximity to coral reef constituents. Therefore, dive surveys are necessary for visually identifying and mapping submerged artifacts.

### 4.2.2 Shoreline Survey

The shoreline survey, conducted both by snorkel and SCUBA, concentrated on two stretches of coastline within the Sandy Point Anchorage. The first stretch was a single transect extending from offshore of the Catholic Church (a convenient landmark for use as a reference point) northward to the seaward end of Downing Street. The shallow sea floor along this transect was mostly sandy; however, several scattered rocky areas were also observed. One such rocky area occurred off Downing Street and appeared to be an underwater extension of the small cape at that point, which may contain remnants of Fort Hamilton. A landing located off the seaward end of Downing Street used the reef as a breakwater.

The second stretch was the coast along Pump Bay. Here the remains of a twentieth century pier of poured concrete and metal construction was observed submerged in approximately 15 feet of water about 100 feet from shore. Other features, including pieces of iron machinery and a barge were also observed in this area. These features were located closer to shore in approximately 3 to 6 feet of water. Sea conditions this close to shore were unfortunately too rough to allow detailed survey.

### 4.2.3 Sandy Point Anchorage

SCUBA survey focused largely on two sites at the southern end of Pump Bay designated by local recreational dive operators as Paradise Reef and Anchors Aweigh. As the remote sensing indicated, the seafloor in this area was characterized by large rock formations with sponges and corals. Large slabs of volcanic shale are exposed as bedrock without sand cover. Sand channels are found in several locations among the rocky uplifted zones. The vertical rise of the rock ledges is approximately 6 to 16 feet. Cultural artifacts were found embedded into or co-mingled with biota cemented onto the bedrock. Marine growth attached to this substrate is low and compact, consisting of assorted juvenile hard coral colonies, sponges and soft corals. The topography of the bottom in this area does not represent a typical fringing coral reef configuration. The bedrock reef is atypical when considered in its general orientation to the coastline since the reef is not perpendicular but oblique. The reef lacks zonal reef

geomorphology, with no patchiness or fringe reef characteristics. There is an absence of hollowed areas formed by vertical overgrowth and cementation so as to form cryptic spaces. The rocky outcroppings extend seaward from a gradually sloping horizontal sandy bottom between depths of 19 to 65 feet to a more steeply sloping contour at depths of 82 to 98 feet (Hayes and Knepper 2015).

True to its designation, as many as ten anchors were observed among rocky sections of the seafloor at Anchors Aweigh, at depths ranging from approximately 21 to 40 feet. An area measuring approximately 300 square feet centred on the mooring for Anchors Aweigh was chosen for more intensive survey. Six anchors and assorted sections of chain and other metal objects were documented in this area. The lengths of the anchors ranged from approximately 6 to 9 feet, with widths between the flukes ranging from approximately 4.5 to 6 feet, and palm widths from approximately 8 to 20 inches. Most of the anchors retained their rings, which measured between 6 to 16 inches in diameter. The variation in anchor sizes and proportions suggests a range of anchor types dating from the 18$^{th}$ to 19$^{th}$ centuries. Apart from several lengths of chain, the other metal objects included a long shaft of corroded metal and a roundshot (cannonball) measuring 4 inches in diameter, that was found lodged beneath an overhang reef adjacent to one of the broken anchors (Gill et al 2014, 63-70; Hayes and Knepper 2015).

Three large anchors were mapped and measured at Paradise Reef, at depths of 40 to 70 feet. More anchors were located within this tract of reef; however, the depth of the reef made a comprehensive survey of the area unfeasible within the limited time available. The sloping reef wall extended to depths of at least 80-100 feet. It was not possible to determine the length of the area with any precision but in all probability it exceeds 500 feet. A systematic survey of such a large area would require several carefully planned and executed dives in order to maximize bottom time while staying safely within non-decompression limits (Hayes and Knepper 2015).

### 4.2.4 LB Site

When I commenced this research, a few fisherfolk from the Sandy Point/Fig Tree area gave me consistent reports of a shipwreck off Belle Tete, with a significant amount of what appeared to be roundshot as well as several large cannon. Oral descriptions of the wreck site seemed to indicate that the number and size of ordnance present was too much to be the armament of a vessel of a size indicated by the reported outline of cultural material at the site. This raised the possibility that the ordnance was being carried as cargo. Reports of large numbers of cut stones (or headstones as they are called locally) at the site, which may have been carried as ballast, reinforce the author's theory that the vessel was a cargo carrier and not a man-of-war.

The location of the wreck off Belle Tete, an area notorious for being treacherous to navigate because of a constantly shifting sandy bottom (see pages 96-97), as well as descriptions of the wreck site, led me to consider the possibility that this may be the wreck of the *Lion Britannique*. *Lion Britannique* was a French vessel carrying ordnance that was reported to have run aground off Sandy Point during the 1782 Siege of Brimstone Hill (Manchester 1971, 35; Matheson 1987, 18; Smith 1992, 22). This mishap delayed the French offensive by a few days. While contemporary sources report that the French had been able to salvage some of the artillery pieces that the vessel carried, it is obvious that many important pieces were lost as the French had to source replacements from neighbouring islands (Biblioteque nationale de France, Journal Encyclopedique, Par Une Societe de Gens De Lettres, 1782).

Efforts to locate the wreck site during the 2012 and 2013 survey seasons were unsuccessful due to very strong currents (typical of the area) off Belle Tete which made diving unsafe. During the April 2014 survey, local knowledge tipped us off that the waters off Belle Tete are much calmer at dawn (around 6:00 am). However, our first early morning foray was met with heavy rains and sea conditions which made diving impractical. Due to other survey priorities, the only opportunity for a second early morning attempt was on the last day of the survey. On this occasion we were very fortunate in being able to sight the wreck site from our dive boat, lying in waters approximately no deeper than 10 feet. Initial inspection free dives were conducted by Lomax and Ruud Stelten (Ruud, who joined my team for the 2014 survey, was at the time the Director of the St. Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research and a Maritime Archaeology PhD Candidate at Leiden University. He was awarded his PhD on the *Maritime Cultural Landscape of St. Eustatius in March 2019*). Based on this initial inspection, surveying the LB Site was designated as one of the most important priorities for the 2015 underwater survey.

The main feature of the site consists of a large mound of heavily concreted iron balls. The mound was 70 feet long, 33 feet wide and rose 3-4 feet above the seabed. The number of balls and the range of sizes represented suggest that they were a ship's cargo rather than ammunition for a warship's armament. The different ball sizes, varying from approximately 3 to 12 inches in diameter, suggest munitions ranging from small cannonballs to mortar rounds. The cargo appears to be from a single ship that wrecked in this location. Also present were three large cannon of similar size to the largest artillery pieces located at Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill. Two of the cannon were found alongside the munitions pile (see Figure 41) and the third located approximately 30 feet to the north. Other artifacts documented at the site included two bar shot that were found near the main pile of munitions, as well as a number of small metal hoops.

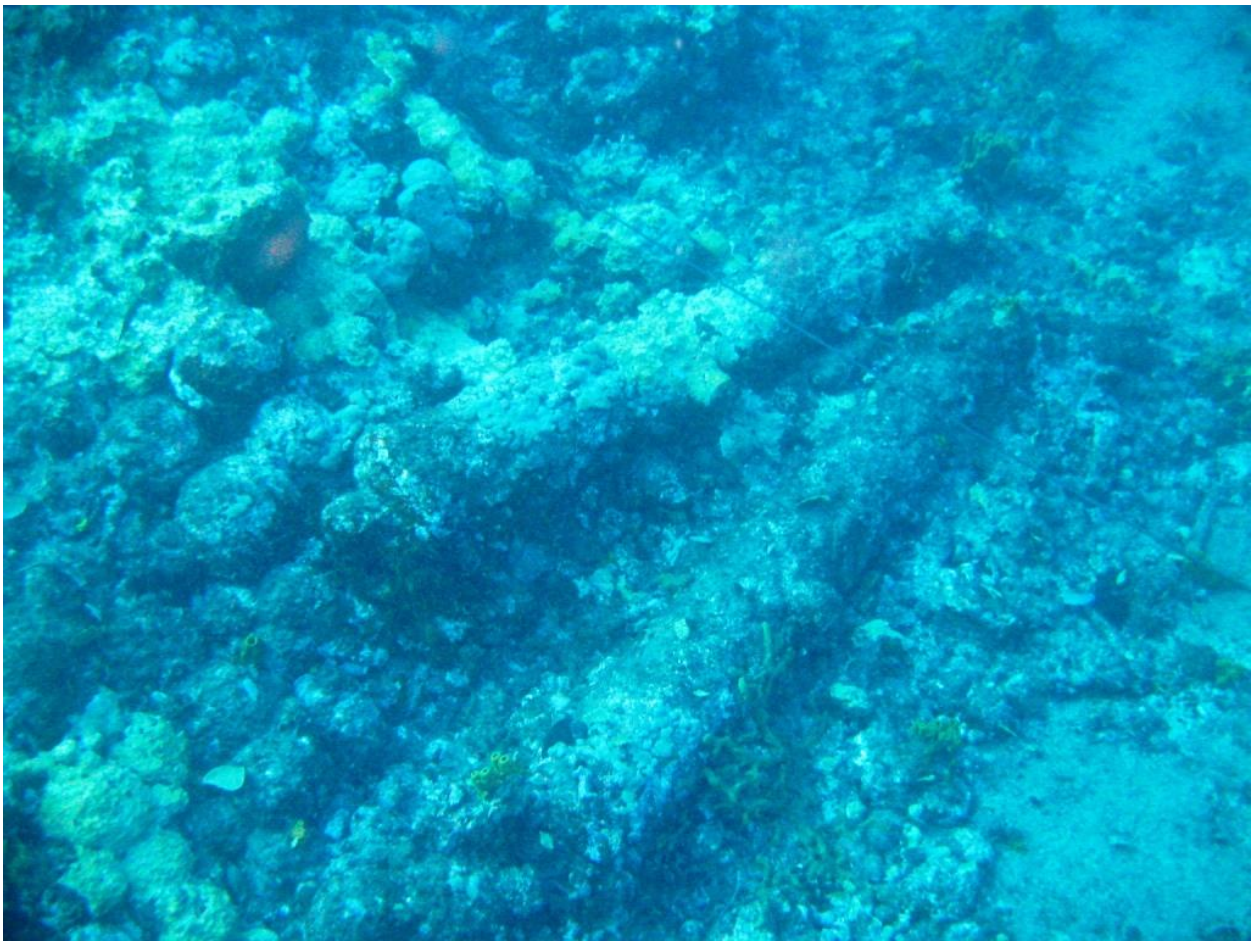

Figure 42 LB Site, two large cannon, along with a large concentration of ballast stones and roundshot are the main features of the site. Photo courtesy Ray Liddie

**4.3 Oral research**

As discussed in the previous chapter, oral historical fieldwork was focused on the islands of St. Kitts and St. Eustatius. In the case of the former, this fieldwork was centred on the communities of Sandy Point and Fig Tree. Some of the individuals interviewed played an active role, whether formally or informally, in port and maritime activities at Sandy Point. This colourful, and for the purposes of this research, important group of individuals includes Statian sailing boat captains and bootleg smugglers from Sandy Point.

Older residents of a community are an invaluable resource of that community's history, and as with archival sources, data gathered from them helps to determine which sites should be selected for further archaeological research. Therefore, some older residents of the Sandy Point area (including Fig Tree) were interviewed or orally interacted with, whether or not they were directly involved in the town's port functions. In this chapter, information gleaned from ethnographic fieldwork shall be discussed in the order in which individuals were interacted with. Three individuals, John James Bass, William Schmidt and Marvin Ellis, were the subject of audio-visually recorded interviews. All of the others were participants in more informal oral communications. It must be noted at this point that, as is almost always the case when

conducting ethnographic fieldwork, some subjects while freely generous with other information, will be more reticent about revealing their date of birth than others. Therefore, date of birth is given only for those who were willing to divulge this information.

4.3.1 John James Bass

Residing on St. Eustatius until his passing in 2013, Mr. Bass was a retired stonemason from Mansion Village, Christ Church Parish, St. Kitts (on the Atlantic coast). Born 12 September 1920 to an estate worker and a seamstress, Mr. Bass' work can be seen at: Bayford's Dairy Farm; Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (he was the only black sub-contractor to be involved in the construction of the Central Bank building); the rebuilding of the chimney and windmill at Lower Bourryeau Estate; the marking of all of the milestones around the island; the stone markers for fire hydrants from St. Paul's to Newton Ground; the stone oven for Jones' Bakery, one of the leading bakeries in Sandy Point; Brimstone Hill Fortress (Restoration of cisterns, reconstruction of timber bridge over moat at Fort George Citadel, reconstruction of Commissariat Complex at the Parade). Mr. Bass first migrated to St. Eustatius on 22 November 1950 (Bass 2011, Appendix B). He spent periods in both St. Eustatius and St. Kitts before finally settling in St. Eustatius in his later years.

Mr. Bass noted that anyone travelling from St. Eustatius to St. Kitts had to land at Pump Bay in Sandy Point (Obviously before the advent of air travel via Leeward Island Air Transport or LIAT, and the Dutch Antillean airline Windward Island Airways or WINAIR in the mid twentieth century). He recalled the Customs facilities at Pump Bay and one official named Mr. Warner who was both an immigration and customs officer. An approximately 40 foot LOA two masted sail powered mail boat from St. Maarten named *Blue Peter* carried passengers from St. Eustatius to St. Kitts up to circa 1954. *Blue Peter* would stop first at Pump Bay in Sandy Point and then at Basseterre. Several sail powered vessels operated from St. Eustatius or Dutch St. Maarten to Sandy Point in St. Kitts. These included *Callaia,* which operated from St. Maarten to Pump Bay, with a stop in St. Eustatius on the way to St. Kitts; *Atomic* and *Blue Bell* (The latter owned by William 'Fat' Schmidt) both of which sailed directly between St. Eustatius and Pump Bay, Sandy Point (ibid).

In addition to vessels operated by Statians such as 'Fats' and St. Maarteners, Mr. Bass also recalled ones owned and operated by Kittitians running the Oranjestad, St. Eustatius to Pump Bay, Sandy Point route. For instance, there was a vessel owned by a Mr. Saunders from Sandy Point. Subsequent discussion with a descendant in Sandy Point confirmed that this Mr. Saunders was Hugh Saunders of The Alley, Sandy Point, who was popularly known as 'Captain Saunders'. Captain Saunders' vessel carried carbonated sodas to St. Eustatius (Saunders 2016, Appendix B). These soda pop drinks were produced by the St. Kitts Bottling Company, which was founded in Basseterre, St. Kitts on 22 March 1954.[9] Sailing vessels that operated between St. Maarten or St. Eustatius and Sandy Point, St. Kitts plied the route on a weekly or twice weekly basis (Bass 2011, Appendix B).

Mr. Bass recalled hearing stories from older Statians about enslaved Africans from St. Eustatius who would "make a raft" to escape to St. Kitts to seek freedom because Emancipation was

[9] http://www.stkittsbottlingcompany.com/about/companyhistory. Accessed on 18 July 2016

granted in the British West Indies (1834) before it was granted in their Dutch counterparts (1863). Many reportedly lost their lives during their quest for freedom in the notoriously treacherous channel between St. Eustatius and St. Kitts. Most of those fortunate individuals who were successful in this maritime marronage from St. Eustatius to St. Kitts allegedly landed at Pump Bay in Sandy Point. It should be noted that in some of the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean, where unlike in the Guianas and Jamaica there were less expanses of rugged interior to seek refuge, maritime marronage, or escape to another island (where one could hopefully find anonymity among the free coloured population or be sheltered by indigenous people) was not an uncommon tactic used to escape enslavement (Beckles 1985).

At least one primary source also hints at links between enslaved persons in Sandy Point and St. Eustatius. English attorney James Stephen, was a prominent nineteenth century abolitionist who for a period of time held political office in St. Kitts. He was also the brother in law of famed emancipationist William Wilberforce (Stephen 1954, 14). Stephen recorded punishment meted out to enslaved persons at two estates in Sandy Point, Fahie's and Orton's, both owned by a Mr. Wells (Stephen 1830, 442-450). On the 29 May 1815 a male slave was punished for pretending to be ill. The entry regarding this individual is not an unusual one in most regards. One aspect is striking; however, his name, Statia Jack (Stephen 1830, 444). Statia Jack's name, given to him by his owner of course, indicates a connection with the Dutch colony. This enslaved man living on an estate in Sandy Point may have been purchased from a slave owner or slave trader on St. Eustatius.

### 4.3.2 William 'Fat' Schmidt

Mr. Schmidt was born 25 June 1935, in St. Eustatius. Incredibly, a man who would become one of St. Eustatius' most famed mariners, had no prior training as a seaman. Circa 1956, the inimitable 'Fat', accompanied by two other adventurous lads from his neighbourhood, took a sailing boat on a trip from St. Eustatius to Sandy Point in St. Kitts, purely as an adventure. This successful maiden voyage, which fellow Statians had regarded as a suicide mission for untrained mariners to embark upon across St. Eustatius' notoriously treacherous channel, gave 'Fat' the confidence to embark on a career as a boat captain (Schmidt 2011, Appendix B).

The name of the vessel in which 'Fat' had made this initial journey to St. Kitts was the *Blue Bell* mentioned above by Mr. Bass. *Blue Bell,* an approximately 18 foot LOA single masted vessel, had been given to 'Fat' by the government of St. Eustatius to be used as a fishing vessel. The vessel was one of three given at the time by the government to young men in St. Eustatius to assist them in making a living as fisherman. However, 'Fat' argues that it was difficult to successfully fish "around here" (the waters off St. Eustatius) in a vessel dependant solely on sail power. Therefore, after his first trip to Sandy Point, he began using *Blue Bell* as a cargo vessel making regular runs between St. Eustatius and Sandy Point. *Blue Bell* would make these trips as often as three times a week. On days when *Blue Bell* sailed to Sandy Point, she would sometimes have to make two trips per day carrying cargo from the port of Sandy Point. This was because her small size made it difficult for her to carry all of her cargo in a single trip when there was a lot of cargo to be carried. For example, gasoline was one item imported by Blue Bell; however, the vessel could only carry four drums of gasoline at any one time (ibid).

The heavy demand for the services of *Blue Bell* led "Fat' to install an outboard motor rather than continue to rely solely on sail power (Obviously, the revenue 'Fat' was earning from operating

*Blue Bell* as a cargo vessel between St. Eustatius and Sandy Point enabled him to absorb the expense of purchasing an outboard motor. Apparently, this was an expense which would have been prohibitive for him while operating *Blue Bell* as a fishing vessel). Interestingly, the conveyance of cargo on *Blue Bell* was in one direction from Sandy Point to St. Eustatius, no cargo was ever taken from St. Eustatius to Sandy Point. All of *Blue Bell's* trips to St. Kitts were to the port of Sandy Point (Schmidt 2011, Appendix B).

'Fat' recalled that "in those days" (circa 1950's to 1960's) consumer goods such as flour, rice and sugar (refined white sugar that is) were imported by St. Kitts from the UK or Canada. There were no ships bringing these goods to St. Eustatius either from Europe or North America. Therefore, sailing boats such as *Blue Bell* travelled from their respective home ports in St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Maarten to the port of Sandy Point to import these items. The "Curacao boat" a ship that brought cargo from Curacao to St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Maarten brought "only certain things" which did not include the much needed staples. In addition to cargo from the port of Sandy Point, *Blue Bell* also took passengers from St. Eustatius to Sandy Point. These persons were usually travelling to St. Kitts to visit one of the dentists in Basseterre, either Dr. Losada or Dr. Boyd (ibid).

'Fat' eventually purchased a slightly larger sailing vessel from the nearby French island of St. Barthelemy (popularly known as St. Barts). The vessel, also a single master, was named *Brenda Lee*. *Brenda Lee* collected cargo at both Sandy Point and Basseterre. 'Fat' would dock at Basseterre to collect cargo and also to place orders for "Bryson soda" (Carbonated sodas were popularly known as "Bryson" because the St. Kitts Bottling Co. imported Coca Cola and other carbonated drinks from Brysons Bottling Company in Antigua[10]) at the St. Kitts Bottling Co. offices, then located at Church Street, in close proximity to port facilities in the Basseterre roadstead. After loading cargo at Basseterre *Brenda Lee* would sail to Pump Bay to collect "Bryson" which the St. Kitts Bottling Co. had delivered by truck to Sandy Point.

'Fat' recalled that in the "early years" of his boat service between St. Eustatius and Sandy Point (circa 1950's) he would have to anchor off Pump Bay, close to the Treasury and Customs building, eventually a "stone" jetty was constructed at which he could berth (Archival and other oral sources indicate that there were jetties at Pump Bay from at least the early twentieth century. These same sources also reveal that on more than one occasion the jetty at Pump Bay would have been destroyed by a storm. This may explain the absence of a jetty at Pump Bay when 'Fat' initiated his trips to Sandy Point). The lower elevation of the small Treasury and Customs building was where business was conducted, while the Customs Officer for Sandy Point, who also doubled as the Harbour Master, resided upstairs. A smaller "wooden" building used by "the guy that used to work with the Harbour Master", was located to the south of the Treasury and Customs Building. The description given by 'Fat' of the orientation of the structures at Pump Bay corresponds with that illustrated by Ralph Wilkin (see Figure 42) in which he confirms that the small timber building was the guardhouse.

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[10] Lorna Callender, *"Has the 'Bryson' drink gone forever?"* (Article in SKNVibes, Friday 9 Sept. 2011). http://www.sknvibes.com/news/newsdetails.cfm/41120 Accessed on 24 July 2016

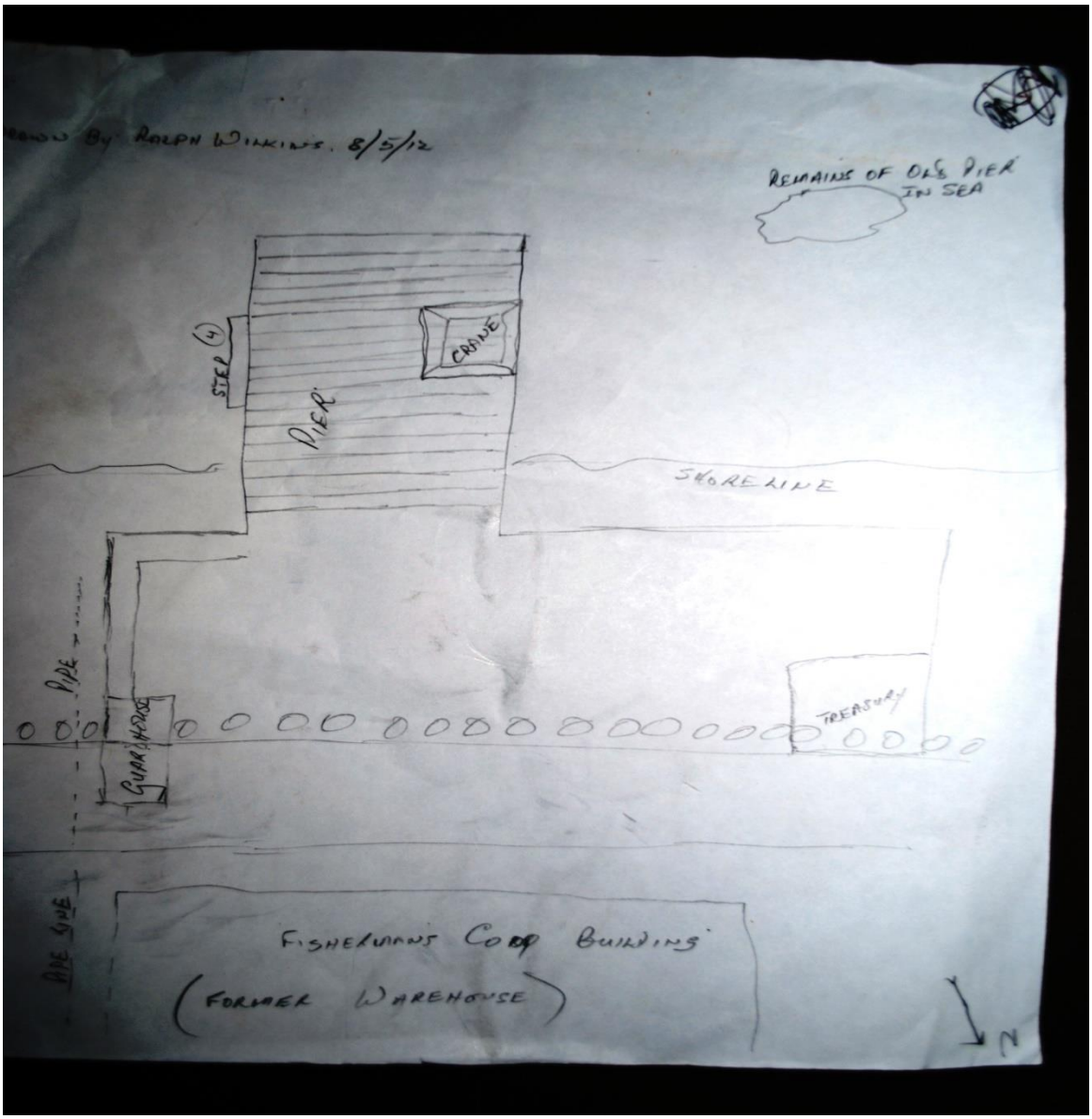



Figure 43 Drawing of port structures and features at Pump Bay by Ralph Wilkin

As there were no stevedores to assist 'Fat' and his crew with loading cargo, they had to do this by themselves. *Blue Bell's* regular crew complement, besides the captain, was one or two men. For *Brenda Lee* 'Fat' had a crew of two. 'Fat' operated *Brenda Lee* until 1966 when he went to St. Thomas in the U.S Virgin Islands to seek an outboard motor for his vessel. He was unsuccessful in acquiring an engine, so he sold *Brenda Lee* and spent some time in St. Thomas.

One of 'Fat's' recollections highlights the social links that developed between St. Eustatius and Sandy Point. Mr. James Woodley, the leader of a popular steelband in Sandy Point, was responsible for bringing the art of playing steelpan to St. Eustatius when he migrated there in the 1950's (Schmidt 2011, Appendix B).

Figure 44 circa 1955 James Woodley of Sandy Point, St. Kitts (left), who taught Statians to play the steelpan. William Schmidt can be seen second from the right in sunglasses. From the personal archive of William Schmidt

Quite frequently 'Fat' would receive requests from young men in St. Eustatius to take them to a dance at "Upperside". Upperside was a popular Statian colloquial term for Sandy Point. Very often these young men who did not have money to pay 'Fat' upfront for the trip, would board his vessel at "Whitewall' in St. Eustatius armed with spear guns. They would shoot fish in the waters off Whitewall and then upon arrival in Sandy Point, sell their catch and earn enough money to pay 'Fat' and attend the dance.

Figure 45 Plaque awarded to William Schmidt by the Government of St. Eustatius in 2011. The plaque was awarded in recognition of the vital service he provided as a boat captain during periods of drought by shipping much needed supplies from Sandy Point and Basseterre in St. Kitts

4.3.3 Marvin Ellis

Mr. Ellis is a family friend of William Schmidt who was visiting him at his home on the day of my interview. Mr. Ellis recalled spending time as a young child in 'Fat's' home while the latter was on his boat trips to St. Kitts. 'Fat' would return to St. Eustatius with supplies of sugar, flour and saltfish "in those times when the island was short" (in other words, when there was a scarcity of these items on St. Eustatius). 'Fat's' boats also helped to alleviate the shortage of gasoline on the island by shipping supplies of gasoline from St. Kitts to supply motor vehicles and fishing vessels. During the drought of 1965, 'Fat' supplied animal feed from St. Kitts for the livestock on St. Eustatius (Ellis 2011, Appendix B). St. Eustatius dependence on St. Kitts for staple products was a phenomenon that can be traced at least as far back as the eighteenth century.[11]

4.3.4 Joseph Buchanan

Mr. Buchanan was born on 12 January 1914, in Manchester Street, Sandy Point (Like many Kittitians born up to the mid twentieth century he would have been delivered in his parents, or in the case of a single parent, mother's place of residence by a midwife) to Joseph Buchanan Sr.

[11] See Table 5, p. 263 in Enthoven 2017, 239-301

and Susannah Buchanan (nee Fox). Mr. Buchanan worked at Brimstone Hill from 1928 to 1930 operating a horse and cart which carried stones and water for a stonemason.

Mr. Buchanan recalled as early as the 1920's "…a lively transport" of ships taking molasses to Canada and Kittitians migrating from the island through the port of Sandy Point. In 1928? (Commonly when conducting oral research with older subjects one may find that they recall events vividly but may confuse dates. Mr. Buchanan referred to many events as taking place during the 1920's. However, the storm that damaged the pier may have occurred in 1915. See Archival Research in Chapter Six) the wooden jetty at Pump Bay was wrecked by a hurricane and replaced with a jetty constructed partially of timber and partially of concrete (Joseph Buchanan 2011, Appendix B). Archival research, as well as recollections of other oral subjects, indicates that this wasn't the only instance of damage or destruction of jetties or other port infrastructure at Pump Bay by storm activity.

Mr. Buchanan's recollections of social activities such as the cinema on Station Street are indicative of the vibrancy of the port town community in Sandy Point. Inmates of the leper asylum at the Hansen Home were not excluded from social activity either, as Easter concerts and other activities were held at the asylum.

Several sugar estates in the north of St. Kitts brought molasses to Pump Bay to be shipped overseas. These include Bourke's, Farm's, Sir Gillies, Cranstoun, La Vallie, Brotherson's, Belmont and up to Parson's on the Atlantic coast.

One area in which the interaction with Mr. Buchanan was of immense significance was his recollection of the structures at Pump Estate where the molasses was deposited and then taken by pipeline to the jetty at Pump Bay (ibid). It was the subject's mention of these structures that first brought them to the attention of the author. In a subsequent conversation the author's mother, who is from Lodge Village on the Atlantic side of the island, recalled as a schoolgirl spending summer vacations at the home of a family friend in Sandy Point. She also confirmed the existence of the structures at Pump Estate, on which she and her friends played to the chagrin of the watchman who would chase them away with the admonition "Stay off the pipeline! (Yvonne Gill 2011, Appendix B)"

Up to the commencement of this research, the majority of Sandy Pointers were completely unaware of the existence of the structures and features at Pump Estate. This is because the site had fallen into disuse several decades ago and access to the site was made difficult by heavy vegetation. Mr. Buchanan's mention of this site spurred archival and archaeological field investigations into Pump Estate.

Mr. Buchanan's godfather, Charles Phipps, was one of several coopers (barrel makers) who worked on Pump Bay tightening the metal bands on hogsheads. Tightening of the bands was necessary to prevent leakage. A hogshead is a large wooden cask (barrel) with a typical capacity of 63 to 140 gallons. Hogsheads were widely used to hold alcohol or molasses.

A building housing both Customs and Treasury was located on Pump Bay. The Customs/Treasury Building was a 20 square feet, two storey timber building with a 1 foot high masonry foundation. Police went to Pump Bay every three hours to "check on the Treasury".

The police would sign a book of visitation in a small room at the Treasury and Customs Building and then return to the Sandy Point Police Station (Buchanan 2011, Appendix B).

Figure 46 Building housing Treasury and Customs at Pump Bay circa late nineteenth to early twentieth century. Hogsheads awaiting shipment are clearly visible in the foreground and the jetty can be seen to the left of the Treasury and Customs Building. This photograph confirms the description of structures and activities at Pump Bay by oral subjects such as Joseph Buchanan. Photo courtesy St. Christopher National Trust

4.3.5 Rudolph Wilson and Joseph Woodley

Rudolph 'Rock Steady' Wilson is a Sandy Pointer in his sixties who resides in his traditional "blouse and skirt" (masonry lower elevation and timber upper elevation) home at The Alley in Sandy Point. The Alley is that stretch of the island main road between Cleverley Hill and Mount Idle. Joseph Woodley, a Sandy Pointer in his late fifties, is an employee of the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society. 'Rock Steady' recalled that residents of communities from Challenger's (on the leeward coast between Old Road and Basseterre) to Dieppe Bay (on the Atlantic coast) collected cargo shipped to them by relatives overseas from ships calling at Pump Bay. Several vessels carried cargo and passengers between Sandy Point and the U.S. Virgin Islands. Many of the vessels that conducted traffic in goods and passengers along this route were owned by Anguillans (Rudolph Wilson 2012, Appendix B).

Some of the Anguillan owned vessels were built in Fig Tree. 'Rock Steady' claims that the last boat built in Fig Tree for inter-island trade was constructed circa late 1970's or early 1980's by a Mr. Adams (While boat building is still a traditional craft practiced in Fig Tree, the only vessels built here today are fishing vessels). The description given by both men of port facility buildings at Pump Bay, namely the Treasury/Customs Building and Guardhouse, is consistent with that

given by John Bass, William Schmidt and Joseph Buchanan (Wilson and Woodley 2012, Appendix B. According to Mr. Woodley, both buildings were destroyed by fire circa early 1980's and the pier suffered damage from several storms. He was uncertain as to when the pier was finally destroyed by a storm but believed that it may have been circa late 1980's (Woodley 2012, Appendix B).

4.3.6 Ralph 'Major' Wilkin and Calvin James (aka Calvin Ferlance)

Born in Fig Tree and presently residing in Sandy Point, 'Major' held the position of Chief Fisheries Officer from 1980 up until his retirement in 1991. 'Major's encyclopedic knowledge of the history of the Sandy Point and the location of significant underwater cultural heritage has made him an indispensable asset to this research. His father Calvin James was born in Newton Ground on 15 May 1930 and has resided in Fig Tree from the age of eight years old.

'Major' recalled vessels from the Windward Islands calling at Sandy Point to load goods brought to the port by schooners from St. Eustatius and Canada. Ships from Canada also loaded molasses at Pump Bay. The 14 inch diameter pipeline which carried molasses from the tanks at "Pump Hill" (Pump Estate) to ships docked at the jetty ran along the south side of the Fig Tree Fishermen's Co-operative Building (The co-op is now defunct). This building had previously been a warehouse (Wilkin 2012, Appendix B).

Figure 47 Fig Tree Fishermen's Co-operative Building located on Pump Bay. Photo courtesy Francois van der Hoeven (STIMACUR)

Figure 48  Fig Tree Fishermen's Co-operative Building.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 49  Fig Tree Fishermen's Co-operative Building.  Detail of stonework from older warehouse on which co-op building was constructed.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 50  Remains of molasses pumping pipeline behind co-op building, on embankment below Pump Estate.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

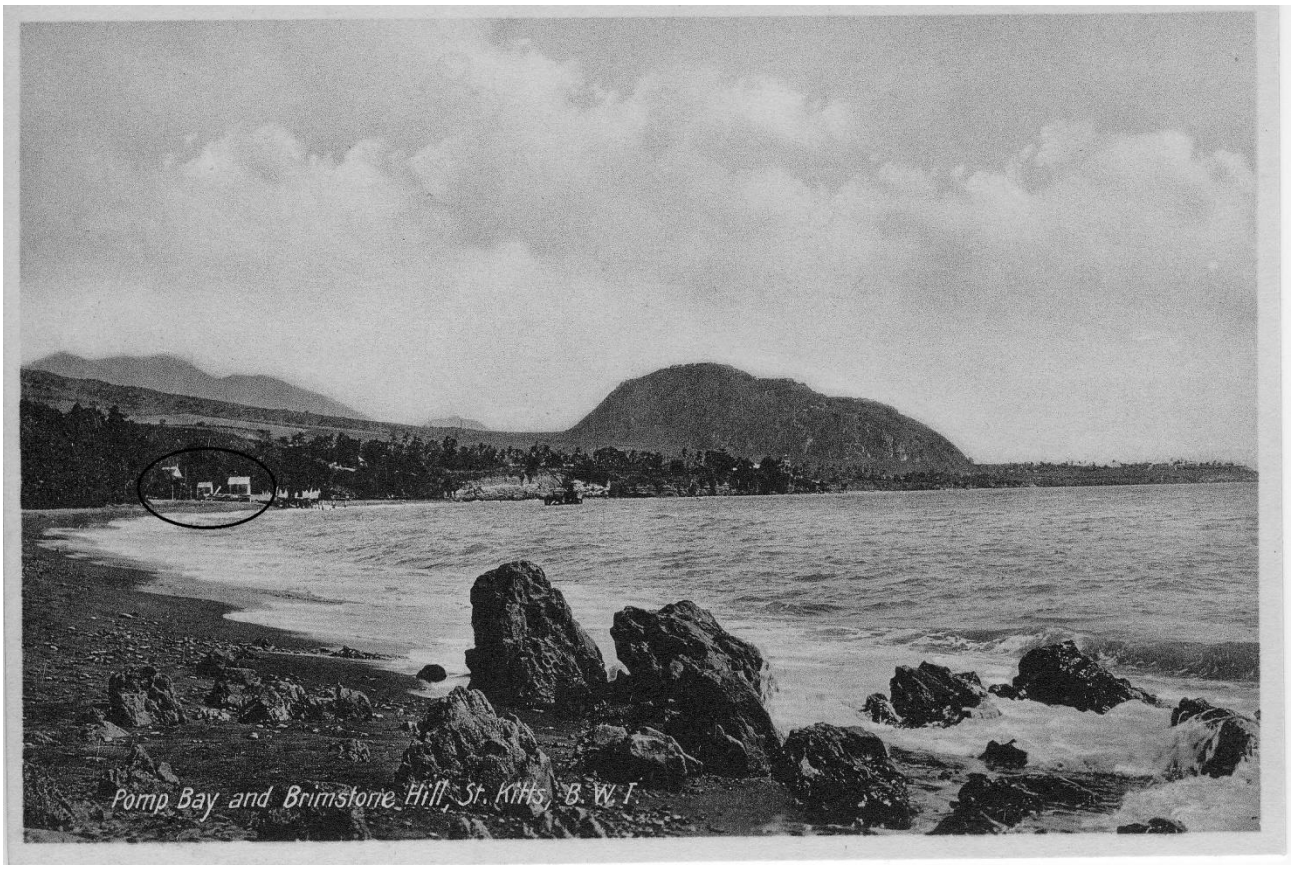



Figure 51 Pump Bay, Sandy Point circa 1920's. Port structures at Pump Bay circled by author. From left to right: gable roof of warehouse visible above vegetation; guardhouse; Treasury and Customs Building. Unknown

The former warehouse building was modified in 1986 to house the co-op. 'Major' recalled that at one time the coastline at Pump Bay once extended up to two acres further out (Wilkin 2012, Appendix B). Aggressive coastal encroachment has been a defining feature of the leeward coastline of St. Kitts (see Figures 51 and 52 as well as discussion on Fort Hamilton in Chapter Two).

Ralph's father, Calvin James, claims that Sandy Point was the main trading post for most of the island (James 2012, Appendix B).

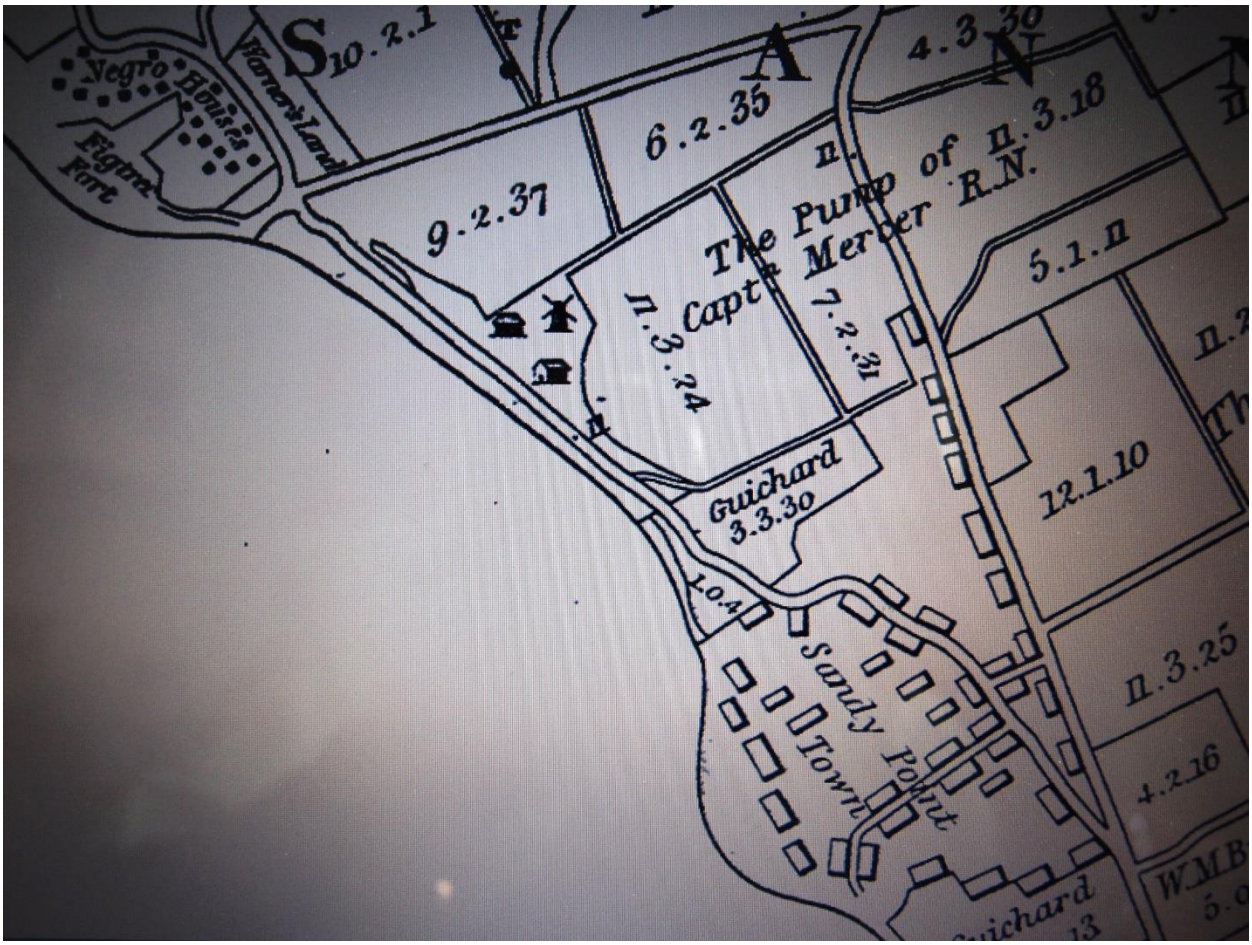



Figure 52 1828 Mc. Mahon Map of St. Kitts, detail of Pump Bay. The map appears to show more land seaward of the road that runs through Pump Bay than exists at present. Courtesy St. Kitts National Archives

Figure 53 Road and beach at Pump Bay in the present day. Photo taken 3 September 2011. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

All of St. Kitts' molasses was exported through Pump Bay until the "Sugar House" was constructed at Bird Rock in Basseterre (James 2012, Appendix B). A senior employee of the St. Kitts Sugar Manufacturing Corporation (SSMC), Mr. Reginald George, corroborated that the exportation of the island's molasses through Pump Bay ceased with the construction of the Sugar Store, popularly known as the Sugar House, and the Factory Pier at Bird Rock circa 1961.[12]

In 1949, a hurricane destroyed the pier in Pump Bay. When this tropical cyclone struck, three Anguillan vessels were anchored at Pump Bay. Two of these vessels, *Lady Lucky* and *Irene*, both sloops, were able to hold on to their moorings. The third one, a schooner named *Betsy*, was not so fortunate and ran aground. Vessels from Anguilla frequently called at Pump Bay to purchase "stocks" (James 2012, Appendix B). Although Basseterre was the island's main port, Sandy Point was still the main landing area for vessels from St. Eustatius (Wilkin 2012, Appendix B).

From the 1960's, cargo vessels travelling from St. Eustatius to St. Kitts would stop at Pump Bay, where the captain would disembark and travel to Basseterre via bus or truck. The first mate would sail the vessel to Basseterre from Pump Bay. Once everything was cleared the vessel would leave Basseterre heading back to St. Eustatius. However, if the vessel had not received clearance from the Customs and Treasury in Sandy Point, then it would have to return to Pump Bay from Basseterre (James and Wilkin 2012, Appendix B). "Mr. Fred Warner was the last customs officer to be stationed 24 hours at the Sandy Point post on Pump Bay. Afterwards, every customs officer served on duty only in the daytime. If a ship called at the port in the night it would have to wait until the next day for any business to be conducted (Wilkin 2012, Appendix B)".[13]

Ralph alluded to oral tradition which implies that the town of Sandy Point and its environs got their name from the expansive sandy beach at Belle Tete (This is borne out by archival evidence. See Chapter Two). This beach was once even more expansive; however, the beach has fallen victim to extensive sand mining by government to source building material for the construction of low income housing. Coastal interventions for the failed La Vallee Project have also caused much of the beach at Belle Tete to disappear.[14] The "Sandy Point" (Belle Tete) is a treacherous area where ships can run aground quite easily.[15] The currents tend to shift the sandbanks in this area, so even mariners familiar with the coast can run aground (Thus the author's theory that the *Lion Britannique*, the French ordnance ship which ran aground during the 1782 Siege, probably

[12] Reginald George, Assets Manager, SSMC. Personal communication. 21 July 2016. Although the sugar industry was closed down in 2005, bringing sugarcane cultivation and sugar production activities to an end, the SSMC still operates as a publicly owned corporate entity. One of the main roles of the SSMC at present, is to manage the historic assets, such as sites and artifacts, of the sugar industry.

[13] Ralph Wilkin. Personal communication. 20 April 2012

[14] Ralph Wilkin. Personal communication. 20 April 2012. The La Vallee Project was supposed to create tourism opportunities in the rural north of St. Kitts. One component of the proposed La Vallee Project was a golf course.

[15] Ralph Wilkin. Personal communication. 20 April 2012

went down in this area. The crew of *Lion Britannique* may not even have been familiar with this stretch of coastline).

Ralph noted that Anguillans who migrated to St. Kitts to seek employment as caneworkers were lodged in the Great House at La Vallee Estate (As one shall see later in this chapter in the interviews with Calvin and Naomi Farier, these Anguillan migrants landed at Sandy Point). La Vallee Estate is located in St. Anne's Parish, just slightly north of Fig Tree. The Great House at La Vallee had been vacant because both La Vallee and Cranstoun Estates (The latter is located in Newton Ground, a settlement in the parish of St. Paul Capisterre, which is situated north of St. Anne's Parish) were jointly managed, with the manager for the two estates residing in the Great House at Cranstoun Estate. The Anguillan caneworkers planted nuts and provisions in front of the La Vallee Great House. As we shall see later in this chapter in the conversations with Naomi and Calvin Farier, Sandy Point was the port of entry for these Anguillan migrants.

Figure 54 Foundation of bath at La Vallee Estate used by Anguillan caneworkers. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 55  Ralph Wilkin standing next to the ruins of the front elevation of La Vallee Great House.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 56  Overgrown ruins of La Vallee Great House.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

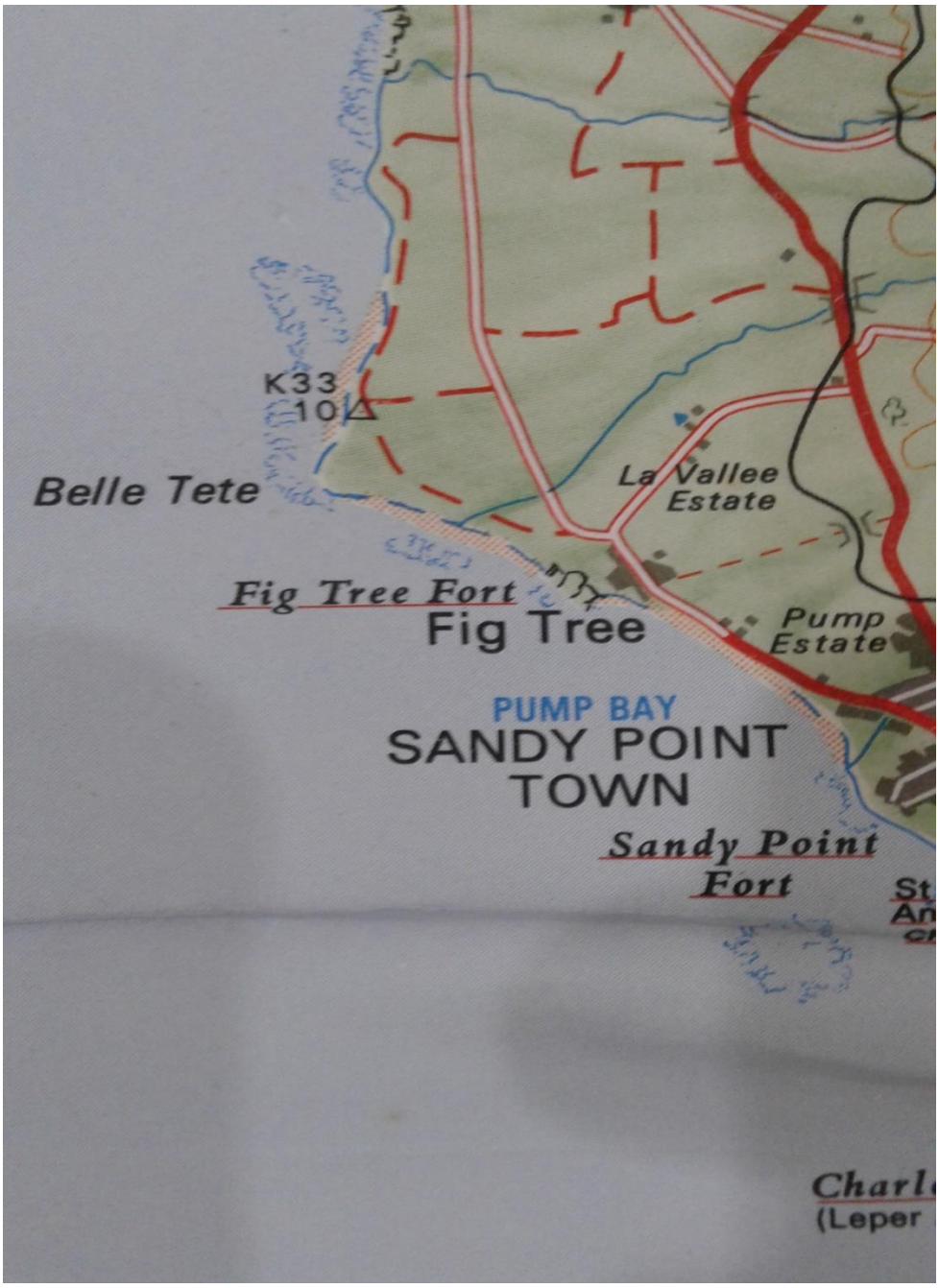



Figure 57 1985 Ordnance Survey Map of St. Kitts. Detail of Sandy Point showing La Vallee Estate. Courtesy Directorate of Overseas Surveys

4.3.7 Vernon 'Joe' Douglas

Born on the 30 June 1939 at Mount Idle, Sandy Point, 'Joe' decided at the age of 17 to pursue an interesting but for this part of the island, not unusual career, that of a crewmember aboard a smuggling vessel (I frequently heard stories from my mother and other older Kittitans during my childhood about smuggling along the island's coast from Old Road up to Dieppe Bay). Prior to embarking on a career as a maritime smuggler, 'Joe' was employed as a caneworker at

Cranstoun Estate making $29.00 per week. Low wages plus the fact that there was no employment on the estates during the off season, compelled 'Joe' to seek additional, and more lucrative employment (Douglas 2012, Appendix B).

'Joe' worked on the estate for half the year during the crop season and for the remaining half, the off season, as a smuggler. 'Joe' noted that "People believe in their rum, especially a weekend time. You mek a lotta money off a rum". Rum was smuggled mainly from St. Barthelemy (popularly known as St. Barths), as well as from St. Eustatius. Cask rum and Ibis brandy (a French brandy that is very popular in St. Kitts) were the spirituous contraband typically smuggled.

Contraband from St. Barthelemy was offloaded at various points along the shore, including the St. Kitts Sugar Manufacturing Corporation (SSMC) Sugar Factory Pier at Bird Rock, Basseterre. When asked why they would land bootleg liquor at a government owned facility of all places, 'Joe' smilingly illustrated the clear logic behind this strategy "Nobody expected us to have the heart (nerve) to land there".[16] 'Joe' recalled that "When rum from St. Barths run out we would go to Statia on Friday. We go on Friday because they had court on Crab Hill (in Sandy Point) on Friday and all the police would be there". The contraband from St. Eustatius would be landed at "The Hole" (Belle Tete). Apart from cask rum and Ibis brandy, contraband included wine, whiskey and cigarettes. Rum shop owners and individuals bought contraband "because they got their stock much cheaper that way".

Smuggling trips to St. Barthelemy would leave St. Kitts at 9:00 pm and reach St. Barthelemy at 6:00 am. They would then leave St. Barthelemy in the morning and arrive at St. Kitts in the night. Smuggling vessels would dock at the harbour in St. Barthelemy and wait until the warehouse from which they bought their contraband opened at 7:00 am. The smugglers had a list of what they wanted; for example, how many casks of rum. Smuggling runs to St. Eustatius would depart St. Kitts at 9:00 am, dock at the harbour in Oranjestad and return to St. Kitts at 1:00 pm. "Statia run was done high day because of the Friday court."

On departing from St. Kitts, smugglers from Sandy Point would set sail from several points on the coast, such as Pump Bay, Half Way Tree and Basseterre, to avoid detection.

According to 'Joe' smuggling has declined due to the proliferation of Coast Guards in the region. During the period when he and his colleagues ruled the waves, 18 to 26 feet sailing vessels were used for smuggling. Many of these vessels were built in Basseterre, others, such as *Blessed Assurance*, were built in Nevis. One famous boatbuilder from Basseterre who built several smuggling vessels was an individual named 'Baboo'. Some smugglers also used their vessels for fishing (Douglas 2012, Appendix B).

'Joe' didn't have a boat of his own and therefore sailed on vessels owned by other persons. He sailed most frequently on Allen 'Sutter' Hazel's boat. 'Sutter' now deceased, was a close friend of 'Joe', 'Sutter's' vessel was a 22 footer. 'Joe' could not remember the full name of 'Sutter's' vessel but he remembered that the vessels nomenclature ended with the name *Mary*. Many smugglers took great risks and quite a few died at sea because they could not swim. Those who

[16] ibid.

lost their lives included Mr. Piggott and 'Water Police'. 'Joe' stopped smuggling when he migrated to the UK in 1963, where he worked for British Leyland. In 1983 he migrated to the USA, 'Joe' currently possesses a US Permanent Immigrant Visa (Green Card). The first smuggler that 'Joe' sailed with to St. Barthelemy was Austin 'Turtle' Richards, who was in a relationship with 'Joe's' sister (Douglas 2012, Appendix B).

In the following section of this chapter that deals with archives visited and archival sources accessed, it shall be obvious that 'Joe' and his fellow smugglers were carrying on a tradition of unofficial trade between Sandy Point (and other coastal settlements on St. Kitts' northern coast) and neighbouring French and Dutch islands that stretches back at least to the eighteenth century.

4.3.8 Naomi and Calvin Farier

Naomi was born on the 16 February 1944 in Fig Tree. Before her retirement she spent her entire adult life in the teaching profession. She taught at the Newton Ground Primary School, Verchild's Primary School, Sandy Point High School and Sandy Point Infants School. Home Economics and English were the main subjects she taught. Calvin is a Sandy Pointer who also worked as an educator for several years. Before his retirement circa mid 1990's, he held the position of Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of St. Kitts and Nevis. The Farier's currently reside on Downing Street, their house is constructed on the original location of the Sandy Point Catholic Church (Naomi and Calvin Farier 2012, Appendix B).

Naomi recalled that migrants from Anguilla who came to St. Kitts to work on the sugar estates landed at Pump Bay. Most of these Anguillans worked on Cranstoun Estate and lived in barracks at La Vallee (see oral conversation with Ralph Wilkin, pages 97-99 and Figures Fifty Three to Fifty Six). The Anguillan migrants brought to St. Kitts with them salt, dried pigeon peas and straw brooms which became known as "Anguilla brooms".

In addition to the Anguillans bringing these items for their personal use, the Anguillan vessels that brought these migrants to Sandy Point also brought the same items to the port of Sandy Point as cargo to be sold. Other good brought to Sandy Point by both individual Anguillans and Anguillan vessels include mauby bark and coals.

Calvin Farier described the Anguilla "coble boats" as being built with a high bow. They carried both a jib sail and main sail (Calvin Farier 2012, Appendix B). Interestingly, this sail arrangement is similar to that of the Nevis lighter, a sailing vessel built in both St. Kitts and Nevis that carried cargo and passengers between both island up to the mid twentieth century (Pyle 1998, 114-21). However, based on Calvin Farier's description the Anguilla coble had a higher bow.

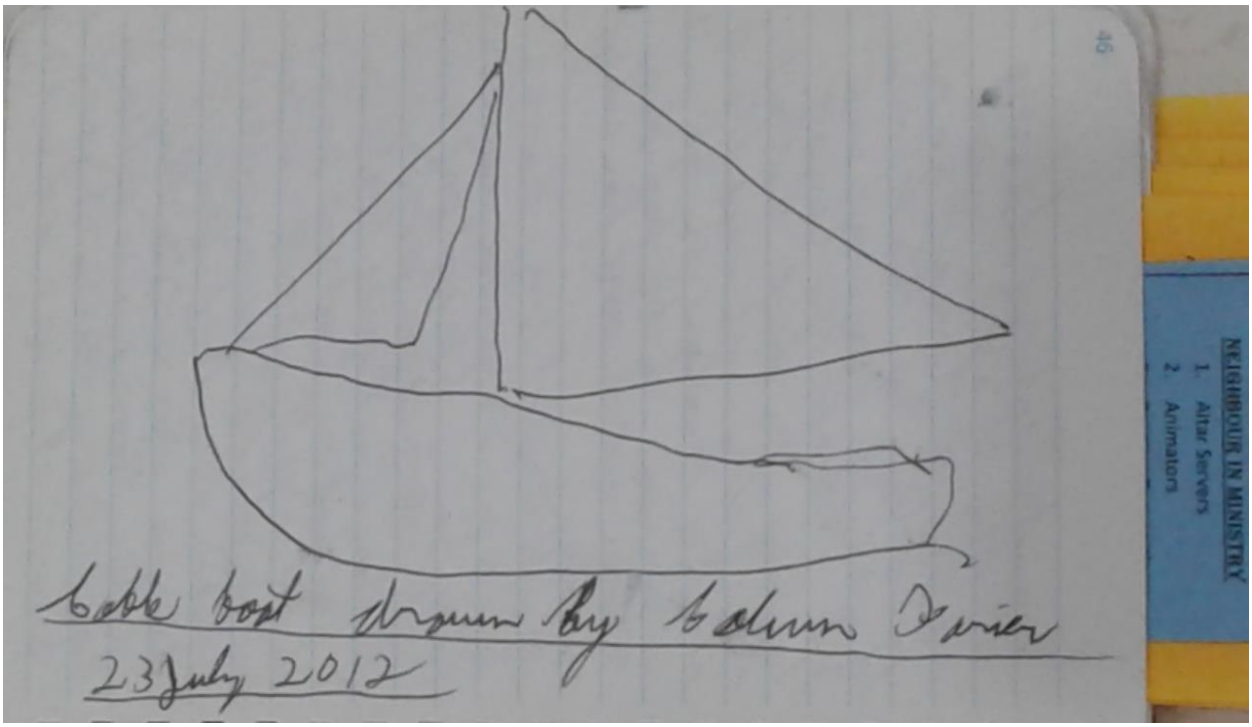



Figure 58  Drawing of Anguilla coble by Calvin Farier

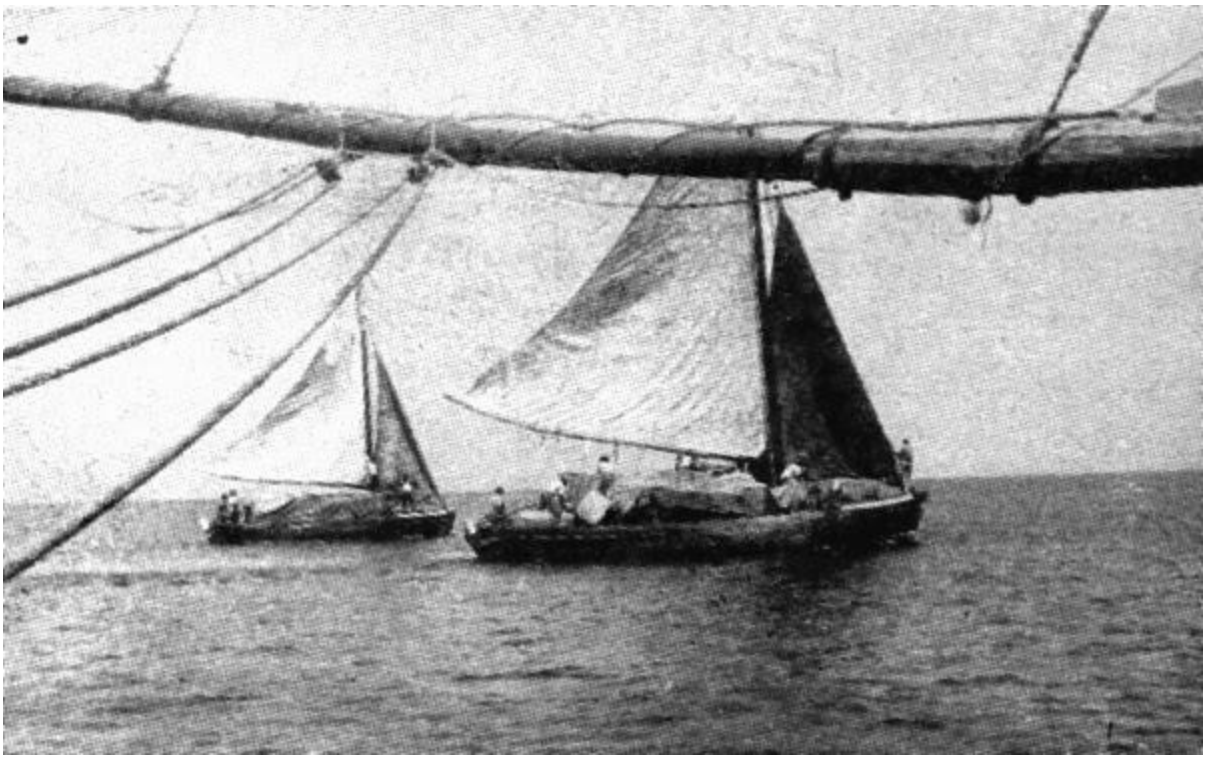


Figure 59  Nevis sailing lighters.  Photo courtesy herossea.blogspot.com

The Anguilla coble that Calvin Farier described is apparently based on a form of traditional open fishing boat, called a coble, which originated on the North East coast of England.  A version of the coble is also found in Scotland.  The Anguilla Coble is not the only example of a traditional West Indian vessel type being derived from another Atlantic World traditional vessel type.  The Barbados flying fish boat was likely derived from a traditional vessel type in the British Isles and the whaleboats of Barbados and Bequia are undoubtedly derived from the New England whaleboat (Gill 2009).

Calvin Farier recalled that "There were quite a few Anguillans in Sandy Point".  On weekends when they had time off from the estates they made the town very lively, going from one rumshop to the next "spending their money" (Calvin Farier 2012, Appendix B).

Figure 60  Scale: not calculated.  Full hull scale model of English coble *Eliza* (1900).  Courtesy National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

The Anguilla boats not only brought to Sandy Point migrants seeking employment in the canefields but also Anguillans seeking to purchase items that could not be obtained on their island.  They bought these items at the various grocery stores in Sandy Point.  As there were not many buses on the road during this period, Anguillans did not do much shopping in Basseterre.  Anguillans also purchased pharmaceuticals, which were difficult to obtain back home, from several pharmacies that could be found in Sandy Point, such as Mr. Payne's Drugstore at Mount Idle (Calvin Farier 2012, Appendix B).

Figure 61 Ruins of Mr. Payne's Drugstore at Mount Idle, Sandy Point. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Calvin Farier noted that St. Kitts was a more thriving colony than the neighbouring islands and that there was more inward migration to Sandy Point than outward migration. There was a steady flow of migrants from Anguilla through Pump Bay in the 1950's and 1960's. By the 1970's, the flow of Anguillan migrants through Sandy Point "petered off somewhat" (Calvin Farier 2012, Appendix B.

4.3.9 Kenneth Martin

Kenneth Martin is a retired civil servant and the Honorary Secretary of the Council of Management of the Brimstone Hill Society (BHFNPS or the Society). Mr. Martin has been a member of the Society since shortly after its founding in 1965. His wife Dorothy is Anguillan but attended secondary school in St. Kitts. According to Mr. Martin, his wife related to him that on her voyage of migration from Anguilla to St. Kitts, the sailing vessel on which she was travelling was becalmed in the waters "off Brimstone Hill for an entire day" (Martin 2013, Appendix B).

Such a seemingly trivial recollection is in fact significant because of a phenomenon which the author observed the previous year. In late August 2012, Tropical Storm Isaac made its passage through the Leeward Islands. As is typically the case after the passage of a tropical cyclone, seas remained rough for at least a day or two after Isaac's visit. On 23 August 2012, the day after the storm's passage, the author, from the vantage point of Brimstone Hill's Fort George Citadel,

noted several tugboats from St. Eustatius, with their barges in tow, anchored off the Sandy Point Anchorage. Apparently, in the wake of the storm, the Sandy Point Anchorage was a much calmer refuge than their homeport in St. Eustatius.

During a conversation that same day with the Director of Maritime Affairs, McClean Hobson, Mr. Hobson advised that this area of St. Kitts' coast often provided calmer waters than surrounding areas, even sometimes during periods of inclement weather (Hobson 2012, Appendix B). Such relatively placid maritime conditions, coupled with strategic considerations (discussed in Chapter Two) and proximity to neighbouring islands, may be one more advantage that enabled the Sandy Point Anchorage to rise to prominence.

Figures 62 (previous page) and 63 Tugs and barges from St. Eustatius off Brimstone Hill waiting out heavy seas after the passage of Tropical Storm Isaac 23 August 2012. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

4.3.10 Malcolm Govia

Born in Sandy Point, Malcolm Govia is a former employee of the Hansen Home, the leper asylum located at Charles Fort from 1890 until its closure in 1996 (Britton 2000, ii), much although certainly not all, of the oral interaction with Malcolm centred around the Hansen Home/Charles Fort (A significant amount of this oral interaction was conducted while exploring Charles Fort with Malcolm). Malcolm recalled that a church in the USA donated a television set to the Hansen Home in the 1970's and that this was one of the very first television sets in Sandy Point. Subsequent social events centred around this new luxury for the Hansen Home residents indicates the level of interaction with the wider community and the lack apprehension on the part of many Sandy Point residents towards interaction with patients. Such willingness to socialize with patients is remarkable due to the stigma normally attached to the disease. According to Malcolm it was not uncommon for Sandy Pointers to converge on the Hansen Home to watch highly publicized international boxing matches with patients of the leprosarium. The willingness of many Sandy Pointers to socialize with patients was largely thanks to a successful public education program about leprosy which shall be discussed in Chapter Six. One perhaps unexpected consequence of the success of this public education program in lowering inhibitions

towards contact with lepers were the many incidents recounted by Malcolm of men from Sandy Point "jumping the wall" to enter the asylum covertly at night for the purpose of engaging in sexual liaisons with female patients.

Lepers were brought to the Hansen Home from Antigua and Barbuda, Montserrat, Tortola and Nevis. Lepers arriving from other islands were landed at Pump Bay and transported to the Hansen Home by a donkey cart which was later replaced by a motor ambulance. Not all of the inmates of the Hansen Home were lepers; however, many were individuals who were misdiagnosed or merely shunned by society and sent to the asylum. These included syphilis victims from St. Kitts and other islands (Govia 2013, Appendix B). The arrival of these patients in St. Kitts not only indicates the role played by the Hansen Home in institutionalized health care in the region for most of the twentieth century but also the continued and varied role of Pump Bay as a focal point for the arrival of many persons, arriving for a myriad of reasons, into St. Kitts.

4.3.11 Joyce Richardson and Joseph Adams

Joyce Richardson was born in Pump Bay, Sandy Point on 15 September 1965 and she still resides at Pump Bay. Joseph Adams was born in Newton Ground but grew up in Sandy Point. Joseph is an acquaintance of Joyce's who was visiting her at her shop on Pump Bay during my visit with Joyce. Both Joyce and Joseph recalled as children hearing about the "cotton house" on Pump Bay from older residents of the community. The "cotton house", located opposite the Treasury and Customs building (This is the same warehouse building referred to by Ralph Wilkin) was used for storing cotton for export. Cotton was brought from Spooner's Estate in Cayon (on the Atlantic coast). A seawall and steps were located on the seaward side of the road (Adams and Richardson 2014, Appendix B). Further evidence of coastal encroachment at Pump Bay is revealed by Joyce's recollection of manchineel trees growing on the seaward side of the road at Pump Bay. These trees grew in areas that are now purely sand. When she was younger she recalled hearing her mother and other older persons speaking of sugarcane growing on the seaward side of the road (Richardson 2014, Appendix B). This canefield was owned by Pump Estate, which at some point in the early to mid twentieth century came under the ownership of Bourkes Estate (Adams and Richardson 2014, Appendix B).

4.3.12 Dorothy Richardson-Hodge

Dorothy is an older relative of Joyce who once lived in the only dwelling house located in very close proximity to the cotton house on Pump Bay. The dwelling house was located to the north of the cotton house. Dorothy is an Anguillan by birth who migrated with her family to Sandy Point. Dorothy's husband also hails from Anguilla. She recalls that when boats were docking at Pump Bay they would fly a red flag to signal to the Treasury and Customs that they were landing. The Harbour Master and "customs boy" would go out in a lifeboat to meet the vessels (Richardson-Hodge 2014, Appendix B).

"Statia boats" would bring gars and jacks (two species of tropical saltwater fish) to Pump Bay. Women from Sandy Point would purchase these fish directly from the vessels and then sell in Sandy Point to "turn hand" (Turn hand is a colloquial expression referring to an individual who buys and sells goods on a relatively small scale to earn an additional income). A vessel from St. Croix, U.S. Virgin Islands, named *Chrissy,* brought mail and packages to Pump Bay. Kittitians

also migrated from the island, via Pump Bay, aboard this vessel, to pursue employment as caneworkers in St. Croix and St. Thomas (Richardson-Hodge 2014, Appendix B).

4.3.13 Steve 'Stumpy' Wilkin

'Stumpy' is a relative of Ralph Wilkin, a native of Fig Tree and is employed as a port police with the St. Christopher Air and Sea Ports Authority (SCASPA). He recalled a pier built onto a stone wall below the road that runs along Pump Bay and Hurricane David (1979) destroying some of the steps on the seaward side of the road. The steps were located on the south side of Pump Bay. Hurricane Hugo destroyed the remainder of the steps and the wall in 1989.

The wall that once stood seaward of the road curved inward towards land and ended approximately 30 metres north of the cotton house. 'Stumpy' recalled one maker of "hammond" (a local bootleg rum) boiling his rum on the shore at the Fig Tree end of Pump Bay (Steve Wilkin 2014).

4.3.14 James Buchanan

The son of Joseph Buchanan, James Buchanan, also born in Sandy Point, is a surveyor by profession who had been engaged by the author, while the latter was the CEO of the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society, to survey Charles Fort for the purpose of determining the boundary and creating a buffer zone for the site. As a boy James sang on the Sandy Point Methodist Church Choir. In 1975 the choir visited the Hansen Home to sing for the inmates. After the choral performance an inmate named Mr. Warner stood up to deliver a vote of thanks that had James "taken aback" by its eloquence.

As it turns out Mr. Warner had been a school principal from Nevis before he contracted leprosy. The above recollection illustrates two points. The first is the common stereotype of lepers who ever since biblical times have been seen as individuals on the margins of society. As West Indian societies are strongly religious ones such perceptions would quite understandably take root in the individual and collective psyche. The second point is the reality that leprosy (like many other diseases) did not discriminate and left its mark on all strata of society irrespective of class, education or profession.

Another important recollection shared by James was that as a youngster he recalled hearing that the Manchester Building on Downing Street was where the legislature met before it became the headquarters of The Workers League (James Buchanan 2013, Appendix B). This is borne out by records of Council meetings found at the St. Kitts National Archives where it is shown that the Council met at various municipalities on the island, Basseterre, Old Road and Sandy Point (see Chapter Two). In fact, throughout the West Indies, before the establishment of a fixed locale for legislative meetings, it was common for meetings to be held at houses and taverns in various towns. One historically famous example is the meeting held during the English Civil War at the Mermaid Tavern at Oistin's, Barbados, on 11 January 1651, where a settlement was agreed accepting the rule of Oliver Cromwell's Parliamentary forces (Parker 2012, 74). The fact that meetings of the island's legislature were once held on Downing Street features prominently in community folklore at Sandy Point and seems to contribute to the sense of importance proudly felt among Sandy Pointers.

4.3.15 Neville ‘Patsy Mack’ McIntosh

Figure 64 Millard Street, Sandy Point. The buildings on the South (left hand) side once belonged to the Manchester family. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 65 Millard Street, Sandy Point. Building (with black door where Thomas Manchester lived and where records for Sandy Point were kept. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

A native of Sandy Point, some of 'Patsy Mack's' recollections, based on oral history from older relatives, illustrate the racial and social segregation that could be found in colonial era Caribbean towns. For instance, Millard Street, a narrow one way street that connects the island's main road to Station Street was once an "all white street" (The term white in the Caribbean very often also refers to very light complexioned mixed race or 'coloured' persons) up to circa 1920's or 1930's. In addition, there was a "No Noise" sign at the top (Main Street) end of the street and one could not speak loudly or blow a motor vehicle horn on that street. All of the houses on the South side of Millard Street were owned by the prominent Manchester family. Thomas Manchester, the family patriarch, resided in one of these buildings, which according to 'Patsy Mack', was where births, deaths and other records for Sandy Point were kept (McIntosh 2014, Appendix B).

Victoria O'Flaherty, Chief Archivist of the St. Kitts National Archives, has corroborated the last statement above. According to O'Flaherty, records were collected in various districts and then later taken to Basseterre. O' Flaherty suggests that one of Thomas Manchester's sisters may have been employed as the record keeper for Sandy Point and was working from home (O'Flaherty 18 January 2016, Appendix B). Thomas Manchester, a coloured estate owner, was one of the founders and the President of the Workers' League, a precursor to the St. Kitts Nevis Trades and Labour Union (Dyde 2005, 243-50). The Leaque, led by enlightened wealthy white and coloured men, agitated for improved living conditions for the working class and its headquarters was the Manchester Building on Downing Street.

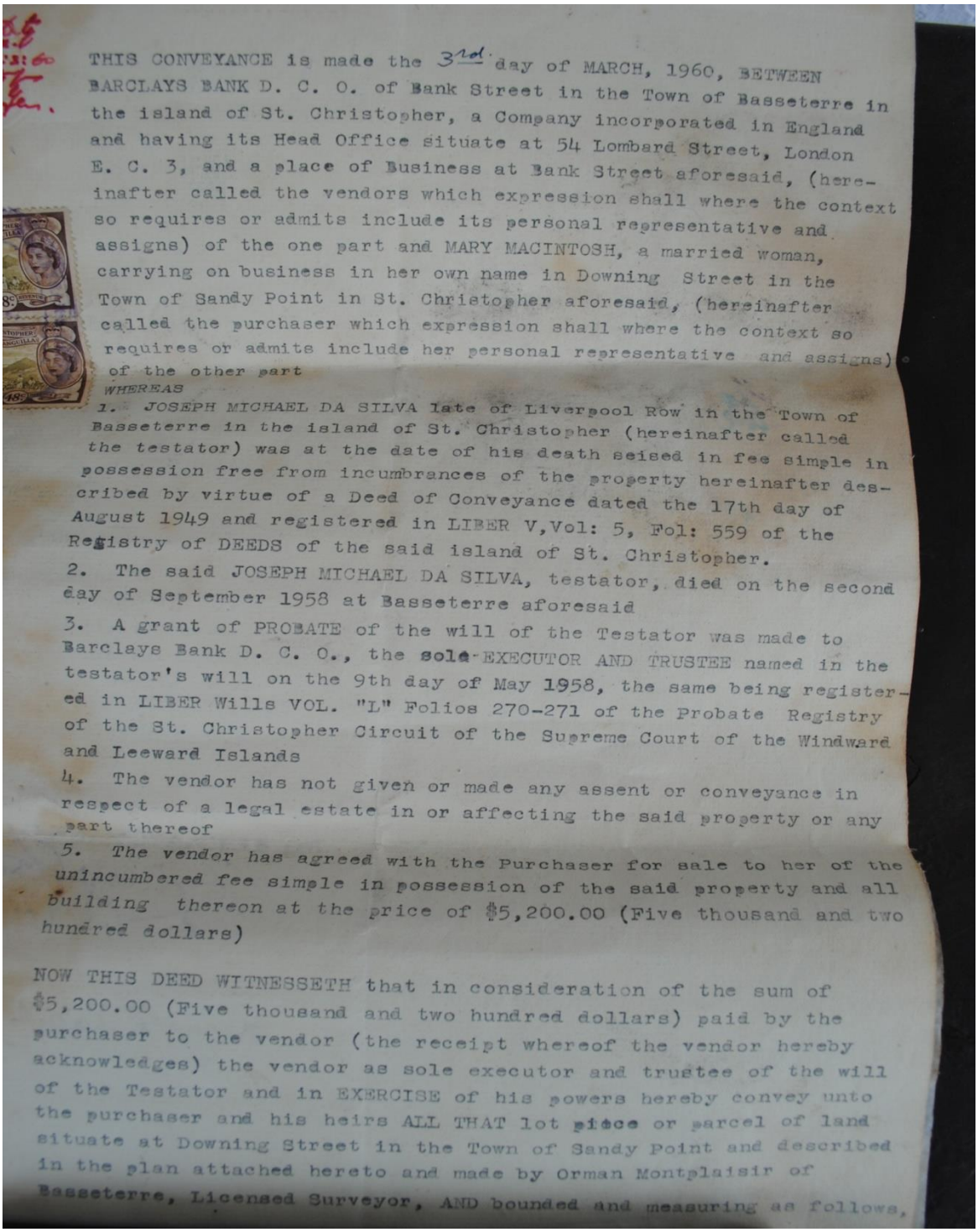
‘Patsy Mack’ allowed the author to explore the basement of the Manchester Building, now owned by his family, where according to oral folklore; members of the legislature parked their “buggies” (horse carriages) during meetings (See also personal communication with James Buchanan).

Figure 66 Basement of Manchester Building where anecdotal evidence indicates that members of the legislature parked their horse drawn carriages during meetings in the building. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 67 Basement of Manchester Building, Downing Street, Sandy Point. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

In 1960, in a sign perhaps of a slowly changing socio-economic landscape, ownership of this property had shifted from an affluent patriarchal coloured family to a black business woman named Mary McIntosh whose business was located on Downing Street.

As we shall also see in the following discussion of archival sources, the port town of Sandy Point was a focal point of social activism. Not only were the Manchester's active in this sphere but the McIntosh's appeared to have been as well, for in 1938 when the Jamaican born civil rights activist Marcus Garvey visited St. Kitts, he stayed at the home of 'Patsy Mack's' father in Crab Hill, Sandy Point (McIntosh 2014, Appendix B).



THIS CONVEYANCE is made the 31st day of MARCH, 1960, BETWEEN BARCLAYS BANK D. C. O. of Bank Street in the Town of Basseterre in the island of St. Christopher, a Company incorporated in England and having its Head Office situate at 54 Lombard Street, London E. C. 3, and a place of Business at Bank Street aforesaid, (hereinafter called the vendors which expression shall where the context so requires or admits include its personal representative and assigns) of the one part and MARY MACINTOSH, a married woman, carrying on business in her own name in Downing Street in the Town of Sandy Point in St. Christopher aforesaid, (hereinafter called the purchaser which expression shall where the context so requires or admits include her personal representative and assigns) of the other part

WHEREAS

1. JOSEPH MICHAEL DA SILVA late of Liverpool Row in the Town of Basseterre in the island of St. Christopher (hereinafter called the testator) was at the date of his death seised in fee simple in possession free from incumbrances of the property hereinafter described by virtue of a Deed of Conveyance dated the 17th day of August 1949 and registered in LIBER V, Vol: 5, Fol: 559 of the Registry of DEEDS of the said island of St. Christopher.

2. The said JOSEPH MICHAEL DA SILVA, testator, died on the second day of September 1958 at Basseterre aforesaid

3. A grant of PROBATE of the will of the Testator was made to Barclays Bank D. C. O., the sole-EXECUTOR AND TRUSTEE named in the testator's will on the 9th day of May 1958, the same being registered in LIBER Wills VOL. "L" Folios 270-271 of the Probate Registry of the St. Christopher Circuit of the Supreme Court of the Windward and Leeward Islands

4. The vendor has not given or made any assent or conveyance in respect of a legal estate in or affecting the said property or any part thereof

5. The vendor has agreed with the Purchaser for sale to her of the unincumbered fee simple in possession of the said property and all building thereon at the price of $5,200.00 (Five thousand and two hundred dollars)

NOW THIS DEED WITNESSETH that in consideration of the sum of $5,200.00 (Five thousand and two hundred dollars) paid by the purchaser to the vendor (the receipt whereof the vendor hereby acknowledges) the vendor as sole executor and trustee of the will of the Testator and in EXERCISE of his powers hereby convey unto the purchaser and his heirs ALL THAT lot piece or parcel of land situate at Downing Street in the Town of Sandy Point and described in the plan attached hereto and made by Orman Montplaisir of Basseterre, Licensed Surveyor, AND bounded and measuring as follows,

Figure 68 Deed of Sale of Manchester Building to Mary McIntosh. Courtesy Neville McIntosh

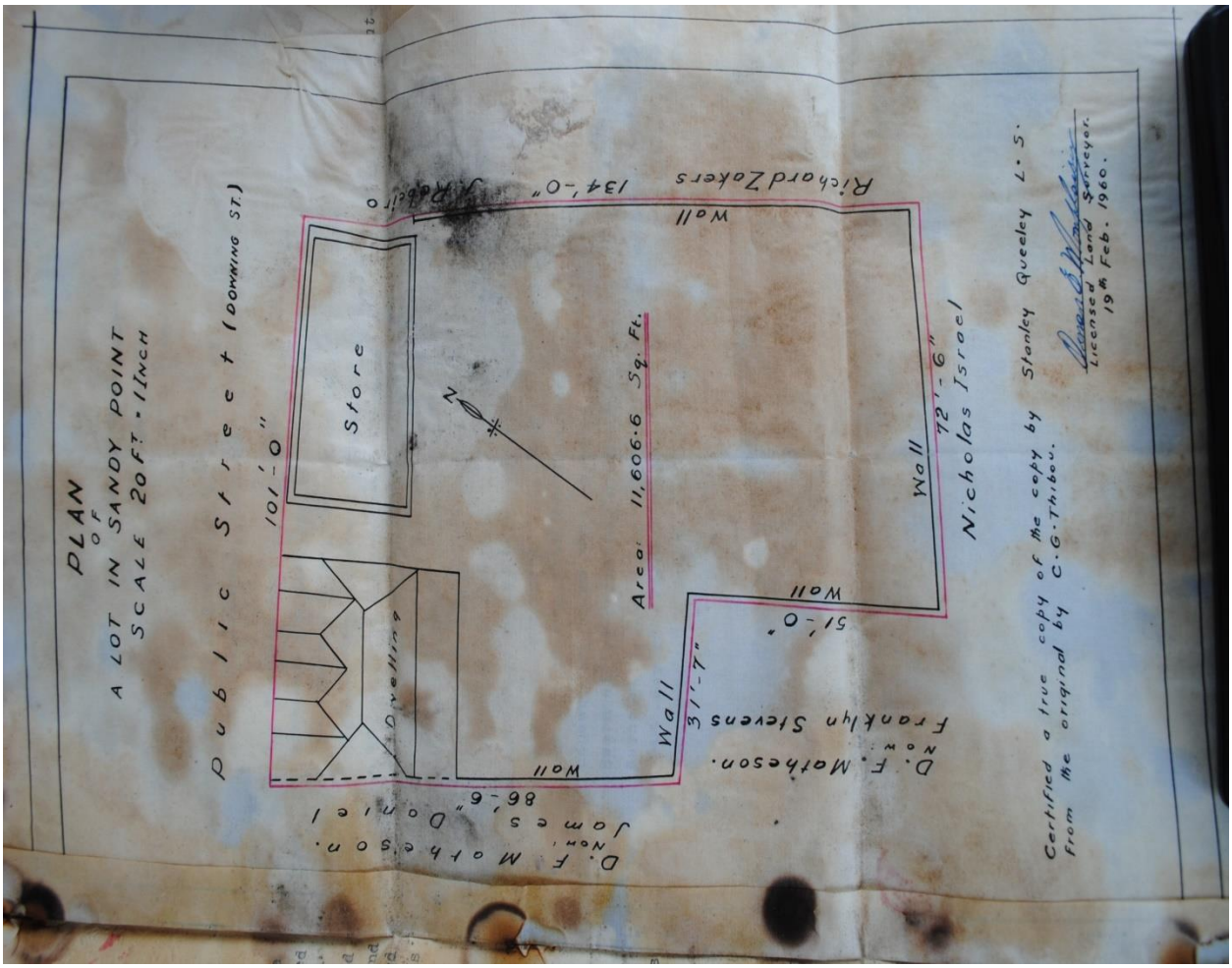



Figure 69 Deed of Sale of the Manchester Building to the Mary McIntosh. Courtesy Neville McIntosh

4.3.16 Archdeacon Valentine Hodge

Presently holding the position of Archdeacon in the Anglican Church, Hodge left his birthplace of Anguilla in 1968 to pursue formal studies in theology in Barbados and Jamaica. During his pastoral career he has resided in Antigua and St. Kitts (He is still presently stationed on the latter island). Archdeacon Hodge recalled that up to when he left Anguilla, two vessels, the Betsy R and Rose Millicent, were still sailing between Anguilla and Sandy Point to load flour at the latter to take back to Anguilla (Archdeacon Hodge 2015, Appendix B).

Archdeacon Hodge recalled hearing stories about the "Anguilla Pier" that allegedly was supposed to have been erected in Anguilla but was diverted to St. Kitts by Premier Robert Bradshaw (St. Kitts, Nevis and Anguilla were governed as one colony up to 1980[17]) to be placed at Pump Bay. The Archdeacon is unsure of whether there is any truth to these stories or whether

[17] Brian Dyde, Out of the Crowded Vagueness: A History of the Islands of St. Kitts, Nevis & Anguilla (Oxford: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2005). 267-278

they are just "folk legends". The name Anguilla Pier may have originated from the vessels that docked at Pump Bay so often to load flour bound for Anguilla (Archdeacon Hodge 2015, Appendix B).

It should be noted that no evidence has been found thus far to substantiate the claims about a pier being diverted from Anguilla to Pump Bay. Such an occurrence is unlikely simply because as a chief executive of a British dependency, Bradshaw could not just dispose with a pier donated by British aid, as he saw fit. It is also very unlikely, especially considering the tumultuous relationship between St. Kitts and Anguilla, which necessitated constant intervention by Britain (Dyde 2005, 267-78), that a pier meant for Anguilla ending up in St. Kitts instead would have escaped the notice of the British Government. The mere existence of the Anguilla Pier legend does highlight; however, the role Sandy Point played in the relationship between St. Kitts and Anguilla. As some of the previous oral interactions have shown, Sandy Point was the most familiar area of St. Kitts for many Anguillans.

4.3.17 Decolonising the historical and archaeological narrative

Many other Caribbean ports whose strategic value or location led to the creation of major military fortifications or naval facilities have become as well known as their related military or naval sites. Examples include Cuba's Old Havana and Santiago de Cuba, Puerto Rico's Old San Juan, Jamaica's Port Royal and Curaçao's Willemstad. Of course, most of these examples are fortified cities. The exception, Santiago de Cuba, while being located several miles from its related fortress is as world famous as the latter. Sandy Point, on the other hand is a relatively unknown entity, even within the Caribbean, despite being the reason for the existence of a much better known UNESCO World Heritage Site, the Brimstone Hill Fortress. Prior research has focused on the major fortifications in and around Sandy Point, with mere passing mention of the need to defend the Sandy Point Anchorage being behind their creation. Similarly, the official text of the World Heritage inscription of Brimstone Hill notes that with respect to protection and management of the site that excellent relationships have been forged with institutional stakeholders such as the Ministry of Tourism and Tourism Authority, the Hotel and Tourism Association, National Trust, Planning Authority, Police, Public Works Department and local tour operators. No mention is made of the wider community, especially the communities within close proximity to the site whose history and heritage are so closely linked to it.[18]

The present research seeks to decolonize previous historical and archaeological narratives that have focused only on the major military fortifications in the St. Ann and St. Thomas parishes which were built to defend the Sandy Point Anchorage. The oral research conducted shows that while Sandy Point gained prominence due to a strategic location and its value as a port supporting the sugar industry, its significance and value to Sandy Pointers and residents of neighbouring islands extended far beyond these factors. Make no mistake, the geopolitical factors behind Sandy Point's seventeenth to early nineteenth century strategic significance are indeed worthy of study and this dissertation does devote considerable time to them. Caribbean ports helped shape the Atlantic World System of trade, enslavement, migration and defence. These ports also contributed immensely to creating the vast wealth that European countries still

[18] https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/910 Accessed 27 Dec. 2019

enjoy today. Admittedly, these reasons alone make ports such as Sandy Point worthy subjects for historical and archaeological research.

However, the history of Sandy Point didn't end when the cannon fired their final rounds or the last garrison of troops was withdrawn. The port continued to influence the economy of St. Kitts and shape human relations among several islands of the northeastern Caribbean. As seen in Chapter Five's discussion on the Hansen Home, the port also influenced relations between Kittitians in mainstream society and those marginalized by disease. Anderson's ethnographic research on the Hansen Home illustrates the value of oral sources in uncovering how a community interprets and relates to a site (Anderson 2005). In the process of conducting his own research the author found that very few Sandy Pointers or Kittitians for that matter were familiar with the name Charles Fort. Most only knew the site as the Hansen Home or simply the "leper home". Clearly, the significance ascribed by many Sandy Pointers to the port's second largest fortress has very little to do with Charles Fort's military history.

In seeking to study the sites examined in this research not in isolation or even just in context of their relationship with each other but ultimately with the port town that led to their creation it was deemed necessary to understand how Sandy Pointers and others related to and interacted with these sites so as to properly contextualize them. Oral histories go a long way in providing such context, especially if the community members involved are included in the research not just as participants but as collaborators. Such a collaborative approach, which was actively sought in this research, allows community members to influence research priorities (Gonzalez-Tennant 2014, 26-50).

Research conducted by consulting primary and secondary sources helps the archaeologist formulate research questions or tentative theories concerning the significance of sites to those who used them in the past. Archaeological fieldwork may either reinforce or challenge initial theories, in addition to potentially giving rise to additional research questions or theories. Only oral histories; however, can provide the additional data enabling other research methods to thoroughly address the question of the present significance of sites to the community. Oral history is therefore an indispensable tool in the archaeologist's toolkit, even though its full value is not universally acknowledged within the field. There are two common misconceptions that still hinder academic acceptance of oral history. One is that historical data gathered from oral sources is not relevant beyond the individual lives of the subjects (Gonzalez-Tennant 2014, 26-50). The other misconception which one archaeologist observed among many laypersons while conducting research at Saddle Hill Fort on Nevis, is that "archaeology is solely concerned with excavation and artifact analysis" (Gonzalez-Tennant 2014, 26-50). This researcher's own experience has been that the academic and professional conceptions of archaeology need to be expanded as well. Some archaeologists still regard research that does not include excavation as not being "archaeological" in nature.

Oral histories then need to be an integral component of archaeological research seeking to understand the changing significance of a site or group of related sites over the *longue duree,* to past and present generations. In the same vein oral histories **and** the collaboration of the local community must be part of any archaeological research seeking to decolonize the historical and archaeological narrative. In other words the significance of sites not just to the powerful colonial or imperial entities that created them but to succeeding generations in the colonial periphery and their post-colonial descendants.

This research project has taken a distinctly postcolonial approach by acknowledging oral history as not just "an additional dataset" (Gonzalez-Tennant 2014, 26-50) but integral and indispensable to the historical archaeology of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage.

## 4.4 Archival Research

### 4.4.1 St. Christopher National Trust MUKTI Documentation Centre

The Documentation Centre at the St. Christopher National Trust was established through a grant from the MUKTI Fund. Established in 1983, the MUKTI Fund is a small private foundation which funded cultural heritage and environmental projects in the Eastern Caribbean. The MUKTI Documentation Centre, along with the other facilities of the St. Christopher National Trust, is located in one of Basseterre's most iconic landmarks, The Treasury Building, located on the Bay Road (The prominent "Treasury Arch", the architectural centerpiece of the building, was once the gateway into Basseterre both for people arriving in the port town and Kittitians departing the island from Basseterre. The building once housed government offices which conducted similar functions to the structures which stood on Pump Bay).

The collection of the Documentation Centre includes photographs of several areas of St. Kitts of historic interest from circa late nineteenth to mid twentieth century. Among these the author found photographs of Pump Bay and its port infrastructure (buildings, port structures such as piers, machinery etc) from the early to mid-twentieth century. These images supported information garnered from oral research and assisted in the interpretation of features encountered during underwater archaeological fieldwork.

### 4.4.2 St. Kitts National Archives

Located on the ground floor of Government Headquarters at Church Street, Basseterre, the St. Kitts National Archives, is like similar entities found in other countries, St. Kitts' official repository of documentary heritage, housing maps, official correspondence, wills, deeds and other documents relevant to family and corporate history, photographs etc. The Archives' collection of maps (some originals, others copies of maps found in European archives) dating from the seventeenth century has proven invaluable in analyzing the evolution of fortifications at and around Sandy Point, including discussion of the possible method of Fort Hamilton's erection and possible reasons for the fort's eventual submergence (See Chapter Two). Analysis of the Archives' map collection has also influenced this research's discussion of the origin of the name "Sandy Point" and development of the theory that Sandy Point as a town, as opposed to just a natural geographic feature, was in existence by the seventeenth century (Chapter Two, Pages). The Archives' copy of the Mc. Mahon Map, studied in conjunction with older maps, was an indispensable resource in developing the theory about the origin of the name of "Pump Bay", a site which was the centre of shipping and port activities at Sandy Port. The journal of John Newton, the former slave trader now famous for penning the hymn Amazing Grace," offers rare insight into slave trading operations at Sandy Point.

Copies of Council Minutes from the mid nineteenth century focus on the twilight years of Sandy Point's two preeminent fortifications, Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort, as active military installations. As the minutes reveal, matters occupying Council during this period were the withdrawal of the last active military garrison from St. Kitts, Britain's declaration of war against

Russia in the Crimea and discussion on converting Charles Fort into a lazaretto by dismantling, relocating and reassembling buildings from Brimstone Hill.

4.4.3 The National Archives (United Kingdom)

Located in the district of Kew, part of the borough of Richmond in the city of London, The National Archives, is one of the world's largest such institutions. The National Archives was created in 2003 with the merger of the Public Records Office (The Public Records Office or PRO previously served as the UK's national archives) and the Historic Manuscripts Commission. The size and scope of this institution's collection should not be surprising, considering the fact that at its zenith the British Empire encompassed most of the Caribbean and North America, along with much of Africa, Asia and the Pacific. As noted in the preceding chapter, much of the documentary heritage of former British West Indian colonies such as St. Kitts resides in the metropole and due to the Archives' function; a significant amount of this heritage is deposited within the walls of that institution.

The location of so many important historical documents, related to St. Kitts, at Kew, has been both a challenge and a blessing, a challenge in the sense that very often in depth historical and archaeological research requires travel to the UK. The blessing, on the other hand, has been that several fires have ravaged archives in the Caribbean, and much valuable and rare, documentary heritage would have been irretrievably lost if copies had not also been archived at Kew (Unfortunately, there have also been extremely rare documents which are gone forever because the only copies were located in the Caribbean).

Documents accessed at Kew relevant to this research span the eighteenth to twentieth century, covering most of the period this research focuses on (See the preceding chapter's discussion on Theory and Methodology). One fascinating group of eighteenth century documents relates to allegations made by a merchant on St. Kitts implicating the senior Customs official in Sandy Point in the smuggling of contraband. While most of the allegations were never proven, the documents provide valuable evidence of Sandy Point's Atlantic World trade connections.

Many of the other eighteenth century documents are St. Kitts Council Minutes in which concern over the combat readiness of the fortifications on the island dominate the proceedings. The fortifications at Sandy Point and Basseterre in particular come under scrutiny as obviously they defended two of the most important ports in the Caribbean. The discussions recorded in the Minutes take place within the context of the ever present threat of a French attack or invasion. In fact, by the late 1770's, just a few years before the Great Siege of St. Kitts in 1782, it appears to have been generally accepted that a French offensive against St. Kitts was an inevitability. Preparations being made for this eventuality gave the highest priority to reinforcing the defences of Sandy Point. The role of the town of Sandy Point in housing many of the troops garrisoned on the island during the pre-Siege military buildup is also highlighted in these documents.

Early twentieth century communication between London, Antigua (where the Governor of the Leeward Islands Colonies was based) and Government House in St. Kitts shows that while Sandy Point had by this time lost its strategic importance to Britain and her rivals, the port continued to play an important role in Atlantic World trade. This correspondence focused on concern over storm damage to the pier at Pump Bay. The island exported most of its molasses through the port of Sandy Point and commercial interests as far away as Nova Scotia, Canada

were exerting pressure on colonial authorities to pay the greatest urgency to conducting repairs to the jetty.

By the mid twentieth century and the onset of the Cold War between the United States, Great Britain and their allies on one side and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and their allies on the other, Sandy Point had again, albeit briefly, acquired strategic importance. An extensive chain of classified communication occurred between Washington DC, London and Government House in St. Kitts on plans for a proposed top secret submarine tracking base to be sited at Belle Tete. Only declassified in 1987 (when most of the protagonists involved would already be deceased), the correspondence relating to the proposed facility now occupies a five inch thick file at Kew.

While most of the documents in the file are official communiqués transmitted by telegraph or delivered by hand, there is also an aerial photograph of Belle Tete and a plan of the proposed base. Ultimately the proposal for erecting the base on St. Kitts was defeated by opposition from local authorities, despite the fact that the true purpose for the base had never been divulged to them (They were told that its function was to assist post hurricane search and rescue operations). The documents in this now declassified file highlight how a site or area's strategic importance can ebb or flow in response to shifting geopolitical priorities.

4.4.4 Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde or KITLV)

KITLV houses library and special collections related to former and present Dutch colonies in Southeast Asia and the Caribbean. While an independent entity from Leiden University, the Institute enjoys a close relationship with the university. KITLV's collections are housed next to Leiden University's old Faculty of Archaeology building.

Primary source material related to the leper colony in Suriname during the second decade of the twentieth century and secondary source material covering the Culion Leper Colony in the Philippines during the same period facilitated comparative research on the treatment of lepers at the Hansen Home in Sandy Point and at other leprosariums within and outside of the Caribbean.

4.4.5 Biblioteque Nationale de France (BnF)

The Biblioteque Nationale de France is the national repository for all works published in France. The BnF is the French equivalent of institutions such as the UK's National Archives at Kew and the U.S. Library of Congress. After the discovery of the LB Wreck Site at Belle Tete (Pages 80-82), the collection of the BnF was accessed for information related to the French munitions ship that ran aground and sank off Sandy Point during the 1782 Siege. The author is extremely grateful to his friend and colleague Bruno Gardien, a French national resident on St. Kitts and a member of STIMACUR, who volunteered his time (and French language skills of course) to investigate primary source documents in the BnF's collection from the period of the Siege.

The JOURNAL ENCYCLOPEDIQUE, VOLUME 3, PART 3 - MAI 1782 et aussi JOURNAL POLITIQUE, OU GAZETTE DES GAZETTES – Annee 1782 – Avril, Seconde Quinzaine (ENCYCLOPEDIC JOURNAL VOLUME 3 PART 3 - May 1782 and also POLITICAL JOURNAL, OR GAZETTE OF THE GAZETTES - Year 1782 - April, Second Fortnight) contains a summary of French naval and military operations in St. Kitts during 1782.

All other sources previously referenced for information on the Siege were Anglophone ones.[19] Access to Francophone primary source material on the Siege served to corroborate twentieth century English language accounts of the impact of the sinking of *Lion Britannique* on French operations and to strengthen the theory that the LB Wreck Site may indeed be the remains of *Lion Britannique.*

The BnF's online catalogue was also accessed by the author during investigations which concluded that while the exact date of the founding of the port town of Sandy Point remains uncertain, one can at least be certain that the town was in existence by at least the 1660's (Chapter Two).

4.4.6 George A. Smathers Libraries, Department of Special Collections, University of Florida, Gainesville

The University of Florida Libraries, Gainesville, contain the West Indies Papers covering the period 1771-1829. Among these papers are several letters and documents signed by Governors William Burt and Thomas Shirley of the Leeward Islands between 1779 and 1825 relating to, among other matters, the defences and fortifications of the Leeward Islands.

As noted in the discussion above on the UK National Archives' Collections, this was a period in which a French attack on St. Kitts and perhaps other British colonies in the Leewards was highly anticipated. As was discussed in Chapter Two and shall be discussed further in Chapter Six, there was great concern about the state of fortifications and other defences on St. Kitts, especially the island's chief fortifications which defended the port and anchorage at Sandy Point. The Leeward Islands' Governors correspondence is rather revealing as to how senior colonial officials at the Leeward Islands Colonies' headquarters in Antigua viewed these defences on St. Kitts in comparison to those of Nevis, Montserrat and the fortifications charged with defending the important British naval base at Nelson's Dockyard in Antigua.

[19] See Kathleen D. Manchester, 1971. *Historic Heritage of St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla*. Anguilla: Syncreators. 35; D.L. Matheson, 1987. *The Brimstone Hill Fortress*. Basseterre: The Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society. 18; Victor Smith, 1992. *Fire and Brimstone: The Story of the Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies. 1690-1853*. Basseterre: The Creole Graphic Publishing Company. 22

# Chapter Five: Analysis and Interpretation of Results of Archaeological Research

## 5.1 Terrestrial Archaeology

### 5.1.1 Downing Street

As discussed in Chapter Four, archaeological fieldwork on Downing Street, which was once the town centre of Sandy Point, focused on the remains of cellars that would have served as storehouses for goods. One of the two ruined structures surveyed, the Downing Street Brick Structure, was constructed from a red brick that originates from clay not typically found on St. Kitts. This material would therefore have been imported and would very likely have arrived on the island as ship's ballast.

The purpose of ballast was to ensure even weight distribution in sailing ships, especially when their cargo holds were not full, this was crucial to enabling the vessels to remain upright. When the ship got to a port where it was able to fill its hold the ballast was discarded. It was largely because ballast had to be discarded when sufficient cargo was procured to fill the hold that by the early nineteenth century bricks succeeded stones as the material of choice. Unlike stones, the bricks could be sold; therefore serving a dual purpose for the ship's master, ballast to keep the vessel stable and a valuable cargo bringing additional profit. Discarding of ballast was also a less than ideal solution because of the potential for this practice to create navigational hazards. In fact, between 1722 to 1723, a law was passed in St. Kitts prohibiting "…the casting or unloading any Ballast or Rubbish in the Havens, Roads, or Creeks of this Island (St. Kitts National Archives, Laws of the Island of St. Christopher, 1711 to 1791)." Another significant factor influencing brick becoming the preferred ballast material over stone, was that brick, due to its even and angular shape, was much less prone to shifting in heavy seas (Converse 2011, 40).

As noted in the previous chapter, the Manchester Building and the Downing Street Brick Structure were constructed largely or completely of imported red clay brick. The predominant use of this masonry material in the construction of more than one building on the same street, including the significantly sized Manchester Building, is indicative of the volume of maritime trade at the port of Sandy Point. Bear in mind that these buildings would have been constructed in an age before rail or automotive transportation and transporting brick over great distances would have been difficult (Zimmerman 2013, 40). Therefore, it is unusual to find significant quantities of imported masonry or ballast material far from the port where they would have been imported.

As part of the analysis of the Downing Street Brick Structure, a study was conducted using XRF or X-ray fluorescence analysis (For information on the laboratory where the analysis was carried out and a description of the equipment used, see Chapter Four) to compare the elemental characteristics of the brick from the structure with the characteristics of the local soil. Figure 7ty shows an XRF-derived bar chart of brick and soil specimens from the Downing Street Brick Structure, along with marine sediment from the beach at Pump Bay. The chemistry of the brick differs quantitatively from that of the soil with respect to lead (Pb), zinc (Zn) and potassium (K). The brick contains arsenic (As) and thorium (Th), but the soil samples do not. The soil, however, contains tin (Sn) and the sediment, mercury (Hg), but the brick has neither. These data

suggest that the brick was formed of clay or soil that was not of local origin; in other words, imported from elsewhere. The chlorine (Cl) levels for the brick and marine sediment are high, indicating exposure to seawater. With respect to the brick, the high C1 level is consistent with it having been carried in the bilge of a ship. The soil contains no Cl.

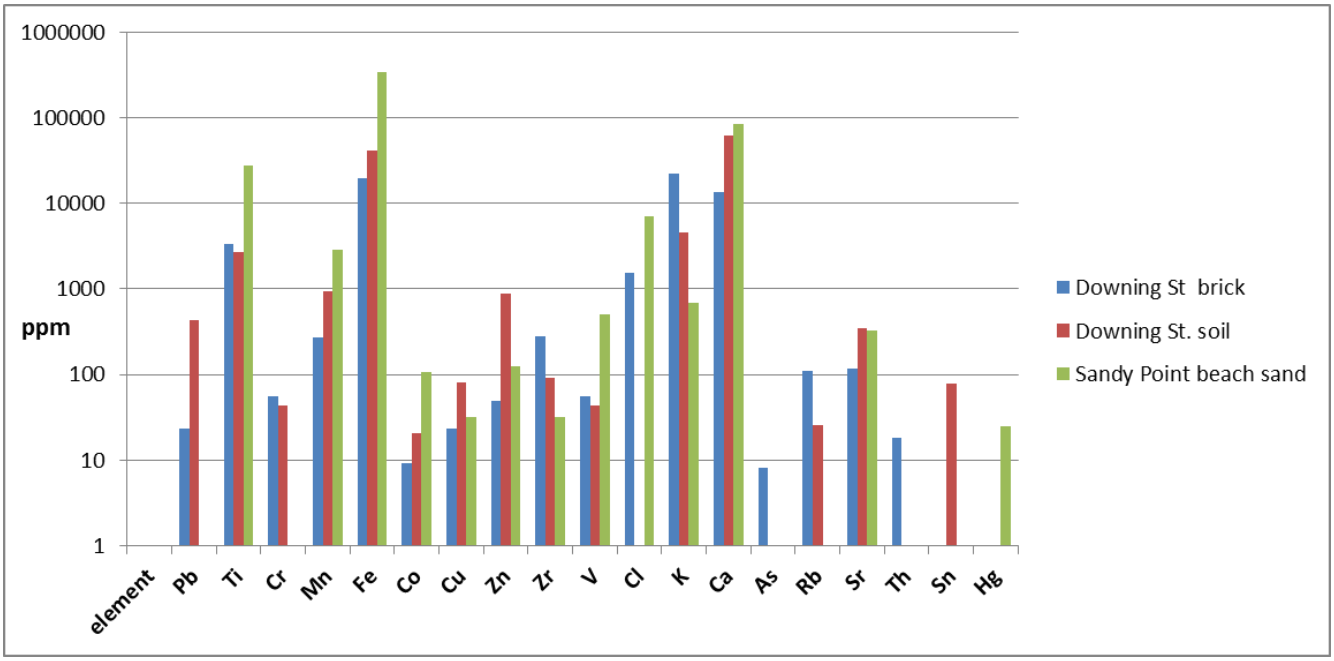



Figure 70 Results of XRF chemical analysis of samples from Downing Street. Trace elements in the bricks suggest they were made from clay that was chemically distinct from local sand or soil

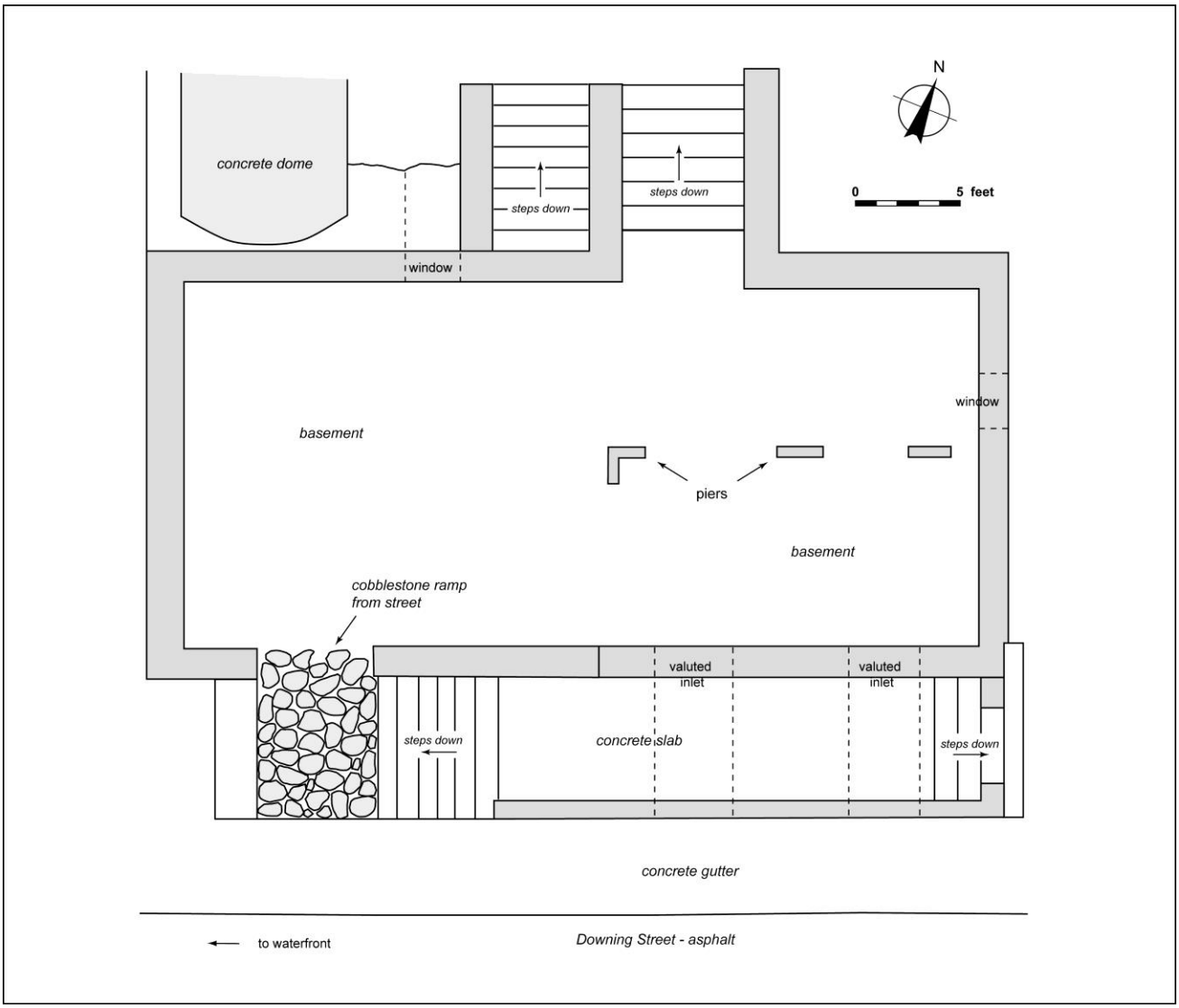



Figure 71 Plan of Downing Street Brick Structure

5.1.2 Charles Fort

This seventeenth century masonry fortress, which still exists largely in its original form, sits on a headland that makes up the southern end of the STIMACUR survey area. According to the Sandy Point Limits Ordinance (1951) the fort constituted the official southern boundary of the town of Sandy Point (UK National Archives CO 152/543/6). The outer walls of the fort were at the top of a bluff rising approximately thirty feet above sea level. Severe erosion has undercut the bluff in places undermining the wall. Many sections of the wall have become detached and have fallen onto the rocky shoreline below, some of these sections lie in significantly sizeable chunks (see Figures 72 and 73).

The excellent survey conducted by Gerald Schroedl's team from May to June 2000 comprehensively recorded archaeological and architectural features within Charles Fort for the purpose of advising the Government of St. Kitts and Nevis on the preservation of this important

historic site (Schroedl 2000). As prior to this dissertation no survey or audit had been undertaken of cultural material deposited on the shoreline due to the collapse of sections of the seaward facing defensive wall, it was decided to focus detailed field investigation and recording of Charles Fort on the seaward elevation. A less detailed but nonetheless exhaustive initial pedestrian survey was conducted of the landward defensive walls and interior.

The wall segments and several cannon on the beach were mapped and photographed to provide a record of current conditions. The map is intended to serve as a baseline for monitoring future damage and to help in assessing the potential for stabilizing the bluff. To map the debris, baselines were established on the strand, approximately midway between the base of the bluff and the waterline, beginning at the north end of the bluff and continuing beyond the south end of the fort. The curvature of the shoreline required turns in the baseline. Each new datum and angle was measured. Nine baselines were used in total. The positions of the baseline endpoints, or datum points, were recorded with GPS, and the angle of each line was recorded with a sighting compass. The locations of features were recorded relative to the baselines with 90 degree offsets. Measurements were made to the centre of small features, to the ends of larger items (Figure 74).

All of the large wall segments were mapped. Small fragments and individual stones were not included on the map in the interest of time. The location and dimensions of each feature were drawn in plan view. The walls consisted of rounded volcanic cobbles secured with a sand and lime mortar (Figure 75). Exterior or outer wall segments were recognized by cut or dressed stone faces or mortar parging (Figure 76); interior sections consisted solely of rounded cobbles (Figure 77). The two types of wall section were noted on field maps, and representative wall sections were photographed. Three cannon that had fallen to the beach along with wall segments were documented in the same manner. The base of the bluff (the toe of the talus or scree) was mapped, as was the waterline; features lying more than a few meters beyond the waterline were not mapped due to safety concerns in light of rough surf and slippery surfaces.

STIMACUR was assisted in the mapping by students from Verchilds High School in St. Thomas Parish (led by Ms. Marcella Gill, then Head of the History and Social Studies Department) and the Charles E. Mills Secondary School in Sandy Point (led by Mr. Dwayne Weekes). The students displayed an almost immediate grasp of the mapping techniques and their drawings added significantly to the map of the beach (Figures Seventy Eight and Seventy Nine).

Wall debris was distributed unevenly along the length of the strand below the fort. Three main groups of debris were present. The first occurred beneath and south of the northwest bastion. The bluff was badly undercut in this area. A large tree had grown on the narrow ledge of ground between the wall and the bluff edge; its roots were exposed and it was not well supported (Figure 80). A cinderblock patch had been applied to a missing section of the wall to stabilize it. The wall fragments on the beach below were located in two areas, along with one of the cannons documented at the base of the bluff (Figure 81). The second group of wall fragments lay near the center of the fort's wall, below the location of the sally port. A rough alignment of natural stone just within the waterline may have been the remains of a small pier or wharf associated with the sally port above. Another cannon was located in this group (Figure 82). The third group lay at the south end of the fort below the southwest bastion. This was the most extensive group of fragments and it included the third cannon.

Figure 72  Large fragments of Charles Fort's outer wall litter sections of the beach.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 73  Wall fragments litter the beach below Charles Fort.  The bluff undercut by erosion, on which the fort stands, is clearly visible to the right.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

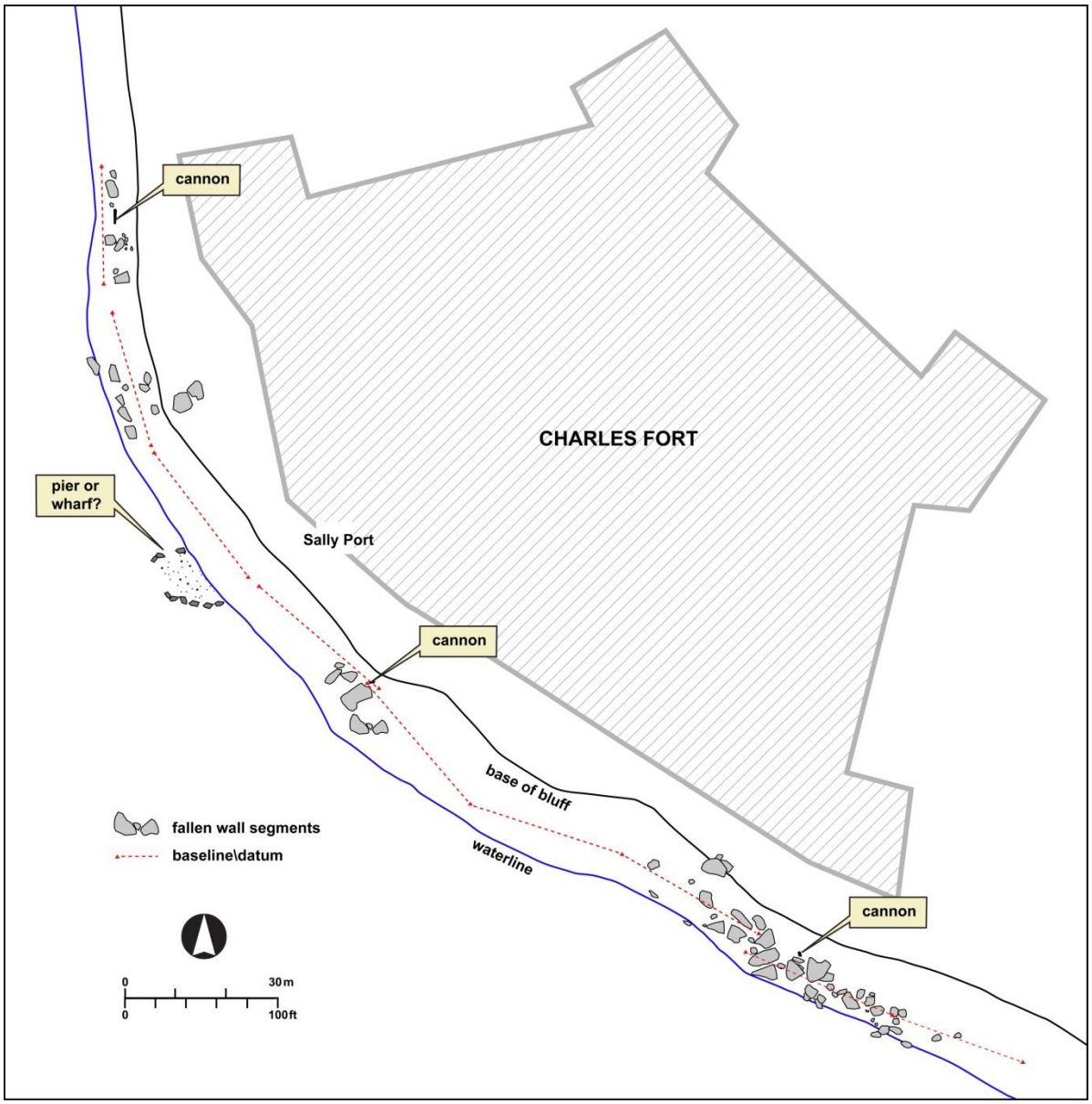



Figure 74 Plan of the survey on the Charles Fort beach, showing the waterline, base of the bluff, wall fragments and cannon on the beach, and the fort outline above

Figure 75  The walls of Charles Fort were constructed with volcanic stone set in sand and lime mortar

Figure 76  Dressed fragments from the exterior wall at the northwest bastion.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 77  Fragments from the interior wall.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 78  Students from Verchilds High School (dark blue tee shirts) assisting the author (background in green tee shirt) and STIMACUR team in mapping the shoreline along Charles Fort.  Photo courtesy François van der Hoeven, STIMACUR

Figure 79  Students from Charles E. Mills Secondary School assisting in mapping the Charles Fort shoreline.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 80  Damage caused by erosion and invasive vegetation to the North West Bastion of Charles Fort.  Inset (top left) shows detail of tree which has displaced masonry at the North West Bastion.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 81  Fully exposed cannon at the north end of the beach below the North West Bastion. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 82  Recording a partially buried cannon below the sally port.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Samples of stone from the wall sections at the shoreline in front of Charles Fort were collected and analyzed for elemental chemistry using X-ray Fluorescence (XRF). Three samples were taken that could be distinguished by color. They were Black, Red and Grey. These were small samples, but they had sufficient surface area for several readings to be made on each.

Figure 83 From left to right, Black, Red and Grey samples from the Charles Fort wall

The results indicate that the volcanic black stone is predominantly composed of Silicon (Si), Aluminum (Al), iron (Fe) and Calcium (Ca). Other elements are represented below 1000ppm. The chloride signal is high because of salt water exposure on the beach. The red stone has high levels of Si, Al, Ca and Fe, its chemistry is identical to the black stone. The grey stone differs from the black and red stones because of the presence of Sulfur (S), Potassium (K), Titanium (Ti) and Manganese (Mn) at levels higher than 1,000 ppm. The other common elements, namely Si, Al Fe and Ca are represented in this sample in amounts comparable to the black and red stones. Minor ingredients are not different.

From these chemical data, we conclude that each of these stones is of volcanic origin and is local to the island. The grey stone may differ from the other two because of the presence of cementing material that was most likely derived from pulverized and burned limestone. A cementing paste would have been applied between, beneath and on top of each stone during construction of the wall in order to adhere them in place. The paste would be rich in S, K, Ti and Mn, most likely from marine sediment bound to the calcium carbonate ($CaCO_3$) of the coral skeleton that constitutes the limestone.

The survey of the shoreline along Charles Fort commenced in 2012 and concluded in 2015. Of the terrestrial sites selected for fieldwork investigation as part of the archaeological survey of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage: the Downing Street Brick Structure; Downing Street Stone Structure; Pump Estate Molasses Storage Structure; Charles Fort, only the latter took more than one survey season to complete.

Surveying the Charles Fort shoreline consumed four entire survey seasons. Of course, if this were the only site being studied, the shoreline survey of Charles Fort would have been completed sooner. However, the fact that such an investment in time was required for this site, even with the involvement of students during one survey season (2013), is a dramatic illustration of the fortress' size. Chapter Two's discussion explores the strategic importance of this fortification to the English in the establishment of their fledgling empire in the Caribbean. Despite severe damage caused to sections of the coastal elevation by erosion, the fact that most of the fort still survives as initially constructed is remarkable. The debris field from collapsed wall sections is spread along the entire coastline fronting this 5.04 acre fort, yet most of the seaward wall remains intact and standing, testament to the sheer size of the fortress.

It must be borne in mind that when construction of Charles Fort as a comprehensively planned masonry coastal fortification began in 1670, many buildings in the English speaking Americas, whether defensive, religious, domestic, or trade related, were still being constructed of timber. Moreover, most of the masonry structures that were contemporary with Charles Fort either exist today only in ruined form, or even more tragically, have disappeared completely. Charles Fort is therefore one of the oldest surviving examples of an original early colonial period Caribbean fortification (Schroedl 2000. 53).

The archival and historical research conducted, as well as the current and previous archaeological investigations, has led this researcher to the conclusion that the survival of this extensive seventeenth century fortification in its original form is due to three major factors. The first is the unusual investment in time, material and labour (enslaved African labour of course) invested from the very beginning in Charles Fort's construction. The scale of the investment in these resources is also evidence of the amount of planning and thought that went into the erection of the fortress. This was no hastily constructed timber or masonry coastal defence.

When one spends slightly more than a decade constructing a military edifice on a remote sixty eight square mile outpost of a very young empire, the obvious intention is to make permanent a rather tenuous hold on a colonial possession where the enemy can, not only sail in from over the seas but also march across a land frontier located on the other end of Pump Bay. As the launch pad for what would become the British West Indian Empire, the need to secure St. Kitts as a permanent possession was paramount. This strategic need is tangibly represented by the scale and, for such an early fort, sophistication of Charles Fort's construction. Built heritage is often a tangible manifestation of a nation's or a people's ambitions. Due to their role in defence and as highly visible symbols of military might, meant to impress both subject people and potential

adversaries, fortifications provide one of the best texts for the archaeologist attempting to read such ambitions.

The second factor contributing to the survival of Charles Fort in its original form is the fact that even though the threat inevitably evolved from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century with changes in naval technology, it was not considered necessary to make any drastic modifications or improvements to the design of the fortress. Records indicate that while structures were built, repaired and replaced on the grounds of Charles Fort during its life as an active military site, no major changes were made to the fort itself. The only recorded recommendation encountered thus far for alteration to the structure was for two additional "Embrasures to be struck out in the walls of the Northwest Battery to command the Road (Referring to roadstead) of Sandy Point (UK National Archives CO241/17)." Even this did not call for any significant change in the design and layout of the fortification; but rather, structural modifications to one of the bastions so as to accommodate additional firing positions for artillery.

Schroedl's field survey exposed evidence of other similar interventions at all of the fortress' defensive positions. Comparison of gun positions shown on the 1723 map of Charles Fort (Figure 8y Four) with those that presently exist at the site reveal that all four bastions (North East Bastion, South East Bastion, South West Bastion, North West Bastion) had embrasures added and/or filled in at various points during the fortress' history (Schroedl 2000, 49). There is also evidence of other modifications to defensive walls, such as thickening and buttressing (Schroedl 2000, 49-50). Yet as discussed in Chapter Two, unlike its contemporaries, no alterations were made to the general plan or layout of the fort. Even when new firing positions were created they were incorporated into existing bastions at Charles Fort, rather than erecting new bastions (see Figures 84 and 85).

Both factors were reinforced by the increasing favour with which colonial authorities, during the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, would come to view fortifications erected atop Brimstone Hill, a more secure inland location from both naval and landward attack. Investment in new fortification design technology, especially after the Great Siege of 1782, was focused on Brimstone Hill (Smith 1995, 77-106). A major reason for the increased emphasis on Brimstone Hill from the eighteenth century was due to advances in artillery technology that increasingly enabled maritime sites to be covered from greater distances away (Smith 2012, 79-86). By the 1830's, two decades before both Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill ceased being active military sites (Smith 1994, 73-109), the latter had evolved into a completely different creature, unlike her slightly older sister fortress (Figures 86 and 87). Yet, despite the increasing importance of Brimstone Hill, which would eventually surpass Charles Fort as the flagship defensive position for the Sandy Point Anchorage, the latter never fell out of favour but remained an important fortification up to the end of its military life in the mid nineteenth century, further ensuring survival in its original form (ibid).

Brimstone Hill and most other major fortifications in the English, Spanish and French Americas exhibited a pattern of evolutionary, and occasionally revolutionary, changes in design and layout in response to the advances in land based artillery as well as the naval technology of potential adversaries (Sanz 2006, 53). This pattern of design and redesign of coastal defences in response to new naval technology was not limited to fortifications in the Americas and in some instances manifested itself well into the twentieth century. For example, the coastal defences erected on the British Isles due to the fear of German invasion during the First World War (Smith 2016, 63-106). Charles Fort being an exception with its layout and design remaining largely unchanged during the site's occupation as a military installation was perhaps due to a combination of the factors discussed above: an unusually thorough design from inception, for its period, and the commencement, within a decade or two after Charles Fort's completion, of the erection of complementary fortifications for defending Sandy Point and its anchorage atop the more secure location at Brimstone Hill.

Adaptive reuse of the site as a leprosarium from the late nineteenth to late twentieth century is the third major factor further ensuring Charles Fort's continuing survival with only relatively minor modifications to the site's original form. The mostly standing sections of curtain walls and bastions, as well as the fragments found on the shore below the coastal elevation, show evidence of very early stonemasonry with only a few sections of standing wall showing later stonemasonry as obvious episodes of repair work during the twentieth century occupation as a specialized health care facility (Figure 88).

During this latter stage of Charles Fort's occupation several buildings and other structures were constructed within the walls of what was now known as the Hansen Home for the purpose of housing the lepers and serving other functions: sanitary, recreational, administrative and security. Plan evidence reveals that the number of structures within the fort walls increased significantly during the century of adaptation as a leper asylum when compared to the previous two century period of military use (see Figures 84 and 89). Yet, as noted above, the overall form (layout) of the fortress remained virtually unchanged (Figure 89), while the fabric (material used in the majority of the fortification's construction) had seen only relatively minor changes. As a result of the three major factors discussed above, Sandy Point's largest coastal fort remains a rare virtual time capsule of seventeenth century early colonization British West Indian coastal fortification technology.

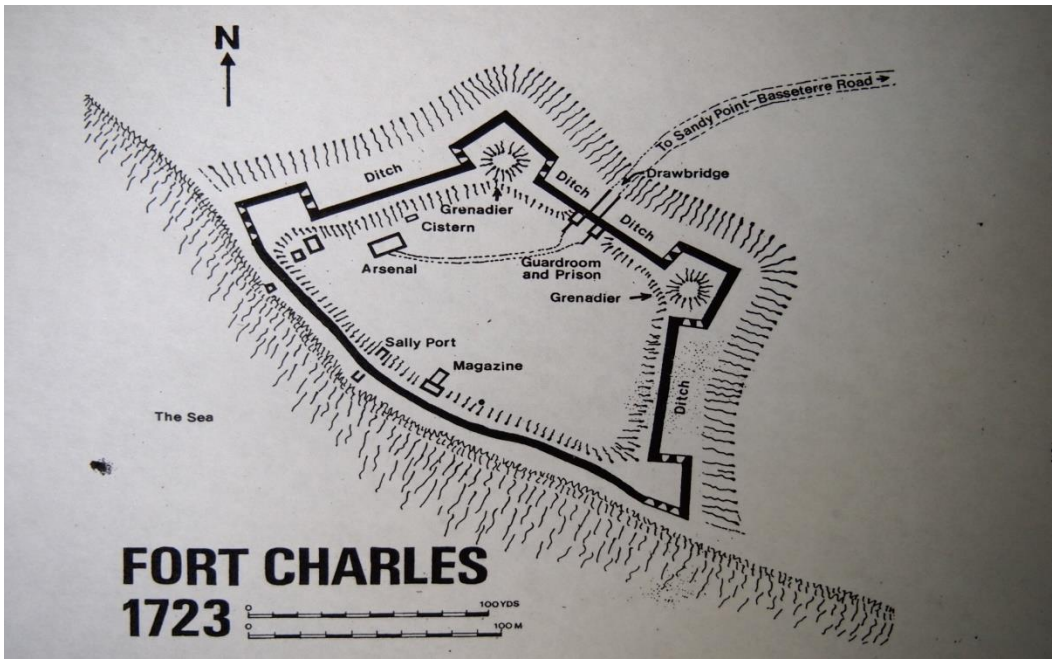



Figure 84 Earliest known plan of Charles Fort after V.T.C. Smith 1992. The number and position of gun embrasures portrayed on this plan shows some differences from those presently existing at the site. Based on an original in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch

Figure 85 Google Earth image of Charles Fort downloaded 29 September 2015. Despite the heavy vegetation, the outline of the fortress, including its bastions and connecting curtain walls can be easily discerned. The plan of the fortress has clearly remained unchanged since its early existence

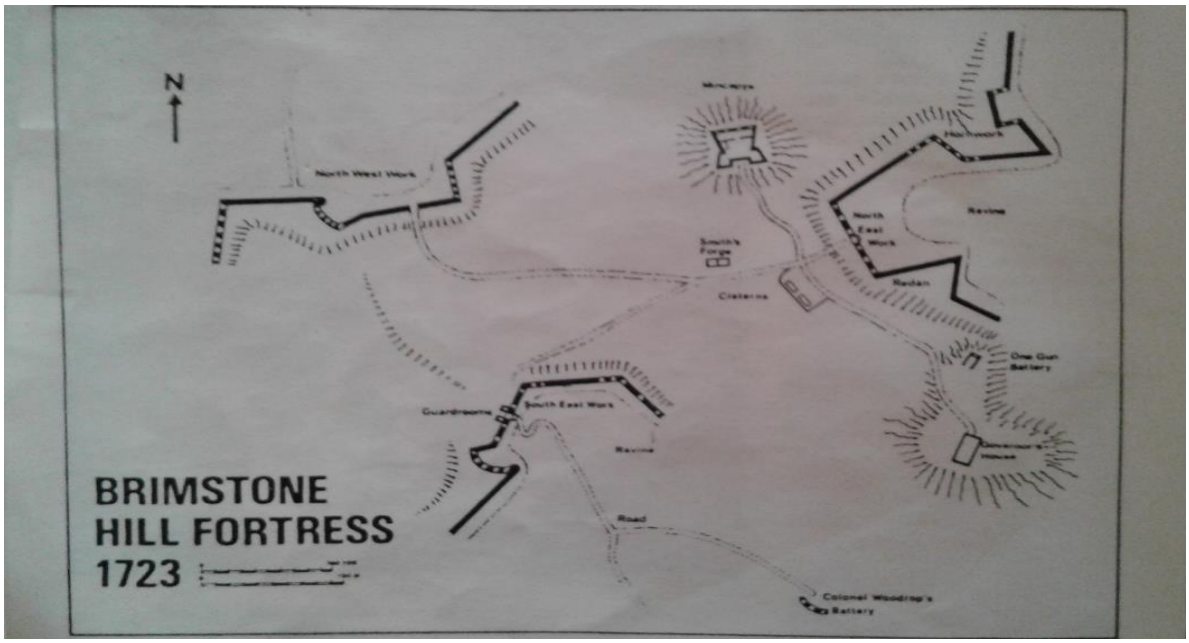



Figure 86 Plan of Brimstone Hill 1723, after V.T.C. Smith 1990. Based on an original in the Collection of the Duke of Buccleuch

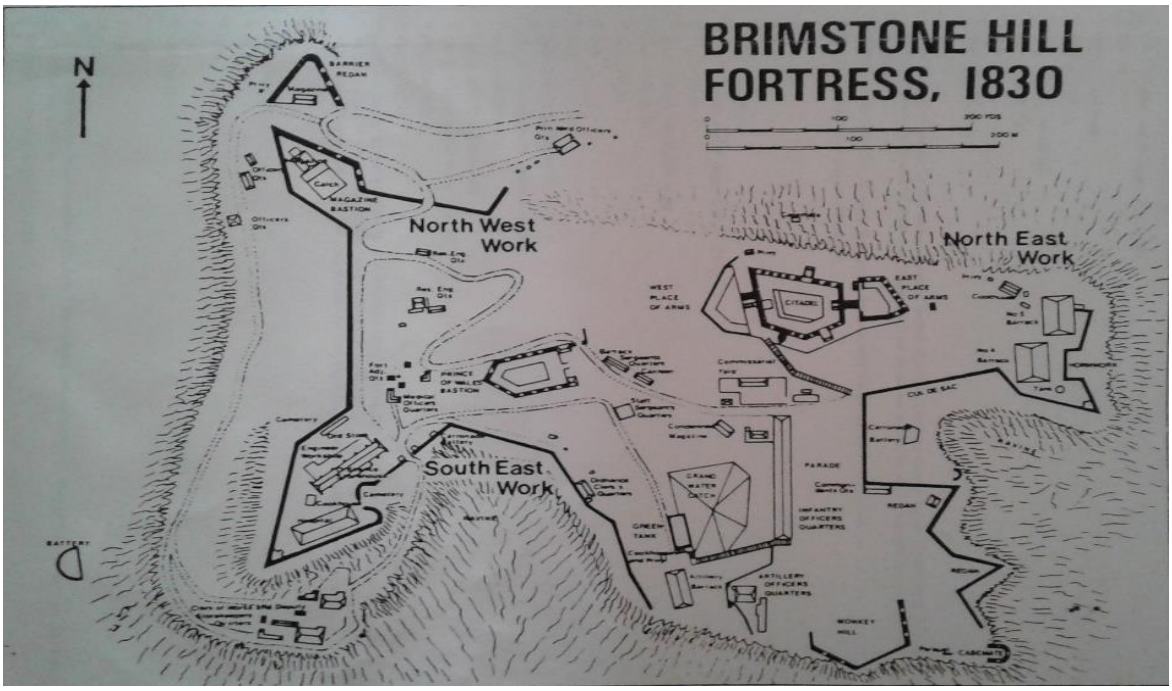



Figure 87 Plan of Brimstone Hill 1830, after V.T.C. Smith 1990. Note the contrast with Figure 86, the fortress has evolved into a comprehensively planned citadel fortification with curtain walls connecting various defensive positions. Based on various plan evidence

Figure 88  Detail of damage to North West Bastion.  Intervention to repair damage caused is evident in the form of poured concrete wall seen above to the right of prior stonework.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 89 Plan of Charles Fort May-June 2000, courtesy Todd Ahlman. Structures within and outside of the fort's defensive walls are represented by dark blue rectangles. With very few exceptions, most of these structures were constructed during the twentieth century occupation of the site as the Hansen Home leper asylum

5.1.3 Pump Estate

The former Mercer estate occupied an area north of Sandy Point Town including the slope overlooking Pump Bay. A large rectangular structure was located on the former Mercer estate on the slope overlooking Pump Bay (Figures 90 to 94). Constructed of poured concrete, the main part of the structure measured 98 feet in length and 42 feet in width and was sectioned into eight bays (Figure 93). The exterior and interior walls measured 1 ft 4 in thick, and the interior measurement of each bay was 19 x 22 ft. The bays were 11 ft 6 in deep and had concrete floors. No openings were observed in side walls of the structure. The structure was open, although anchor bolts were present along the top of the exterior walls that presumably secured a superstructure of some sort that covered the bays. Attachments for ladders were also set at regular intervals on the top the walls (Figure 94). A small room-like structure lay at the northeast corner of the structure, and smaller bays were located at the south end along with room-like enclosures with doorways and stairs.

Northeast of structure, approximately 130 feet up the slope, were the remains of a windmill of typical masonry and stone construction measuring at least 30 feet in diameter at its base and several abandoned boilers made of riveted cast iron (Figure 95). Ceramic and glass sherds, along with other notable artifacts, were found on the surface in cultivated fields near the structures.

Figure 90 Molasses storage tank on the former Mercer estate hillside above Pump Bay. Arrows indicate the ends of the more than 90 foot long structure. Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 91  Molasses storage tank viewed from the south.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 92  Member of the survey team mapping the storage tank.  This photograph clearly shows the scale of the structure.  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

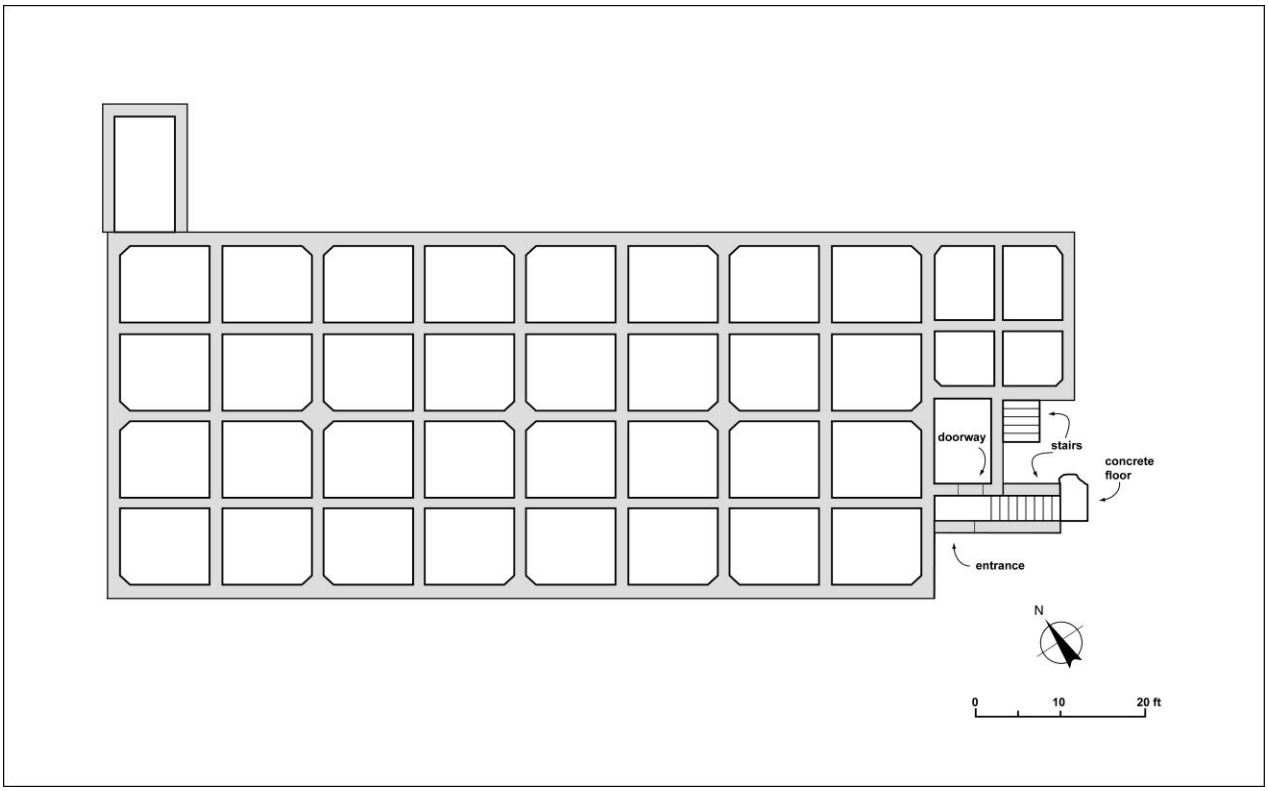



Figure 93  Plan of the molasses storage tank.

Figure 94  Detail of upper wall surfaces showing attachments for a superstructure (Left) and ladder (Right).  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 95  A boiler located south of the molasses tank on Pump Estate.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 96  Artifacts from the cultivated fields adjacent to the structure, including ceramic, glass and button.  An enlarged view of the tan sherd is shown in Figure 97.  Most artifacts date from the 19th and early 20th centuries.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 97  Decorated clay sherd form Pump Estate.  This pottery is root stained and hand inscribed, resembling enslaved African ceramic from an undetermined early period.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 98  Examples of ceramics from Pump Estate: European ware (Left) and domestically produced Afro-Caribbean ware (Right).  Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 99 Half of a roundshot (cannonball) found at the base of one of the walls of the molasses storage tank. This piece of ordnance was split in two apparently from impact after being fired. It has not been possible thus far to determine if it had been fired from a shore position, from a hostile vessel towards shore, or its origin (i.e. English or French). Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

We know from ethnographic sources that the sizable concrete structure at Pump Estate was used for storing molasses, which was pumped onto ships docked at Pump Bay via a metal pipeline running from the estate to the shore. Cartographic evidence also confirms that Captain Mercer had equipment for pumping molasses to Pump Bay from storage facilities on Pump Estate from at least the early nineteenth century (Chapter Four).

It has not been possible so far to determine the exact period of construction of the presently existing remains of the molasses storage structure; however, it is almost certain that this was not the original structure erected on the Mercer Estate for said purpose. While the first modern patent for poured concrete was issued in the early nineteenth century[20] (The technology is actually believed to date to the Roman Empire[21]), it did not see widespread usage in the

[20] A. J. Francis, The Cement Industry 1796-1914: a History (Devon: David & Charles, 1977).

[21] Thomas Nelson Winter, Roman concrete: the ascent, summit and decline of an art (Transactions of the Nebraska Academy of Sciences and Affiliated Societies, Nebraska Academy of Sciences, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska-Lincoln, January 1979 ).

Caribbean until the 1940's (Gill 2013; Schroedl 2000, 2-4). Therefore, the remains of the storage tanks at Pump Estate represent the last iteration of the facility and were likely constructed during the middle of the twentieth century.

Members of the survey team have noted that they have not to date encountered similar structures at other harbour or anchorage sites that they have investigated (Knepper 2012, Appendix B). As most of the sugar estates in the north of St. Kitts, from Sandy Point up to the Atlantic coast, exported molasses through Pump Bay, the unique (at least for this region and period) molasses storage, pumping and pipeline conveyance facility at Pump Bay would have been an extremely important one to the island's sugar industry, at this time the backbone of the economy. Such a facility would only have enhanced the importance of the port of Sandy Point at a time when St. Kitts was so heavily dependent on the sugar industry, including the export of byproducts such as molasses.[22] The molasses storage tank at Pump Estate is an example of what maritime archaeologist David Nutley refers to as the "endless variety of engineering solutions" found at harbours or ports, necessitated by the requirement to create structures specifically designed to store and move specific types of cargo while they are awaiting shipment (Nutley 2008, 7-17).

The creation of these engineering solutions at a port such as Sandy Point increases the influence of the maritime realm on their landscape even more. After all, the prerogative taken by Captain Mercer to erect molasses storage and pumping facilities on his estate was for the sole purpose of capitalizing on the maritime trade in molasses that was so important both to Sandy Point and the island's sugar plantations. By the middle of the following century the "Pump of Capt. Mercer" would leave a lasting intangible and tangible legacy even after it ceased operation. The estate and the bay it overlooked, which was the focus of shipping activity at Sandy Point, would permanently take their name from Mercer's maritime oriented engineering solution to exporting molasses. Ironically, most Sandy Pointers are not even aware of the structures at Pump Estate or the origin of the names Pump Estate and Pump Bay, yet these names are firmly embedded in the intangible heritage of Sandy Point. From a tangible perspective, the enormous molasses storage structures and their pipelines which once literally connected land and sea are now part of the built heritage of the port of Sandy Point. As both Westerdahl and Stelten have noted, the maritime cultural landscape encompasses a range of elements, from place names to structures, yet regardless of whether intangible or tangible, none of these elements would exist if not for the maritime realm that either necessitated or influenced their creation (Stelten 2019; Westerdahl 1992).

The maritime cultural landscape at Sandy Point came into existence as a direct result of Sandy Point's connection to what Delgado describes as a maritime world system (Delgado 2006). The

[22] For further information on St. Kitts' dependence on the sugar industry up until well into the twentieth century see Victoria Borg O'Flaherty, Sugar in St. Kitts: Notes by Victoria Borg O'Flaherty (St. Kitts National Archives, Basseterre, 2016); The permanent museum exhibit prepared by Cameron Gill "The Bittersweet Legacy of Sugar City" at St. Kitts Agro-Tourism Demonstration Farm (Eco-Park), Sandy Point, St. Kitts may also be of interest.

maritime world system linked Sandy Point to markets for commodities exported; leading to the creation of structures intended to capitalize on lucrative exports. Up to the early nineteenth century the maritime world system of competing Atlantic powers also exposed Sandy Point to potential disruption of her lucrative sugar trade. Such clear and ever present threats led to the creation of an extensive system of fortifications that seem in turn to have influenced developments in coastal defence technology on the other side of the Atlantic, in the British Isles.

## 5.2 Underwater Archaeology

### 5.2.1 LB Site

The LB Shipwreck Site is located approximately 1,150 feet from shore north of the headland at Belle Tete. Remote sensing data indicated that the bottom in the area was compact, with widely distributed medium to large-sized boulders. Side-scan images also revealed evidence of wreckage in the form of cannon and the edge of a large mound of artillery munitions (Figure 100).

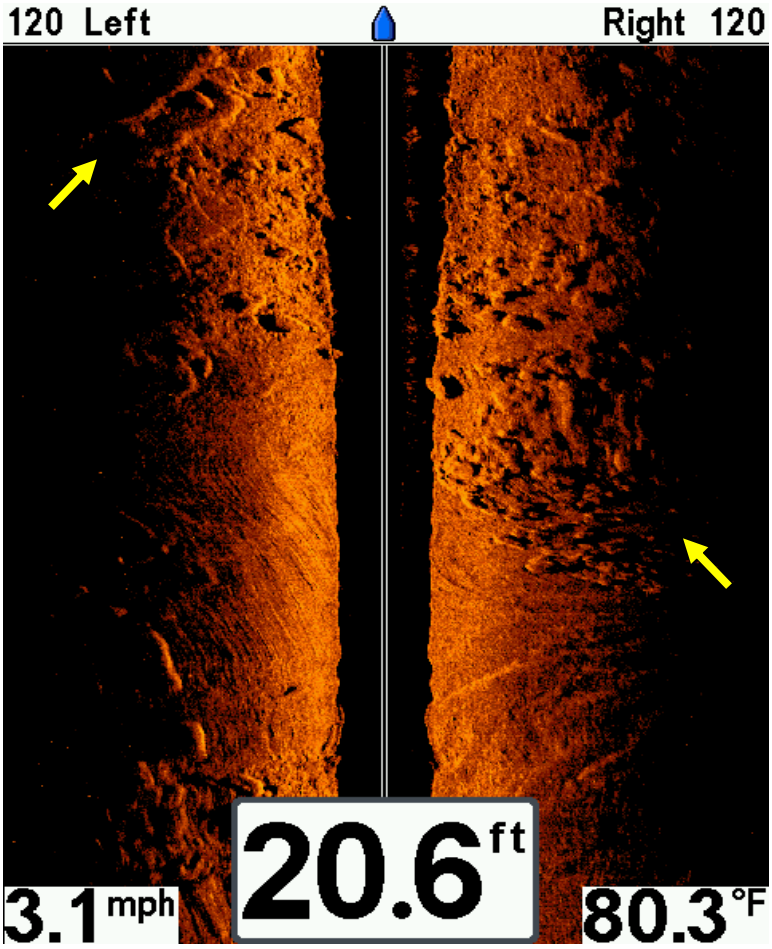



Figure 100 Side-scan image showing two cannon in the upper left and munitions pile in the right centre panel. Photo courtesy STIMACUR

The main feature at the site consisted of a mass of heavily concreted iron balls of various sizes. The mound was 70 feet long, 33 feet wide and rose 3-4 feet above the seabed (Figures 101-105). The number of balls and the range of sizes present suggested that they were a ship's cargo rather than ammunition from a warship. The sizes of the balls, which ranged from approximately 3-15 inches in diameter, suggested munitions representing small cannon balls to mortar rounds (Figure 105).

Also present were three cannon, two found alongside the munitions pile and one located approximately 30 feet to the north (Figures 101, 106 and 107). Marine growth and mineral encrustation masked any markings on the pieces that might indicate nationality or date. Dimensions are listed in Table 1.

**Table 1. Belle Tete Cannon Dimensions.**

| Cannon | overall length | muzzle diameter | breech diameter | trunnion diameter | trunnion to muzzle |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 10.8ft (3.3 m) | 1.9ft (0.60 m) | 1.24ft (0.38m) | 65.62ft (0.20 m) | 5.41ft (1.65 m) |
| B | 10.2ft (3.1 m) | 1.64ft (0.50 m) | 1.31ft (0.40 m) | 0.43ft (0.13 m) | 5.41ft (1.65 m) |
| C | 9.9ft (3.0 m) | 1.80ft (0.55 m) | 1.48ft (0.45 m) | 0.43ft (0.13 m) | 5.25ft (1.60 m) |

Other artifacts documented at the site included two examples of bar shot that were found near the main pile of munitions (Figure 108). The larger of the two measures 12 inches in length and 6 inches in diameter. Also found were a number of small metal hoops (Figure 109). The function of the hoops is unclear. As they were too thick and too small to have been barrel hoops and being the same size as the larger cannon balls they may have been related to securing the balls in the hold of the ship.

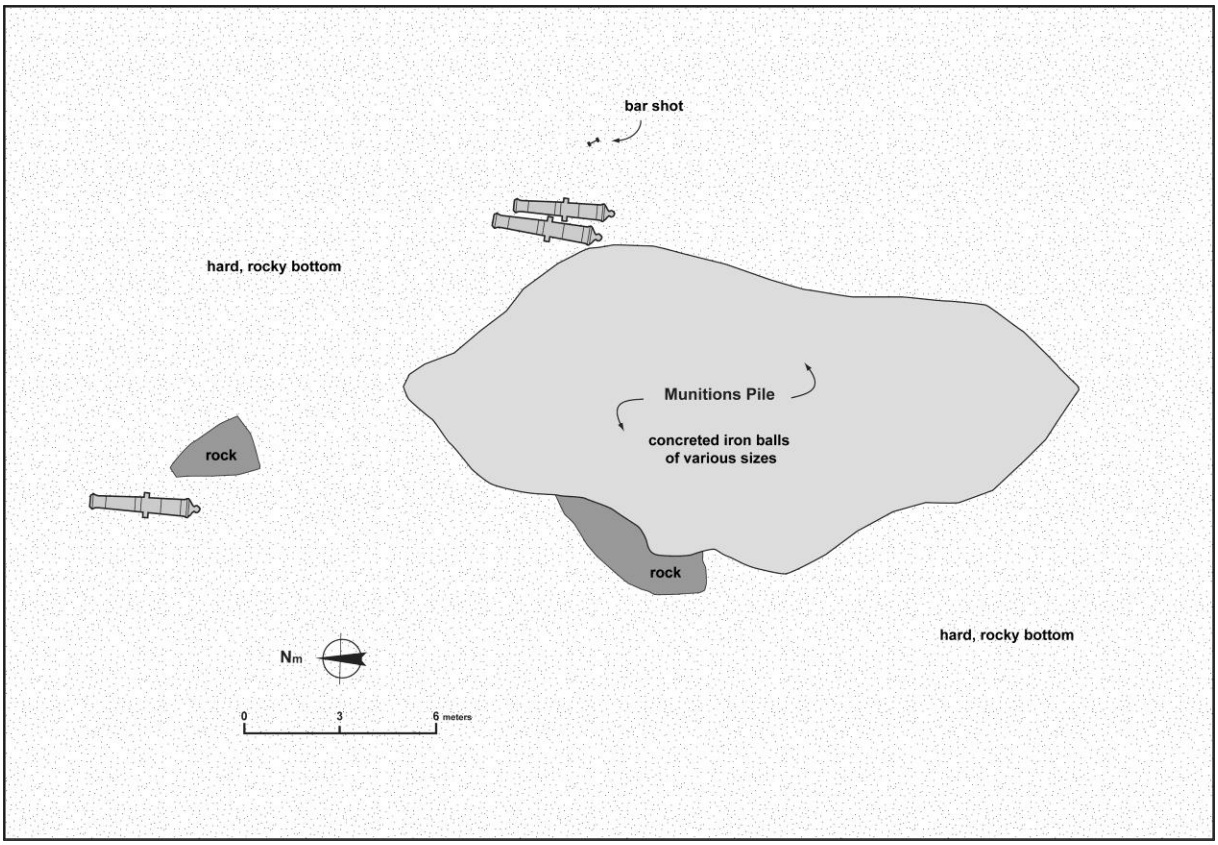



Figure 101  Plan view map of the LB Wreck Site, showing munitions pile and cannon

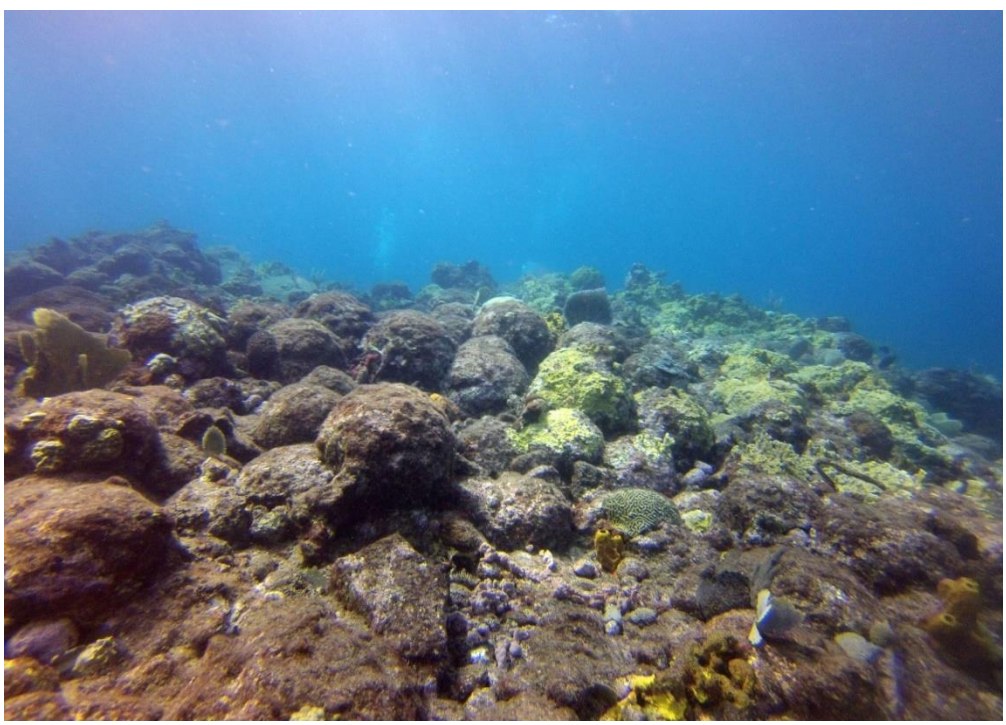


Figure 102  Detail of the munitions pile.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

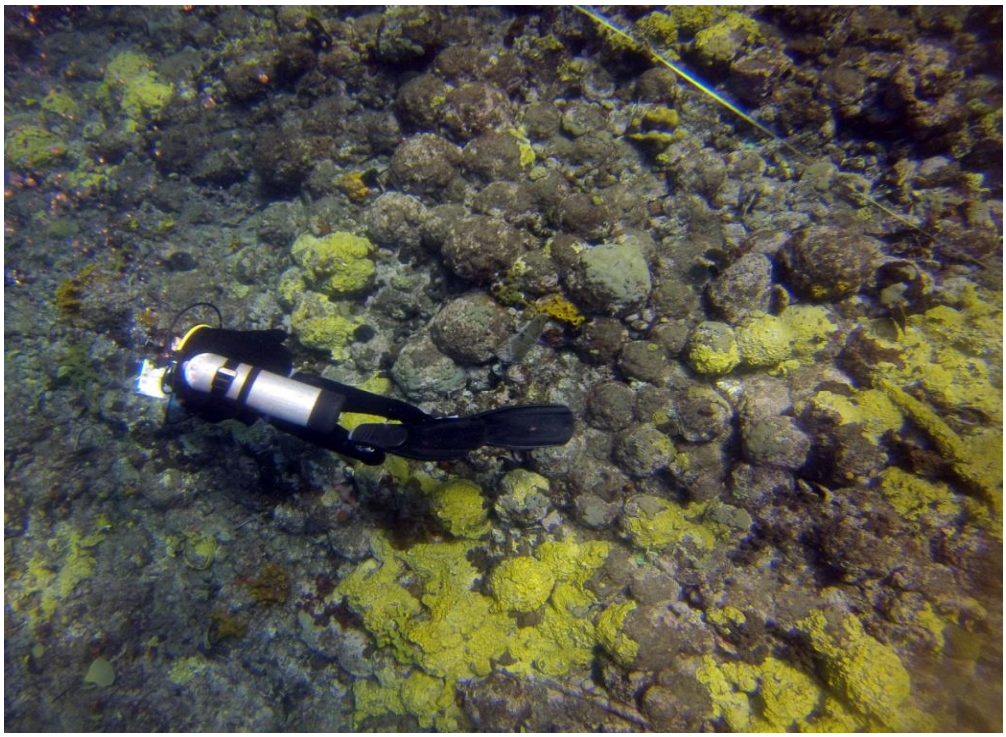


Figure 103  Survey team diver on the munitions pile.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

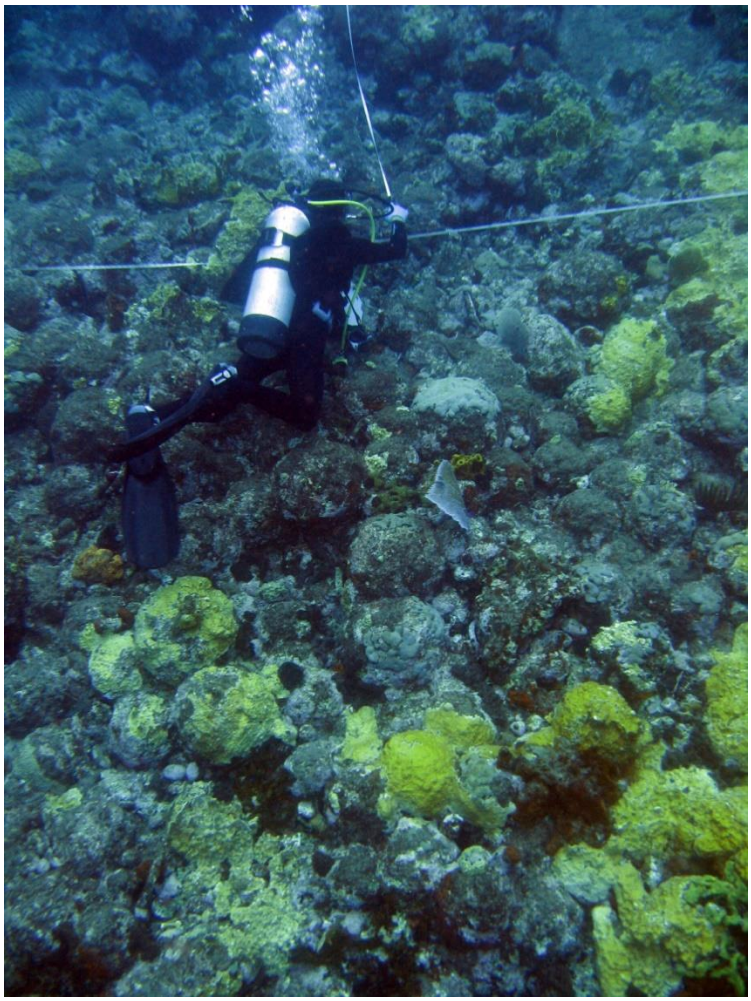


Figure 104  Mapping the munitions pile

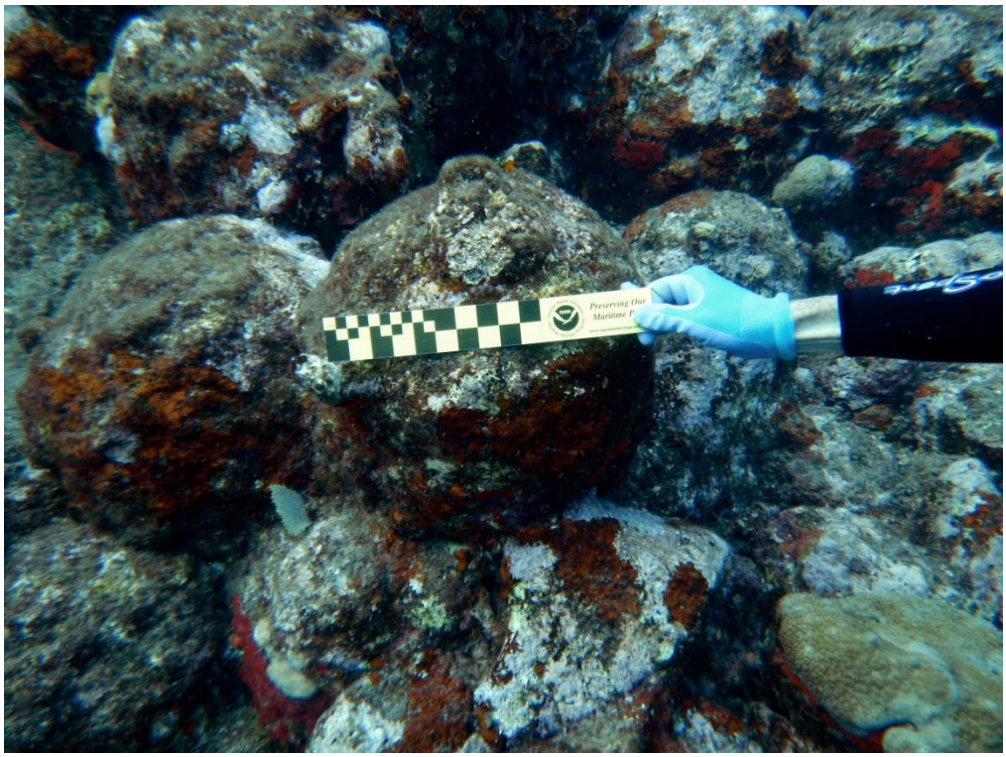


Figure 105  Mortar round, scale in inches.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 106  Two cannon with the munitions pile in the background.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

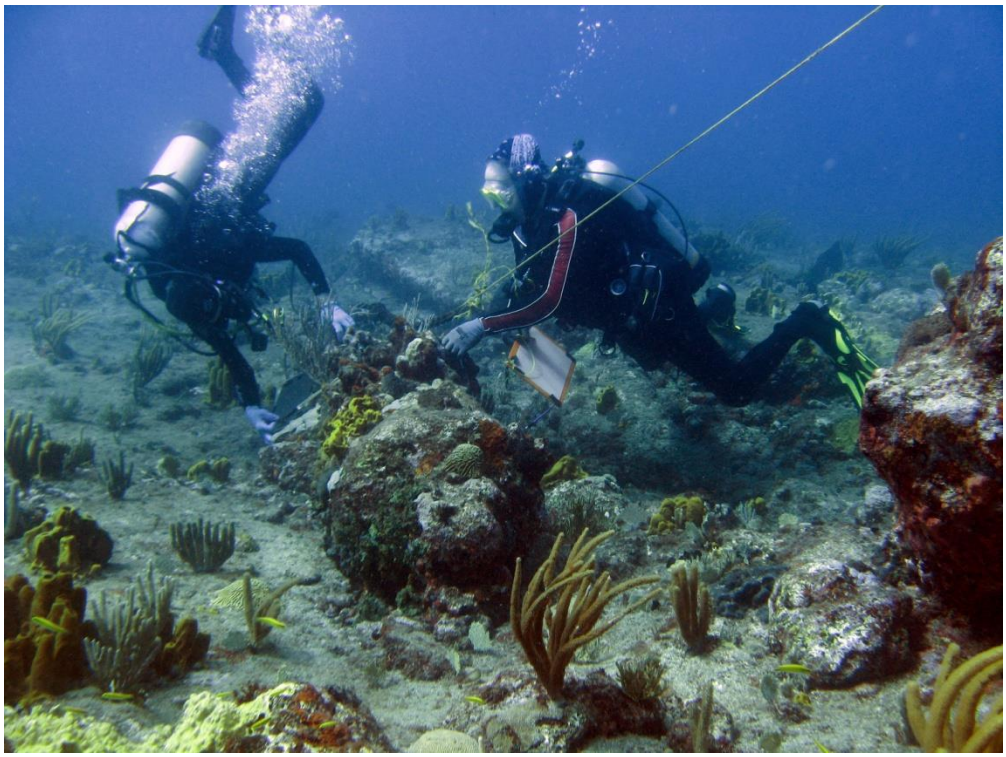


Figure 107  Documenting the single cannon lying north of the wreck site.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

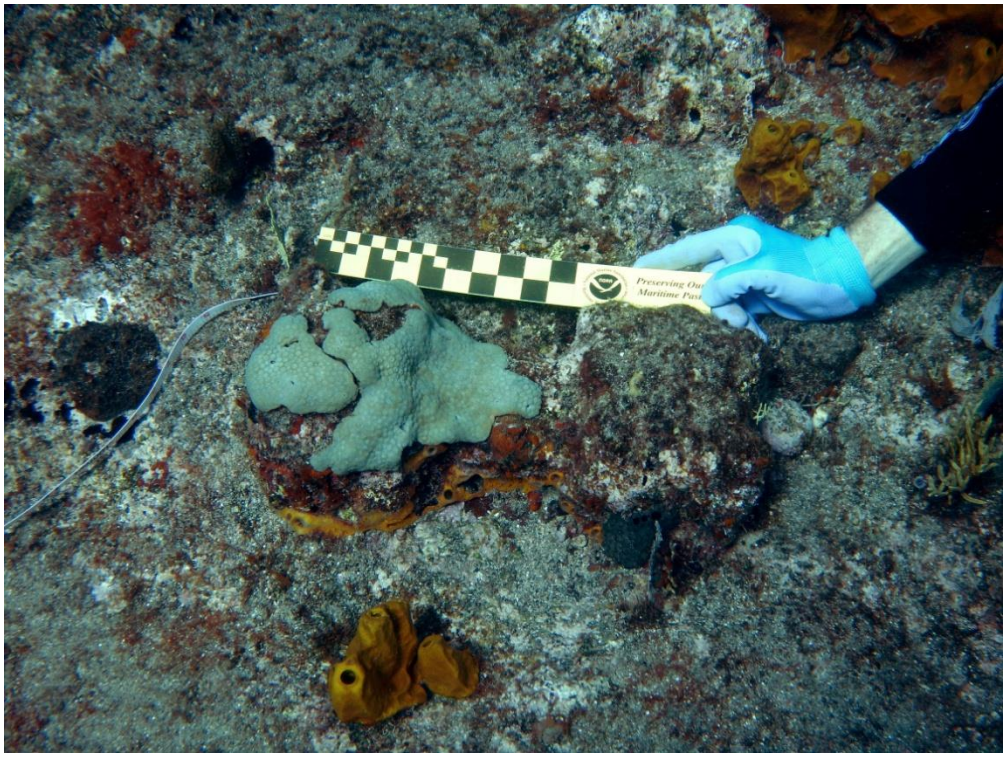


Figure 108  Bar shot, scale in inches.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

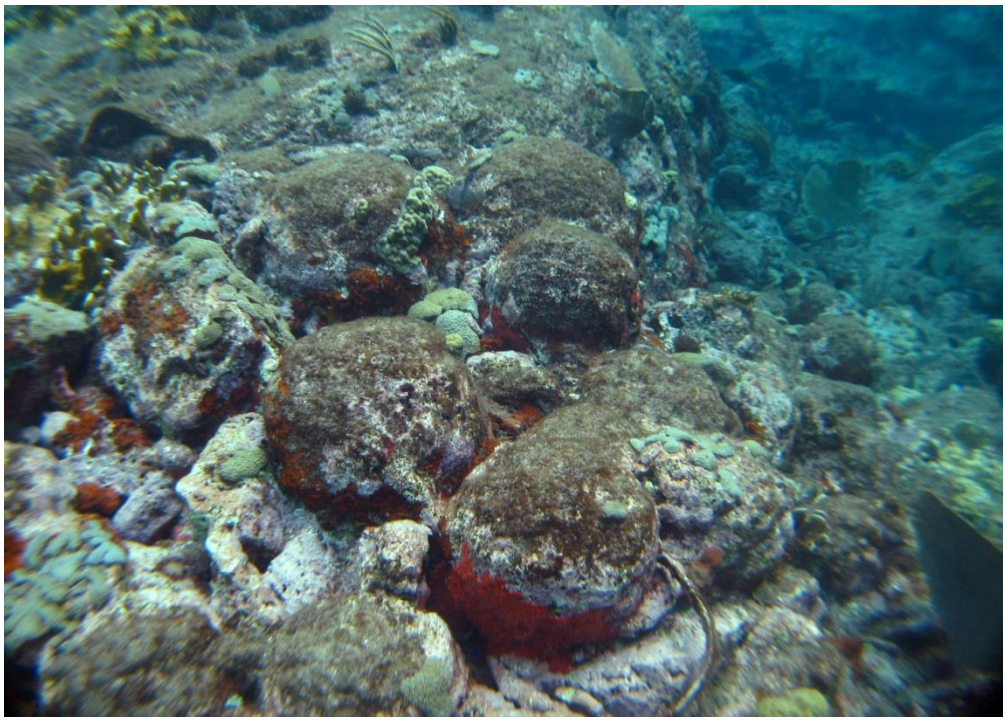


Figure 109  Roundshot (cannon balls) with metal hoop in the foreground

The large number of cannon and mortar rounds and the fact that they were found in a discrete mass and not widely dispersed suggested that the vessel carrying the cargo sank in this location. The size and consolidated nature of the pile of munitions suggested it was a cargo that had remained intact and was not strewn across the sea bed as the ship broke apart. The few individual artifacts that were observed lay near the large mound. There was no evidence of an extensive debris field, and no trail of debris led to the location. No other evidence of the ship was observed, such as timbers, anchors, rigging, or other hardware, fasteners, or hull sheathing.

Although there was no physical evidence directly linking the wreck to a known ship, documentary research suggested the wreck was likely the remains of the *Lion Britannique*, a French transport that sank bringing arms to aid the siege of Brimstone Hill fortress in 1782. The documents indicate that at least part of the cargo was salvaged immediately after the sinking. As an example:

"…le Lion Britannique, où était le plus grosse artillerie, se brisa sur les rochers au-dessous de Sandy Point. On employa la nuit du 13 à repêcher les canons."

"the Lion Britannique, with a cargo of munitions, struck the rocks below Sandy Point. We spent the night of [January] 13 recovering the guns."

(*Histoire de L'Administration de Lord North, et de la Guerre de L'Amerique Septentrionale, Jusqu'a la Paix, en 1783, Seconde Partie* 1784:154)

The reports go on to state that no ship crew, officers or soldiers were lost in the event. Different sources state that transport ships carrying ordnance and food supplies sailed on the 13th of January either to the old harbor (Old Road) or to Sandy Point. *Lion Britannique*, which carried the most of the army's mortars, heavy guns, solid shot and shells, struck on a rock off Belle Tete, then called Sandy Point) and sank. It took the night of the 13th for partial recovery of the guns and ammunition.

The following is excerpted from the *Encyclopedic Journal* Volume 3 Part 3, May 1782, and the *Political Journal, or Gazette of the Gazettes*, Year 1782, April, Second Fortnight. It summarizes the operations of the expedition to St. Kitts (then referred to as Saint Christopher). The text was translated by Bruno Gardien.

The fleet under the command of Count de Grasse sailed from Fort Royal Bay on December 28, 1781; all the landing troops under the command of Marquis de Bouillé, amounting to 6,000 men were on board the ships and frigates and various transport vessels, together with the artillery for the projected expedition to Barbados where the English fleet under the command of Admiral Hood was anchored, this English fleet that we wanted to force to set sail and fight against our superior fleet.

We tried in vain, for several days, to sail up the canal of St Lucia. Meanwhile, the transport vessel *Lion-Britannique*, which carried the bulk of our artillery, fell under the wind, lost its mast and had to head for Statia, escorted by *Caton*, one of the vessels of the fleet.

The difficulty to sail up the channel, the loss of *Lion-Britannique*, which was no longer part of the fleet, forced the fleet to return to Fort Royal on January 3rd, where we learned that *Lion-Britannique* was in Statia.

Without most of our artillery (note: which was aboard *Lion-Britannique*) and considering the fact that we could not envision getting *Lion-Britannique* to go upwind (note: towards Antigua where the English fleet was anchored) without wasting a considerable amount of time given the poor conditions of the ship, we decided to go and attack St Christopher, where it would be easy to bring *Lion-Britannique*. We left Fort Royal in the morning of January 5th, and we did not arrive until the 11th at the harbor of Basse-Terre on the island of St Kitts. We found that the enemy had abandoned their coastal batteries, and that they had retired to the fortress of Brimstone Hill, a distance of four or five leagues from Basse-Terre.

The landing of troops was made in the evening of that day; they were gathered in the town square of the city, formed into divisions, and at about nine o'clock pm, the whole army started to march towards Brimstone Hill in order to surround it.

The division of Marquis du Chilleau got around Brimstone Hill on its right and took position in Sandy Point; that of Count de Dillon then got around on its left to better surround it. The

division of Marquis de St. Simon Marquis was on the left of Brimstone Hill and had on its right the division of Viscount de Damas.

The Marquis de Bouillé set up on the 12th its headquarters in Sandy Point, where he wanted to form an attack, independently of another, near the old harbor, led by the Marquis de St Simon.

On the 13th , the transport vessels, loaded with war ammunitions and food, went either to the old harbor or to Sandy Point, and *Lion Britannique*, loaded with most of the artillery and war ammunitions broke on rocks below Sandy Point; during the night of the 13th to the 14th , MM. d'Albert de Rioms and the knight of Médine, who had escorted these transport vessels, had all their crews busy rescuing this vessel and 'fishing' the artillery and gear: it is thanks to their patriotic zeal that we are now able to benefit from the main artillery pieces which they rescued from the bottom of the sea; however, we sent to all our islands several vessels in order to replace what had been lost.

De Bouillé's greatest concern was this loss of *Lion Britannique*, which was carrying most of the army's mortars, heavy guns, solid shot and shells. The artillerists aboard were brought off safely, and salvage operations were soon begun to recover the guns and ammunition. The incident threatened to significantly prolong the siege of Brimstone Hill (De Kerallain 1928, 1-70.

The rocks mentioned in the reports may be three large rocks that lie near the surface approximately 90 m (300 ft) northwest of the wreck site. They appear to be obstructions marked on historical maps as "les Montons" (piles) by Norwood (1698) or "les Moutons" (whitecaps or white horses) by Bellin (1780). It is possible that the ship struck the rocks and, disabled, drifted in toward shore. The munitions pile appeared to be where the vessel finally came to rest on the bottom.

A major objective of the investigation of the LB Wreck Site was to determine the "functionality" of the wreck, in other words, what was the vessel's primary purpose. (Nutley 2008, 7-17). Was the vessel built mainly to engage in combat, or for the transportation of cargo or passengers? The quantity and size of the ordnance at the site relative to the vessel's probable size, as indicated by the debris field, strongly suggests that the LB Wreck was an ordnance ship. Confirming that the wreck is that of the *Lion Britannique* is a priority for future investigation of the site.

Figure 110 Detail of 1698 Norwood Map. Courtesy St. Kitts National Archives. Les Montons highlighted in box by author

Figure 111 Detail of 1780 Bellin Map, les Mouton can be clearly seen off La Pointe de Sable. Courtesy U.S. Library of Congress

5.2.2 Pump Bay Shoreline Survey

Pump Bay lies south of the village of Fig Tree. The name very likely derived from a pump on the Mercer Plantation (which became known as Pump Estate) during the early 19th century. Currently the area is open with very few buildings, and a paved road runs along the shoreline. A modern two storey poured concrete building that once housed the Fishermen's Co-operative, which was built on the remains of a warehouse of stonework construction, sits on the landward side of the road (see Chapter Four). A concrete culvert under the road carries storm runoff from the hill side to the bay. Steps constructed of mortared cut stone extend from the road to the sandy beach and are the only construction presently visible on the strand.

The remains of the jetty that was once located at Pump Bay were investigated as part of a snorkel survey conducted in 2012 that extended along a single transect beginning below the Anglican Church, stretching northward to the foot of Downing Street and on to Pump Bay. The survey documented a number of concrete masses and twisted metal in an area identified as the 20th-century pier reportedly destroyed in a hurricane. Other features, including pieces of iron machinery and a barge, were also observed in the area.

The pier remains consisted of large fragments of concrete reinforced with rebar, along with assorted metal fittings that appeared to date from the 20th century. The features lay in 15 feet of water or less, within 100 feet of shore. The identification of the feature as a pier was confirmed

by Fig Tree resident, Ralph Wilkins, who drew a sketch map of the pier from memory (Figure 113). Following the initial snorkel survey, the pier features were examined via SCUBA (Figures 114-115). However, conditions in the shallow water at the time of the survey, including a constant swell and sedimentation that obscured visibility, along with sharp, twisted metal resulting from the apparently extensive demolition, prevented detailed recording. The iron machinery and barge observed in the initial survey were located closer to shore in 3-5 feet of water, where again conditions would not allow detailed recording.

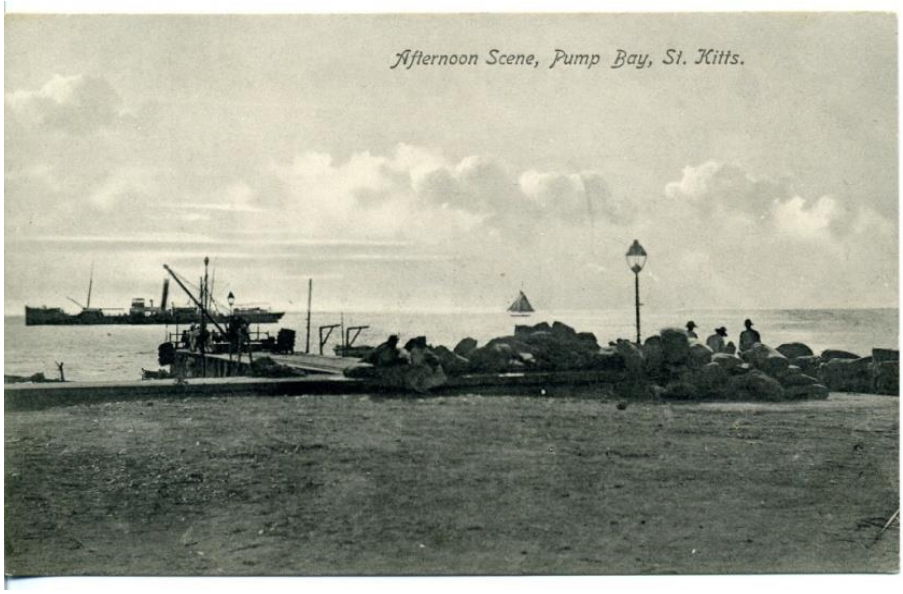



Figure 112 The pier at Pump Bay circa early twentieth century. Molasses from a hillside holding tank at Pump Estate was piped to barrels for loading onto shallow draft boats. The molasses hogsheads were then relayed to larger ships anchored offshore. Post card from the Collection of the St. Kitts National Archives

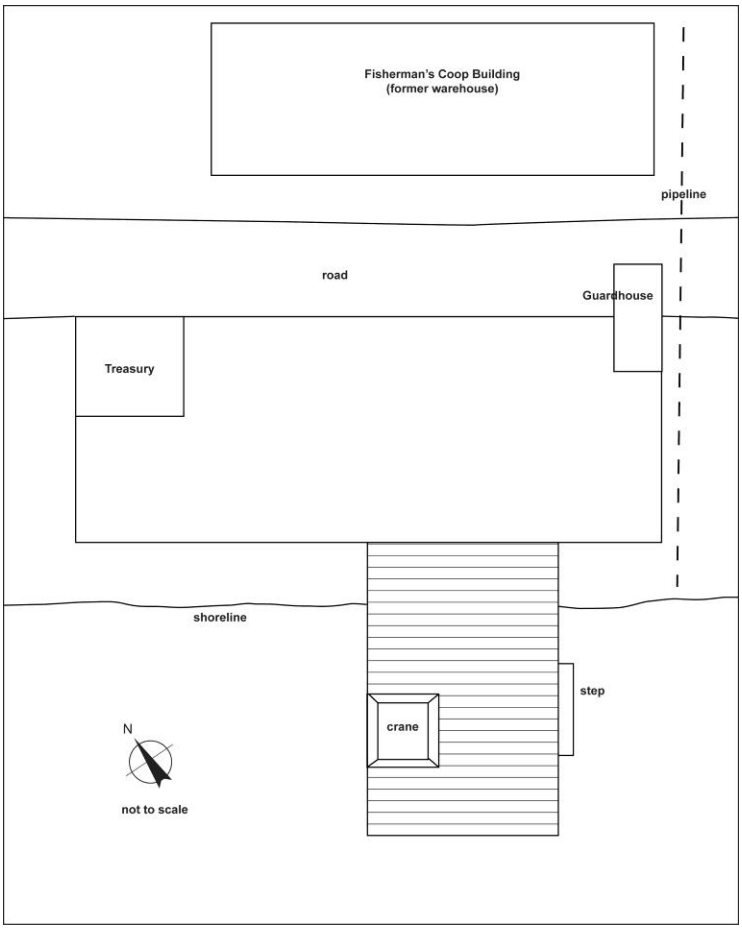
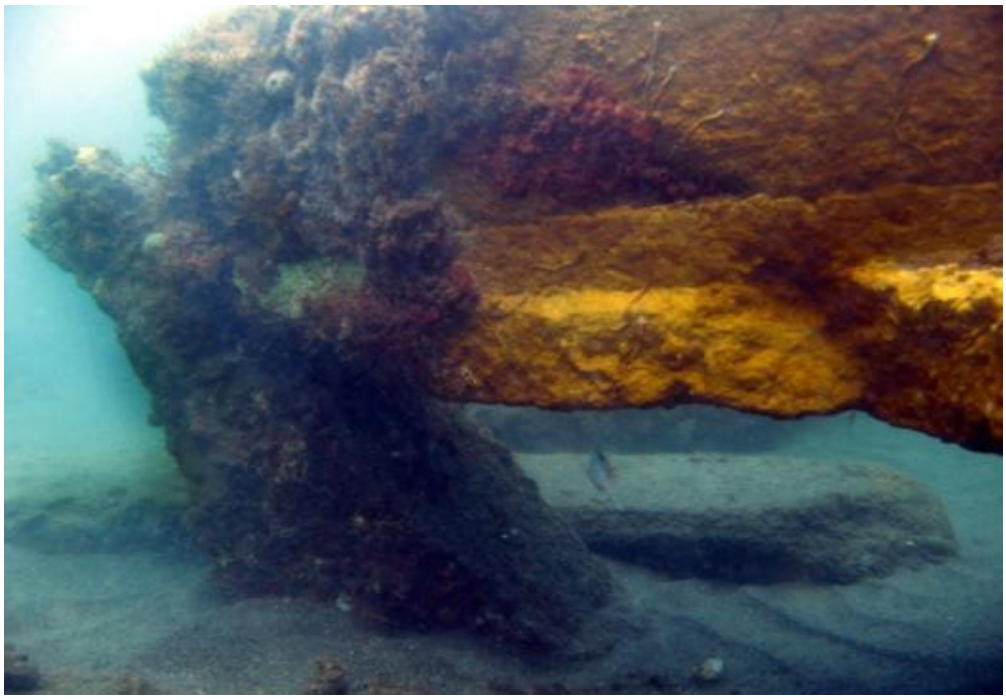



Figure 113 The pier and other structures that once stood at Pump Bay. From a drawing by Ralph Wilkin



Figures 114-115  Reinforced concrete remains of the pier at Pump Bay.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

5.2.3 Downing Street Landing/Fort Hamilton

Downing Street was the main street in the commercial center of Sandy Point Town. It ran perpendicular to the coast and downhill to a landing that may once have served as the principle wharf for the town, where ships and smaller vessels transferred goods and other materials to warehouses and markets. The landing was earlier the site of a British fortification, Fort Hamilton (Figure 116), also depicted on many seventeenth and eighteenth century cartographic sources as Sandy Point Fort (see Chapter Two).

STIMACUR's shoreline survey of this area included mapping and photo-documentation of the present condition of the landing, and photo-documentation of stone features in the water immediately offshore. Water conditions, including rough surf and contamination from continuous outflow from household drains, prevented in-water investigation.

Corresponding with 19th-century maps, the landing in its current configuration was not directly aligned with the street (Figure 117). The modern, asphalt road ends at the entrance to private property that was once was the original site of the Catholic Church for St. Anne's Parish.

The Downing Street landing is reached by a cobblestone extension from the modern asphalt road. That extension runs approximately 200 feet diagonally to the southeast (Figures 118-119). Currently the landing consists of steps and a concrete ramp, the latter leading from an alley behind houses fronting on Downing Street and carrying runoff from the streets and drains. Between Downing Street and the alley are located the ruins of the former site of the Sandy Point Hospital. In 1892 a new medical institution, the Pogson Hospital, was erected along a stretch of the island's main road in Sandy Point known as The Alley. Unfortunately, time has not permitted a survey of the Hospital ruins.

The steps consisted of several segments composed of different materials, including cut volcanic stone (mortared and unmortared), cinderblock, and poured concrete, indicating several episodes of construction. A small ceramic sherd noted in the mortar in one section of the steps appeared to be from an English ware known as Staffordshire Mottled or Manganese Mottled. The ware typically dates from the late-17th to late-18th century (1680-1780), so the section of steps in which the sherd occurred could date to anytime after that period. Most of the work appeared to be 20th century, however, and the ceramic fragment could have been incorporated into the mortar at any point. Old stonework was only visible in limited sections of the wall, and only one truncated wall segment constructed of mortared stone was identified as possibly being a remnant of Fort Hamilton. (Figure 121).

Figure 116 The Downing Street Landing as seen from the water. The upper terrace at the end of a cobblestone road leads via a staircase to a lower landing; a middle landing leads to the ascending slope of an alley known as Back Way on the right, the ruins of the hospital can be seen along the side of Back Way. A short set of stairs descends from the lower landing to the waterline. A hill flanks either side of the walled Downing Street landing complex. Photo courtesy STIMACUR

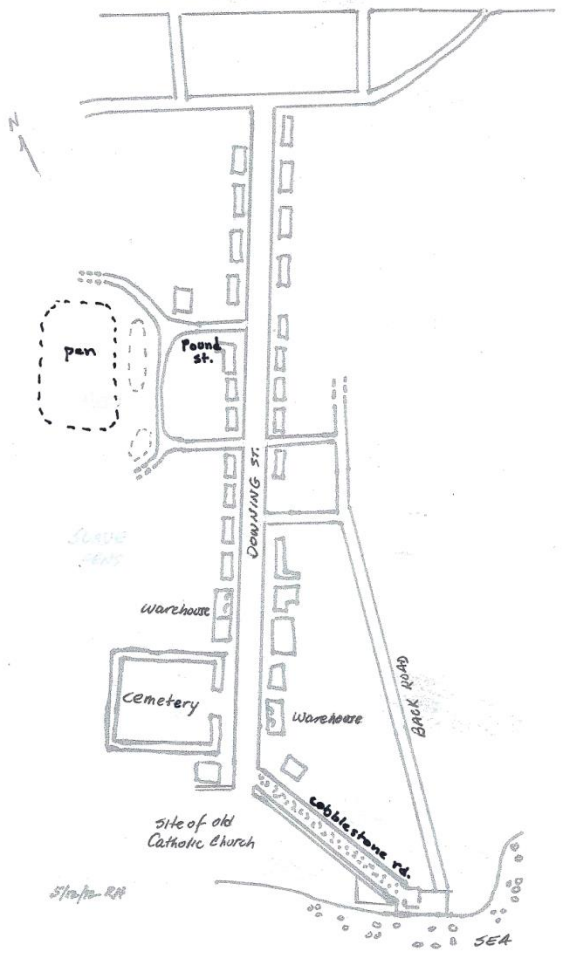



Figure 117. Diagram of Downing Street, its angled cobblestone extension leading to a terrace and staircase to the sea landing. Downing Street and the cobblestone extension are to scale (1.0 inch=100.0 feet or 2.5cm=30.0 m); the rest of the diagram is not to scale

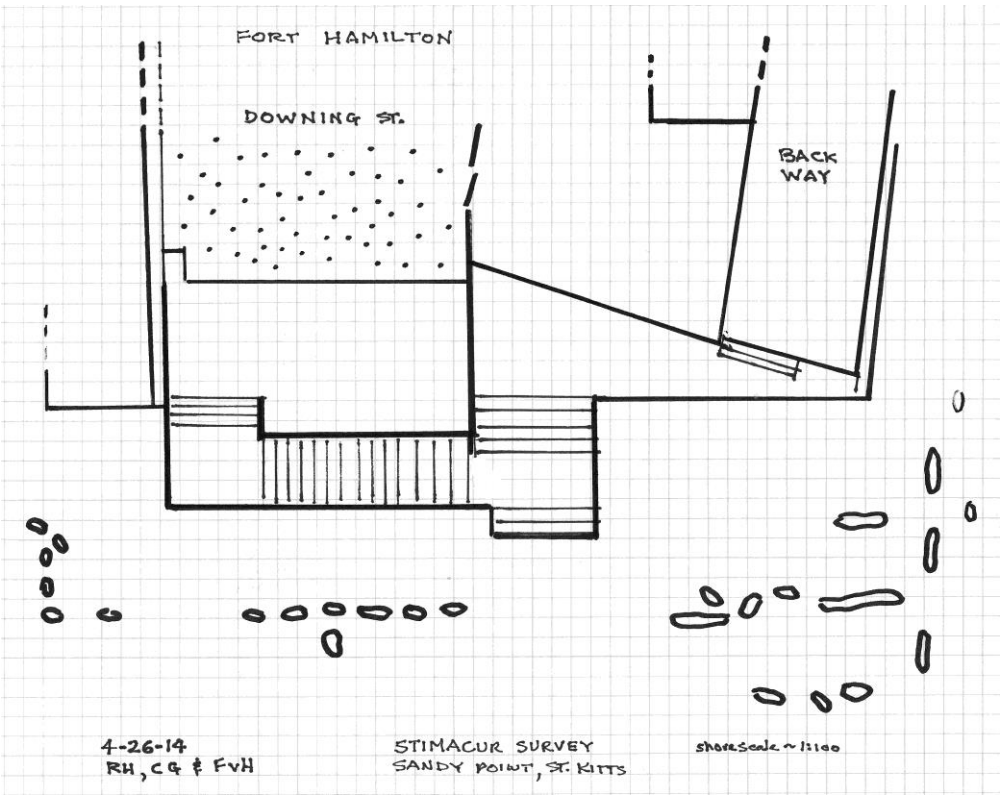



Figure 118  Plan of stairs and ramp at the Downing Street landing

Figure 119  Author taking measurements of cobblestone extension of Downing Street.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figures 120-121  Remnants of old stonework at the Downing Street/Fort Hamilton landing site, the ruins of the former Sandy Point Hospital can be seen in the background.  The grey wall located in the cliff side in the lower picture may be the only remaining fragment of the oldest wall.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

The shoreline area was included in the snorkel survey conducted in 2012. At that time the stairs and wall segments at Downing Street were noted, along with large rocks in the shallows near the shoreline. The features in the water consisted of rock in irregular segments oriented both parallel and perpendicular to the landing. It was unclear whether the features were part of a commercial pier or wharf or part of the former military structure, Fort Hamilton.

Figure 122 Stone alignments in the water seen from the Downing Street landing. Photo courtesy Monique Klarenbeek, Leiden University

Figure 123  Detail of steps at Downing Street landing.  An extension of the landing into the water would have led from the base of the stairs and across the rocky bottom on the left.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Aerial photos of the site taken during a drone flight showed what appeared to be additional rocky debris farther from the current shoreline and to the north of the landing, which may have been part of the fort's foundation (Figures 4-66, 4-67).  From the information gathered in the current survey it is not possible to say conclusively whether the shoreline extended further into the bay than it does today, or whether the fort and landing were constructed on fill or made land.

Figure 124  Drone image of Downing Street landing area (encircled).  Arrow indicates submerged rocky debris, possibly remnants of Fort Hamilton.  Image taken by Go Pro camera mounted on board DJI Phantom 2 drone.  Image courtesy Razo Construction

Figure 125  Drone image of Downing Street landing area.  Detail of submerged stone alignments.  Image courtesy Razo Construction

Remote sensing conducted along tracks parallel to the shore at the base of Downing Street provided additional information. Two passes were made 20 feet apart in water 10 feet and 15 feet deep. The area would have been unsafe for sailing ships to enter, since it was shallow and boulders of different sizes were present throughout the area as imaged in the scans. However, smaller vessels for transport to and from shore could have reached the landing. Also imaged in this area were well-defined clusters of stones that may represent ballast stones from sailing ships re-used as pilings for a dock or pier structure (Figure 126).

A key feature of the sea floor in front of the Downing Street landing is the presence of well-defined clusters of stones, some of which are most likely of local volcanic origin but others may be ballast stones released by sailing ships. Unfortunately, we were unable to dive in this site due to concerns about water quality. The sonar imagery, however, allowed us to characterize the sea floor at this site.

Water clarity in this area is poor because of persistent wave action, the rocky shoreline and drainage of household effluents through a pipe to the right of the landing area. Safety for the diving team heavily influenced the decision to rely exclusively on remote sensing in order to characterize the site. Also, because of the shallowness of the bottom and boulders rising to a mere 6-7 feet below the surface, our research boat would have been at risk were we to come too close to shore. With side scan sonar, however, we could capture images under low visibility conditions and in extremely shallow water.

As noted above, one cannot as yet say conclusively from the fieldwork thus far conducted, that Fort Hamilton was erected on infill. The ambiguous representation of the fort on the 1714 Buor Map, depicted as jutting out to sea and surrounded by a dotted line, seemingly adds to the enigma of Sandy Point Fort (Chapter Two, Page 24). However, the 1732 Moll Map, the 1752 Bowen Map and the 1753 Baker Map clearly and unambiguously depict the fort as a structure jutting out from the natural coastline (Chapter Two). This cartographic evidence, taken in conjunction with the underwater features recorded during the sidescan sonar and aerial drone surveys, strongly suggest that Fort Hamilton was either constructed on built up land or the foundation was a submerged one constructed on soil and/or boulders placed in the sea offshore of the Downing Street Landing.

As both the earliest known cartographic resource depicting the fort; the Buor Map, and early documents that mention it date to the early eighteenth century (CSP, A&W.I., October 1720, 165-187; CSP, A&W.I., July 1724, 11-12), we can be certain that Fort Hamilton was an early colonial period fortification. At the time of the fort's construction available artillery technology dictated placing forts defending ports and anchorages directly on the coast to enable their ordnance to hit hostile ships that were not sailing very close to shore. Such limitations combined with the strategic importance of Pump Bay as a centre for trade and commerce (The same limits in seventeenth and early eighteenth century technology meant that during this period neither the guns of Charles Fort or Brimstone Hill Fortress could effectively cover Pump Bay. Therefore, Fort Hamilton would have been tasked with defending both Downing Street and Pump Bay[23]) may have necessitated erecting Fort Hamilton in a position projecting away from the natural

[23] Victor Smith, *"Brimstone Hill Fortress, St. Kitts, West Indies, Part One: History",* Post Medieval Archaeology 28 (Leeds: Maney Publishing, 1994). 73-109

coastline due to the high cliff faced bluff immediately north of the fort and standing between the fort and Pump Bay. Obviously, it would have ideally made more sense to site the fort atop this same bluff. However, this may not have been possible due to the presence of an already existing structure on that site. As the Catholic Church that was once located there was not built until the early twentieth century,[24] an earlier structure may have been located at the site, perhaps owned by an influential landowner who was unwilling to give up their property.

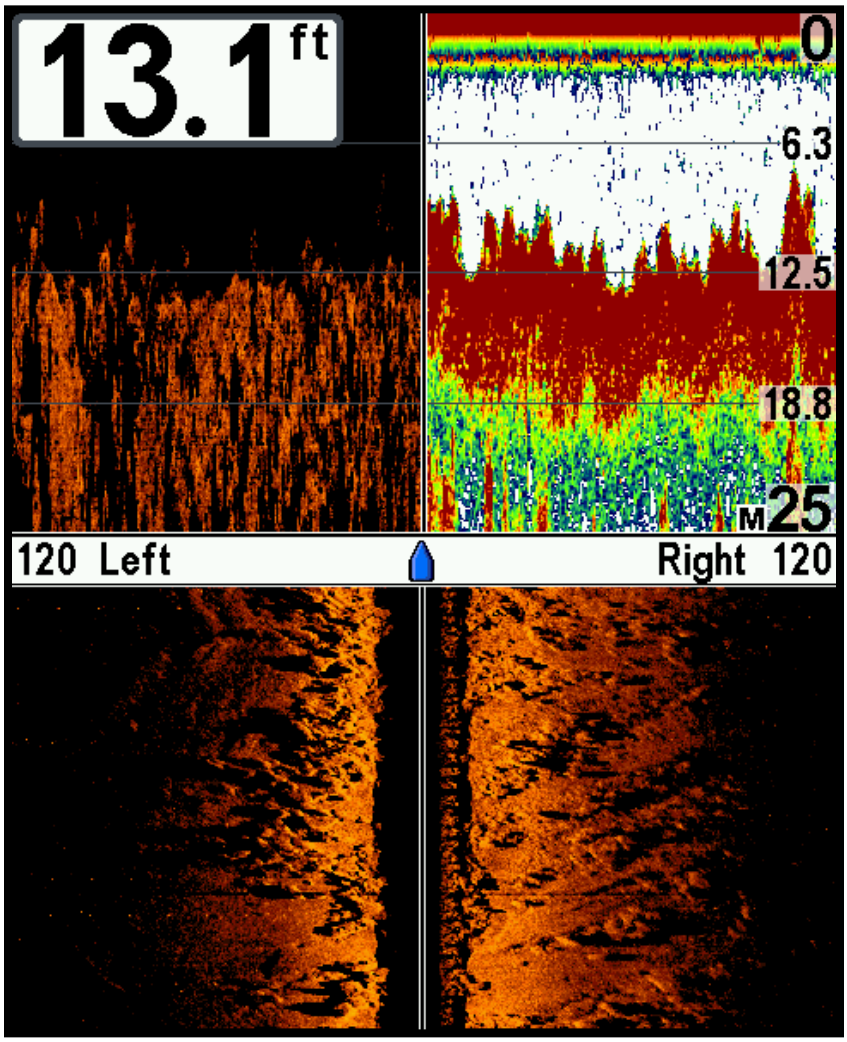



Figure 126 Split screen image of the sea floor at the base of the Downing St. landing (Fort Hamilton) at a water depth of 13.1 feet (~4 m). TOP LEFT: downwardly directed single beam sonar image showing a very irregular bottom; TOP RIGHT: primary bottom reflection from the

[24] http://www.diocesesjb.com Accessed 13 August 2012.

bottom due to a dense layer of volcanic sand and boulders in false color (red), in depths rangingfrom 7 to 13 ft (~2-4 m); BOTTOM FULL PANEL: side-scan sonar beam directed 120 degrees to the left and right of the research boat. The path of the boat is represented as a clear (black) central channel. The boat is moving perpendicular to shore and the image is generated from bottom to top as indicated by the blue symbol and white trailers. A concentrated pile of rocks appears on the left

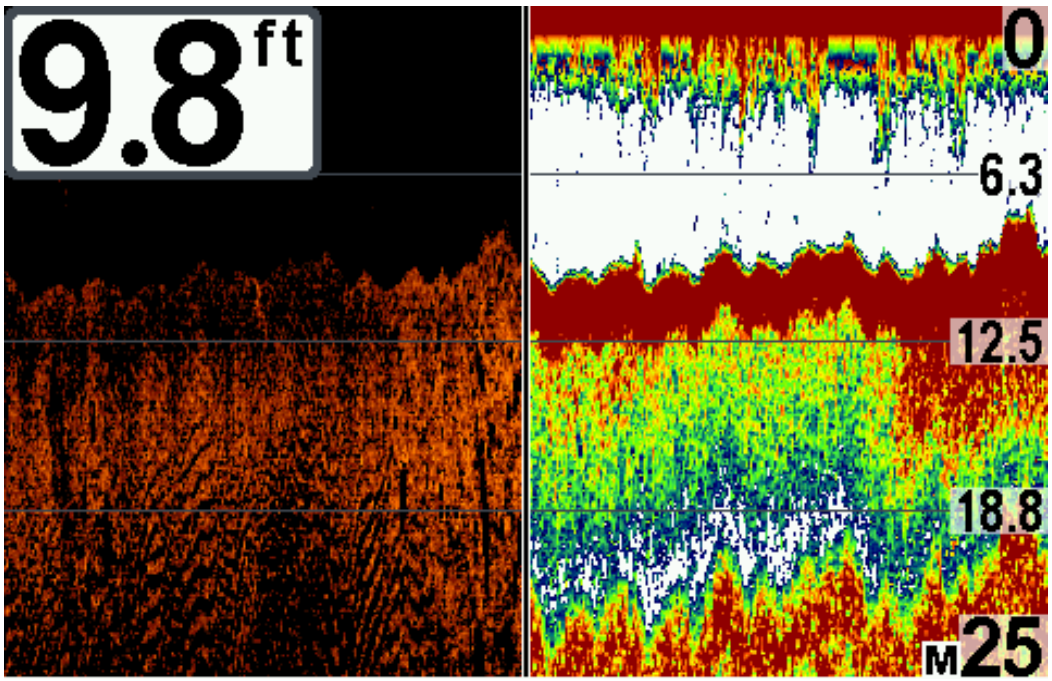



Figure 127 Split screen images of the downwardly directed single beam sonar return. In the right panel, the reflected image of the bottom shows a thickened first reflection in red. This thickened red area may indicate remnants of a subsurface stone foundation that would have supported a dock or pier extended over the water as a stable platform for trading functions at Fort Hamilton

5.2.4 Sandy Point Anchorage

As noted in the previous chapter (Pages 80-81), scuba survey of the anchorage was focused on the waters off the southern end of Sandy Point Bay. Remote sensing data indicated that the bottom configuration in this area is rocky and coralline. The offshore reef extends roughly parallel to the shoreline, oriented northwest to southeast from a submerged reef crest to a fore reef with a seaward depth of at least 130 feet. A narrow lagoon 30 feet deep separates the beach

zone from the reef crest. The forereef would have represented safe and secure anchoring for deep draft sailing ships.

The coral reef fringing this part of Sandy Point Bay is a typical and mature Caribbean reef. It consists of numerous high reef spurs or buttresses intertwined with grooves or sand channels. The forereef slope extends to a depth of 80-100 feet to a broad and level sand flat that extends seaward to deeper reef components. At the shallow edge of the reef which parallels the shoreline, the reef consolidates to a submerged crest at 50 feet, and in places, small back reefs in patches are scattered along the sandy lagoon that reaches to the beach front. Many stony corals that produce the frame of the reef are evident throughout the area. Montastrea spp. (mound corals), Agaricia spp. (plate corals), and Porites spp. (branching corals) are the keystone species on the reef. Sponges, crinoids, zooanthids, calcareous algae, soft corals and other organisms are interspersed among coral colonies.

In addition to the fringing reef, numerous sessile marine organisms, including sponges, gorgonians and other soft corals, sea fans, sponges, calcareous algae and zooanthids, adhere to the large boulders that are found along the shore and that extend from Charles Fort to Fort Hamilton and then again from Fig Tree Bay around to Belle Tete. Submerged boulders in areas of high velocity currents and wind produce a hazard to navigation, as near the site of the shipwreck at Belle Tete.

The underwater investigations conducted in this area sampled two locations frequented by recreational divers. Dive shop operators have named the spots Anchors Away and Paradise Reef. In the current study, they are referred to by their relative geographic locations, North Mooring and South Mooring, respectively. Both are known for containing recognizable nautical features such as anchors and chain, along with other less easily noted items. As anchors shall dominate the discussion that follows a brief background and description of this particular class of artifact is necessary.

The function of an anchor is to connect a vessel to the bed of a body of water so as to prevent said vessel from drifting from its position due to the force of currents or the wind. Chain, cable, rope or some combination of these material are used to attach the anchor (which is usually a metal device) to the vessel. While anchor types vary, Figure 128 illustrates the typical elements of a late eighteenth century wooden stock anchor, elements that can also be seen on many anchors from later periods, well into the twentieth century.

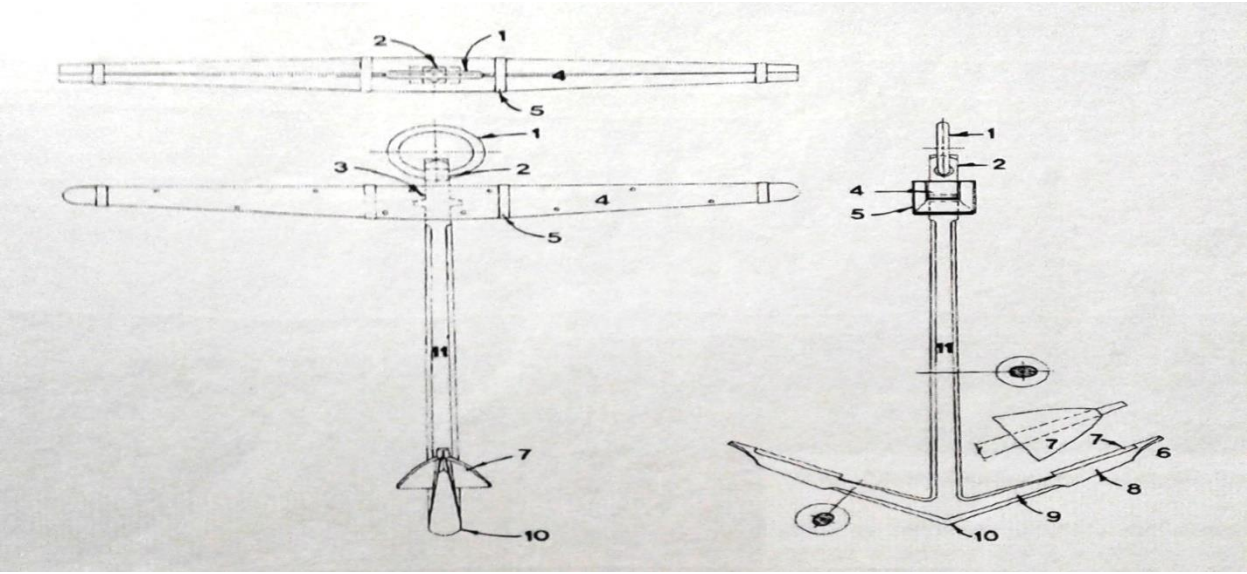



Figure 128 Elements of a late eighteenth century wooden stock anchor (typical to many later anchor types as well): 1. Ring 2. Square 3. Nut 4. Wood stock 5. Iron hoop 6. Bill 7. Palm or fluke 8. Blade 9. Arm 10. Crown 11. Shank or shaft. After McKay and Coleman 1992, courtesy Knepper et al 2011

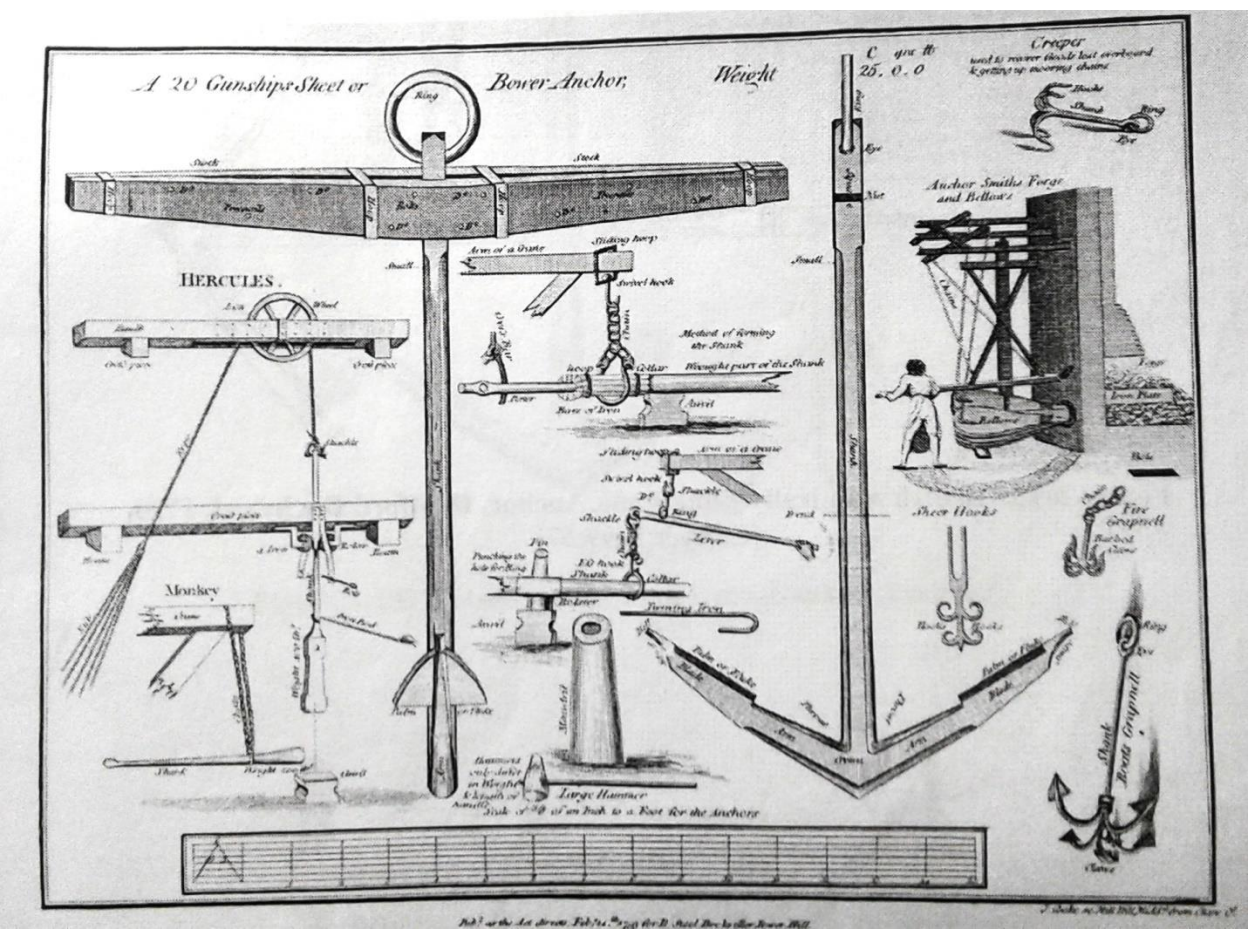


Figure 129 Previous page, late eighteenth century British Admiralty anchor. Several of the anchors recorded at the Sandy Point Anchorage appear to be of this type. After David Steel 1794, courtesy Knepper et al 2011

*5.2.4.1 North Mooring Site*

The North Mooring Site, was located in waters 50-70 feet deep characterized by large coral buttresses within a gently sloping sandy plain. Anchors were observed among the rocks during preliminary reconnaissance dives at depths ranging from 23 to 39 feet. An area measuring approximately 325 square feet centered on the mooring buoy for the recreational dive site was selected for more intensive survey. The buoy lies approximately 2,000 feet from shore. Six anchors and assorted sections of chain and other metal objects were documented in this area (Figure 130). They were recorded using a general format and terminology referenced in the Big Anchor Project[25], an initiative managed by the U.S. based Nautical Archaeology Society. As indicated in Table 2, the variation in sizes and proportions suggest that a range of anchor types representing an extended time frame characterized the area. Note that the table lists only anchors for which measurements were taken. The anchors were assessed using several historical and modern references (Cotsell 1856; Curryer 1999; Pering 1819).

**Table 2. Anchor Data.**

| Anchor* | shaft length | stock length | shaft diameter | width btw flukes | palm width | palm length | fluke bill to crown | ring diameter | depth |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| N-1 | 2.85 | 3.4 | 8 x 10 cm | 1.05 | 0.4 | 0.35 | 0.9 | 0.2‡ | 50’ |
| N-2 | 2.7† | n/a | 8 x 10 cm | 1.15 | 0.5 | 0.5 | 0.6 | 0.36 | 55’ |
| N-3 | 2.6 | n/a | 15 cm | 1.3 | 0.2 | 0.3 | n/a | n/a | 60’ |
| N-4 | 1.95 | n/a | 8 x 10 cm | 1.05 | n/a | n/a | n/a | 0.4 | 50’ |
| N-5 | 3 | n/a | 30 cm | 2.2 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 50’ |
| N-6 | 2.1 | n/a | n/a | 3.6 | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 50’ |
| S-1 | 2.1 | 1.55 | 13 cm | 1.6 | n/a | 0.6 | ?? | 0.37 | 60’ |

[25] Big Anchor Project 2008 “Iron Stocked Anchor, Recording Guidance Notes” http://www.biganchorproject.com/images/stories/docs/guidance_notes_stocked.pdf Accessed on September 2016

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| S-2 | 1.6† | n/a | 15 cm | n/a | n/a | n/a | n/a | 0.45 | 45’ |
| S-3 | 1.5† | n/a | 15 cm | 1.45 | 0.38 | 0.35 | 0.7 | n/a | 65’ |

*N = North Site; S = South Site; †incomplete measurement; ‡ shackle

*Anchor N-1* An iron stock anchor with a squared shaft (Figure 131). There was no ring, but a shackle and a section of chain were to the attached to the eye at the proximal end. A light-gauge modern chain for a mooring buoy was also attached to the shackle. One of the anchor’s flukes and one end of the stock were wedged into the rock, and this appeared to have been why the anchor had been abandoned. The arms of the stock were angled downward slightly toward the crown. There was no evidence of a stock fastener. The crown was rounded, the arms appeared to be arced, and the flukes were spade-like. A transverse key was located midway along the shank that was probably used to assist in raising and securing the anchor.

*Anchor N-2* This anchor lay flat on the bottom with one arm and fluke obscured by coral and other marine growth (Figure 132). A large ring was present, but there was no evidence of a stock, suggesting that it may have been wooden and had deteriorated.

*Anchor N-3* This was a small stock anchor that lay flat on the top of a reef buttress (Figure 133). The shaft was round, and no stock or ring was present. The crown was rounded, and a length of chain extended several meters from beneath one of the flukes, but did not appear to have been attached to the anchor.

*Anchor N-4* This was a small stock anchor lodged on the edge of a low reef buttress (Figure 134). It had a squared shaft. The flukes were not visible and the crown was obscured by marine growth. However, the width between the flukes could be estimated from the arms. A large ring was present but no chain was present. The stock was missing, suggesting that it may have been wooden. The absence of chain attached to the ring may indicate that rope was used for the anchor line.

*Anchor N-5* This was an anchor shaft wedged into the edge of a large reef buttress (Figure 135). The while the flukes were either damaged or not visible beneath the coral ledge, the arms were sufficient to estimate the distance between the flukes. No ring or stock eye were apparent.

*Anchor N-6* Similar to *N*-5, this was an anchor shaft wedged beneath the overhang of a reef buttress. The flukes were not visible but the arms allowed an estimate the distance between the flukes. No ring or stock eye was apparent.

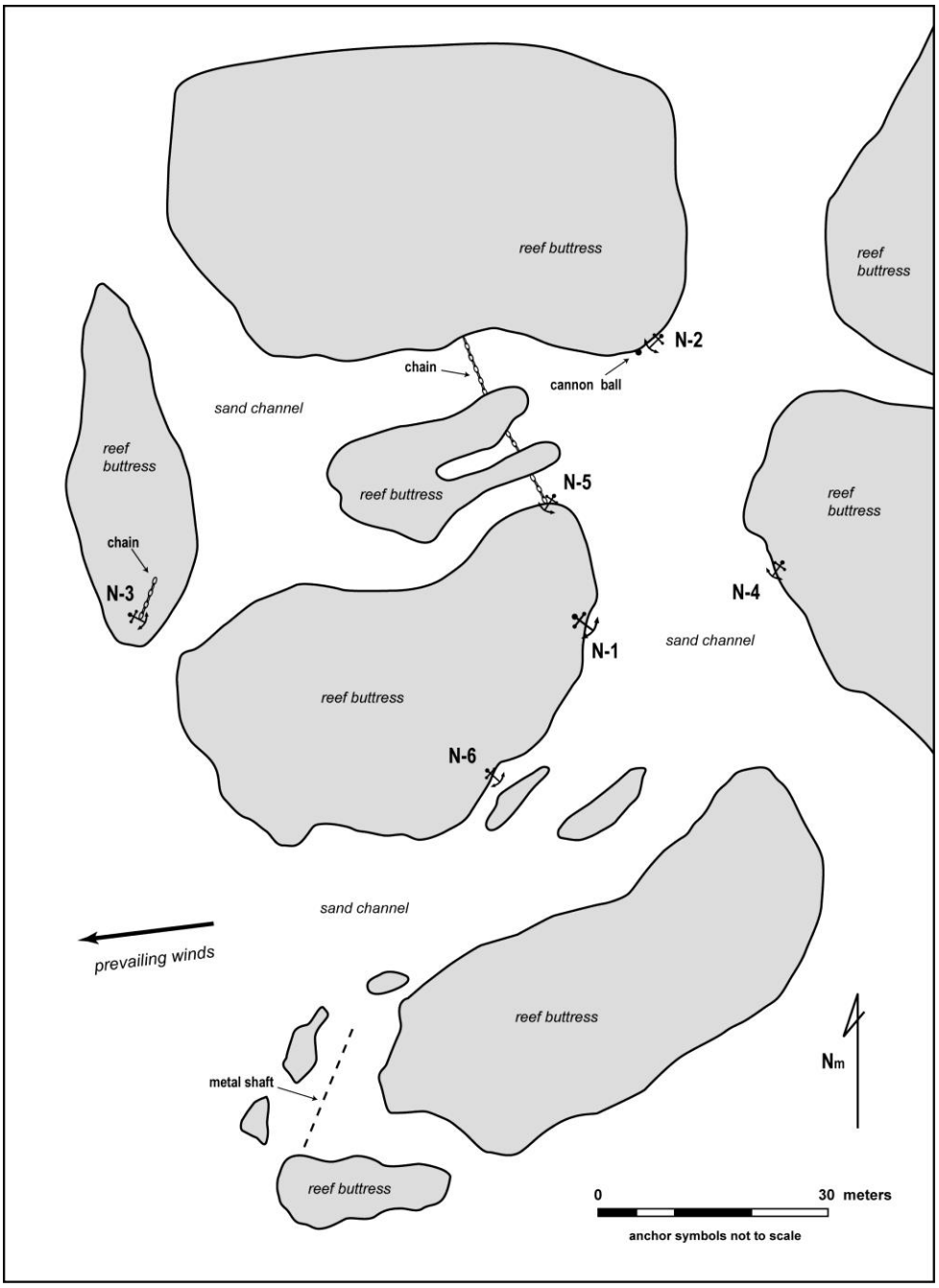



Figure 130 Plan of North Mooring Site

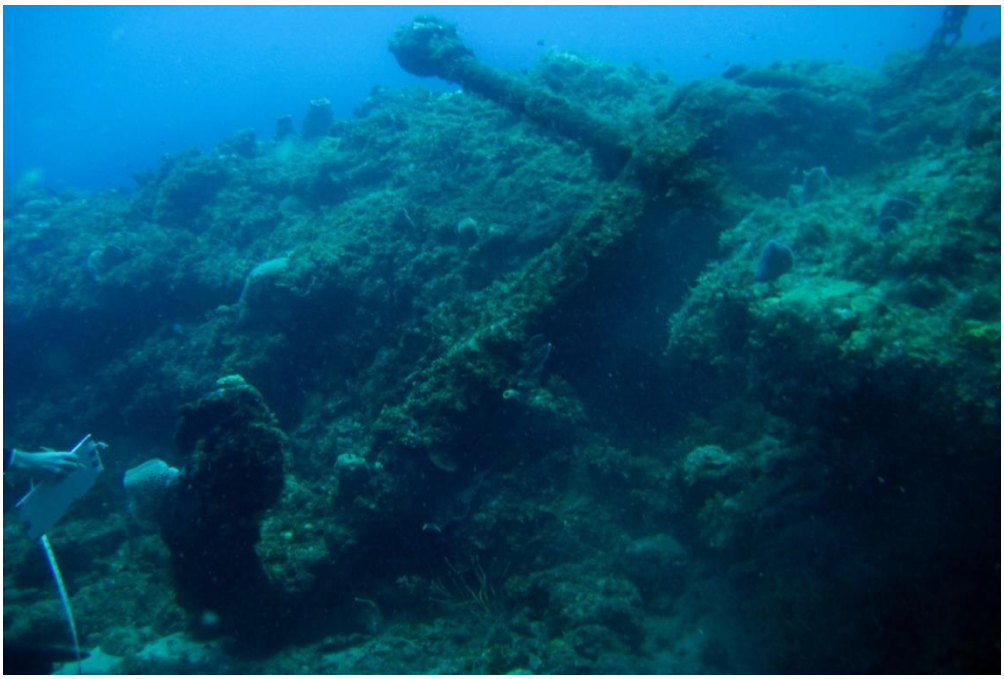


Figure 131  Anchor N-1, large iron stock anchor that serves as the mooring buoy for a recreational dive site.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 132  Anchor N-2, shaft and arm of a large wooden stock anchor wedged beneath a low coral ledge.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

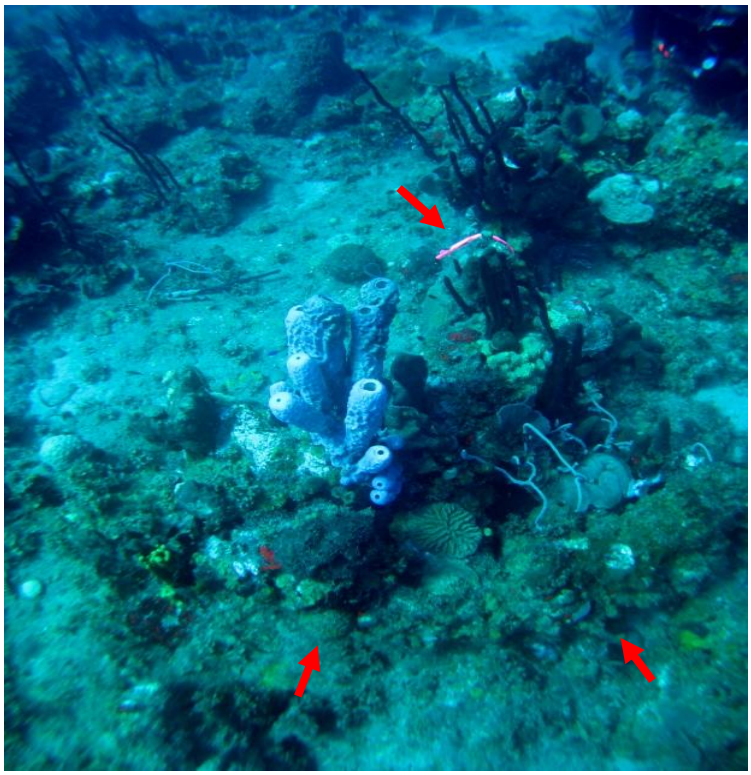


Figure 133  Anchor N-3, small wooden stock anchor lying on the reef surface.  Arrows clockwise from top of photo indicate shaft, arm and crown.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

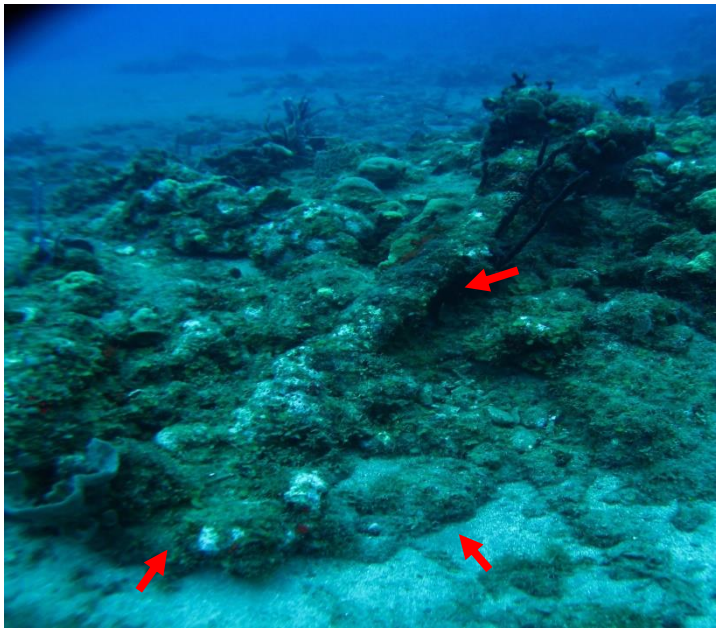


Figure 134  Anchor N-4, small wooden stock anchor caught beneath a small coral head.  Arrows clockwise from top of photo indicate the shaft, arm and crown.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 135 Anchor N-5, small wooden stock anchor lodged in a coral buttress. Photo courtesy STIMACUR

*5.2.4.2 South Mooring Site*

The second area sampled lies in the southern part of Sandy Point Bay approximately 1,100 feet southeast of the North Mooring Site. Also known as Shoal Reef, the mooring for the dive site lies approximately 1,500 feet from shore on a sandy, grassy bottom at a depth of 40 feet. From the mooring buoy the bottom slopes abruptly to a series of spur and groove reef formations extending to a shelf at about 100 feet. The depth of the reef formation made a comprehensive survey of the area impractical in the time available. The current survey area was concentrated between 40-70 feet. While the length of the South Mooring Site was not measured with precision, it was estimated to exceed 500 feet.

*Anchor S-1* This was an iron stock anchor situated between in a narrow space between coral structures (Figure 4-44). It had an intact stock, of a type referred to as bent, with a ball end. The anchor shaft was round. The crown was rounded, the arms were arced, and the flukes were tipped spades. A large amount of heavy line was located near the anchor, but due to marine growth it was unclear whether or not it was attached to or directly associated with the anchor.

*Anchor S-2* This was the shaft and ring of a large stock anchor (Figure 4-45). The stock was missing and the eye was not visible within the marine growth on the surface. The lower portion of the shaft, including the crown and flukes, was buried in the coral buttress.

*Anchor S-3* This was an iron anchor lying on the sandy bottom between high coral buttresses (Figure 4-46). The shaft had sheared off partway along its length and the stock was missing. The shaft was squared. The crown was pointed, the arms were straight, and the flukes were

tipped spades. The remains of a metal fish trap lay on top of the anchor, brought in by currents or storm surge. The broken shaft and the fact that the anchor was lying on a relatively open sandy bottom and not lodged in the reef suggested that it had not been abandoned in this location. It may have been deck cargo bound for repair that was either lost overboard or jettisoned intentionally.

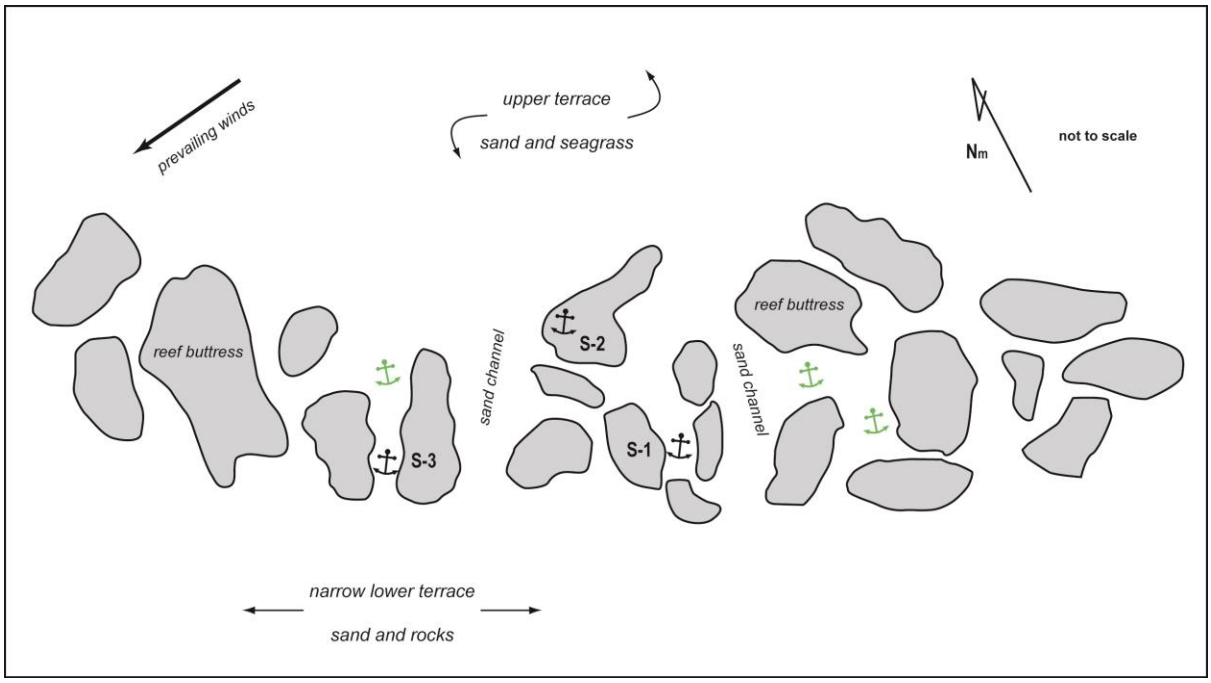



Figure 136 Plan of the South Mooring Site. Anchors in green were observed but not documented due to time constraints

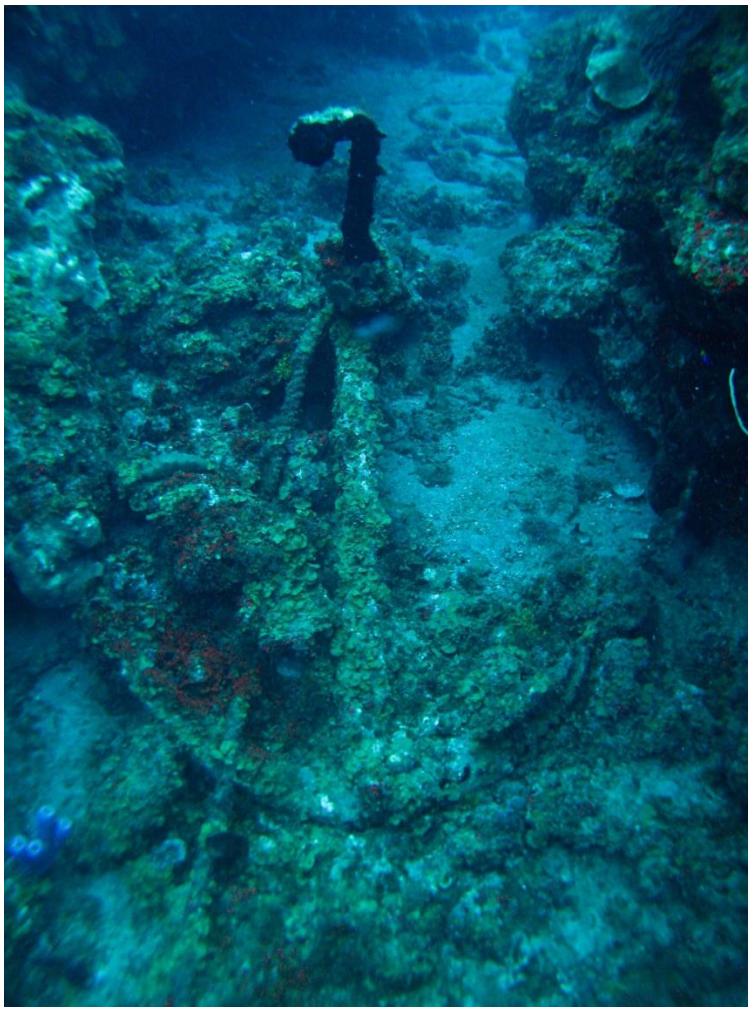


Figure 137  Anchor S-1, iron stock anchor lying between reef buttresses.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

Figure 138  Anchor S-2, large wooden stock anchor buried in a reef buttress.  Left arrow indicates the ring, right arrow the shaft.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

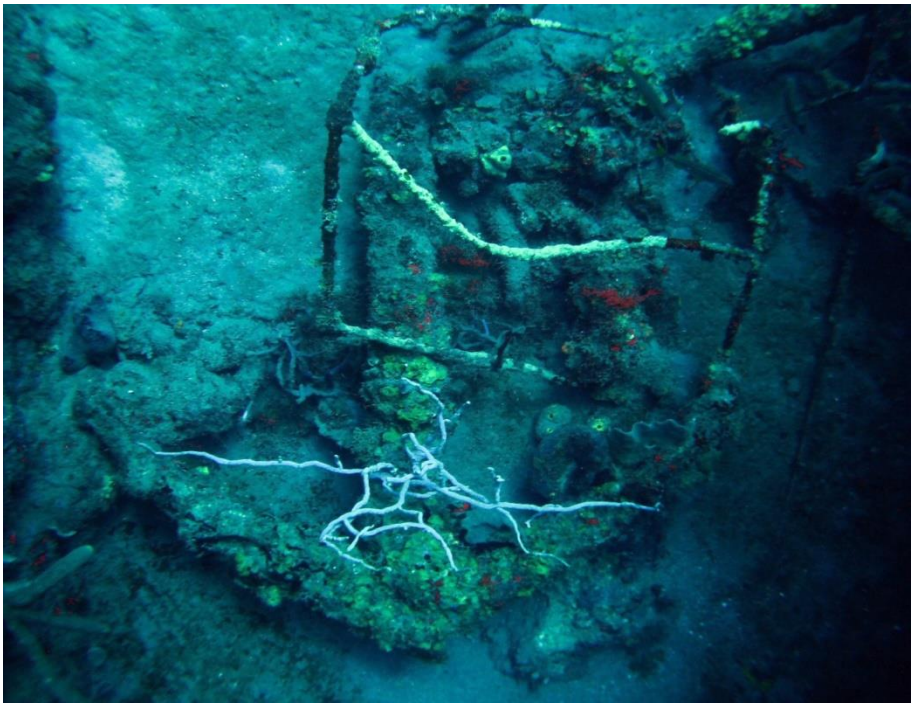


Figure 139  Anchor S-3, large stock anchor lying on the sandy bottom between reef buttresses. The top end of the shaft is missing and a deteriorated fish trap lies atop the anchor.  Photo courtesy STIMACUR

The only item documented in the survey that was clearly naval military in origin was a cannon ball located in the North Mooring Site beneath a reef overhang adjacent to one of the broken anchors, N-2 (Figure 4-47). The ball measured 4 inches in diameter. Following Borgard's standardized ordnance scale[26], the diameter indicated a ball for a nine pounder cannon.

Figure 140 Cannonball for a nine pounder cannon. Photo courtesy STIMACUR

*5.2.4.3 Transect Survey*

A linear transect from the southern mooring anchor toward shore was conducted to determine the inner limit of the reef. A 60 m (197 ft) tape was extended in a northerly direction. The crest of the reef was reached at 151 feet and a depth of 44 feet, continuous with a lagoonal sand flat to the beach zone. During this transect, a chain and anchor were observed (Figures 141-142). Other items observed included several miscellaneous metal objects, a fish trap, and a barrel hoop (Figure 143).

[26] Colonel Albert Borgard was Assistant Surveyor of Royal Ordnance, appointed in 1718. He standardized the various names for gun types, specifying each by the weight of the round shot they fired. The weights were defined on a strict, graduated scale (A.R. Collins "British Cannonball Sizes" http://www.arc.id.au/Cannonballs.html Accessed September 2016).

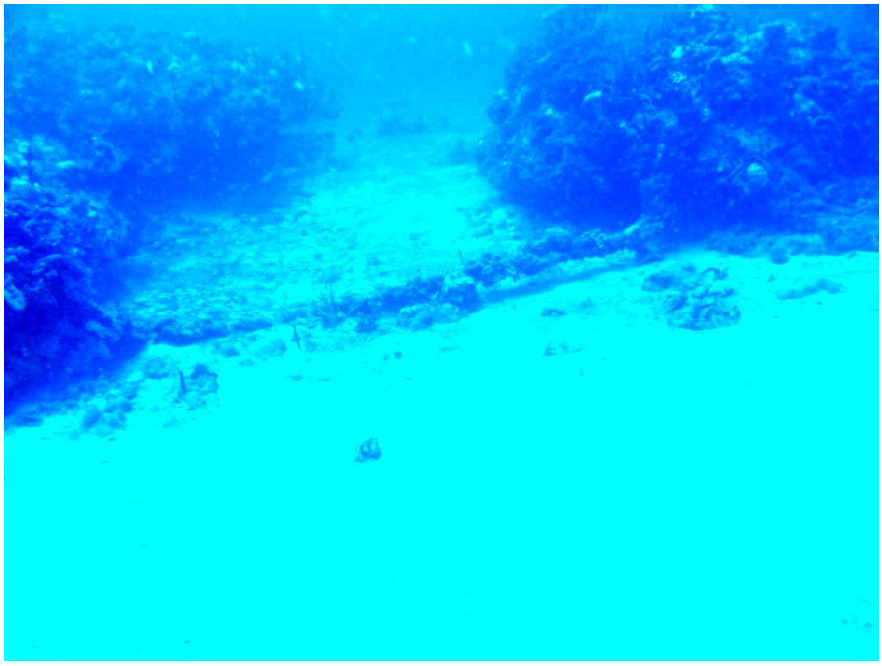


Figure 141  Chain found during transect

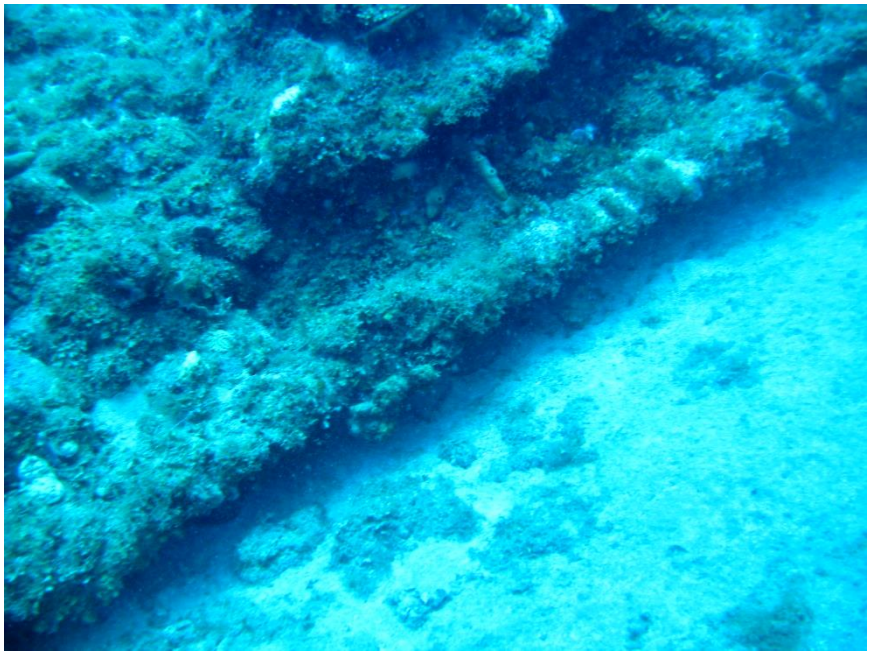


Figure 142  Anchor shaft found during transect

Figure 143  Barrel hoop found during transect

*5.2.4.4 Conclusion*

Anchors in a variety of sizes were documented in the survey of this part of Sandy Point Bay, from large bowers to small examples that may have been sheet, stream, or kedge anchors. Only two of the anchors recorded, N-1 and S-1, had iron stocks. The top end of two others was missing. The remaining anchors did not have stocks. They were not stockless, however, but may have had wooden stocks that had deteriorated.

Although none of the anchors could be precisely dated, many were probably from the 19th century or earlier, as indicated by their shape, stock form, and the general degree of preservation. The overall size, fluke shape, and the shackle at end of Anchor N-1 suggested that it was 20th century in date. Some of the other anchors appeared to conform generally to Admiralty specifications, and thus they may have been from British naval vessels. Interpretations must remain tentative at this point; however, since many of the diagnostic attributes that can distinguish anchors by era or place of manufacture are subtle and easily masked by damage or marine growth.

The anchors documented in the survey were of three general sizes:small, intermediate, and large, possibly corresponding with kedge, stream, and bower anchors respectively. The amount of comparative data from the anchors was limited, however. Shaft lengths were not reliable measurements since the shafts were often bent, broken, or buried, so that the entire length could not be measured. Another criterion, the overall weight of the anchor, could not be determined in situ during a non-invasive survey. The most consistent measurement recorded in the current survey was the span of the arms, as measured between fluke tips (bill to bill). Among the smaller anchors, possibly representing kedges, the arm span ranged from 3 ft 11 in-4 ft 11 in; intermediate size anchors, possibly representing streamers, from 7 ft 2 in-8 ft 2 in; large anchors, possibly representing bowers, from 9 ft 10 in-13 ft 1 in.

An 18th-century warship would be expected to carry many anchors; a merchant trading ship would carry fewer. However, it would be difficult to determine whether an anchor came from a naval or a merchant vessel. It would be safe to assume that each of the anchors found in the STIMACUR survey was probably from a separate ship. Since the design of continental ship anchors was nearly universal, they are too similar to differentiate (Curryer 1999). French anchors have arms that are welded at a more acute angle than English anchors. However, since anchors were frequently transferred to other ships, distinguishing a French, Dutch or Spanish anchor from an English anchor would, in the end, be problematical.

Several of the anchors were wedged tightly into crevices in the reef, indicating that they had been abandoned as irretrievable. Others were broken, suggesting damage and loss in a storm or other forceful event. The abandoned anchors were located primarily at the windward edges of reef buttresses. Prevailing trade winds in this part of Sandy Point Bay blow from east to west, creating littoral currents that parallel the coastal margin. Secure anchoring for sailing ships would thus be most reliable along the faces of buttresses opposite the direction of the winds on the surface, and it was on these parts of the reef that many of the anchors were stuck fast.

Site map showing main sections of Sandy Point Bay referred to in the text. White labels indicate the Maritime Zone, yellow indicate the Littoral (Shoreline) Zone. Call-out boxes indicate Terrestrial Zone. Background image courtesy Google Earth 2014

# Chapter Six: Analysis and Interpretation of Primary and Secondary Sources

## 6.1 Secondary Sources

Much of the secondary source material consulted for this research falls into five major categories: (i) Material concerned specifically with the history of the fortifications that defended the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage; for instance, the evolution of their design and armaments technology, and their strategic role in the geopolitical struggle between Britain and her rivals (especially France) that would significantly shape the history and built landscape of the Americas. (ii) Similar studies done on other towns, primarily port towns. Such studies have proven valuable with respect to drawing parallels on the factors that endow a coastal town or anchorage with strategic importance. These sources have also provided a basis for discussion of the factors that influence the unique nature of a port town's society when compared to other urban centres. (iii) Studies on defence, conflict and trade in the Caribbean during its most turbulent period of conquest and colonization, the seventeenth to eighteenth century. St. Kitts was settled during the second decade of the seventeenth century and by five decades later, as armed hostility between England and France intensified, Sandy Point was well on its way to becoming the most heavily defended town in the English speaking Caribbean. The studies on conflict and commerce between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries help to provide a background context to the emergence of Sandy Point as a strategically vital port and anchorage. (iv) Trade and commercial connections between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius during the eighteenth century. (v) Maritime (shipping connections between Sandy Point and other Atlantic World ports. (vi) Previous anthropological research on important sites in Sandy Point that have contributed to the town's identity not only among Sandy Pointers but also among the wider Kittitian community. The prime example is the Hansen Home leper asylum, located at Charles Fort, which helped shape the identity of Sandy Point for three generations. The importance of the Hansen Home not only to St. Kitts but to the region shall be placed in context by reference to similar sites elsewhere in the Caribbean.

### 6.1.1 Sandy Point and its fortifications

As discussed in Chapter Two, the construction by the English of an extensive defensive infrastructure for the purpose of protecting the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage began in earnest just a few decades after the founding of the English and French colonies on the island of St. Kitts. There is, of course, nothing unique about fortifying a nascent colonial port from very early after it has come into existence. This is usually a response to the threat from rival colonial powers, privateers acting on their behalf, pirates, and a restive indigenous and/or enslaved population (The latter residing both within the town itself as well as in the surrounding hinterland). However, Brian Dyde points out that Charles Fort, one of Sandy Point's early major fortifications, strayed from the norm in that its construction was not just a hasty response to an immediate threat (Dyde 2005, 67-68).

The massive investment in resources: finances (including a personal investment by the sovereign. See Chapter Two), enslaved African labour and material that Charles Fort's construction would have entailed was only equaled and eventually surpassed by the investment in the construction of the fortifications atop Brimstone Hill. Such a dedication of resources is

even more impressive when one considers how controversial funding of fortifications in the Caribbean could be. Richard Pares notes that disputes between the colonies' Crown appointed Governors and the local legislatures over defence priorities were not uncommon. There was a general reluctance by the latter to raise taxes to fund erection, maintenance and improvement of fortifications except when an attack or invasion seemed imminent (Pares 1963, 241-42). Such reluctance arose out of self-serving motives because the plantocracy who dominated the membership on the assemblies were the wealthiest taxpayers in the colonies.

From the early colonial period to the late eighteenth century, advances in fortification technology and the increasing threat from the enemy (primarily France) only pushed the cost of fortifications steadily upwards. Selwyn Carrington has shown that by 1782, the year of the Great Siege of St. Kitts, the island was heavily indebted to the British Government, to the tune of £37,609. The majority of this debt was incurred by expenditure on fortifications and other public works (Carrington 2002, 124). Carrington also highlights how the American Revolution played into the hands of the island assemblies with respect to their constant struggle with colonial authorities over expenditure on fortifications. The North American colonists struggle for self determination struck a chord with many members of the West Indian plantocracy. Taxation and public expenditure had proven to be explosive catalysts for the American Revolution. These same issues were seized upon by the powerful planter interest in the Caribbean as an opportunity to wrest power from the hands of the British appointed governors. By the late eighteenth century the assemblies of St. Kitts, Barbados, Antigua and St. Vincent had successfully imposed restrictions on the governors' ability to raise expenditure for fortifications and other public works by insisting on scrutinizing all proposed public works before approving expenditure (Carrington 2000, 515-22).

The touchy nature of the issue of funding fortifications was not peculiar to the British West Indies. Rodolfo Segovio has outlined how providing the expenditure to adequately defend a strategically important port or anchorage was just as sensitive a matter when it came to fortifying the ports sitting on the Spanish Caribbean Sea. Back and forth negotiations between colonial officials in Colombia and the War Council in Spain involving approval for fortification expenditure on Cartagena de Indias frequently dragged on for years (Segovia 1998, 36-37). No wonder then, as discussed in Chapter Two, the maintenance and improvement of Charles Fort, and the maintenance, improvement and expansion of Brimstone Hill were processes where progress was often not consistent and far from ideal.

Bearing all this in mind it is perhaps not surprising that prior to the 1782 Siege, an event which lead to the metropole taking a more active role in improving what had now become Sandy Point's most important defensive site, the pre-siege fortifications at Brimstone Hill did not exhibit anywhere near the same level of sophisticated planning in their design and layout as seen in the post-siege reconstruction (See Figures 86 to 87 Chapter Five). In fact, rather than being a comprehensive complex of connected defensive works, the pre 1782 hilltop fortress was comprised of three separate (albeit still formidable) defensive sites, each tasked with specific yet related, objectives with regard to defending the Hill and the surrounding area (Smith 1994, 73-109).

From its inception one of the Brimstone Hill Fortress' main roles was the protection of Charles Fort, an interesting role reversal, as before fortifications had been placed atop the Hill one of Charles Fort's major roles was to prevent the limestone quarry at Brimstone Hill from falling

into French hands (see Chapter Two, Page 33). By the 1730's, Charles Fort was being described as a fortification possessing "many fine cannon" that covered the coastline from Halfway Tree, a village 1.80 miles to the south, to Fort Hamilton located 0.89 miles to the north in centre of the Sandy Point Anchorage (Smith 1994, 73-109). An immediate aftermath of the Great Siege of 1782 was the revolutionary redesign of Brimstone Hill Fortress, manifesting itself most dramatically in two new defensive positions, the Prince of Wales Bastion and the Fort George Citadel. The latter position representing an entirely new fortification type, the polygonal fortification. The POW Bastion and the Citadel, assisted by Charles Fort, acquitted themselves well in defending Sandy Point from further attacks and invasion attempts by the French.

In one case, extensively written on by two pioneering local historians and a noted British authority on fortifications, Sandy Point and its anchorage remained under British control even after the rest of the island had been briefly held by the French (King 1965, 11; Manchester 1971, 38; Smith 1994, 73-109). One writer highlights the fact that up to slightly more than two decades before shifting strategic priorities forced the withdrawal or reduction of British garrisons in the West Indies (Smith 1994, 73-109), official contemporary documents stressed Brimstone Hill's coastal defence role in covering strategic areas of St. Kitts' coast such as the Sandy Point Anchorage and the Fortress' Commissariat in New Guinea Bay, a bay directly offshore of Brimstone Hill and located 1.07 south of Lazaretto Point, the bluff on which Charles Fort sits and the southernmost point of the Sandy Point Anchorage (ibid).

With respect to a detailed description of the evolution of Brimstone Hill Fortress, both during the pre-siege and post-siege periods, the three publications by Victor Smith are by far the most authoritative works to date (Smith 1992; 1994; 1995). These three works also contain considerable discussion on Charles Fort, particularly shedding light on the symbiotic relationship between both fortresses as well as advances in coastal defence technology between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.

### 6.1.2 Similar studies conducted on other port towns

Population centres, whether towns or villages, typically make for interesting and enlightening archaeological and historical research on a variety of theses, from changes in the built landscape to social change. Coastal settlements give rise to potentially even more fascinating research avenues to pursue due to the interaction of their inhabitants, or at least a significant number of them, with not just the terrestrial landscape but also the maritime sphere and the littoral zone that connects both. Port towns or port cities are arguably the most important sub-species of coastal settlement, because due to the trading and shipping activities which they facilitate, their interactions with the maritime world not only impact the lives of their inhabitants but also those of people in the hinterland, as well as in other ports and territories with which that port has developed connections through trade and/or migration.

Such connections created through trade, shipping and commerce have created great wealth for many individuals and entities: from ship masters and merchants, to plantation owners, governments and even whole empires. As stated above, the sources responsible for generating such wealth required protection from competing economic powers and opportunistic individual marauders. As Adolfo Meisel observes in his paper on Cartagena de Indias, the resulting investment in defence of ports not only has implications for transforming the built landscape due to the creation of fortifications but the human landscape is altered as well (Meisel 2000, 17-18).

Larger fortifications, such as those at Cartagena de Indias and Sandy Point called for the deployment of large numbers of professional soldiers from the metropole because their strategic importance required more manpower and tactical prowess than local militias could provide.

Another impact on the human landscape occurred in the use of enslaved African labour. Enslaved labour played an overarching role in the colonization of the Americas. All colonial era fortifications in the Caribbean would have utilized enslaved labour in their construction and maintenance. Monumental fortifications, such as those found at Sandy Point and in the Spanish Caribbean, would have had an especially important influence on the way in which enslaved African labour was used. At San Juan, Puerto Rico, work on upgrading the city's defences and the construction of sugar refineries (the construction of the latter a likely influence on work undertaken to improve the former) led to Puerto Rico's African population being more than tripled from just under 5,000 slaves in 1765 to 17,500 in 1794 ( Flores Roman et al 2009, 67). There is no evidence to indicate a similarly dramatic increase in Sandy Point's or St. Kitts' enslaved African population due to the construction and improvement of Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill Fortress. However, primary sources previously discussed in Chapter Two and also discussed later in this chapter show that ordinances were passed stipulating that all plantation owners on the island were to contribute a percentage of their enslaved labourers to construction work at Sandy Point's primary defence sites, Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill.

The thought provoking discussion by Flores Roman et al of the relationship between the fortifications of San Juan, Puerto Rico, the Spanish soldiers garrisoned at its forts and the city itself, illustrates the fascinating details that can be gleaned by investigating the interactions between a fortified port city's military garrison and the civilian population. This work examines issues such as housing in San Juan for Spanish soldiers deployed to Puerto Rico; disputes arising because of the shortage of housing for both civilian residents and soldiers. A shortage only made more acute by the deployment of large troop numbers to San Juan; the diet of the soldiers garrisoned in the port town; and relations between Spanish soldiers and local women (Flores Roman et al 2009, 123-33).

Flores Roman et al have illustrated that because food and shelter are basic human needs, then as far as the available data allows, the diet and accommodation of colonial troops living in or around a port town should be studied as part of any investigation into the social ( and perhaps economic) history of the town and surrounding hinterland. Likewise, cravings for companionship and intimacy are natural human urges. For young, active, mostly single military men posted halfway around the world from home in an unfamiliar and to them exotic environment, these urges could only have been made stronger. Therefore intimate relations, whether fleeting or lasting, would inevitably form between soldiers and female members of the local population. Again, where available data makes it possible, the impact of such relationships on the human landscape should be examined.

In this vein, investigations of available primary sources highlight how the need to provide housing for large numbers of British troops may have impacted not only Sandy Point but also other communities in the north of St. Kitts. Issues concerning disputes over apparently unsatisfactory housing have been mentioned on several occasions in primary documents as well. Relations between soldiers and the local female population are reflected in marriage and baptismal records for the Parish of St. Anne, Sandy Point.

Analysis of faunal remains conducted during archaeological investigations at Brimstone Hill lead by Gerald Schroedl's team from University of Tennessee show parallels between the diet of British soldiers garrisoned at the fortress and their Spanish counterparts at El Morro and San Cristobal in San Juan (Schroedl et al 2000). Up to at least the early seventeenth century Spanish troops in San Juan were notoriously poorly fed, with meat being a rarity in their diet (Flores Roman et al 2009, 127). By the eighteenth century the diet of the Spanish soldier garrisoned in San Juan had markedly improved. Protein from various sources, such as beef, pork and chicken was now available and twice weekly he was treated to fish or other seafood (Flores Roman et al 2009, 164). The meat and poultry were sourced from livestock farms around San Juan, while the seafood was caught in the waters off the port city (Flores Roman et 2009, 164-65).

Similarly, according to the research conducted by Schroedl's team, meat from various faunal sources appears to have been a significant feature of the diet of soldiers garrisoned at Brimstone Hill. Unlike at San Juan; however, much of the beef consumed by soldiers at Brimstone Hill appears not to have been fresh meat from local sources but rather imported salted beef (Schroedl et al 2000, 19-21). This difference may be due to the fact that in Puerto Rico, as in the rest of the Spanish Greater Antilles and much of the Hispanic American mainland, cattle rearing was engaged in on a much larger scale than in the British West Indies and there would have been little need to import beef. Faunal evidence from excavations conducted by Schroedl's team suggest that while imported beef was consumed by both officers and enlisted men at Brimstone Hill, the officers were provisioned with higher quality beef than the ordinary ranks. The former also seemed to consume less beef than the latter (Ramsey 2011, 31-32; Schroedl et al 2000, 19-21).

However, the other forms of meat consumed by soldiers at San Juan and Brimstone Hill, predominantly pork in the case of the former and mainly sheep and goat in the latter, appear to have been exclusively from local sources (Flores Roman et 2009, 164; Schroedl et al 2000, 19-20). The notable apparent absence of pork from the diet of both the soldiers and the enslaved population at Brimstone Hill may have been due to cultural preferences. As with the beef, much of the pork consumed by soldiers at San Juan, was prepared in a popular stew that is a traditional delicacy in both Spain and the Spanish speaking Americas (Flores Roman et al 2009, 164). Unlike their counterparts at El Morro and San Cristobal, consumption of fish seemed to have been less frequent among soldiers at Brimstone Hill. This is somewhat surprising considering the proximity to a traditional fishing community at Fig Tree and contrasts sharply with evidence of regular consumption of fish by enslaved Africans at Brimstone Hill (Schroedl et al 2000, 22).

Evidence suggests that the presence of a large garrisoned military community in the vicinity of Sandy Point had implications for the diet of a significant number of enslaved Africans living or working in the area. Enslaved Africans living and/or working on Brimstone Hill appear to have been provisioned by the British military with some of the same foods made available to British soldiers, a significant contrast to the available evidence from plantation sites (Schroedl et al 2000, 19-20, 22). Enslaved Africans on the plantations typically had to utilize parts of the animal carcass discarded by the planter and his family as offal. Their ingenuity in utilizing these "inferior" parts of the carcass accounts for culinary creations such as bull foot soup and pig snout becoming traditional delicacies in St. Kitts and many other islands. The imported barreled beef provided to British soldiers of the ordinary ranks and enslaved Africans was of lesser quality than that provided to the officers (Ramsey 2011, 31-32; Schroedl et al 2000, 19-21).

Nevertheless, it is remarkable that within the military and civilian community that defended, maintained and provided other services at Brimstone Hill, enslaved Africans were provisioned with some of the same food sources as white soldiers.

Discussion of the social lives of British troops living in Sandy Point and its environs, and the impact of their presence on the society raises an important question. Why were so many colonial troops garrisoned in this part of St. Kitts in the first place? There must have been compelling strategic considerations; however, the reasons for a port's strategic value are not always obvious. On the face of it, while St. Kitts was without doubt an important sugar colony (the most important in the Leeward Islands), the island's sugar cane yield and muscovado sugar output was exceeded by that of Barbados and dwarfed by Jamaica's (see Table 3). These two islands were respectively the largest and second largest sugar producers in the British West Indies. Yet while Port Royal in Jamaica was heavily defended, the port's ring of fortifications did not include any on a scale similar to Brimstone Hill. In Barbados no fortifications were erected, neither at Bridgetown or Speightstown, on a scale comparable to Brimstone Hill Fortress or even Charles Fort. The difficulty which Barbados' geographic position posed to an attack from a fleet of sailing ships would have largely negated the need for such a huge investment in fortifications (see Chapter Two). Jamaica, with its proximity to the Spanish islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba and Santo Domingo, as well as Spain's North American mainland colonies in Florida and on the Gulf of Mexico, was from a purely geographic perspective, a much more vulnerable target.

**Table 3. Comparison of values of exports from British colonies in the early eighteenth century. Data extracted from Welch 2003[27]**

| Colony | Value of exports (£) |
|---|---|
| Barbados | 140,697 |
| Jamaica | 147,931 |
| Antigua | 30,855 |
| St. Kitts | 11,182 |
| Nevis | 12,729 |

However, the presence of a major Royal Navy base at Port Royal (Port Royal, Jamaica was the British Royal Navy's headquarters in the Northern Caribbean and English Harbour, Antigua, its base in the Eastern Caribbean) eliminated the need for such extensive land based defences. Because as Blaine Cliver notes, Britain's strategy for defence of its Caribbean empire was centred more on naval defence than that of Spain (Cliver 1999). The network of Spanish fortresses was expected to be completely self reliant in defending Spain's American colonies, essentially forming what Segovia calls "an immense stone lake (Segovia 1998, 159)." Lennox

[27] Pedro Welch, 2003. *Slave Society in the City: Bridgetown, Barbados 1680-1834.* Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers. 55.

Honychurch has also noted that Britain's Caribbean defence strategy on the other hand depended to a much greater extent on the projection of naval power (Honychurch 2013, 50-52). With respect to the scale of its construction, Brimstone Hill marks a significant departure from British defence policy in the Caribbean, why is this?

Cliver argues, that one of the main functions of Brimstone Hill (and this author would make the same argument for Charles Fort as well) was to defend the stretch of coast settled by the English (Cliver 1999). In Chapter Two of this research the author has also gone to great pains to argue that the two major defences of Sandy Point and its anchorage, Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill, came into being due to the English settlement at Sandy Point and its proximity to the French settlement on this stretch of coast. It was necessary to ensure the survival of the English colony on St. Kitts. After all, it was from the Anglo St. Kitts colony that most of the other English colonies in the Eastern Caribbean were established. The proximity of St. Kitts to the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique reinforced concerns about the island's vulnerability, even after it came completely under English control.

Therefore, it was not just the value of trade flowing through Sandy Point that influenced the development of its fortifications. Atlantic World geopolitics during a period of colonial expansion and rivalry, coupled with the island's vulnerable geographic location, played major roles as well. While the strategic imperatives just outlined necessitated the erection of the monumental fortifications around Sandy Point, these fortifications differed from their Spanish counterparts in one important aspect. Naval strategy still played a major role in the overall defensive policy in which Sandy Point's fortresses fit. In the event that an enemy was able to successfully land troops on St. Kitts, Brimstone Hill was supposed resist the invaders until the Royal Navy arrived, cut off naval support for the enemy's land forces and forced their surrender (ibid).

With respect to geopolitics influencing the development of fortifications, some parallels can be drawn between Sandy Point and Cartagena de Indias, Colombia. The latter did not by any means generate the greatest flow of wealth in the Spanish Americas. However, the South American port provided an important connection between Spain and the riches of Peru. Therefore, Segovia argues, Cartagena de Indias rose to strategic prominence not because of any particular endowment of the port or its surrounding regions but purely due to geopolitical considerations (Segovia 1998, 14).

While it was never the pre-eminent port of the British West Indian Empire, Sandy Point was still in its heyday a thriving port town. Eighteenth century map depictions of the historic town centre at Downing Street give some indications of the town's wealth (see Chapter Four). Masonry buildings and ruins observed during fieldwork investigations also hint at Sandy Point's former glory. On the other hand, the town of Portsmouth in Dominica and its anchorage of Prince Rupert's Bay provide examples of how an anchorage can assume strategic importance even while the town itself fails to take on any major economic or commercial significance. Most of the large sugar estates in the immediate hinterland around Portsmouth appear to have been owned by absentee planters, for Honychurch points out that the port town never benefitted from the wealth of its exports. With the profits from Portsmouth's sugar exports being instead invested in the metropole, the eighteenth century port town was left languishing, with the appearance of "a deserted village (Honychurch 2013, 48-49)."

Rather interestingly however, Portsmouth's anchorage, Prince Rupert's Bay became a strategically important anchorage for the Royal Navy. The size of the approximately three mile wide Bay (see also Google Earth line measurement of Prince Rupert's Bay, Chapter Two, Page 42) and the fresh provisions which were available from onshore in greater quantities than at any other British West Indian colony, gave the anchorage great favour with the Navy (Honychurch 2013, 48-50). Size also mattered where the Sandy Point Anchorage was concerned and this was a factor that along with the geopolitical ones discussed above contributed to the strategic importance of the anchorage. During the period of the Anglo/French partition of St. Kitts the Sandy Point Anchorage was the only large anchorage available to the English. The island's only other large anchorage at Basseterre Bay was controlled by the French. Even after the French agreed by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 to withdraw from St. Kitts and the Basseterre anchorage became available to the English, the utility of the Sandy Point Anchorage as the sugar export nexus for the plantations in the north of the island, together with the other factors already discussed, may have been responsible for ensuring that the Sandy Point Anchorage remained important to British interests.

### 6.1.3 The port of Sandy Point and its anchorage within the context of defence, conflict and trade in the Caribbean

According to several sources, the town of Sandy Point and its anchorage found themselves, from early in the period of exploration and conquest, thrust into the limelight on several occasions during conflicts taking place in the British Isles and Europe. An encounter discussed by Humphrey Metzgen and Major-General John Graham in their monograph *Caribbean Wars Untold*, lays bare not only the politico-religious differences of the English Civil Wars but, perhaps just as dramatically, the imperial and religious rivalries played out along the boundary between northern (Catholic) French St. Christophe and English (mostly Protestant) St. Christopher than ran through the Sandy Point Anchorage. A Royalist fleet commanded by Prince Rupert of the Rhine sailed through the Caribbean in 1652 seeking unsuccessfully to bolster the English King's cause. After an abortive attempt to capture prizes off Nevis, Prince Rupert made for St. Kitts. The Royalist ships exchanged cannon fire with the English position at Stone Fort, a fortification located on the southern bluff of Old Road Bay (To the present day the area carries the name Stone Fort and is thus depicted on maps). On arrival at Sandy Point Bay; however, Prince Rupert's fleet received a much friendlier welcome from the French authorities at Fig Tree (Metzgen and Graham 2007, 26-27). The presence of a Royalist fleet anchored in the Sandy Point Anchorage could not have done much to help already tense relations between the English and French on St. Kitts.

As has been discussed earlier in this chapter and previous ones, erection of fortifications and other defences against man-made threats to a settlement is a common feature of the early infrastructure of colonial towns. Sometimes the erection of these fortifications is not only a response to historical forces but the forts themselves may play a role in influencing events. We saw in Chapter Two how erection of the first fortification on St. Kitts negatively affected relations between the English and Kalinago (Dyde 2005, 21) and it is worth noting that the first fort erected on St. Kitts and by extension in the English West Indies, was erected by Thomas Warner's and his settlers at Old Road for the purpose of defending them against their Kalinago neighbours. In other words, defence against a perceived internal threat was the primary motive. The early forts erected by the English and French on the Sandy Point Anchorage, on the other

hand, served one or two main purposes. Fort Hamilton or Sandy Point Fort defended the anchorage from external threats, in whatever form those threats came. Fort Charles (Fig Tree Fort) on the French section of the Sandy Point Anchorage and Charles Fort on the English section both served dual roles of internal and external defence. With respect to internal defence, they guarded against a rival European settlement on the other end of the bay. These two major coastal forts also, like Fort Hamilton, defended against external threats posed by the countries of origin of the rival settlers or other sources. Therefore, we see an evolution of the roles which the fortifications served on the earliest English colony in the West Indies. From, at Old Road, seeking to suppress an indigenous population whose land the newcomers coveted, to at the divided Sandy Point Anchorage, ensuring that the recently conquered territory was kept out of the hands of other Europeans.

In his analysis of Jamaica's eighteenth century port towns Barry Higman emphasizes the fact that the origins of the "outward-looking, export-oriented plantation economies, tethered to the world system" took place in the Leeward Islands (Knight and Liss 1991, 117-148). This "outward-looking" plantation economy was initiated in the case of most of the Eastern Caribbean by the cultivation and export of tobacco as a cash crop. By the mid seventeenth century, the export oriented plantation economy, which had seen its first seedlings planted in the Leeward Island of St. Kitts, was going through a revolution aptly called The Sugar Revolution. The Sugar Revolution saw small holdings in the Leewards and Barbados transformed into large estates and even more importantly for the West Indian societies that would emerge, large numbers of enslaved Africans being brought into the region. With respect to changes in the natural and built landscapes, the Sugar Revolution manifested itself most dramatically on Barbados and St. Kitts.

However, while the export oriented West Indian plantation economy had its roots in St. Kitts with the cultivation of tobacco; the Sugar Revolution had its first spark in Barbados. Matthew Parker has outlined several factors responsible for the Leeward Islands lagging somewhat behind Barbados in the transformation to a sugar monoculture (Parker 2012, 129). Topography and other geographic factors played a major role but local social factors also contributed. In the case of St. Kitts, Parker quite rightly attributes as a major inhibiting social factor the constant armed conflict between the English and French (ibid). As has been extensively discussed in this research, hostilities between both settler groups were a major influence on the strategic importance of the town of Sandy Point and its anchorage.

Matthew Parker notes that by the 1660's sugar was becoming the dominant economic driver for St. Kitts and the rest of the Leeward Islands (Parker 2012, 130-31). While the Kalinago remained a serious perceived threat to life, property and prosperity, Lord Willoughby, the Governor of the Leeward Islands very astutely observed that Spain's diminishing military and naval power was being eclipsed by the ascendancy of France. Willoughby, correctly as it turns out, predicted that the battle for imperial supremacy in the West Indies would be a two-way contest between England and France (Parker 131).

This battle for dominance in the Caribbean between the two "superpowers" of the period reached its height in 1782 during one of the largest land battles and the two most significant naval battles to ever take place in the region. The Siege of St. Kitts saw a large French invasion force occupy the port town of Sandy Point and the surrounding countryside in their eventually successful bid to capture Brimstone Hill, both a symbolic and strategic victory. The first of the two major naval battles that took place in the Caribbean that year between the Royal Navy and the French Navy

was played out in the waters between St. Kitts and Nevis, and was the nautical component of the 1782 Siege. As discussed in Chapter Two, the Battle of Frigate Bay, as this encounter would come to be known, played a pivotal role in establishing British naval supremacy in the region. While Britain had temporarily lost St. Kitts, the diversion of French military and naval assets caused by the 1782 Siege and supporting Battle of Frigate Bay made possible the meeting two months later of British and French Navies in the Battle of the Saints. Britain's resounding victory at this second naval battle meant that while France would continue to be an occasional threat to the British West Indian up to the early nineteenth century, British hegemony in the region would not again be credibly threatened by France. For better or for worse, Sandy Point's fortifications and the British Caribbean naval strategy that they formed part of had in 1782 ensured that the British flag remained flying in most of the Eastern Caribbean for another two centuries.

### 6.1.4 Trade and commercial connections between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius from the seventeenth to nineteenth century

Barbara Tuchman has shown how important the neutral entrepot of St. Eustatius was to the neighbouring islands where trade was concerned because the mercantile policies of their respective metropoles prohibited them from trading directly with one another (Tuchman 1989, 18-22), and as Enthoven shows us St. Eustatius was also an important port for the interloping activities of both Dutch and North American vessels (Enthoven undated). St. Eustatius' proximity to English and French islands in the Leewards made it an ideal conduit for smuggling, much to the consternation of English authorities (Enthoven 2012, 239-301; Oostindie and Roitman 2014, 72-102).

In this chapter's following discussion on archival sources we shall encounter a disagreement between a Sandy Point merchant and the senior customs official for the port of Sandy Point. The dispute was apparently sparked by the official's seizure of goods being imported by the merchant. The goods had been brought to St. Eustatius by a North American vessel where they were purchased by the merchant from Sandy Point. The customs official's actions in seizing and condemning the goods when they arrived at Sandy Point may have been motivated by doubts about their provenance because as Enthoven points out it was very common for the Dutch to bypass Britain's Navigation Laws shipping goods directly from the Netherlands to the British North American colonies (Enthoven undated). Dutch and other foreign vessels were, according to the laws stipulations, supposed to dock at a port in Britain to enter their goods and pay the required customs duties.

As the Atlantic Trade in enslaved Africans assumed greater importance to the economies of England and its West Indian colonies the Royal African Company became increasingly concerned about competition from slave traders on St. Eustatius. Traders on the Dutch island were not only undercutting the company on price but were also supplying the human commodity in greater numbers (Enthoven 2012, 239-301). From 1721-23 St. Kitts was the most frequent destination for enslaved Africans sold by Dutch slave traders on St. Eustatius. As one of the major ports on St. Kitts, undoubtedly a large percentage of the over 1,000 enslaved Africans bought from St. Eustatius during this two year period would have been imported through Sandy Point (Enthoven 2012, 239-301).

In addition to being a smuggling haven and slave trading nexus, St. Eustatius had also become by the late eighteenth century the leading supplier of cane sugar to Dutch refineries in the Netherlands. This was quite an achievement considering that St. Eustatius did not grow enough sugar for any notable exports (Enthoven 2012, 239-301; Stelten 2019). Rather St. Eustatius procured the lion's share of the sugar it exported from English, French and Spanish plantation colonies (Enthoven 2012, 239-301). As St. Kitts was the leading sugar plantation colony in the Leeward Islands and Sandy Point one of its most important ports, St. Eustatius' role in buying West Indian sugar for export to another market in Europe besides England would have further strengthened trade relations between the Anglophone island and its northern port on the one hand, and the Dutch empire on the other.

The respective research of both Enthoven and Goslinga has highlighted the extent of trade between St. Eustatius and St. Kitts from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (Enthoven undated; Goslinga 1985, 204-05; Goslinga 1990, 160-61). In his two seminal works Goslinga has illustrated how the number of ship departures and arrivals between St. Eustatius and St. Kitts by far surpassed those between St. Eustatius and any other Caribbean or North American port, and even between St. Eustatius and ports in the Netherlands for much of the eighteenth century (Goslinga 1985, 204-05; Goslinga 1990, 160-61).

For example, in 1744 there were 425 vessels departing Orange Bay, St. Eustatius for St. Kitts and 360 vessels arriving at Orange Bay from St. Kitts. Of the 41 other ports trading with Orange Bay for which Goslinga provides figures, only for two, the French island of Guadeloupe and the Dutch island of St. Maarten do the arrival and departure figures reach to the triple digits. In this case the highest figure is 218 arrivals from St. Maarten, still far less than the numbers for St. Kitts. By 1785 shipping between Orange Bay and St. Kitts had declined dramatically to high double digit figures. However, out of the same 41 ports only seven, Guadeloupe, Martinique, Antigua, St. Barthelemy, St. Maarten, Saba and St. Thomas had equal or higher numbers.[28] By 1841 shipping into and out of Orange Bay, from and to all ports, had fallen off considerably due in no small measure to the abolition of the Slave Trade. The highest number of arrivals and departures for that year were for vessels coming from and going to St. Kitts, 93 and 90 respectively. St. Barthelemy ran a distant second with 50 arrivals and 49 departures (Goslinga 1990, 160-61).

Goslinga makes no specific mention of which ports on St. Kitts these vessels arrived from and departed to. Likewise in Enthoven's discussion of trade between the British islands of St. Kitts and Nevis and the Dutch islands of St. Eustatius and Curaçao, no specific ports or anchorages are mentioned apart from Orange Bay in St. Eustatius and Willemstad in Curaçao. However, we can make some assertions about how great a role Sandy Point played in trade between St. Kitts and Eustatius from the early seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Christian Koot's study of Anglo-Dutch trade in North America and the West Indies provides several accounts that highlight how significant trade between St. Eustatius and English St. Christopher was from the early 17th century (Oostindie and Roitman 2014, 72-102). While specific ports in St. Christopher are not mentioned here either, we know that until the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht Basseterre was a French port (see Chapter Two). As Sandy Point was the leading English port on St. Kitts for much of

[28]Cornelis Goslinga, The Dutch in the Caribbean and in the Guianas, 1680-1791 (Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1985). 204-205

the seventeenth century and at least the first decade and a half of the eighteenth century, a large proportion of the Anglo-Dutch trade between the two islands would have been through the northern St. Kitts seaport.

An early nineteenth century source divulges some revealing clues on how prominent a role Sandy Point would have played in trade and commerce between St. Kitts and St. Eustatius. In 1804 Robert Beatson published his *Naval and Military Memoirs of Great Britain from 1727 to 1783*. This fascinating volume details British military and naval exploits during a period when Britain's empire faced challenges to its hegemony from France the likes of which it would not encounter again until two centuries later when it was confronted by German ambitions. One historic action of the Royal Navy described in Beatson's monograph is Rear Admiral Rodney's capture of St. Eustatius in 1781. The Dutch island was known to be a conduit for shipping arms to the revolting North American colonies and it was considered strategically expedient for Britain to cut off this means of support to the rebels (Beatson 1804, 162-64). The capture of St. Eustatius was described by Beatson as "…one of the severest blows that Holland ever received (Beatson 1804, 167)." Rodney's surprise raid on St. Eustatius netted, among many other things, three "large Dutch ships, laden with naval stores," captured in the waters off St. Kitts (Beatson 1804, 168).

Of the many repercussions from Rodney's occupation of St. Eustatius, political, military and economic, one of the most significant was how much wealth was lost by so many merchants in the Atlantic World trading system, French, Dutch, American and British (Beatson 1804, 176-77). The latter group included the merchants of St. Kitts who were incensed at having their goods on St. Eustatius seized. One episode arising from Rodney's actions provides evidence of the strong mercantile links between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius. As has been discussed in Chapter Two and shall be discussed further in this chapter, by the 1770's the British and their colonial subjects in St. Kitts knew that a French assault on St. Kitts was an inevitability. By 1781 it was generally accepted that the French attack was imminent and so in that year the British landed twelve cannon, along with carriages, ordnance and wagons on the beach at Sandy Point. Instructions were conveyed to the Assembly and Council on St. Kitts from the British military high command that they were to be transported up to Brimstone Hill to reinforce the fortress' armament (Beatson 1804, 176-201). However, "…the people of St. Christopher's would not find negroes to get them up to Brimstone Hill, though often pressed to do so (Beatson 1804, 176)."

The quote above makes it obvious that the British were depending on slave owners in Sandy Point to transport the ordnance to Brimstone Hill. However, many Sandy Point merchants, upset at the losses they suffered at Rodney's hands in St. Eustatius, refused to make their enslaved Africans available for this task. The cannon and other ordnance remained on the beach at Sandy Point until the following year and as a result fell into the hands of the French during the 1782 Siege (Beatson 1804, 453-54). The invaders probably could not believe their luck. The actions (or inaction) by the slave owners in Sandy Point reveal two things. Firstly, how many of them were affected by Rodney's confiscation of merchant stock in St. Eustatius. Secondly, it should be borne in mind that due to the property owning qualifications mandating eligibility, the British West Indian legislatures were dominated by members of the planter-merchant class. The mere fact that the legislature of St. Kitts so brazenly ignored the instructions for ordnance to be transported from Sandy Point to Brimstone Hill indicates that a significant number of its

members were merchants with interests in Sandy Point who were nursing a grudge over their losses in St. Eustatius.

6.1.5 Maritime (shipping) connections between Sandy Point and other Atlantic World ports

Even by Caribbean standards Sandy Point is a small town. Yet the research indicates that this now obscure West Indian port town's maritime activities connected it to other ports in the Atlantic World. Vaughan W. Brown's investigation of maritime trade and commerce at the rather better known North American port of Annapolis gives an indication of the type of connections the maritime economy created between Caribbean ports such as Sandy Point and North American ports. While today no longer a major commercial port, Annapolis maintains significance from a maritime perspective as the home of the U.S. Naval Academy. In 1783, the final year of the American Revolutionary War, Annapolis served not only as the state capital of Maryland but also as the Confederation capital (Brown 1965, 9). Annapolis' location on the Severn River just three miles from Chesapeake Bay enabled it to rise to prominence as a vital port serving neighbouring areas of the North American coast and the hinterland. The city's heyday as an important port lasted from the late seventeenth to late eighteenth century. Annapolis would eventually be eclipsed by Baltimore as the premier "commercial maritime center of the Chesapeake Bay (Brown 1965, 8)," due to Baltimore's proximity to both the grain fields and deep water that could power the grain mills (Brown 1965, 24).

While maritime trade at Annapolis did not at any point reach the level seen at leading Atlantic coast North American ports such as New York, Philadelphia or Boston, levels of shipping here were nonetheless significant. In fact, during the Pre-Revolutionary War spike in trade Annapolis saw a dramatically greater surge than Philadelphia (Brown 1965, 13). In 1752 Annapolis was, of ports in the Chesapeake area, fifth in overall tonnage but second after Port Hampton in number of vessels cleared. In that year, of eighty two vessels which cleared Annapolis, twenty three were sailing to the Caribbean (28%); thirty one for the British Isles; four for Africa, Europe and Madeira; twenty four for British North America (ibid). Schooners and sloops calling from the British Caribbean territories of Antigua, Anguilla, St. Kitts, Barbados, Jamaica, Bermuda and the Bahamas exported raisins, salt, mahogany and lignum vitae to North America through ports such as Annapolis (Brown 1965, 15, 22).

Brown's monograph includes a list of every vessel that cleared customs at Annapolis between 25 June 1748 and 19 July 1775, the list is compiled from Port of Entry Records (Brown 1965, 38-72). Analysis of the frequency of Caribbean ports as port of origin or registry of vessel reveals the following data:

**Table 4. Frequency of vessels arriving from or registered at Caribbean ports calling at Annapolis between June 1748 and July 1775**

| Caribbean port of origin or registry | Frequency |
|---|---|
| Bermuda | 43 |
| Guadeloupe | 2 |
| Anguilla | 2 |

| | |
|---|---|
| Grenadines | 2 |
| Sandy Point | 2 |
| Kingston | 1 |
| Antigua | 5 |
| Basseterre | 6 |
| St. Kitts | 18 |
| Barbados | 2 |
| Bridgetown | 2 |
| St. Vincent | 1 |
| Montserrat | 1 |
| Tortola | 1 |
| Nevis | 1 |

Just a cursory examination of the above table makes it obvious that Bermuda and St. Kitts are the Caribbean islands most heavily involved in maritime trade with Annapolis. For clarification some comments are necessary. One would note that in some instances an island is recorded while individual ports on that island are also recorded separately. For example, two vessels are recorded as originating from or having been registered in Barbados, while two vessels are separately recorded as originating from or having been registered in Bridgetown. Likewise, eighteen vessels are recorded from St. Kitts, while separately two vessels are recorded from Sandy Point and six from Basseterre.

This arises from the fact that some customs officials were more detailed than others in making their records. When recording the port of origin or registry of a vessel one official may record the specific port while another may just record the island (Variances in the thoroughness of officials compiling records is something we shall encounter again in this chapter's later examination of archival sources during the discussion of baptism registers). Therefore, we can tell from the table that a total of four ships originating from or registered in Barbados called at the port of Annapolis during the period under review. However, we have no way of ascertaining whether all four vessels sailed from or were registered in Bridgetown. Similarly, six vessels are in the record as sailing from or being registered in Basseterre, while two are so recorded from Sandy Point. The high figure of eighteen vessels originating from or registered in St. Kitts during this period likely includes vessels from both Basseterre and Sandy Point. Unfortunately, what proportion each port comprised of this figure is impossible to state.

However, if we take the evidence from when the individual Kittitian ports are recorded, then it is probable that the figure of eighteen for St. Kitts includes a larger number of vessels from

Basseterre with the remainder from Sandy Point. With the majority of Caribbean ports listed only being mentioned once or twice in the Annapolis customs record it can be stated with certainty, based on the evidence presented, that more vessels originating from or registered in Basseterre called at Annapolis than from most of the other Caribbean ports. The same cannot be stated with certainty for Sandy Point but considering that St. Kitts as a whole had by far the second largest number of ships calling at Annapolis, then it is probable that vessels from Sandy Point called more frequently at the North American port than those from many other Caribbean ports. The discussion of maritime links between Sandy Point and other Atlantic World ports shall be continued in the analysis and interpretation of archival sources.

### 6.1.6 Prior anthropological research on Sandy Point's built heritage and associated cultural heritage

The built heritage of a community or metropolis features significantly in shaping the history and heritage of that area. Events or activities that occurred within a particular structure influence the ways in which members of the community perceive or relate to that structure. Perceptions of and relationships developed with the built heritage over time contribute to the collective memory and folklore of the community. Both the present research (see Chapter Four) and previous investigations by other researchers indicate the remarkable influence one particular structure has had on the social history and folklore not only of Sandy Point but the entire island of St. Kitts. The Hansen Home Leper Asylum, located within the imposing fortified walls of Charles Fort, has loomed large within Sandy Point and Kittitian society for a century.

In 1853 an era ended when the last garrisons were withdrawn from Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort. Four decades later the latter site became the home for a completely different type of institution, a leprosarium which in the 1920's formally became named the Hansen Home in honour of Dr. Gerhard Armauer Hansen, the medical practitioner who was responsible for identifying *mycrobacterium leprae,* the bacterial microbe responsible for leprosy (Anderson 2005, 133). The Hansen Home was part of a trend of several leprosariums established in the Caribbean during the nineteenth century. Most of the regions leper asylums or leper colonies were established during this period (Ahlman 2015). Contrary to Amanda Barton's assertion in her otherwise excellent study of the leper asylum on St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands, there were by the mid nineteenth century quite a few facilities in the Caribbean for the segregation and treatment of lepers (Ahlman 2015; Barton 2012).

The Hansen Home provided healthcare within a confined and regulated environment to patients from St. Kitts and Nevis, as well as several other territories in the British West Indies. The patients included not only lepers but individuals suffering from other diseases to which severe social stigma was also attached. Therefore, Nancy Anderson rightly points out that "Understanding the placement of the Hansen Home within the cultural environment of St. Kitts provides data relating to the technological and medical advances of not only St. Kitts, but the Caribbean in general (Anderson-Britton 2000, II)." Anderson goes on to claim that such an "Understanding" of the Hansen Home's role in society also leads to greater understanding of cultural change in St. Kitts (ibid). Due to the Hansen Home's role as the leprosarium for several Caribbean territories, investigation of how the institution treated its inmates may reflect how attitudes towards leprosy changed not only in St. Kitts but also across the rest of the Caribbean (Anderson-Britton 2000, II-III).

Anderson's stated research questions included the following areas: The origins of Charles Fort and its modification to suit the role of a leper asylum; links between occurrences of leprosy and tuberculosis; methods employed for the diagnosis and treatment of leprosy; social life within the Hansen Home, including interactions between patients and staff; interactions between patients and the wider society.

Where Anderson's research is particularly relevant to this researcher's investigations is in respect to three main areas. The first is the role of the port of Sandy Point in the movement of persons afflicted with leprosy (and other diseases for which it was felt necessary to separate the afflicted person from the general population) from other territories in the British West Indies to St. Kitts. The second area of interest is the attitudes of Sandy Pointers towards their port being the only point of entry for lepers into the island, and for having the island's only and the region's main leprosarium located within their town. Finally, what role did Sandy Pointers play in evolving attitudes towards leprosy and persons afflicted with the disease?

By the early twentieth century the Hansen Home had become the main leprosarium for the Leeward Islands. St. Kitts and Antigua exchanged patients between their respective asylums, with St. Kitts sending mentally ill patients to the mental asylum in Antigua and Antigua sending lepers to the Hansen Home leprosarium in St. Kitts (See also personal communication with Malcolm Govia, Chapter Four). That the Hansen Home served not just St. Kitts but also the Leeward Islands and at least one of the British Virgin Islands (Tortola) is hugely significant because, as data compiled by Todd Ahlman shows, most such institutions in the Caribbean served a single territory (Ahlman 2015). There were just two other leper asylums or leper colonies in the Caribbean that served more than one territory. A leper colony was established on the French island of La Desirade, located to the east of Guadeloupe, in 1728. All leprosy patients from Guadeloupe and Martinique were deported to La Desirade. The Lazaretto on St. Eustatius, which first opened its doors in 1866, served that island as well as the other neighbouring Dutch islands of Saba and St. Maarten (ibid). La Desirade served as the leprosarium for the French islands in the Eastern Caribbean and St. Eustatius' Lazaretto served the Dutch islands in the Eastern Caribbean. The Hansen Home fulfilled the same role for many of the British islands within that same geographic area. As the pre-eminent colonial power in the Caribbean, Britain controlled many more territories than the French or the Dutch. Some of these British territories, such as Barbados, Grenada, St. Vincent and Trinidad, had their own facilities for housing and treating lepers. Many others; however, especially those in the smaller Leeward Islands, either lacked such facilities completely or had inadequate facilities. Therefore, the Hansen Home found itself being responsible for treating patients from more territories than any other leprosarium in the Eastern Caribbean. In fact, of the few leprosariums responsible for more than one territory, the Hansen Home was the only one tasked with taking patients from more than two or three territories.

According to Anderson, the people of Sandy Point saw not only the lepers at the Hansen Home but the disease itself as an alien phenomenon imposed on them from outside. Many of the explanations for the origins of leprosy on St. Kitts placed blame on it having been introduced to the island from an outside source (Anderson 2005, 60, 104). For example, more than one of Anderson's interview subjects pointed to the fact that persons afflicted with leprosy were brought from other islands for treatment to justify the belief that leprosy was "brought to Sandy Point" and "not of St. Kitts"(Anderson 2005, 60, 104). In fact, several of Anderson's interview subjects

went so far as to claim that leprosy did not exist in Sandy Point before but was brought to the town when the Hansen Home was established (Anderson 2005, 105-06). However, Anderson's research shows that, contrary to these claims, leprosy was a major public health issue in Sandy Point and other communities in St. Kitts (as it was in other Caribbean territories and the rest of the world) before the establishment of the leprosarium at Charles Fort. Remarks made by one of Anderson's interviewees are particularly interesting. This individual stated that lepers were brought to Sandy Point and that Sandy Pointers "took care of them" (ibid). The observation about Sandy Pointers taking care of leprosy patients is particularly relevant with respect to the following discussion on evolving attitudes towards the disease.

Comments made by another Sandy Pointer to Anderson are also particularly interesting. This interviewee stated that for all other purposes vessels called at Basseterre but for bringing lepers to the island they called exclusively at Sandy Point (Anderson 2005, 105). The individual's statement is an obvious exaggeration (and a gross one as well) for as seen in Chapter Four there was also significant maritime traffic bringing trade and other types of migrants to St. Kitts through Sandy Point. However, this exaggeration displays the depth of feeling among some Sandy Pointers about their port being the official point of entry for lepers brought from other islands for treatment and about their town having been chosen as the location for the island's (and the region's major) leprosarium. As Anderson notes a successful public awareness campaign helped to cultivate the widely held public perception of leprosy as "not catching" (not contagious). However, like many diseases which can result in severe physical disfigurement, there was huge stigma associated leprosy. As a result there were two major issues that Sandy Pointers appeared to have, and based on remarks made to the author these opinions are still strongly held by many of them. The first issue was the decision to locate the leprosarium at Charles Fort. As we shall see in the following brief discussion on the historic rivalry between Sandy Point and Basseterre, this decision has drawn huge suspicion from Sandy Pointers as to the possible motives. Secondly, Sandy Pointers take great pride in their town's status as a once significant port. Therefore, being the official port of entry for leprosy patients brought to St. Kitts was seen as a great affront to that status.

One attribute of Sandy Pointers observed by the author, and also commented on to him by other Kittitians and even expatriates residing on the island, is the unusually strong sense of community identity and extremely chauvinistic sense of community pride displayed by many Sandy Pointers. This is also evidenced in attitudes recorded by Anderson towards the Hansen Home being sited at Charles Fort. She notes that "Sandy Pointers identify themselves as the victims of colonialism where the leprosarium was forced upon their city." Sandy Pointers regard leprosy as having been introduced into their community from outsiders who were either "non – Sandy Pointers, or non – Kittitians." As Anderson notes, such claims lay bare among other things, the fact that Sandy Pointers see themselves as being distinct from their fellow Kittitians (Anderson 2005, 216). On more than one occasion Sandy Pointers have stated to the author that the leprosarium was located in Sandy Point as an excuse to take the status of being the island's capital away from the town and awarding it to Basseterre. Such claims reveal two things, one is the historical rivalry that exists between Basseterre and Sandy Point and the other is the belief held by many Sandy Pointers as fact that the town was the island's first capital city; a belief Anderson also records being stated to her (Anderson 2005, 60).

The rivalry between Basseterre and Sandy Point is not unique; there are historic parallels on other Caribbean islands where more than one metropolis played an important role in the territory's economy. Lennox Honychurch has outlined how from the late 1970's the decline of the banana industry, exacerbated in the 1990's by changing World Trade Organisation (WTO) regulations with respect to preferential access of West Indian bananas to the European Union market, lead to Portsmouth being eclipsed by Roseau as the most important port town on the island of Dominica. Even during Portsmouth's zenith as the island's chief port for shipping bananas to the world Roseau was the seat of government and the commercial capital. Due to the centralization of development in the capital; Roseau, a "north versus south" rivalry developed between the two port towns which often plays out itself in national politics (Honychurch 2013, 139-41).[29]

James Robertson discusses similar rivalry between the Jamaican metropolises of Spanish Town, Port Royal and Kingston which have also had an impact on the island's politics (Robertson 2005, 65-93). This rivalry centred largely (although not solely) on disputes over where the seat of the colony's government should be located, which brings us to the second major issue highlighted by the claims of many Sandy Pointers that their town was the island's first capital and that it lost that status when the leprosarium was placed at Charles Fort. Not only is this claim erroneous it is downright impossible. As outlined in the previous chapters, Sandy Point was St. Kitts first major English port, a distinction it gained chiefly due to its strategic location and the size of its anchorage. However, Sandy Point was never the capital of English St. Christopher. Old Road was the island's first capital, a status that was transferred to the former French capital of Basseterre under the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which gave England full control of the island. Considering that Basseterre had been the capital of St. Kitts for over a century and a half before a decision was made to establish a leper asylum at Charles Fort in Sandy Point, this decision could not have been part of any conspiracy to dethrone the latter town from the position of capital city. It must be borne in mind that a major consideration in the location of leper facilities was some degree of remoteness. These facilities; therefore, were either located on small non or sparsely populated islands in close proximity to the larger islands that the patients originated from or on the edges of towns (Gilmore 2014, 188-90). As isolation was a factor in the siting of leprosariums it was not uncommon for fortified military sites to be adapted to this purpose; for example, El Canuelo on Cabras Island in San Juan, Puerto Rico (Ahlman 2015). Charles Fort being the only fully enclosed fortification on St. Kitts would, in addition to the fortress' immense size, have made it an ideal site for the leprosarium.

Anderson's research focused largely on the meaning behind the phrase "It's not catching," a phase commonly used by Kittitians she interacted with in reference to leprosy. Several factors lead to the evolution in the perception of the disease among Kittitians from a highly contagious one that was to be greatly feared, a feeling shared by the rest of the world, to a disease that could

[29] See also the following for discussion on how WTO rulings impacted Windward Island banana exports. BANANAS Discussions continue on a long-standing issue: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/min05_e/brief_e/brief22_e.htm: Accessed 10 August 2017; Bananas: WTO Rules Against EU: https://www.ictsd.org/bridges/news/bananas-wto-rules-against-eu: Accessed 10 August 2017; Patrick Barkham, *"the banana wars explained",* The Guardian (5 March 1999): https://www.theguardian.com/world/1999/mar/05/eu.wto3: Accessed 10 August 2017

not be easily passed from one person to the next or "not catching (Anderson 2008, 118). One was that not all persons struck with the disease were confined to the Hansen Home. Therefore, many Kittitians had personal encounters with individuals who had leprosy. The policy in St. Kitts of not confining all individuals suffering with the disease appears, according to Amanda Barton, to have been consistent with the practice in many other Caribbean territories by the nineteenth century because of general recognition that the disease was not highly contagious and therefore not a major public health risk (Barton 2012, 8-12). Another influential factor was that many patients who were successfully treated and deemed not to be a public health threat were discharged, having been diagnosed as inactive or "burnt-out". As a result of regular interaction between these persons and Sandy Pointers, the perception of the disease as "not catching" became widespread among many members of the community (Anderson 2008, 118). The actions of individuals such as Dr. MacLean also influenced the attitudes of Sandy Pointers towards persons with the disease. Dr. MacLean would consume food grown and reared by Hansen Home patients (Anderson 2008, 119).

The fact that none of the workers at the Hansen Home were known to have ever contracted leprosy was hugely influential on perceptions of the disease. It should also be noted that all of the former employees of the Hansen Home who were interviewed by Anderson were Sandy Pointers (Anderson 2008, 183). If not all, at least the majority of the Home's employees were Sandy Pointers, their regular interaction with patients and the fact that this regular and close interaction had no adverse effect on the former would not have escaped the attention of their fellow townspeople.

Local theories of leprosy, or "cocobay" as the disease is colloquially known in St. Kitts and several other Caribbean islands, as not being contagious have also been popularized in Kittitian literature. For example, in Simon Jones-Hendrickson's *Sonny Jim of Sandy Point*, the title character observed that a certain lady from the community regularly bought produce from the Hansen Home garden. Sonny Jim then reasoned that if she never contracted cocobay then it was safe for him to purchase produce from the same garden and to steal mangoes from a tree growing outside of the asylum's walls (Jones-Hendrickson cited by Anderson 2005, 119). In addition to growing produce, patients at the Hansen Home also raised livestock. While some cautioned against purchasing crops, meat or poultry from the Home many members of the public did so regardless. It was also commonplace for patients to save a meal for a destitute person out in the wider populace (Anderson 2005, 181).

The level of interaction permitted between patients of the Hansen Home and other members of the public is evidenced by the practice of allowing family members to worship with patients at the Hansen Home Chapel. The chapel, which was dedicated in 1926, was built just outside the walls of the Home. With permission, members of the general public could visit the Home and interact patients in the facility's Recreation Hall (Anderson 2005, 161), this Recreation Hall would become a focal point for social interaction between patients and Sandy Pointers. A television set was donated to the Hansen Home by a church in the United States either in the 1960's or 1970's[30]; this would have been the first television on the island. Many members of the

[30] Anderson's thesis states that the Hansen Home received the television set in the 1960's. During my personal communication with Malcolm Govia, who was also one of Anderson's interviewees, he stated that the Home received the television in the 1970's (see Chapter Four). This minor discrepancy is easily explained by the fact that

public ignored the stigma associated with leprosy and would come to the Home to watch television.

The lack of fear of the disease was also displayed by the practice of allowing the children of Hansen Home workers to visit them at the Home. In at least one case, the child of a nurse lived with her mother at the Home. The child recalled engaging in normal childhood activities, such as learning to ride a bicycle, on the grounds of the Home (Anderson 2005, 170-71). Such lack of apprehension towards associating with the Hansen Home and its population was not welcome by everyone however. In 1891 the "Lazaretto," a newspaper (which despite its name had no association with the Hansen Home) published by Charles Henry Boon which called for compulsory segregation of lepers with strict control on their interaction with the public, raised concern over reports of a nurse whose two children were living with her at the Home (ibid). The preceding discussion is not in any way meant to convey the impression that patients of the Hansen Home faced unanimous acceptance and tolerance from members of the Sandy Point community. Incidents of abuse committed against patients by members of the community were recorded (Anderson 2005, 74-75).

In Chapters Two and Five we explored how Sandy Point was thrust into the midst, in the literal geographic sense, as well as figuratively, of Anglo-French colonial rivalry. The erection of Charles Fort became the first tangible monumental manifestation of the role that the port town and its anchorage were going to play in Atlantic World geopolitics. In this chapter's later discussion on primary documents we shall investigate how the strategic importance of Sandy Point created the conditions for contact and interaction between Sandy Pointers and soldiers brought to St. Kitts for the specific purpose of defending the port and its anchorage. The withdrawal of the garrisons from Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort in the 1850's ended an era of contact between Sandy Pointers and transatlantic military migrants but within four decades a new era was ushered in. The adaptation of Charles Fort to serve the purpose of a leper asylum for many of the smaller territories in the British Eastern Caribbean brought a completely different type of migrant to Sandy Point's fortifications. Not transatlantic migrants but intra-regional ones. Not military migrants arriving for the purpose of protecting the port town but medical ones arriving to receive care and treatment within the protective confines of one of its major forts. The arrival of leprosy patients and the attitudes of many Sandy Pointers towards them created the conditions for unique social contacts, in which a significant number of Sandy Pointers willingly interacted with a misunderstood and marginalized group of people who represented not only various socio-economic strata in St. Kitts but from across the English speaking Eastern Caribbean sub-region as well.

### 6.2 Primary Sources

In Chapters Three and Four we discussed the archival collections accessed and the nature of the documents consulted. In this chapter we shall examine these primary sources in greater detail. The archival sources consulted for this research fall within the following categories: (i) Seventeenth to nineteenth century cartographic sources. Information gleaned from these maps

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my research was conducted a decade after Anderson's and that oral sources obviously do not possess perfect memories. Ethnographic fieldworkers need to always bear in mind that oral sources, like all other historical and archaeological sources of data, possess their own inherent shortcomings.

has revealed important information on the development of the network of fortifications guarding the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage; the origins of the name Sandy Point and an approximate period by which Sandy Point as a town had been established, as opposed to Sandy Point, the bluff that forms the northern extremity of the anchorage. (ii) Nineteenth century plans of the existing fortifications on St. Kitts created by British military authorities. **N.B.** Both categories (i) and (ii) have been covered in detail in Chapters Two, Three and Four. Therefore, there is no need for entering into further discussion on these primary sources in this chapter.

(iii) Trade and commercial connections between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius during the eighteenth century. (iv) Importance of the fortifications erected in and around Sandy Point not only to the defence of this port town and anchorage but also to the overall defence of the island of St. Kitts. (v) The defences of Sandy Point within the overall context of the defence of the Leeward Islands. (vi) Relationship between Sandy Point, its major fortifications and the soldiers deployed from Britain to man these fortifications, including the social impact of having large numbers of military personnel garrisoned in and around Sandy Point both on the town itself and on wider Kittitian society. (vii) Sandy Point and the famous slave trader turned clergyman and hymn writer John Newton. (viii) Maritime (shipping) connections between Sandy Point and other Atlantic World ports. (ix) Contribution of Sandy Point to St. Kitts' maritime society and economy. (x) Importance of the port of Sandy Point to Atlantic World trade and commerce in the early twentieth century. (xi) Sandy Point and Cold War geopolitics in the mid twentieth century.

### 6.2.1 Trade and commercial connections between Sandy Point and St. Eustatius during the eighteenth century

One group of documents obtained from the UK National Archives provides some insight into the trade network that operated between the British North American colonies, St. Eustatius and St. Kitts. The documents also highlight an issue, which as Pedro Welch has quite ably outlined, was a common concern for colonial authorities with regard to revenue collection at West Indian ports, allegations of collusion between customs officials and merchants (Welch 2003, 76-88).

A letter dated 29 April 1771 was addressed to "The Right Honourable Lords of His Majesty's Treasury at Whitehall." The letter of complaint was penned by James Merrifield, a "gentleman" of St. Ann (During this period the term gentleman denoted a man not of royal blood but of high social status) against the Collector of Customs at Sandy Point. In British Caribbean colonies the Collector was the senior customs official for a port. He commanded a staff of customs clerks and other officials, and answered to the Surveyor/Comptroller who was the senior customs official for the entire island (Welch 2003, 78-79). Based on the contents of the letter, Mr. Merrifield, its author, was obviously a merchant. We do not know for certain but James Merrifield may have been a descendant of Ralph Merrifield, the head of the group of London merchants who provided financial backing for Thomas Warner's expedition to settle St. Christopher a century and a half earlier (Dyde 2005, 21). Enclosed with Merrifield's letter was an affidavit by his son who had been "for some considerable time a clerk in the Customs House at Sandy Point (UK National Archives T1 499 C 496570)."

In his letter Merrifield alleged that it was common for "droggers" (Droghers: A type of coastal schooner) to go to St. Eustatius "without clearing out in this island" and that these droghers were permitted to illegally land "divers goods brought up from St. Eustatius (Note that although St.

Eustatius is situated to the north of St. Kitts, travelling to St. Eustatius is referred to locally as going "down to Statia" and in the opposite direction as going "up to St. Kitts." Similarly many Kittitians and Nevisians refer to going "up to Nevis" and "down to St. Kitts," even though St. Kitts lies to the north of Nevis). Merrifield alleged that Mr. Bennett, the Collector of Customs at Sandy Point, always granted permits to goods brought in illegally from St. Eustatius on the droghers. Two of the St. Eustatius merchants Bennett were accused of colluding with were named Robert and Cornelius.

Bennett was accused on at least one occasion of receiving a pipe of wine from St. Eustatius, smuggling it onto shore and rolling it up to his cellar at Sandy Point.[31] Bennett was also accused of engaging in trade, a direct conflict of interest with his office of Collector of Customs. Bennett was said to have bought and sold a cargo of mules and in January 1770 to have bought a cargo of lumber from Captain Thomas Doan, master of a brig named *Polly* which originated from the Piscataqua River on the North American Atlantic shore. According to Merrifield, Bennett sold the lumber to owners, attorneys and managers of several plantations in St. Ann.

With respect to vessels clearing customs at Sandy Point, Merrifield accused Bennett of clearing several sloops and schooners as droghers to trade along the coast of St. Kitts carrying sugar, rum and other cargo. Afterwards, according to Merrifield's letter, these vessels would "clandestinely" depart for St. Eustatius without clearing customs and return to Sandy Point soon after where they would apply to Bennett for permits to land fish, flour, biscuits and other articles. These vessels allegedly never cleared for St. Eustatius nor were they entered into the customs records at Sandy Point as coming from St. Eustatius (UK National Archives T1 499 C 496570). It appears from this last allegation that Bennett was accused of allowing Dutch ocean going schooners and sloops to masquerade as local or English droghers.

In response to Merrifield's official complaint, Mr. Senhouse, Surveyor General of Barbados and the Leeward Islands, was dispatched to Sandy Point in St. Kitts to undertake "a strict enquiry" into the conduct of Mr. Bennett with respect to the letter and affidavit of James Merrifield. Senhouse carried out his enquiry together with Mr. Stanley, the Solicitor General of St. Kitts. The enquiry found that Merrifield could only support one of his accusations against Bennett, to which Bennett admitted, that of "now and then importing from St. Eustatius a case of claret and some brandy for his own personal use (ibid)."

In the report on his enquiry, the Surveyor General states that while Bennett was culpable in this one offense, otherwise:

> There is not in the whole Department an Officer more capable or more attentive to his Duty or One who has more at heart the Good and improvement of the Revenue and that he is thoroughly satisfied the present charges against Mr. Bennett has at first occasioned and afterward carried out with much more personal Pique and Malignity than from any laudable

[31] The term pipe was derived from the Portuguese word for barrel *pipa.* A pipe was a long large barrel or cask with tapered ends used for aging and shipping wine. Pipes were used extensively for port wines as well as Marsala and Madeira. Pipes ranged in capacity from 418 to 630 litres.

Desire in Mr. Merrifield of rendering and Benefit or advantage thereby to the Revenue (UK National Archives T1 499 496570).

A decision was made not to dismiss Mr. Bennett but to dock one year's salary and reprimand him severely. On the next offense he would be dismissed (ibid). Evidence suggests that Merrifield's motivation for his accusatory letter and affidavit against Bennett stemmed from a personal grievance with the latter's execution of his duties. Merrifield had purchased some quantities of fish and flour and a few casks of biscuits out of American vessels lying at St. Eustatius. The goods were to be brought to Sandy Point in droghers. Bennett refused to give a permit to Merrifield to land the goods at Sandy Point but instead seized and condemned them. Even though Merrifield stated that he produced an affidavit showing that the goods originated from His Majesty's colonies in America and "were taken out of British Bottoms in the Port of St. Eustatius. Merrifield claimed that Bennett's seizure of his goods was motivated by differences in political sentiment between the two men because Bennett supported "every Revolution and Act of Violence in the Assembly even against his Oath and office as a judge of the Court (ibid)."

As all charges against Bennett we dismissed except for the relatively minor one of importing liquor for his personal use, we should in all fairness assume his innocence. Regardless of what Merrifield's motives may have been or what the political sympathies of himself and Bennett were, it is obvious that he did have an axe to grind.

However, the case involving Merrifield and Bennett is revealing with regard to legitimate trade activities between the Dutch island of St. Eustatius and the Anglo-Kittitian port of Sandy Point. The quantities of goods seized from Merrifield by Bennett indicate that the former was a merchant. We do not know exactly how much fish and flour was involved in the seizure; however, it is highly unlikely that Merrifield would have purchased several casks of biscuit for his personal use. The description of an American vessel offloading cargo at St. Eustatius and a Kittitian "gentleman" importing sizable amounts of certain items from the vessel's cargo into St. Kitts, most likely for resale, paints a picture, even if only a partial one, of the trade network which linked Sandy Point to the Dutch West Indies and the British North American colonies.

### 6.2.2 Importance of the fortifications erected in and around Sandy Point not only to the defence of the port town and the anchorage but to the defence of the island as well

Several documents from the early settlement period of the seventeenth century to the post 1782 Siege period palpably convey the concerns of both London and the island's government about the state of St. Kitts' defences. Particularly obvious from these documents is the indispensability of Sandy Point's major fortifications, Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill, to fending off any perceived or imminent threat. Hostilities and rumours of hostilities between England and France always put nerves on edge in the West Indies because colonies, especially valuable plantation colonies such as St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, Guadeloupe and Martinique were often strategic targets. The reader would be aware from this chapter's earlier discussion of secondary sources how detrimental hostilities could be to the West Indian plantation system's economic well being.

The role of Sandy Point's fortifications in preparation for possible attack is clearly illustrated in many official documents. For example, in 1678 rumours of an impending war between England and France prompted the Council and the Governor to reinforce Cleverley Hill Fort (Charles

Fort), then the island's chief fortification, by transferring artillery pieces to it from three other forts: Sandy Point Fort (Fort Hamilton), Stones Fort and Fort Charles in Old Road (CSP, A&W.I., 1677-1680, 215-220).

The response described above to fears of a possible French attack on St. Kitts typifies the traditional role of coastal forts, defending an important stretch of coastline from hostile enemies. Interestingly though, in the early eighteenth century the forts of St. Kitts were also tasked with defending the island from a completely different type of threat. Between 1722-1723 an Act was passed stipulating that vessels arriving at St. Kitts from parts of the world infected with the bubonic plague, smallpox and other infectious diseases be prevented from allowing its crew, passengers or cargo to land until it presented documents to satisfy authorities on the island that it had been properly quarantined. Responsibility fell upon the island's coastal forts to enforce this legislation. A ship arriving off St. Kitts was to be hailed by the gunner of the fort guarding the port, anchorage or other stretch of coast that ship arrived at before the vessel was allowed to land goods or persons ashore. The ship was expected to respond by stating which country it had sailed from. If the ship came from an infected country (for example, the plague was prevalent in parts of France at the time) it would be refused permission to land cargo or persons. In the event of a ship arriving from an infected region trying to land anything or anyone in defiance of orders not to do so, the legislation instructed the gunner to open fire with small arms or artillery fire. Anyone who managed to land on shore from the vessel without the proper quarantine being performed was to be "put to Death with any Weapon (St. Kitts National Archives, Laws of the Island of St. Christopher; from the Year 1711 to the Year 1791)."

The provisions above applied to all of St. Kitts' coastal forts. There was; however, a further provision which gave a specific role to Fig Tree Fort (or Fort Charles), the former French fortification sitting on the northern end of the Sandy Point Anchorage. Once a vessel had arrived from an infected country and been barred from landing goods or persons, the ship's captain or master, if they did not wish to depart the waters of St. Kitts were allowed to anchor **only** off Fig Tree Fort at a distance of no less than one mile from shore. A ship carrying anyone infected with the plague may remain anchored at this spot for forty days, in the case of smallpox "or any contagious fever" for thirty days. After the respective stipulated period had passed a surgeon may board the vessel to conduct an inspection. The vessel would be permitted to land persons or goods only if the surgeon presented a certificate signed by himself to "any Magistrate in this Island" stating that there was no infected person aboard (ibid). As there would have been little, if any, effective treatment available aboard ship it is obvious that this offshore quarantine period, especially in the case of the bubonic plague, was intended to allow time for the victims die out. The same provision stated that the surgeon, apart from ensuring that there were no infected persons aboard ship, was also to ensure that all bedding and clothing that had been used by infected persons had been burnt or otherwise destroyed (ibid).

So while all of St. Kitts' coastal fortifications were tasked with keeping plagues at bay (in a literal sense), Fig Tree Fort on the northern bluff of Sandy Point Anchorage was given the additional role of, when necessary, enforcing a maritime quarantine of vessels arriving from countries afflicted with bubonic plague, smallpox or other highly infectious diseases. This contrasts sharply with the role the anchorage adopted at the ending of the following century, that of an official point of entry for sufferers of leprosy brought to St. Kitts to be housed and treated

at Charles Fort, the coastal fortification sitting at the opposite end of the anchorage from Fig Tree Fort.

Throughout most of their history though, the role of Sandy Point's fortifications reflected what was usually the colonial authorities and the island legislature's greatest preoccupation, defence of the island from military threats. The disproportionate burden for defending the island placed on the forts guarding the Sandy Point Anchorage is reflected in a series of rather repetitive legislation passed from the early to mid seventeenth century. These laws stipulated that a large number of the island's enslaved African population be dedicated to construction work on St. Kitts' forts, especially Brimstone Hill and Charles fort. These laws have already been discussed in Chapter Two but an early example of such a proposed legislation is worth noting here.

At a meeting of a committee of the Council at Old Road on 2 October 1706 a proposed legislation was tabled for "one negro out of forty" to be put to work "Repairing Her Majesty's Fortifications of Charles Fortt (sic) and Brimstone hill (UK National Archives CO 241/1)." In 1708 the Black population of St. Kitts numbered 3,000 out of a total population Black and White of 4,500 persons (Greenwood and Hamber 2003, 105). While some members of the Black population would have been free persons of colour, the overwhelming majority of them were enslaved persons. The legislation proposed at the 1706 Council meeting therefore called for close to 75 enslaved persons to be assigned to repair work at the two most important fortifications guarding the Sandy Point Anchorage. Several other legislation and Council minutes highlight how vital the defences of Sandy Point were to the rest of the island. For instance, in June 1779 a recommendation was tabled in Council for Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort to be repositories for the storage of provisions for the militia. What this recommendation makes evident is the expectation that the last stand in resisting a powerful invasion force would take place at these two fortresses (UK National Archives CO 241/11.

1779 was a year in which expectations of the inevitable French invasion were at their highest; in response a large number of British troops were deployed to St. Kitts and landed at Sandy Point where they were met by members of the Assembly. The minutes of the meeting of the Assembly held on 2 August 1779 makes it obvious that the large number of soldiers landed at Sandy Point were too much to be adequately accommodated at Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort. As a result it became "necessary to Hire Houses in the Town of Sandy Point (UK National Archives CO 241/11)." By 1796 there were 150 troops living in Sandy Point and Dieppe Bay (UK National Archives WO1/84). The majority of these troops may have been residing in Sandy Point for in 1802 it was recorded that there were 105 soldiers living there (St. Kitts National Archives, St. Christopher Council Minutes 22 July 1802). At the same Council meeting of August 1779, in addition to the need to house the troops in Sandy Point, the Assembly also called for residents of the Parishes of St. Ann, St. Thomas Middle Island and St. Paul's Capisterre to provide wagons and carts etc for the purpose of assisting in transporting the troops' luggage and equipment (UK National Archives CO 241/11).

The stationing of so many troops in Sandy Point made demands on the resources of communities as far as Old Road. The authorities were concerned at the state of disrepair which a well located at the foot of Brimstone Hill had been allowed to fall into, necessitating "a weekly supply of water from the Town of Old Road for the Troops at Sandy Point (UK National Archives CO 241/11)." There was good reason for concern, because as noted above (as well as in Chapter Two) the fortresses guarding the Sandy Point Anchorage were intended to be the stage for the

last stand in the event of an invasion. If an invading force captured Old Road they could cut off the water supply to the troops at Sandy Point, thereby shortening the siege and more quickly taking control of the entire island. Increased troop numbers at Sandy Point wasn't the only step being taken for the island's defence. In meetings of the Council and Assembly in October of that year a resolution was passed stating that an equal number of 24 pounders were to be kept in a constant state of readiness to replace those at Charles Fort "on any emergency (UK National Archives CO 241/11)."

The Battle of the Saints in 1782 assured Britain's naval supremacy in the Caribbean. France, victorious at the 1782 Siege, returned St. Kitts to Britain the following year under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Nevertheless, the threat of French attack on St. Kitts remained ever present. In 1784, two years after the Siege, General Shirley, Governor of the Leeward Islands, recommended that more forts and batteries be erected at Basseterre and Sandy Point (UK National Archives CO 241/18). While this recommendation was never implemented, the fact that it was made by one of the most senior British military officials in the Caribbean is evidence of the continued strategic value of the two anchorages.

The following year Second Lieutenant James Lees, commanding officer of the Royal Engineers detachment supervising the post Siege reconstruction and redesign of Brimstone Hill Fortress, made two remarkable recommendations to the Council. 2nd Lt. Lees recommendations not only highlight how inseparable the histories of Sandy Point and Brimstone Hill are in many aspects, they also emphasize the importance that British military leadership continued to place on the town's two primary fortifications. Lt. Lees proposed that barracks atop Monkey Hill (Monkey Hill is a small hill on Brimstone Hill located to the south of the Parade Square, directly opposite the Fort George Citadel) be repaired. As part of the refurbishment of the barracks on Monkey Hill, the engineer officer suggested that a building located on Burt's Estate in Sandy Point be relocated to Monkey Hill to serve as the Officers' Quarters.[32] The Lieutenant also proposed that two buildings located at Charles Fort be repaired for the purpose of housing two additional companies of soldiers there (UK National Archives CO 241/18). It is uncertain whether these proposals were implemented. There is no record of whether Lt. Lees proposals were followed up on and the structures referred to at both Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort were probably timber structures, of which there are no standing remains. Certainly the building at Burt's Estate recommended for relocation to Brimstone Hill would have been a timber structure that could be transported with relative ease.

### 6.2.3 The defences of Sandy Point within the overall context of the defence of the Leeward Islands

On the 27th day of September 1779 Governor of the Leeward Islands, William Matthew Burt (the very same Burt mentioned above from whose estate in Sandy Point it was proposed that a building be transported to Brimstone Hill), addressed a letter from his seat in Antigua to Lord George Germain, Secretary of State for the Colonies during the American Revolution (Gruber 1965, 225-43). In this eight page correspondence Burt presented a review of the defences of the Leeward Islands. The document is revealing with respect to a senior official's opinion on the

[32] As shown on the 1828 McMahon Map (Basseterre: St. Christopher National Trust), William Matthew Burt owned a plot of land slightly south of the town centre at Downing Street and a large estate to the east of this.

comparative state of fortifications in the respective territories that comprised the Leeward Island Colonies. In Montserrat he commended a deodand which could hold "all of the White Inhabitants and their Cattle (University of Florida Libraries, West Indies Papers: Antigua, 1779-1825)." With respect to Antigua, the headquarters of the Leeward Island Colonies, he was less sanguine about the defences of the naval dockyard at English Harbour. While Burt was satisfied with the position and state of armament of some of the island's forts, which formed a defensive chain meant to protect the strategically valuable naval base, he was far less happy with many others. Several of the fortifications; for instance those at Falmouth, a large bay next to English Harbour, were considered because of their location, both too vulnerable to naval gunfire and not sufficiently able to cover the area that they were tasked with defending. The Governor went so far as to express the fear that the state of Antigua's fortifications left English Harbour easy prey to an amphibious assault (ibid). Bearing in mind our discussion in Chapter Two on the drawbacks suffered by many coastal fortifications of the period, Burt's concerns were quite reasonable.

Strikingly, Burt was far more optimistic about the fortifications on St. Kitts. We know already from this chapter's prior discussion on secondary sources that the erection, maintenance and improvement of fortifications in St. Kitts, as in the rest of the Americas, were frequently beset with delays. Inertia was often only overcome in the face of impending hostilities. Yet, in his approving review of the efforts being made by the colonists on Montserrat to improve the island's defences he opined that "…this Island will in the Course of a few Months, be in a state of equal security with St. Christophers (ibid)." As Burt's concerns over the fortifications on Antigua mirror those expressed by another colonial official regarding all of the fortifications on St. Kitts, save for Brimstone Hill and Charles Fort, just a few decades prior (CSP, A&W.I., July 1724, 11-12), it is obvious that his glowing reference to the "security of St. Christophers" was aimed at the flagship fortifications guarding the Sandy Point Anchorage, Charles Fort and Brimstone Hill. Despite their shortcomings amid the imminent threat of attack from a French foe with whom Britain was locked in mortal combat on North American soil, the Governor of the Leeward Islands regarded the defences of the Sandy Point Anchorage as the benchmark for the rest of his colonies. Events would prove him to have not been over optimistic, for in 1782 France only gained full control of St. Kitts after a prolonged Siege which saw most of their land forces concentrated in and around the town of Sandy Point.

### 6.2.4 Relationship between Sandy Point, its major fortifications and the soldiers garrisoned at them, including social impact on Sandy Point and St. Kitts

We are aware by now that large numbers of British soldiers were stationed in Sandy Point and at Brimstone Hill for the defence of the island. As noted above, in 1779 when British troops were deployed to St. Kitts in anticipation of a French invasion attempt it became necessary to rent accommodation in Sandy Point. Archival documents reveal; however, that while events of the late eighteenth century may have led to an increase in the town' military population, British troops residing in Sandy Point was nothing new. Early in the year 1741, the island's Council passed a resolution authorizing soldiers living at Sandy Point to use the town's hospital (UK National Archives CO 241/4). As Brimstone Hill Fortress had at least two hospitals located on site, the resolution may have been in response to great demands placed on the fortress's medical facilities. West Indian fortresses were notoriously draughty, damp unhealthy places. Living conditions combined with mosquito borne diseases, heavy uniforms unsuitable for a tropical

climate, lead poisoning caused by consuming water and spirits from lead drinking vessels, high consumption of alcohol and sexually transmitted diseases all contributed to frightful mortality rates among European troops garrisoned in the Caribbean. Despite frequent invasions and other armed hostilities in the region, many more soldiers died from the above listed causes than in combat (Dyde 1997, 16-18; Flores Roman et al 2009, 123-29; Honychurch 2013, 85-89; Smith 1992, 38-42).

The limits of medical knowledge at the time, especially in areas such as anesthetics, combined with equally limited knowledge of basic sanitation, made hospitals extremely deadly places for the unfortunate European soldiers confined to them (Flores Roman et al 2009, 128; Honychurch 2013, 88-89; Smith 1992, 42). Considering the general ignorance of the fact that mosquitoes were the causes of diseases such as malaria and yellow fever, and that medical procedures were carried out using unsterilized instruments, the hospital at Sandy Point would have presented to its patients many of the same hazards as the ones at Brimstone Hill. Still some of the soldiers may have enjoyed the change of scenery. The seaside location of the hospital, which was sited at the seaward end of Downing Street above Fort Hamilton, may have been a particularly welcome respite to convalescing troops.

Figure 144 Ruins of former Sandy Point Hospital. The town's hospital was located at this site on Downing Street until the Pogson Hospital was erected at The Alley in Sandy Point in 1892. Note paved landing which leads to the sea. Photo courtesy Ray Hayes, STIMACUR

Figure 145 Steps below landing leading from hospital ruins to the coast. The partially submerged ruins of Fort Hamilton can be seen at the right. Photo courtesy Ray Hayes, STIMACUR

It is obvious from the records that adequate housing for troops in Sandy Point became an issue. A letter penned in June 1786 by Captain E. Wilson of the 67th Regiment to Matthew Groves, a Sandy Point landlord, complained of poor condition of houses rented to officers (UK National Archives CO 241/18). In his written response Groves complains that there was outstanding rent owed to him (ibid). The island's Council found merit in the captain's complaint for three months later they ordered that housing rented in Sandy Point from Groves be repaired and that the cost of repairs be deducted from the rent (ibid). Apparently, the unsatisfactory housing situation was not resolved, for in October Council instructed the troops housed in Sandy Point to prepare to move to Brimstone Hill and that Council will only pay their rent in Sandy Point for one more month (ibid). This move did not solve the housing issue, for by the end of the year four more British Army officers had arrived in St. Kitts and the Council found that there was no decent housing for them in Sandy Point (ibid).

The lack of adequate housing for soldiers deployed to the Caribbean was not isolated to St. Kitts. Spanish soldiers garrisoned in San Juan, Puerto Rico faced the same problem, with one notable difference. Only the ordinary ranks of the Spanish Army in San Juan seemed to have to endure unsuitable housing. In the early years of the Spanish colony these soldiers were lodged in

fortifications that were still being constructed or in humble dwellings in the city. The officers on the other hand, were quartered in already established fortifications and in the city's better homes (Flores Roman et al 2009, 123-24). While the communication discussed above between the Army Captain and the Sandy Point landlord highlights instances of friction between some of Sandy Point's civilian and military residents, available records indicate that this friction did not reach anywhere near the same level, nor was as widespread as it was in San Juan. During the early years of the latter port town's military garrison it was not unheard of for soldiers to force residents from their homes and occupy them.

Whether in Sandy Point, San Juan or anywhere else in the American empires of European powers, soldiers deployed far from home for several years would inevitably form relationships with local women. These relationships are reflected in marriage and baptismal records. Among the marriage bonds and oaths for St. Kitts from the period 1780 to 1847, several marriages are recorded between soldiers and officers of the British Army and local women. The marriage bonds state in addition to the names of the bride, groom and witness, the groom's rank and regiment (St. Kitts National Archives, Marriage bonds and oaths for St. Kitts, 18th to 20th century, spreadsheet). Ranks range from Private to Major and three of the recurring regiments, the 15th, 11th and 28th Infantry Regiments, were garrisoned at Brimstone Hill (Friedrichs 1999). Two of the marriages recorded involved members of the famous West India Regiments (WIR). One was a lieutenant of the 4th West India Regiment (4 WIR) and the other a Company Sergeant of the 3rd West India Regiment (3 WIR), both regiments had been garrisoned at Brimstone Hill.

The British Army's first regiments of black soldiers were formed in 1795 and officially named West India Regiments in 1798 (Dyde 1997, 21-24). The regular ranks were black soldiers either bought in Africa or from plantations in the West Indies. The officers were white and it was the initial intention for the NCOs to be as well. However the difficulty in finding white NCOs willing to transfer from other regiments to a regiment of black soldiers meant that from very early in the West India Regiments history many of the NCOs were black (Dyde 1997, 37). We are unable to discern the race of Company Sergeant William Mitchell of the 3 WIR who married Mary Jane Garvin at St. Thomas Parish on the 4 January 1847. However, as we shall see below it is sometimes possible to determine the race of other West India Regiment NCOs recorded in marriage and baptismal records.

The Sandy Point Marriage Register for the period 1830's to 1850's reveals varying ranks, regiments and military occupational specialties (from infantry and artillery, to engineers and surgeons), and ethnicities of soldiers and officers who wed local women (St. Kitts National Archives, Marriage Register Sandy Point 18?6). As with the marriage bonds and oaths for St. Kitts, several of the regiments recorded are ones that, according to research conducted by John Friedrichs, were garrisoned at Brimstone Hill (Friedrichs 1999). Military personnel recorded in the parish's marriage register lived not only at the fortresses guarding Sandy Point but also within local communities. For example, the Assistant Surgeon of the 57th Regiment who married a local spinster in 1843. This medical officer's address is given as Middle Island. One interesting entry is the marriage of Corporal George Washington of the 3 WIR to a local spinster in 1847. Corporal Washington's name reveals a great deal about his identity. With the loss of their thirteen North American colonies in 1783 still a very fresh memory it is highly improbable that a Briton would have named their male child in honour of the general who led American Revolutionary forces to victory. Corporal Washington's name therefore suggests that he was the

former slave of a British West Indian planter who sympathized with North American revolutionary sentiments. As we have seen in this chapter's previous discussion on historical sources, there was no shortage of such sympathies in the British West Indies.

The Sandy Point Baptism Register for the period 1826 to 1841 has proven to be an even richer resource of information on how the presence of the fortifications in Sandy Point influenced the human landscape of the town. In discussing the parish's marriage register above we noted that British servicemen of varying enlisted and commissioned ranks entered into formal unions with local women. However, the fact that relationships between troops and Kittitian females were not limited to the military's rank and file is made even more obvious when studying the Sandy Point Baptism Register. For instance, between 1826 and 1837, in six of the baptisms recorded for the parish the father was either the Assistant Commissary General or Deputy Assistant Commissary at Brimstone Hill Fortress (St. Kitts National Archives, Baptisms. St. Ann. Sandy Point. 1826-41). The Commissary General was the officer in charge of the fortress' Commissariat, where food supplies were requisitioned, stored and disbursed.[33] Noteworthy as well is that the addresses given for these Commissariat officers shows that they resided within the local communities. Most of them resided at Sandy Point and one at Guinea Bay (St. Kitts National Archives. Baptisms. St. Ann. Sandy Point. 1826-41). Flores Roman notes that many of the Spanish soldiers who established relationships with women in San Juan lived with these women, some of whom owned their own housing (Flores Roman et al 2009, 125). With respect to the Commissariat officers and other army personnel whose address is listed as Sandy Point it is not yet possible in most cases to determine whether the father had been living in Sandy Point prior to forming a relationship with a woman in the town or whether he moved in with her after the marriage.

The inability to make such a determination is because where the father's name was given in the baptismal records just his address was recorded. On the contrary as we shall see below, the mother's address was only recorded when no father's name was given. There are two cases where a reasonable assumption can be made that the father was living in the town before their marriage. John Gateward Mac Farlan, Deputy Assistant Commissary General, fathered two children with his wife Anne, a son Duncan baptized on 18 August 1831, and a daughter Mary Stewart baptized on 5 July 1833. In both baptismal entries John's address is given as Glasford Lodge. Glasford Lodge is also the address given for John Norman, a Treasury Clerk in the Commissariat, who fathered a son named John George, baptized on 13 December 1840, with his wife Elizabeth (St. Kitts National Archive. Baptisms. St. Ann. Sandy Point. 1826-41). Glasford Lodge therefore may have been a property rented out to personnel at Brimstone Hill. Flores Roman also notes that the majority of the women with whom Spanish soldiers in San Juan lived were black or coloured (Flores Roman et al 2009, 125). While some of the relationships, including marriages, formed by British Army personnel living at Sandy Point and Brimstone Hill with local women would undoubtedly have been mixed race relationships, it has not been possible to ascertain how prominent such relationships are in the parish's baptismal records where these army personnel are listed. This is due to the fact that the only instance where the

[33] The British Army Commissariat was a uniformed civilian service up to the late 1860's when the Control Department was established. The former Commissariat officers were commissioned as full army officers and transferred to the new Control Department. The Control Department went through several evolutions before being absorbed into the new Royal Logistics Corps in 1993.

mother's race is mentioned in the baptismal records is where no father's name is given. In such cases the mother is almost always listed as black, coloured or a poor white woman, a reflection of the racial and class bias of the vestry officials making the record. The baptismal records show that illegitimate children of army personnel were fathered by men of all ranks. For example, Arabella Moore, who was baptized on 25 March 1827, was the "reputed daughter" of Jeremiah Joseph Moore, Assistant Commissary General residing at Sandy Point and Lucy Ann Omalia (St. Kitts National Archives. Baptisms. St. Ann. Sandy Point. 1826-41). The use in the records of the term "reputed" to describe children born out of wedlock illustrates the social stigma placed on the offspring of such unions.

While several of the military fathers' surnames recorded in the baptism register are commonly occurring surnames in St. Kitts today, others such as Planner, Mac Farlan, Mac Donagh and McCusker are names that one does not encounter on the island anymore (ibid). The obvious explanation for this is that many of these soldiers and officers, when their tour of duty in the St. Kitts ended (That is, the fortunate ones who survived their West Indies deployment. See the discussion above on high mortality rates), would have taken the families they started in St. Kitts back to Britain with them.

While in most cases the father's regiment is listed, there are some instances where it is not. The completeness of the records sometimes varies depending on the thoroughness of the official making the record. However, other details in the records may reveal telling information about the father, especially with regard to his race. For example, Jack who was baptized on 20 January 1826, the "reputed son" of Mucombo, a soldier whose address is given as "Garrison," (referring to Brimstone Hill) and a mother named Present (ibid).

Another similar example is William, also baptized on 20 January 1826. The "reputed" son of Pole, a soldier of the same address as above, and a mother named Dolly (ibid). The absence of surnames for the parents in both of these entries and the demeaning pet like Christian names that Present, Pole and Dolly were saddled with reveals that they were enslaved persons. Mucombo may have retained his original African name or just been given an African sounding one by the Army or a previous slave master. While no regiment is stated we can deduce from the status of the fathers that they were soldiers in the West India Regiments.

In another case the father's race is revealed through his occupation in the army. Wellington, baptized on 25 July 1840, was the son of Fraser and Flora Leith. The father's occupation, which is given as military labourer, tells us that he was a member of the Corps of Military Labourers. This corps had been raised on 25 August 1817 to undertake labour duties in tropical climates. Its members were drawn from the 1st, 3rd and 6th West India Regiments and in its early years a company was assigned to each of the following territories: Barbuda, Tobago, St. Lucia, Dominica, Grenada, Demerara, Trinidad, St. Vincent, Antigua and St. Kitts, with Barbados receiving five companies.[34]

For the period 1826 to 1841 the Sandy Point Baptism Register records sixty four British Army personnel, living at Brimstone Hill or Sandy Point, having fathered children with Kittitian

[34] The Pioneer: History and background of the Royal Pioneer Corps: http://www.royalpioneercorps.co.uk/rpc/history_main1.htm Accessed: 7 September 2017

women. The total number of baptisms in the parish for this period is approximately 1,700. Therefore, approximately 4% of the recorded births in St. Ann Parish during this fifteen year span can be directly attributed to the deployment of large numbers of British Army personnel to man and provide ancillary services for the defences of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage. When considering these figures we must also bear in mind that St. Kitts is an island which up to 1744 had a population of 22,000 (Greenwood and Hamber 2003, 105) and in the second decade of the twenty first century still has a population of just around 55,000[35]. Therefore, 4% of recorded births in one parish during a fifteen year period, being attributed to fathers associated with a single military institution, reflect a significant impact on the island's population, not only in terms of numbers but also with regards to personal bonds created at the time between members of an imperial entity on the one hand (the British Army), and individuals and families on St. Kitts on the other. In addition, as noted earlier, evidence suggests that some of these British Army personnel took their new families back to the UK with them. The possibilities presented for further research on genealogical links between Sandy Point, a once strategically important and commercially prominent but now largely forgotten Caribbean port town and the UK are fascinating.

Another point extracted from the baptism register is the significance of Sandy Point's fortifications as built landscape features with which entire communities became identified or identified themselves with. The addresses of several parents in the Sandy Point Baptism Register are listed as "Charles Fort" or "Fig Tree Fort," below are examples:

Edward, baptized on 13 September 1830, son of Esther Blakely, free black woman. Mother's address Charles Fort.

Ann London, baptized on 27 April 1834, illegitimate daughter of Sally Brown, free black woman. Mother's address Charles Fort.

William Christopher, baptized on 8 May 1835, son of Matthew and Penelope Elizabeth Jennina Perriman. Father's occupation mason. Father's address Fig Tree Fort, Sandy Point.

Evans, baptized on 10 October 1836, illegitimate son of Ann Grant. Mother's occupation sempstress (Word is a now rarely used variation of seamstress). Mother's address Charles Fort.

Peter Fraser, baptized on 7 September 1838, illegitimate son of Flora Woodley. Mother's occupation hawker. Mother's address Charles Fort.

William Daniel, baptized on 7 October 1838, illegitimate son of Sarah Edye. Mother's occupation hawker. Mother's address Charles Fort.

Sarah Elizabeth, baptized on 13 October 1838, daughter of Jane Mulrain. Mother's occupation sempstress. Mother's address Fig Tree Fort.

William Augustus, baptized on 29 December 1838, son of John and Chloe Georges. Father's occupation cooper. Father's address Fig Tree Fort.

[35] https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.POP.TOTL Accessed: 9 September 2017

Ann, baptized on 17 January 1841, daughter of Rebecca Spencer. Mother's occupation pedler (sic). Mother's address Charles Fort.

In Chapter Two mention is made of the fact that it is not uncommon for an area to become known by the same name as a fortification that is located there. The above entries in the Sandy Point Baptism Register indicate that communities had sprung up around the two large coastal forts that guarded either end of the Sandy Point Anchorage. The village of Fig Tree, while no longer referred to as "Fig Tree Fort," still bears the name of the fortification that existed there. One striking aspect of Fig Tree village noted during field visits to conduct preliminary site investigations and ethnographic research is the manner in which the present day built landscape of the village has become interwoven with ruins of the fort. Ruins and other features of the fort can be found on several properties.

Figure 146 Ruin of Fig Tree Fort powder magazine on the property of Fig Tree resident Dwight Burke. Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

Figure 147  Seaward elevation curtain wall of Fig Tree Fort.  A modern residence under construction can be seen in the background.  Photo courtesy François van der Hoeven, STIMACUR

Figure 148  Stone oven, possibly once part of Fig Tree Fort, in the backyard of a village property.  Unfortunately, this oven has now been destroyed.  An example of the threat to standing remains of the fort by uncontrolled development.  Photo courtesy François van der Hoeven, STIMACUR

In contrast to Fig Tree, Charles Fort is no longer used as an address by residents of Sandy Point. This is probably due to the fort's late nineteenth to late twentieth century adaptation as a leprosarium. The community that existed along the fort's walls was very likely relocated elsewhere. No documentary evidence of this relocation has so far been encountered. However, the assumption that the community was resettled elsewhere is a reasonable one as the land that they once occupied became utilized for other purposes by the leprosarium. The land outside of the southern landward curtain wall became the cemetery where patients of the Hansen Home were interred (Anderson 2005, 158; Schroedl 2000, 5). A chapel, dedicated in 1926, was erected outside of the South East bastion as a place of worship for patients (Anderson 2005, 159-61; Schroedl 2000, 5). Land along the outside of the fort's wall was also allocated as grazing ground for livestock reared by patients (Anderson 2005, 179).

Another archival document raises an intriguing possibility about the origins of "Charles Fort" as a community. During the mid nineteenth century the British military conducted surveys of the still active fortifications on St. Kitts. One of the concerns that spurred these surveys was the encroachment of vegetation around many of the fortifications, obscuring the sightlines of their artillery. The survey documents are located in the UK National Archives, at Kew. The survey plan of Charles Fort shows several structures located outside of the landward curtain walls and bastions of the fortress and bears the following fascinating notation "There are 19 Negro Huts in the Ditch chiefly occupied by Pensioners situated as marked on Plan (UK National Archives MPH 1/1126)." In this period the term pensioners would have referred to retired military personnel. Victor Smith has indicated that in his own research he has encountered similar plans of fortifications on various islands "…with time-expired soldiers living close by as authorized encroachments (Smith 2017, Appendix B)." The origins of a community once located outside the walls of Charles Fort, which as seen in the Sandy Point Baptism Register carried the name of the fortress, may have been the "authorized encroachment" of British Army pensioners allowed to settle in the ditch outside the fort.

Unlike their white counterparts who could enlist for two seven year terms and receive a small pension upon discharge or serve a further seven years and receive a full pension, black West India Regiment soldiers were not entitled to the same pension provisions. As Brian Dyde notes the WIR soldier was virtually enlisted for life (Dyde 1997, 29).

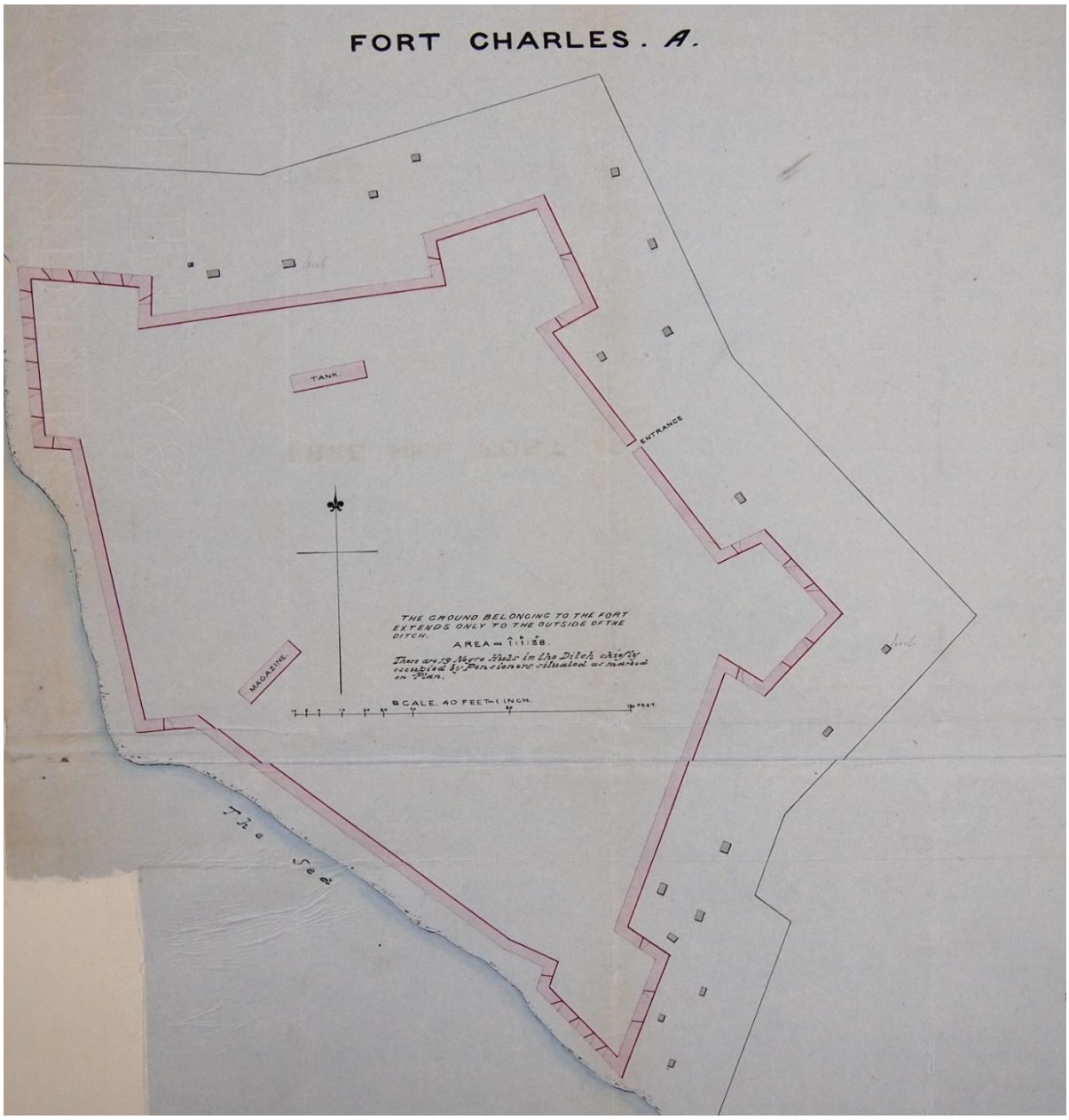



Figure 149 1845 plan of Charles Fort showing buildings outside of the fort's walls. Notation written inside of the plan reads "There are Negro Huts in the Ditch chiefly occupied by Pensioners situated as marked on Plan." Courtesy The National Archives, London

Therefore, the pensioners referred to in the 1845 plan of Charles Fort would have been white British ex-soldiers. Apparently then, what may have begun as a community of British Army pensioners became, as suggested by the entries in the Sandy Point Baptism Register, a multi-racial community living outside of the walls of the fort. This relatively short lived community provides a potential example of how the legacy of a military presence in Sandy Point shaped the social landscape, in this instance influencing the formation of a community. The later disappearance of the "Charles Fort" community reflects the impact of the changing function of

what was one of the town's most important military sites on persons living within close proximity to that site.

6.2.5 Sandy Point in the memoirs of slave trader turned clergyman and hymn writer John Newton

Like every other major West Indian port from the mid seventeenth to early eighteenth century, Sandy Point would have been involved in the trade in enslaved Africans. The labour of these unfortunate victims of what would today be acknowledged as human trafficking was deemed indispensable to the sugar industry. It was after all, this industry, upon which Britain's rise as a global economic and naval power was built. The two associated industries slavery and sugar left hardly any facet of British society untouched: Metallurgists providing implements for sugar plantations; merchant bankers providing finance to planters, slave traders, ship masters and shipbuilders; seamen employed on ships that carried trade goods, slaves and sugar on respective legs of the Triangle Trade; or the "poor shopkeeper" in Bristol, who will be sure to have on stock "…a bale of stockings or a piece of stuff" for their planter clients in the Americas (Morgan 1992, 626-50) .

Apart from, of course, the African forced into enslavement, the most central figure in the gigantic and brutal Trans-Atlantic trade was the slave trader. The memoirs of one such individual, now famous for penning the hymn "Amazing Grace" during his later claimed conversion to Christianity, highlights three important factors. One is the importance of Sandy Point as a slave trading port in the eighteenth century. Secondly John Newton's account of one of his slave trading visits to Sandy Point hints at the unofficial role colonial ports played as respites for weary and jaded sailors. Finally, the reader of Newton's detailed journal is allowed some insight into the manner in which slave trading was conducted at a Leeward Island port. Newton's journal records his experiences as a slave trader during a four year period in the mid eighteenth century (Newton 1962).

Between 2 and 6 June 1753, Newton records his vessel, the slave ship *African,* dropping anchor at Sandy Point, entering the "custom house" at the port, and selling all twenty of the slaves who had survived their harrowing journey across the Atlantic. While some business was conducted in Basseterre, such as purchasing a cable (rope) for the ship, Newton's transactions during this leg of his journey were centred on Sandy Point. One of Newton's most significant entries is his assertion, while relating transactions in Sandy Point with a slave trader named Mr. Guichard, that "this is likely to prove as good a market as any of the neighbouring islands (Newton 1962, 81)." The following year Newton made another visit to St. Kitts aboard the *African.* The vessel first anchored in the Basseterre roadstead on 21 May 1754 and anchored at Sandy Point two days later. Newton and the rest of the crew spent an entire month on St. Kitts, apparently to recover from their voyage, for Newton records that year's slave trading season to have been one of the most "fatal and disastrous," with many of his compatriots having perished (Newton 1962, 94). The port town of Sandy Point would have undoubtedly played an important role in Newton and the crew's recovery from the disease and death that were rampant on slaving vessels, for he does not record the vessel anchoring anywhere else during their extended stay on the island and when on 20 June 1754 the African departs St. Kitts for Liverpool, the vessel does so from Sandy Point (ibid). Colonial port towns offered many avenues to mariners, soldiers and other transients for rest and recreation. Attractions included pubs, taverns and hostels, both of the latter often doubling as brothels (Flores Roman et al 2009, 123-33; Welch 2003, 84-85, 138-39).

Doubtless, what English planter Christopher Jeffreason euphemistically referred to as the "hells and stews of Sandypoint," would have provided a welcome escape from their working environment on a slave ship, if not for Newton, certainly for some of his crew (Jefffreason 1878, 135).

With regard to the auctioning of human cargo when a slave ship arrived at its destination in the Americas, the auction either took place on the ship, with prospective buyers being invited aboard, or ashore at a slave market in the port of call (Harms 2002, 333-39). Newton observed that in the Leeward Islands slaves were usually sold "on shore (Newton 1962, 112)." Where exactly on shore in Sandy Point the auctioning of enslaved Africans took place, whether at Pump Bay, Downing Street or some other location has not been ascertained. However, local folklore among Sandy Pointers (Interestingly, related to the author by both youth and older members of the community) claims that an unoccupied plot of land on Downing Street popularly known as The Pound, located above the Methodist Cemetery, was once a slave market. Interestingly, while as can be seen in Figure 150 below, The Pound is surrounded by residential structures, no one has built on the site. The majority of the members of the community, as with the rest of the town and the island, are of African descent and claims of a site having been at some point in its history a slave market could understandably resonate with them. Whether or not the Pound is the "on shore" location of slave auctions in Sandy Point is uncertain but the site's purported former use may have inhibited persons, at least up until now, from pursuing any development on the site.

Figure 150 Empty lot of land off Downing Street known as 'The Pound', reputed by locals to have been the site of a slave market. Could this have been where slave traders like John Newton sold their unfortunate captives upon arrival in Sandy Point? Photo courtesy Cameron Gill

### 6.2.6 Maritime (shipping) connections between Sandy Point and other Atlantic World ports

Like many other Caribbean nations, the Federation of St. Kitts and Nevis is a port of registry for merchant and other vessels with provenance and ownership from many parts of the world. At present the ports of registry for St. Kitts and Nevis are the respective capitals of Basseterre and Charlestown.[36] However, records from several ports, such as the records for Annapolis already discussed in this chapter, reveal that Sandy Point was also a port of registry up to at least the late eighteenth century. Lists of ships clearing the Naval Office of St. Kitts reveal several vessels built in other parts of the Atlantic World having been registered at Sandy Point (St. Kitts National Archives, List of ships clearing the Naval Office of the island of St. Christopher). One interesting pattern revealed from these lists is that most of the vessels registered at Sandy Point were built in Bermuda. A few of the vessels registered at Sandy Point were built at North American ports such as New York and Connecticut. However, apart from these exceptions an overwhelming majority of the vessels registered at Sandy Point were built in Bermuda. A similar pattern is revealed in the previously discussed list of ships clearing at Annapolis, where

[36] http://www.stkittsnevisregistry.net/dma.html Accessed: 15 October 2017

the two vessels recorded as having been registered at Sandy Point were built in Bermuda. In both the lists for Annapolis and St. Kitts, the Sandy Point registered, Bermuda built vessels have various owners.

Records for ships clearing Charlestown, South Carolina in the eighteenth century show that several of the vessels calling at this North American Atlantic port were registered in Sandy Point. Among the Sandy Point registered vessels there is a high occurrence of ships built in Bermuda but not as overwhelmingly predominant as in the St. Kitts and Annapolis lists. Many of the Sandy Point registered vessels in the Charlestown list were also built in North American ports such as Virginia and Maryland. Bermuda's own customs records for the period 1780 to 1848 reveal four vessels calling there having been registered at Sandy Point, all which were built in Bermuda. Two of the vessels were owned by one Henry Hutchinson, while for the other two different owners are listed (Bermuda Archives, Customs Record-Ships Leaving). It has been not been possible to pursue the tantalizing evidence of a strong maritime link between Sandy Point and Bermuda that is suggested in the records discussed above. However, at this point records from several Atlantic World ports offer evidence that Sandy Point served as an important ships registry for vessels built in North America. While the reasons are not yet clear, it is obvious that Sandy Point was favoured as a port for registering vessels built in Bermuda.

6.2.7 Contribution of Sandy Point to St. Kitts' maritime society and economy

The St. Kitts Ships Registries for the periods 1830-1840 and 1842-1855 record where ships registered in St. Kitts during this period were built and who their owners were. With respect to the author's research priorities the records are revealing in two major regards. First of all, they enable one to engage in a comparison of shipbuilding activity at various ports in St. Kitts. Secondly, data on vessel owners permits analysis with respect to which areas on St. Kitts owners of seagoing vessels resided. Both of the above factors allow the author to draw some inferences about the importance of the maritime economy to various communities on the island. We'll begin our analysis in the year 1830, the earliest year for which surviving records from the St. Kitts Ships Registry exists. In this year, three vessels were recorded as being built in St. Kitts, all of which were built in Old Road. The owner for one vessel is from Old Road, the owner for another is from Sandy Point and the third vessel belongs to two owners from Basseterre (St Kitts National Archives, Ships Registry 1830-1840).

For the following year 1831, four vessels are recorded as having Kittitian owners, one being owned by an individual from Old Road and the other three being owned by Sandy Pointers. From 1832 to 1840, of the twelve vessels with Kittitian owners, two owners are from Old Road while all of the rest are from Sandy Point. Therefore, of the 175 entries for the period 1830-1840, three vessels are built in St. Kitts, one of each being owned by persons from Old Road, Basseterre and Sandy Point. 19 vessels for the period are owned by Kittitians, 14 of whom are Sandy Pointers (ibid).

Of the 106 entries in the 1842-1855 Ships Registry five were built in St. Kitts, all of which were built in Sandy Point. Eight vessels are listed as having been owned by Kittitians. Of these eight, two are owned by persons from Dieppe Bay. Two owners have shares in another vessel, one owner being from Sandy Point and the other from St. Thomas, Middle Island Parish. The owner of another vessel is from St. Peter's, with the remaining four being owned by Sandy Pointers.

Therefore, five of the eight Kittitian owned vessels for the period are owned by Sandy Pointers (St. Kitts National Archives, Ships Registry 1842-1855).

The occupations and social status of Kittitian vessel owners displays a remarkable diversity. Mariners, merchants and shopkeeper/storekeeper are the occupations most commonly listed. However, carpenters, masons, boot and shoemakers, coppersmiths, clerks, gentlemen and even one spinster are also represented in the ships registries. As the vast majority of locally owned vessels are owned by Sandy Pointers, it appears that vessel ownership played a much more significant role in the economic well being of the town than in any other community in St. Kitts. The previously mentioned diversity in the backgrounds of ship owners is particularly well represented among the Sandy Point ship owners. These enterprising individuals include the sole spinster on the list, a clerk, various shopkeepers/storekeepers, two shoemakers and two members of Sandy Point's affluent and socially prominent Manchester family (St. Kitts National Archives, Ships Registry1830-1840; St. Kitts National Archives, Ships Registry 1842-1855). Clearly, Sandy Pointers of varying walks of life were more directly involved in the maritime economy than their counterparts in other communities throughout St. Kitts. The reasons for this trend are yet unexplained, whatever the causes though, the majority of Kittitian owned vessels registered in St. Kitts from the early to mid nineteenth century were owned by Sandy Pointers.

### 6.2.8 Importance of the port of Sandy Point to Atlantic World trade and commerce in the early twentieth century

The twentieth century dawned upon a Sandy Point Anchorage being guarded by guns at its fortresses that had fallen silent. The town of Sandy Point was no longer a stomping ground for soldiers lodged either at Brimstone Hill or residences in the town itself. Shifting geopolitical tides had washed the threat of invasion from the shores of the port town. Sandy Point had ceased being a strategic concern for generals and ministers in London. However, the port continued to be a major concern for commercial reasons to private interests throughout the Atlantic World, and for economic reasons to government officials in Basseterre St. Kitts, St. John's Antigua and Whitehall London.

Early in the Atlantic hurricane season of 1915 the pier at Pump Bay suffered severe storm damage. Correspondence between the Acting Administrator for the Colony of St. Kitts and the Acting Governor of the Leeward Islands in the storm's aftermath corroborates information from oral sources regarding the indispensability of the port of Sandy Point for exporting sugar products from the islands northern plantations (UK National Archives CO 152/64). In one letter from the Acting Administrator to the Acting Governor dated 15 June 1915 the annual revenue from the pier (perhaps referring to customs duties etc) was estimated at £150.00. At present day (2017) rates this figure is the equivalent of annual revenue of approximately £14,529.00, equal to around €16,282 or $51,836 ECD (Eastern Caribbean Dollars).

Clearly the island of St. Kitts, one of the poorest in the Caribbean during this period, could ill afford to have the pier at Pump Bay out of commission for any considerable length of time. Colonial officials in Antigua and St. Kitts were not alone in their concern over the state of the pier. A Mr. Capelle of the Halifax, Nova Scotia based firm of Silver Ltd., which owned Brotherson's Estate, one of Sandy Point's most important sugar plantations, was on St. Kitts at this time. We do not know whether his visit to the island occurred as a result of the damage to the pier or whether he just happened to be on the island conducting business when the storm

occurred. Whichever is the case though, it is obvious that during his time on St. Kitts the damaged pier was one of Mr. Capelle's major concerns. The Administrator reports in another correspondence to the Governor that he was visited by the representative of Silver Ltd at his office and that during this meeting Mr. Capelle voiced concern over the inability to ship produce from Brotherson's due to "the state of the pier at Sandy Point." The representative of the Canadian company informed the Administrator that shipping of 400 puncheons[37] of cane syrup was being "considerably delayed" because it was impossible to land the schooner upon which the barrels were supposed to be loaded (UK National Archives CO 152/64).

The Superintendant of Public Works estimated the cost of repairs to the pier at £294.00 (approximately £28,474.00 or €31,911.00 in 2017 currency). Considering that over a two year period the estimated revenue from the pier alone would equal or exceed this figure it is understandable that both the Governor and the Administrator would consider the expense not only justifiable but necessary. The financial situation in St. Kitts at the time meant that assistance had to be sought from Whitehall. Correspondence was sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies seeking funds for repairing the pier (ibid). According to oral sources (See Chapter Four) the destroyed timber pier was replaced by one constructed partially of timber and partially of concrete. Obviously significant investment was made in replacing the damaged pier with one designed to hopefully better withstand storm forces. It is worth noting that Britain at this time was engaged in the First World War, an undertaking which would have made incredible demands on resources, including financial ones. It is evident; however, that enough political and commercial concerns came to bear from Antigua, St. Kitts and Nova Scotia, Canada to spur London into action. The correspondence concerning the damaged pier at Pump Bay highlights the various interests connected by the Atlantic trade in sugar industry products from St. Kitts and the extent to which they depended on the port of Sandy Point to keep this trade flowing.

[37] A puncheon is a large cask, the capacity of which may vary but is usually of 80 gallons or 304 litres.

6.2.9 Sandy Point and Cold War geopolitics in the mid twentieth century

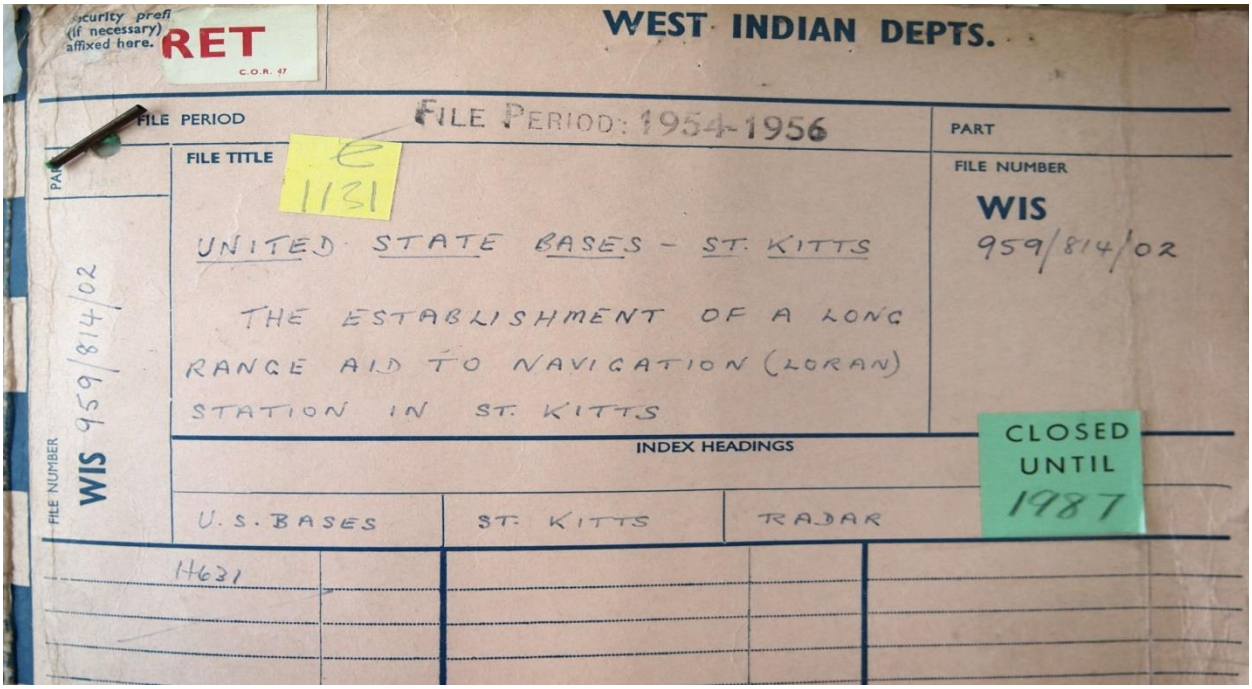



Figure 151 Cover of file, declassified in 1987, on proposed U.S. military radar base at Sandy Point. Note the torn "Secret" label in the upper left hand corner. Courtesy The National Archives, London

As already noted changing geopolitical priorities greatly diminished Sandy Point's strategic importance by the early nineteenth century. One of the most remarkable features in the history of human civilization, is how a site or geographical region's political and military importance value can ebb and flow over the long march of time. For example, as noted in Chapter Two; Crimea, the source of many news headlines in the mid nineteenth century, was the locale to which many of the British troops withdrawn from a decreasingly important Caribbean theatre were redeployed to. Throughout the twentieth and the first decade and a half of the twenty first century Crimea was a name largely remembered mostly by historians and avid students of history. By a striking coincidence, during the writing of this research the Crimean Peninsula surged onto the world's political stage again with the Russian military intervention in Ukraine.

While unlike Crimea, Sandy Point is not a worldwide household name, the West Indian port town and its anchorage also provides a dramatic example of a geographic entity rising to strategic prominence, slipping into obscurity or near obscurity, and then experiencing another strategic ascendancy. It must be noted that in the case of Sandy Point the relatively brief return to strategic stardom was not documented in the world's media but in secret correspondence to which only a few officials in Washington D.C., London, Basseterre and St. John's were privy to. However, the events surrounding a major superpower's mid twentieth century interest in Sandy Point are no less fascinating (although thankfully far less tragic than early twenty first century events in Crimea).

According to documents at Kew which were only declassified in the mid 1980s, the United States interest in Sandy Point in the mid 1950s was spurred by a radar technology known as LORAN (Long Range Aid to Navigation). A precursor to the present day satellite based Global Positioning System (GPS) which began coming to prominence in the early 1990s; LORAN is a land based system in which radio waves between transmitters in various locations are triangulated in order to enable aircraft or maritime vessels to plot navigational coordinates.

The U.S. was seeking to establish a network of LORAN bases in the Caribbean. A base was already established in Puerto Rico; however, as noted above the LORAN system is based on triangulation and therefore depends on stations in multiple locations for effectiveness. Due to its geographic position in the Eastern Caribbean, St. Kitts was seen as an optimal location for a LORAN station. While LORAN had several applications, both civilian and military, it is obvious from the correspondence in the declassified file at Kew that the major motivation for seeking to establish a LORAN network in the region was to enable U.S. military aircraft to track Soviet submarines operating in Caribbean waters. U.S. officials in Washington received support from their counterparts at Whitehall for proposed LORAN bases in territories such as Tobago and St. Kitts. For maximum operational effectiveness LORAN bases were best sited away from mountains and in close proximity to the coast. For these reasons the Belle Tete bluff was seen as an ideal location for a LORAN station.

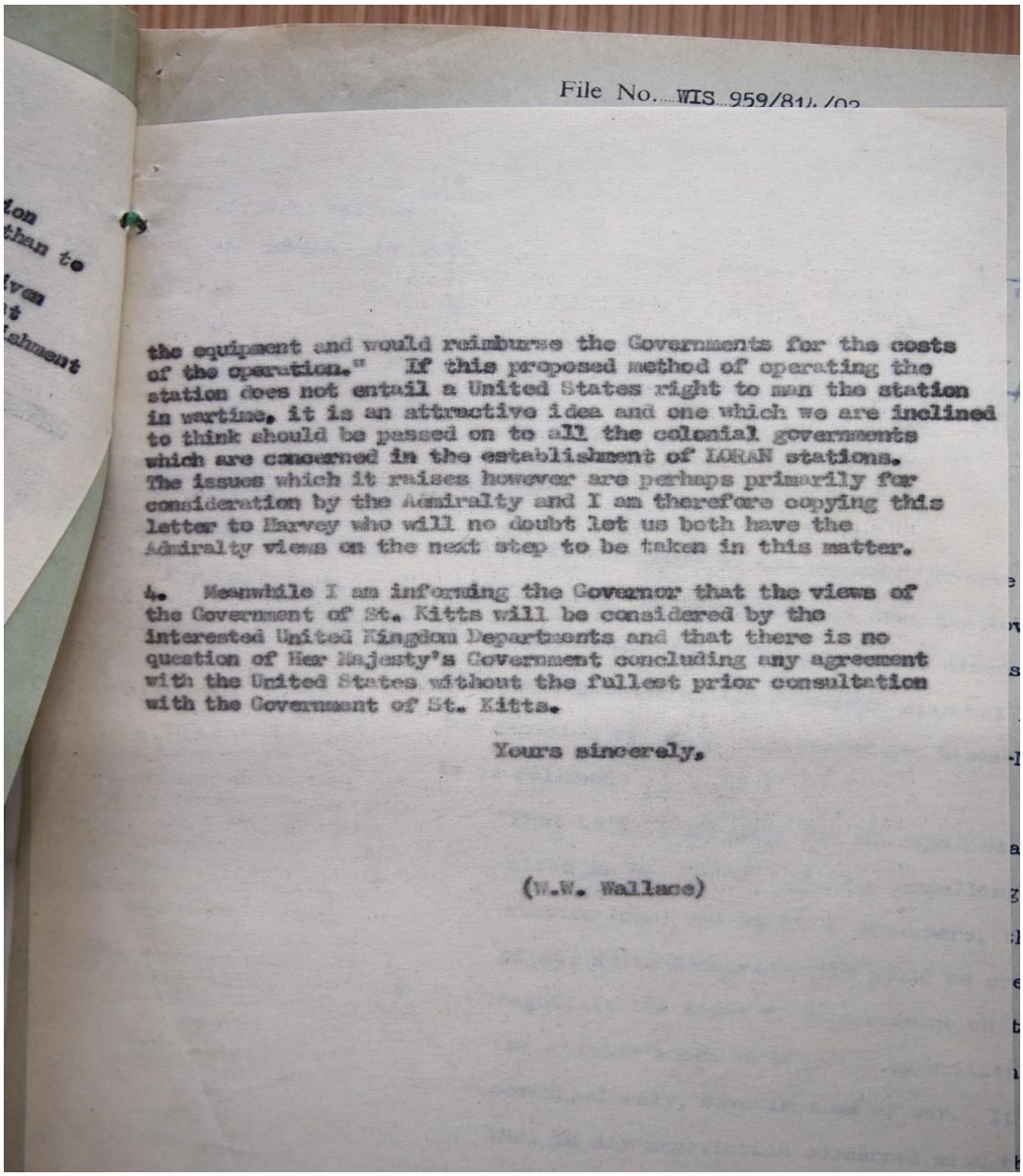
There was one hitch; however, elected members in the Executive Council of the Government of St. Kitts were fiercely opposed to a U.S. military base on St. Kitts. This opposition in the Council was led by Robert Llewellyn Bradshaw, the eloquent firebrand President of the Trades and Labour Union who would later become Chief Minister of St. Kitts and the island's first Premier. Interestingly, Bradshaw and other unionists sitting on the Executive Council, such as Joseph N. France, objected to siting a LORAN base on St. Kitts despite not knowing its intended primary purpose. U.S. officials went to great pains not to mention the defensive capabilities of LORAN in making their case for erecting a base on St. Kitts. Instead, LORANs other benefits to St. Kitts and the rest of the Caribbean were touted, such as aiding the navigation of U.S. Coast Guard and other military assets in search and rescue operations in the region, especially in the aftermath of a hurricane. Attempts were also made to appeal to the potential attraction of greater tourism revenue by promoting LORANs utility in assisting the navigation of airlines operating to the region such as Pan American Airways (PANAM) and British Overseas Airways Corporation (BOAC, now British Airways).

These selling points failed to sway Bradshaw and other elected members of the Executive Council, and even some nominated members, due to concerns over problems that may arise in the interactions between U.S. servicemen and the local population. With the segregationist "Jim Crow" system in full force in the Southern United States, concerns were expressed over U.S. troops displaying racially insensitive or hostile behaviour towards locals. An incident in which an American sentry at the Chaguaramas Naval Base in Trinidad had shot a local was cited by the Kittitian legislators in their opposition to the proposed base at Sandy Point. For their part U.S. authorities sought to assuage these concerns by pointing to the amicable relations between personnel from the U.S. Navy Construction Battalion ('Seabees') stationed in Antigua and the local population.

The correspondence indicated that placing a station on St. Kitts was not technically critical to the proposed LORAN network in the Caribbean. However, the Eastern Caribbean island and in

particular its Belle Tete region was deemed an optimum location. Therefore, the Americans and their British allies sought to offer compromise to the St. Kitts legislators opposed to the base. One compromise was the assurance that no agreement on a U.S. base in St. Kitts would be signed between the two Atlantic powers before prior consultation with the government of St. Kitts. One document shows that even while these assurances were being given, attempts were being made to maneuver out of such a commitment. Instead the language was being subtly changed so that the Americans and British would only have to inform the St. Kitts government before the signing of an agreement.

Another olive branch offered to the opponents of the base was the possibility that it may not be manned by U.S. Coast Guard personnel as originally intended but could be manned instead by civilian personnel. The British suggested that International Aeradio, who managed aeronautical services on St. Kitts, could man the base. While the U.S. seemed willing to consider having civilian personnel operate the facility, they outright rejected International Aeradio as being a possible entity to provide those personnel. No reasons were stated in the documents for these objections. There was one sticking point in the proposition for non-military personnel operate the base. Civilian operations would have only applied in peacetime. In the event of war U.S. military personnel would assume control of the base. In light of all that has been outlined so far this was obviously very unpalatable to Bradshaw and others who shared his reservations.



File No. WIS 959/81/02

the equipment and would reimburse the Governments for the costs of the operation." If this proposed method of operating the station does not entail a United States right to man the station in wartime, it is an attractive idea and one which we are inclined to think should be passed on to all the colonial governments which are concerned in the establishment of LORAN stations. The issues which it raises however are perhaps primarily for consideration by the Admiralty and I am therefore copying this letter to Harvey who will no doubt let us both have the Admiralty views on the next step to be taken in this matter.

4. Meanwhile I am informing the Governor that the views of the Government of St. Kitts will be considered by the interested United Kingdom Departments and that there is no question of Her Majesty's Government concluding any agreement with the United States without the fullest prior consultation with the Government of St. Kitts.

Yours sincerely,

(W.W. Wallace)

Figure 152 Page from Foreign Office correspondence outlining assurances to be made to St. Kitts government with regard to any decision on placing a U.S. military base on the island. Courtesy The National Archives, London

Realizing that they would not be able to overcome the passionate objections to locating a U.S. military radar base on St. Kitts, the Americans and their British allies were forced to swallow their disappointment and abandon their plans. The documents in file make it clear that plans for the base were not just a vague tentative proposal. The United States Government had already invested a significant amount of time in exploring the possibility of erecting a LORAN base on St. Kitts and had begun making contingencies for the eventuality that these plans came to fruition. The U.S. military had taken aerial photographs of the proposed Belle Tete site (See Figure 154) and military engineers had drawn plans of the buildings and other features to be

placed on the site (See Appendix C). The Cold War machinations involved in the attempts to place a LORAN base on St. Kitts with an intended classified function (the tracking of Russian Navy submarines) are a fascinating but now hardly known chapter of St. Kitts and Atlantic World history.

Three centuries prior two adversarial rising European powers, England and France, had erected military facilities on either side of the contested Sandy Point Anchorage, from which they watched each other suspiciously. Such colonial era rivalries had since slipped into the annals of history but in the twentieth century new rivalries had arisen in Europe, this time between East and West. Once again, thanks to its geographic location, Sandy Point found itself a platform from which one rival superpower sought to monitor the activities of another. This time the concern was not the sails of wooden frigates and ships-of-the-line appearing over the horizon but metal hulled submarines lurking beneath the azure waves of the Caribbean Sea. Unlike the events which spanned the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, which ranged from outright conflict to peacetime tensions, this mid twentieth century chapter of Sandy Point's military and strategic history has been undocumented by any researcher until now thanks to the shroud of secrecy which had been thrown over it for three decades.

The erection of opposing seventeenth century fortifications on either side of the border on the Sandy Point Anchorage; the decision in 1782 by the Comte de Grasse to abort a planned invasion of Barbados and divert to St. Kitts; the covert mid-twentieth century machinations by an Anglo-American alliance to attempt to place a top secret radar facility at Belle Tete are more than just separate events connected only by the stretch of coastline that played centre stage in each of these dramas. These events should be viewed through the lens of the longue duree. The strategic location of the Sandy Point Anchorage was the major factor contributing to the involvement of the area in these and other important historic events. The Sandy Point Anchorage may never again rise to strategic prominence but as the above discussed correspondence from the 1950's shows only time can tell.

FILE No. WIS 959/814/02

DRAFTS

~~TELEGRAM~~ * SAVINGRAM

* The word Priority may, if necessary, be entered here.

Addressed to :— O.A.G. LEEWARDS

Personal Number. 20

Savingrams only.

Your reference

Serial No.

Repeated to :—

Admin St Kitts

Personal No. 1.

C. D. 15 NOV

Time and date

16 Nov 1956 hours

Mr. Wallace 14/11

Mr. Jobden 14/11

Mr. Burt

Mr. Hobden 14/11 at once.

Sir

Perm. U.S. of S.

Parly. U.S. of S.

Minister of State

Secretary of State

Medium :— En clair or Code Cypher

Urgency classification :— Nil; Reply urgently required; Priority; Immediate; Emergency

Security classification :— Unclassified; Restricted; Confidential; XX Secret & Personal; Top Secret; Guard

(41) Your secret and personal savingram No. 7 of 26th October.

LORAN, St. Kitts.

The views of the Government of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla as given in your savingram under reference have been noted and will now be considered by the United Kingdom Departments concerned with the proposal to establish this station.

2. In the meantime, provided you see no objection, I should be glad if you would ~~inform~~ assure the Government of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla that ~~there is no question of Her Majesty's Government concluding any agreement with the Government of the U.S.A., or negotiating the terms of any such agreement, without the fullest prior consultation with the Government of St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla.~~ on this subject it will be consulted in regard to all details of any agreement to be made with the American authorities before any such agreement is signed.

Secret

Distribution :—

Further action :—

Wt.22673 D6360 2,500 Pads 9/53 W.&A.Ltd.—923 Gp.617

Figure 153 Secret document from the Secretary of State for the Colonies in which the assurance being given in the document in Figure 152 is being amended. Courtesy The National Archives, London

Figure 154  U.S. Military aerial photo dated August 1955 of the proposed Belle Tete, Sandy Point site for a LORAN radar base.  Courtesy The National Archives, London

# Chapter Seven: Conclusion

In the seventeenth century the island of St. Christopher, now more commonly known as St. Kitts, became according to Daphne Hobson, "the first English settlement to survive and become permanent in the American tropics (Hobson 2007)." A major assertion of this research is that the port town of Sandy Point and its anchorage became indispensable to ensuring the survival and permanence of a colony that would become the staging ground from which other British West Indian colonies were established and that was the prototype of the West Indian plantation economy.

This research has shown that unlike the other major English and French settlements in seventeenth and early eighteenth century St. Kitts, namely Basseterre, Old Road, Cayon and Dieppe Bay, Sandy Point was a frontier town. This fact also distinguished Sandy Point from any other later settlement in the English or French West Indies. The boundary between English St. Christopher and French St. Christophe ran through the Sandy Point Anchorage and therefore made the fledgling coastal port town a flashpoint in the Anglo-French rivalry to establish a foothold in the Caribbean.

## 7.1 Discussion of results of research

### 7.1.1 Ethnographic research

Oral historical fieldwork, conducted on both sides of the channel between St. Kitts and St. Eustatius, has revealed that significant shipping activity took place at Sandy Point well into the twentieth century. This activity facilitated the export of sugar industry primary products to Atlantic World markets by a large proportion of the island's sugar estates. Smaller sail and motor powered trading vessels brought vital supplies, namely foodstuff, fuel and animal feed from St. Kitts to the neighbouring Dutch islands of St. Eustatius, Saba and St. Maarten. The role of the port of Sandy Point in facilitating this trade was especially crucial to the Dutch islands due to the frequent shortages these islands suffered. For St. Eustatius at least, the port of Sandy Point became an even more vital lifeline in times of drought.

The level of maritime activity at Sandy Point necessitated the creation of port infrastructure to facilitate the volume of trade and commerce occurring here. Such infrastructure included customs and treasury facilities, a jetty and an unusual (at least for this part of the world) molasses pipeline. This infrastructure was only rivaled and eventually surpassed by that at Basseterre, the island's capital since the early eighteenth century. Archival sources have gone a long way to corroborate oral reports of the port infrastructure that once existed at Sandy Point and interestingly, there is no record of such extensive (for the period, that is seventeenth to mid twentieth century) infrastructure having existed at Old Road.

Not only did Sandy Point serve as a conduit for re-export of fuel and manufactured food, beverage and animal feed products from St. Kitts to neighbouring islands but this coastal town was also the port of entry for migrants from Anguilla seeking to escape the stark poverty that island once suffered. St. Kitts' once dominant sugar industry attracted these migrants who lived and worked on estates in St. Anne's and the neighbouring parish of St. Paul Capisterre. The Anguillan sugar workers and the Anguilla cobles that brought them to Sandy Point contributed to the town's culture and trade through the trade goods they brought with them In addition to these

long term visitors there were also many transient arrivals at the Port of Sandy Point from Anguilla and other islands. Anguillans came by sea to Sandy Point to purchase goods at businesses in the town that could not be easily obtained back home. St. Eustatians (or Statians) responded to the lack of dental facilities on their island by coming to St. Kitts to visit one of the two dentists in Basseterre. These patients would first land at Sandy Point before making their overland journey to Basseterre. Clearly, from the above discussion one can see that the Northern St. Kitts port town of Sandy Point played an important role in meeting the needs, material and otherwise, of the residents of some English and Dutch West Indian islands located to the north of St. Kitts.

The maritime network of which this Kittitian port town was a part also served to meet the needs of many Kittitians as well, not just the wealthy plantation interests. Sandy Point became indispensable to many households from communities spanning St. Kitts' Caribbean Sea and Atlantic coasts which relied on the port to collect goods shipped to the island by relatives living overseas. With a large Kittitian expatriate community in the United States Virgin Islands, Sandy Point played an important role in facilitating the movement of cargo and persons between St. Kitts and the USVI. Many members of this Kittitian expatriate community in the USVI would have also departed from Pump Bay in their migration overseas.

The geographic proximity of a once bustling St. Kitts port town to Anguilla and the need for shipping between St. Kitts and the U.S. Virgin Islands provided other means for Anguillans to earn a living besides cutting sugar cane. Many of the vessels that serviced the St. Kitts – USVI route were owned by Anguillans.

Maritime activity at Sandy Point fostered a boatbuilding cottage industry at the village of Fig Tree, similar to that once found in many coastal West Indian communities[38], which still continues. The main difference today being that as not much (official) maritime trade takes place at Sandy Point anymore, boatbuilding is mostly confined to the construction of coastal fishing vessels. The construction of inter-island schooners ferrying cargo and passengers has largely become a thing of the past.

Much of the maritime trade that flourished between Sandy Point and neighbouring islands such as St. Eustatius and St. Barthelemy included items that, while they could not be loaded and offloaded openly at Pump Bay, was seen by many households and village shops on St. Kitts as being just as necessary as the legal items. Contraband smugglers from Sandy Point ran a lucrative trade in bootleg liquor that connected St. Kitts with the Dutch and French West Indies and archival sources indicate that such connections had endured for at least two centuries.

Sea level rise and/or a receding coastline have impacted dramatically on the coastline of the Sandy Point Anchorage. Ethnographic research has revealed that the terrestrial zone seaward of the road that runs along Pump Bay was much wider, a fact corroborated by at least one nineteenth century cartographic source. Both naturally occurring coastal vegetation and a cultivated cash crop (sugar cane) once grew on what is now just a sandy beach. Much of the aforementioned port infrastructure has been impacted by both natural and non-natural events.

[38] Perhaps the best work ever written on traditional boatbuilding in the Caribbean is Douglas C. Pyle's 1998 *Clean, Sweet Wind: Sailing with the Last Boatmakers of the Caribbean.* Camden: International Marine.

Littoral zone structures such as jetties were prone to damage from tropical cyclones. This was the fate that befell the last pier at Pump Bay circa 1980s. The evidence from ethnographic and primary sources regarding environmental changes along the coast of Sandy Point reinforces Stancioff's argument that a longue duree approach needs to be adopted to understand climate change and local responses to it (Walshe and Stancioff 2018, 13-24). The changes to the coastline at Sandy Point have obviously been taking place since before living memory. Therefore, historic cartographic resources and ethnographic data are complementary tools that should be involved in assessing impacts to a coastline that may be caused by climate change or other environmental factors.

Loss of built heritage has not been limited to the littoral zone. The Customs and Treasury Building that once stood seaward of the Pump Bay road was destroyed by fire in the late twentieth century. Whatever the cause, whether natural or man-made, the loss of most of Pump Bay's built heritage presents a major challenge to promoting Sandy Point's history as a once important port town to a younger generation of Kittitians and even to visitors. That is, unlike ports such as Basseterre, Bridgetown, London and Amsterdam, where many coastal structures such as warehouses etc still exist, in Sandy Point there is little visible, obvious, tangible, direct evidence, in the terrestrial realm, of the port activities which once took place at Sandy Point. As we have seen in Chapter Five and shall see in this chapter's following discussion on the results of archaeological fieldwork, much of what remains has to be interpreted.

### 7.1.2 Archaeological fieldwork

#### *7.1.2.1 Terrestrial archaeology*

A standing structures survey of the ruins of a brick structure on Downing Street, the historic town centre of Sandy Point, included the collection of samples of brick used in the building's construction for further analysis. The analysis, which was conducted using X-ray fluorescence (XRF), confirmed initial assumptions that the masonry construction material was imported, most likely in the form of ship's ballast. The initial assumptions on the origins of the masonry material were informed by the fact that the brick used in the structure was made from red clay which is not common to St. Kitts. The predominance of red clay brick in the Downing Street Brick Structure and the rather large Manchester Building is indicative of the volume of maritime trade that took place at Sandy Point.

The survey of Charles Fort concentrated mostly on the coastal elevation, as prior to this research no extensive documentation had been done of the cultural material strewn on the coast and littoral zone below the fortress due to the collapse of a sections of the seaward defensive wall. Both this coastal survey (complemented by a walking survey of the interior and landward elevations), and a previous survey of the landward elevations and interior of the fortress by Gerald Schroedl (2000) confirmed that Charles Fort has retained not only its original form, as revealed by cartographic sources and satellite imagery, but most of its original fabric as well. Such retention is due to the remarkably comprehensive, for an early Caribbean fortification, initial design and construction. This research argues that site location and seventeenth century rivalry between two ascendant European powers, England and France, exerted a major influence on the manner in which the fort was constructed. With a contested boundary between English and French colonies running through the Sandy Point Anchorage and making Sandy Point the only frontier town in either St. Christopher or St. Christophe, Charles Fort provides tangible

evidence of what England regarded as a serious threat by France to her efforts to establish a Caribbean empire of her own as Spain had done. The large footprint of the site, careful planning of its construction and proximity to the Sandy Point Anchorage (the latter consideration important as the fort became the home for victims of leprosy and similar diseases transferred from other islands) made Charles Fort ideal, two centuries after its construction, as the site for St. Kitts' first major, and the region's leading, leprosarium. The adaptation of the site as a medical facility and the fact that it needed little structural modification further ensured survival of early form and fabric. As a result Charles Fort is perhaps the most original, still structurally intact and complete, seventeenth century Caribbean fortress.

The molasses storage, pumping and pipeline facility at Pump Estate, from which it is probable that the estate and the bay below it derived their names, was the subject of a standing structures survey. The survey revealed an unusual engineering solution, for the Caribbean region, to the task of conveying molasses from shore to ship. Cartographic evidence indicates that this engineering solution had been installed at the Mercer Estate from at least the early nineteenth century. The structures presently at the site date to circa mid twentieth century and represent the last stage in the technological evolution of this industrial facility. Pump Estate, due to its location above Pump Bay and the molasses storage and pumping facilities installed by Captain Mercer, became an important collection area for molasses being exported by the sugar plantations in the north of St. Kitts.

As no openings exist in the sides of the concrete structure at Pump Bay, then it seems obvious that the pipeline was attached to the top of the storage compartments. It is uncertain whether pipelines were attached to previous structures in this way. Another obvious conclusion is that the tops of the storage compartments which are now open would have been covered during the period of their usage to protect the molasses from the elements and theft. Attachments for some sort of feature that would have covered the compartments, perhaps timber trap doors, were found on the top of the structure. While questions still exist as to the exact point of attachment of the pipeline to the structure and how their contents were sheltered, the structure unquestionably represents a major and unique, for the this part of the world, infrastructure investment implemented by a visionary plantation owner with a property in close proximity to a port. This investment brought great benefit to exporters of sugar cane products in the north of the island and until the erection of the bulk sugar facility in Basseterre (see Chapter Four), further cemented Sandy Point's status as a major export centre on one of the Eastern Caribbean's leading sugar islands.

#### *7.1.2.2 Underwater archaeology*

Scuba survey of the LB Wreck Site, located off Belle Tete, revealed a large concentration of ordnance relative to the size of a vessel which the debris field indicates was probably not much longer than 70 feet LOA. The proportion of ordnance to vessel size as well as the varying types of ordnance, indicate that the ordnance was being carried by the vessel as cargo and not ship's armament. The only recorded instance of a vessel being lost in the Sandy Point Anchorage carrying ordnance as its only or primary cargo is the *Lion Britannique. Lion Britannique* was a vessel carrying munitions for French forces during the Great Siege of St. Kitts in 1782, which sank after her hull struck on rocks one fateful night in January 1782.

The theory that the LB Wreck may be the *Lion Britannique* remains just that for the time being, a theory (The name has been assigned to the site on the basis of this strong probability though) which shall require further archaeological investigation to confirm. However, whether or not the LB Wreck Site is indeed the *Lion Britannique,* the amount and variety of munitions at the site, in addition to the size of some of the individual artillery pieces in the artifact assemblage, make the site one worth studying, especially within the context of the underwater cultural heritage (UCH) of one of the most strategically vital Caribbean anchorages of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. What do we know thus far about the LB Wreck Site? At this point we can ascertain that a vessel sank carrying a large amount of munitions off the northern end of the Sandy Point Anchorage. There are two probable scenarios for the intended use of this cargo. The munitions could have been meant to increase the store of ordnance for forces defending Sandy Point and its anchorage. Conversely, as suggested (but not yet confirmed) by primary and secondary sources, the munitions may have formed part of the arsenal of hostile forces either seeking to attack or already engaged in an assault on the port and its formidable defences.

Shoreline surveys were conducted of both Pump Bay and the shoreline off Downing Street/Fort Hamilton. The snorkel survey of Pump Bay revealed submerged remains of a metal reinforced concrete structure which ethnographic sources confirmed were the remains of the last jetty at Pump Bay. Other submerged metal features observed may be the remains of machinery such as a crane that once stood on the jetty (see Chapter Five, Figures 112-113).

The snorkel survey of Pump Bay included part of the shoreline off Downing Street. A full snorkel survey of the Downing Street/Fort Hamilton section of the Sandy Point coastline could not be conducted due to a combination of heavy tidal action and household effluence being pumped into the sea via a drainage pipe leading from an alley on the southern side of Downing Street. The same factors also mitigated against conducting a scuba survey of the area. The initial shoreline survey of Downing Street/Fort Hamilton brought to the survey team's attention a submerged formation of large rocks that may either may the remains of the foundation for a pier or for Fort Hamilton (Sandy Point Fort).

Aerial drone survey of the area showed a pattern of partially submerged rocks that may represent the outline of Fort Hamilton. Together with early to mid eighteenth century cartographic evidence which displays the fort as not being sited on a natural coastline it appears that Fort Hamilton was either erected in the littoral zone on a submerged foundation or on built up land (A popular term used for built up land is "reclaimed land." The author hesitates to use this term because the term "reclaimed" implies that the area in question was originally a terrestrial instead of a maritime zone, which is often not the case). Such a challenging (from an engineering perspective) approach to erecting a coastal fortification is not unheard of. At the same time it is not the most commonplace one either. The only other known Caribbean fortification where such an engineering solution was definitely employed is Fort Augusta at Port Royal, Jamaica. Such coastal intervention or "land reclamation" as some may call it may have also been employed in erecting some defensive positions at Antigua's English Harbour. Therefore, the research thus far indicates that Fort Hamilton or Sandy Point Fort may be one of only three coastal fortifications in the Caribbean erected on what was originally a non-terrestrial site. That the other two sites, one known and one probable, are located at what were once the Royal Navy's two chief bases in the West Indies, is further indication of the perceived strategic importance of the Sandy Point Anchorage.

The SCUBA survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage focused on anchors deposited on the seafloor as these were the most significant UCH encountered in the anchorage. The anchors recorded were in large assemblages located at two sites which the survey team named North Mooring Site and South Mooring Site. The varying sizes and types of anchors reflect the diverse types of vessels that were part of the maritime traffic in the Sandy Point Anchorage. As is common in investigating UCH, especially when conducting a non-invasive survey in situ, encrustation of marine growth presented a challenge with respect to dating the anchors and determining their nationality (for instance, whether English or French). Structural damage to anchors which would have occurred during the natural or manmade events that resulted in their loss, also presented a challenge to conducting full measurements.

Nonetheless, visible features in several anchors allow hypotheses to be put forward about the vessel types they may have been employed on. The presence of a large number of anchors that appear to be of the Admiralty Pattern indicates that British naval vessels may have called at the Sandy Point Anchorage on a regular basis. Of course, one could have easily made the assumption prior to engaging in any form of fieldwork that an anchorage defended by the most extensive fortification in the British Caribbean would have seen significant naval traffic. It must be borne in mind though, that an assumption is just that; an assumption. One does not need tangible evidence to make an assumption, just circumstantial evidence, to borrow a term from the legal profession. In other words, the presence of large fortifications in and around a port town would lead one to make the reasonable assumption that the anchorage that town sits on would be a frequent port of call for naval vessels either bringing ordnance and other supplies, disembarking fresh troops for the garrison, or just stopping at a strategically important port while conducting peacetime or wartime patrols.

However, archaeology through the discovery and/or investigation of the tangible, serves to achieve two things. On the one hand, it confirms (very rarely because as one of the researcher's past lecturers would always remind his undergraduate students, you can never prove a theory, only disprove it) or at least supports an assumption. On the other, it refutes or at least casts doubt on it. Therefore, the presence of such a significant number of anchors in the anchorage at Sandy Point, which appear to conform to the Admiralty Pattern, elevates an assumption about naval traffic at the anchorage to the status of probability. Furthermore, the size of the probable Admiralty anchors encountered, that is those whose condition allowed some measurements to be taken, indicates that the Sandy Point Anchorage may have been frequently visited by large ships of the British Royal Navy. Being wooden stock anchors, the height of this naval traffic appears to have been nineteenth century and earlier, coinciding with the period during which Anglo-French tensions were at their highest (see Chapters Two and Four).

As noted earlier, anchors of varying sizes and types were encountered in the anchorage. Therefore, large British men-of-war would have very likely shared the anchorage with a wide assortment of merchant vessels. Of course, we cannot say what kind of trade the vessels that lost their anchors were engaged in. However, we know from the research undertaken thus far that the Sandy Point Anchorage was a focal point for inter-island trade, both official and illicit; a trading partner with North American ports; and connected to both sides of the Atlantic World through the trade in commodities and enslaved Africans.

## 7.2 What has this research achieved?

This research is not the first investigative foray into the archaeology and history of a Caribbean port town. As noted in the introduction to this research, within the last few years there has been a wealth of study and publication, from diverse research perspectives, on coastal urban centres in the region that played a role, through the linkages they facilitated, in shaping the economies and societies of not only the Caribbean but the major European powers as well. Historians such as Pedro Welch and Milagros Flores-Roman have researched major Caribbean port towns. In the case of Welch, his focus was on how Bridgetown's maritime economy shaped the nature of slavery and interactions between enslaved and free in this coastal metropolis (Welch 2003).

Flores-Roman, on the other hand, investigated the impact of San Juan's military built heritage and the European soldiers who guarded this fortified city on San Juan society (Flores Roman et al 2009). While he has not studied the town of Sandy Point itself, archaeologist and military historian Victor Smith spent much of his career researching and writing on its primary fortifications, Brimstone Hill Fortress and Charles Fort. In some similar regard to Flores-Roman, Lennox Honychurch has studied the historic relationship between Dominica's Portsmouth and its Prince Rupert's Bay Anchorage on the one hand and the defences for the port and anchorage at Fort Shirley on the other (Honychurch 2013). Honychurch's research planted the seed for the idea of pursuing this research, a seed further germinated by STIMACUR's underwater survey of the Kralendijk Anchorage in Bonaire (Hayes and Nagelkerken 2002).[39]

All the above contribute immensely to scholarship on the port towns and anchorages in the Caribbean. However, they all focused exclusively on either the terrestrial or the maritime domain. With respect to the terrestrial work, while historians like Welch and Flores-Roman researched entire towns, archaeologists like Smith, Schroedl and Ahlman focused on specific sites such as fortification. The focus of the latter group would have been necessarily limited because archaeological fieldwork is time consuming and when investigating large sites can be prohibitively expensive.

This research has been approached from the perspective of an inescapable truth. The histories of port towns are inevitably tied to two worlds, the terrestrial and the maritime (and perhaps a third if you count the littoral zone that connects the two as a unique sphere of its own). Similarly, their archaeology is buried and/or standing on land as well as also being submerged underwater. Any attempt at a holistic study of the history and archaeology of a port town and its related anchorage has to pursue investigation of both the terrestrial and maritime realms. For instance, the nature of merchant shipping calling at the anchorage and the types of goods being loaded and off loaded at the port would have influenced the nature of port related structures: warehouses and other storage facilities; jetties and wharves; facilities for transporting items from shore to ship, such as pipelines.

[39] Raymond Hayes and Wil Nagelkerken, *"The Historical Anchorage of Kralendijk, Bonaire, Netherlands Antilles, including the wreckage of the Dutch brigantine Sirene (1831) ",* STIMANA Marine Marine Archaeological Series No. 2 (Curacao: STIMANA, 2002). Note that Stichting Marien Acheologisch Onderzoek Nederlandse Antillen (STIMANA: Foundation for Marine Archaeology in the Netherlands Antilles) is the precursor of Stichting Marien Archeologie Curacao (STIMACUR: Foundation for Marine Archaeology in Curacao).

If said anchorage and port were official facilitators of human trafficking, as practically all Caribbean ports were for the duration of the African Slave Trade, it is possible that even if no direct physical manifestations of that trade survive in the port town (apart from the present day living descendants of the enslaved of course) certain sites would survive in local folklore as being related to that inhumane trade. Additionally, if the value of any and all trade through an anchorage and port is enough to make these places targets for rivals of the colonial power, fortifications shall inevitably emerge. The size, scale, design, armament and manning of these fortifications would be influenced by the nature of the threat or perceived threat.

This research on the Sandy Point Anchorage is the first comprehensive investigation into the archaeology and history of an Anglophone Caribbean port town in which both extensive terrestrial and underwater archaeological fieldwork were engaged in at multiple sites in both environments. The research has also broken ground by marrying extensive archaeological fieldwork in both of these realms with ethnographic fieldwork. Such a marriage was necessitated by a theoretical approach in which the history and archaeology of the port and anchorage are investigated from the early development of Sandy Point and its related defences to twentieth century connections created by trade, migration and the official response to health care concerns. Welch's thesis on Bridgetown ends it study at the year 1834, when enslaved Africans were emancipated throughout the British Empire. Such a culmination point is logical because his research focus was Pre-Emancipation society in his island's capital city. Similarly, the work by Flores-Roman et al on the evolution of San Juan and its fortifications during the period of Spanish colonization when the fortifications were created and developed to their present state, quite rationally ends at 1898, the date when the United States captured Puerto Rico and other Spanish possessions during the Spanish American War. This research, on the other hand, investigates the history and archaeology of a Caribbean port town up to its twentieth century period of active use as a port. With respect to the Anglophone port towns in the Caribbean, the span of time covered by this research allows exploration of Post-Emancipation trade and other connections created during the continued active life of the port.

Ruud Stelten has carried out research along a similar vein on the historical archaeology of the terrestrial and maritime cultural landscape of the neighbouring Dutch island of St. Eustatius. Stelten's theoretical approach also adopted the longue duree perspective as his investigation spans a period from early colonial era settlement to the twentieth century (Stelten 2019, 33). Where Stelten's dissertation and the present study mainly diverge is that the former is a historical terrestrial and maritime archaeological study of an entire island society. The latter, on the other hand, focuses not on an entire island but on a specific port town and its anchorage. Important differences between both islands that perhaps led to both researchers' somewhat different approaches should be noted. With an area of approximately eight square miles St. Eustatius is a much smaller island than St. Kitts. Another factor to be acknowledged is that while the societies and economies of all Caribbean islands were influenced by the maritime world (Hicks 2008, 205-227), unlike St. Kitts, the sugar plantation did not play as dominant a role in the landscape and economy of St. Eustatius. Therefore, livelihoods of both blacks and whites on St. Eustatius were generally even more closely tied to the maritime sphere (Stelten 2019). The focus of this historical archaeological study has been to investigate an early colonial era port town that held the singular distinction of being the only Caribbean island frontier town between English and French empires. The entire island of St. Kitts was undoubtedly of great strategic value in the geopolitical rivalry between England and France. However, the unique built defensive and later

industrial landscape that developed within and around Sandy Point, apparently linked to its port function, has merited extensive investigation focusing on port activities at Sandy Point, and the archaeology of terrestrial, littoral and underwater sites related to those activities and/or Sandy Point's status as a strategic port and anchorage.

The present study is the first historical archaeological investigation of a Caribbean port town and its anchorage to examine **all** of the following: The early seventeenth century rivalry between Britain and France as the two competed to both erode Spanish hegemony in the Americas and gain the upper hand over the other; the influence of this rivalry between what would become the two greatest naval and military powers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries on the evolution of coastal defences; the influence of a port, its defences and the men deployed to man them on the society of an island generally and the town specifically; the influence of the port on the societies and economies of several neighbouring islands; how changing Atlantic World geopolitics over the longue duree can influence the status of a maritime site with regard to strategic value.

The latter part of Robertson's sixteenth to twentieth century historical study of Spanish Town, Jamaica, examines economic and social change in the town caused by the advent of the tourism and banana industries from the late nineteenth century onwards. Using aerial photography he also discusses the built heritage of twentieth century Spanish Town. The long time span taken in Robertson's similar approach provides another example of how fruitful such an approach can be in coming to fully understand the factors that contributed to the shaping the present physical layout and social character of a Caribbean metropolis. However, unlike Sandy Point, Spanish Town is an inland settlement and therefore Robertson's research only needed to consider the single sphere, a terrestrial one, which the town inhabited. This research, on the other hand, is the first major study of an anglophone Caribbean **port** town over such a long period of time, from initial settlement to present living memory.

Furthermore, historical and archival research have been engaged in not, just as a necessary reinforcement to the archaeology but as an equally important component influencing the direction and focus of a multi-disciplinary undertaking. Take, as one example, the analysis of births and marriages in the Parish of St. Anne's. The relationship created between residents of the port town of Sandy Point and British military personnel garrisoned at the port's fortress is one of the most important discussions in this research because the focus is not on the physical archaeology of Sandy Point's defences (as undoubtedly important as this is), in other words, design and layout of fortifications, armament etc. Rather, the focus is on the individuals who manned and serviced the fortifications, and who during their deployment to St. Kitts formed lasting physical bonds with Sandy Point and the rest of the island by entering into wedlock with local women and/or producing offspring by them. Another example is the discussion on shipping connections between Sandy Point and North American ports such as Annapolis. Similar to the research on births and marriages, it would have been difficult, if not downright impossible at present, to make assertions about a relatively small West Indian port's apparently significant role in the region's trade with North America through archaeological fieldwork.

Welch and others have examined trade, commercial and shipping connections between a Caribbean port town, the metropole and North America. However, where this research makes its departure from previous research is in also exploring connections fostered between small island Caribbean societies through the trade, migration, and travel facilitated by a West Indian port.

The study of such connections is important because it shows how Caribbean people adapted and exploited a space (a Caribbean anchorage and port) that once served to introduce their ancestors to a new sphere of existence as enslaved persons, to a channel for pursuing opportunities. The opportunities provided by the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage surfaced in various forms: Economic migrants from Anguilla found employment in the canefields of St. Kitts as well as opportunities for trade and entertainment in the town of Sandy Point; many migrants from St. Kitts departed the island through the same port to pursue opportunities in other islands; captains and owners of inter-island trading vessels earned a living transporting much needed and often scarce commodities from St. Kitts to Dutch and English speaking islands in close proximity to Sandy Point; households throughout St. Kitts relied on the port of Sandy Point for the receipt of remittances from relatives in the Virgin Islands; boatbuilders from neighbouring islands established their base of operations on Pump Bay; and by the twentieth century Kittitian smugglers had taken over a tradition began since at least the eighteenth century by Dutch and North American mariners of smuggling between St. Kitts and St. Eustatius (By at least the twentieth century this smuggling network also involved the French West Indian island of St. Barthelemy).

### 7.3 Contribution of community stakeholders and benefits gained by these stakeholders

In any research project that relies heavily on ethnographic research, members of the community should play a role in influencing the direction of the research. Data gained from ethnographic fieldwork will clarify research questions and even lead to additional questions. However, it should be noted that members of the Sandy Point and Fig Tree communities who were involved in this research participated not just as the typical interview subjects. Three individuals, Malcolm Govia, Ralph 'Major' Wilkin, and dive boat captain Ray 'Lomax' Liddie, became actual members of the research team, participating in fieldwork and offering invaluable suggestions on sites that should be investigated. With respect to terrestrial sites their knowledge of these sites during their period of active use informed the interpretation of the structures and features found during the archaeological fieldwork phase of this research project. When it came to submerged sites such as the LB wreck site, the input of such local research team members provided invaluable knowledge as to the best times to access these sites based on daily tidal conditions etc. The involvement of these three individuals, especially "elder statesmen" of the community such as Malcolm and Ralph, helped to open doors to other community members who were willing to offer information.

In 2013, a year after commencing this research a stakeholder group was established to protect and promote one of the largest and most important terrestrial sites in Sandy Point. Proposed membership of the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group included: Malcolm Govia, due to his obvious association with the Hansen Home; local historian Ralph Wilkin; representatives of the major religious denominations found in Sandy Point (Anglican, Catholic and Methodist Churches; Rastafarians were also represented by default through the membership of the SPACS, most of whose members belong to the Rastafari faith); local businesses; the Charles E. Mills Secondary School (formerly the Sandy Point High School); SPACS; constituency representatives of St. Kitts' two leading political parties, the St. Kitts and Nevis Labour Party and the People's Action Movement (PAM); the Sandy Point Benevolent Society. The Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society (BHFNPS or the Society) was the lead organisation due to Charles Fort's historic

link with Brimstone Hill Fortress and the fact that the initiative to establish the stakeholder group came from the author who was at the time the CEO of the BHFNPS.

Stakeholder group meetings were widely publicized and not only the proposed members listed above but all members of the Sandy Point and Fig Tree communities were invited to the stakeholder group meetings, as the entire community is quite rightly seen as stakeholders in their built heritage. Unfortunately, many of the individuals and entities invited, as well as many other community members, did not turn up to stakeholders meetings, which were held in the Anglican School Room, a central location in Sandy Point. Apart from Malcolm and Ralph, the most active members of the group were SPACS and the Sandy Point Benevolent Society, represented by Mr. Evron Warner and Mr. Athill Warner (the latter passed away in 2017). Despite this, in the first year of formation of the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group, the group was able to organize an initial cleanup of the entrance to and grounds around Charles Fort, greatly increasing visibility of the fortress from the island's main road. The cleanup involved not only community stakeholders, although not as many participated as hoped, but national organisations such as the St. Kitts Nevis Defence Force, the St. Kitts Cadet Corps and Her Majesty's Prison.

The publicity gained from the success of the initial cleanup of Charles Fort, held as part of Independence celebrations in September 2013, enabled the author to persuade the government to deploy a Parks and Beaches team by February of the following year, to conduct intended regular cleanups of the site. Initially, the Parks and Beaches team was deployed from another location; therefore, the cleanups were not conducted as regularly as they should because the team would often be assigned elsewhere in response to what the authorities deemed more important priorities. It was not until 2016 that the author, shortly before leaving office at the BHFNPS was able to convince the government to form specific Parks and Beaches teams for Charles Fort and its counterpart in Basseterre, Fort Thomas (the largest coastal fort in Basseterre). The preceding discussion of the activities of the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group and their outcomes illustrate how a small but passionate community stakeholder group can have influence at a national level. The regular programme of vegetation removal at Charles Fort, which hopefully in the future shall lead to a more comprehensive structural restoration and maintenance regime, would not currently be taking place if not for the initiative of the stakeholder group. Such an initiative showed that the apparently daunting task of rehabilitating a site as large and as overgrown by vegetation as Charles Fort was realistically achievable but as with the proverbial Chinese journey of a thousand miles, it was important to make a well planned start and maintain momentum. The Sandy Point community is reaping a double benefit from the ongoing programme of vegetation control at Charles Fort. The first obvious reward being greater visibility for a long ignored, neglected and abused (in the form of theft of masonry material) landmark. The second direct benefit is that many of the young men and women employed in the newly formed Charles Fort Parks and Beaches team are residents of Sandy Point and neighbouring communities. The initiative is therefore providing employment for some persons in a community where youth unemployment and the consequent social problems it creates are somewhat conspicuous issues.

The involvement of Fourth Form students from the Charles E. Mills Secondary School and the Verchilds High School in the survey of artifacts and features along the coastal elevation of Charles Fort has played a major role in raising awareness of the site among arguably the community's most important stakeholders. Such hands on exposure for youth to the natural and man-made threats faced by historic sites and the consequent need to survey and document these

sites has a potential impact that cannot be easily replicated by a classroom lecture or presentation.

It should be noted that from the beginning this research was seen not just as a separate academic project but one that could inform how historic sites in and around Sandy Point should be managed. The research into the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage provided greater opportunity to interact with stakeholders as well as uncovering fascinating new material to contribute to the promotion of the area's archaeological heritage. In other words an opportunity was created "to embed … academic research" into the management of sites (van der Linde and Mans). Out of this opportunity arose new insights which are being discussed in this chapter.

### 7.4 Future benefits this research may bring to the community

Another stated objective of the Charles Fort Stakeholder group was to seek feedback on future uses of the site. An important aspect of this feedback was to gain insight on the values ascribed to the site by the community. The entity legally empowered to manage a heritage site will have its own priorities and responsibilities as part of its legal mandate. However, efforts should be made to align these priorities as much as possible with the benefits that the community would like to gain from the site (van der Linde and Mans 2015, 257-69). Such efforts convey the message to the community that those managing the site are concerned not just with the archaeological, historic or other 'academic' values ascribed to a site but also the values ascribed by the community (ibid). Community values could be economic, recreational etc.

For example, how would community members like to see these sites used? Should any interpretation of Charles Fort to visitors (done as part of a conservation programme) on the site's heritage as a military site or on its latter phase as a health care facility? Or should both phases be accorded equal emphasis? The last but perhaps most important question, in what tangible way can Sandy Pointers, beyond those employed in the tourism sector as taxi or tour operators benefit from Charles Fort?

One suggestion the author would offer respects both the heritage of the site and provides potential to present and future generations for employment, food security and education. The garden kept by inmates at the Hansen Home can be recreated; existing photos of the garden with its stone walkways make this possible.[40] The garden could be maintained by the Sandy Point Agricultural Co-operative Society (SPACS). The proposed garden at Charles Fort, which should grow both produce and ornamental plants, could be an attraction for both locals and visitors alike who may tour the site and purchase plants and/or produce. Interpretive panels should be placed at the site to provide information about the history of Charles Fort and the Hansen Home, with respect to the latter the relationships forged between inmates of the home and Sandy Pointers should be covered in the interpretive text. The proposed garden should also be made accessible to Agricultural Science students at the Charles E. Mills Secondary School for their practical assignments and CSEC (Caribbean Secondary Education Certificate) School Based Assessment or SBA. For CSEC subjects the SBA is a component of the final external examination which the student completes during regular classroom sessions or as take home assignments. For the sciences the SBAs are in the form of carefully recorded laboratory or field practical exercises.

[40] These images are in the collection of the St. Kitts National Archives

How should other sites such as Pump Estate, Sandy Point Fort and Fort Charles (Fig Tree Fort) and Downing Street be used, protected and promoted? To cite one specific concern, a farmer from Sandy Point has cleared vegetation from Pump Estate and established a farm there. This individual does not own the land but according to other community members is counting on legislation which states that once someone is squatting on a lot of land for a specified period without challenge they may assume ownership. The problem is that legislation protecting historic sites on St. Kitts is very weak in most areas. Protection of sites is largely dependent on the goodwill of the person who owns or uses the land. In May of 2019 the powder magazine at Fort Londonderry in Basseterre was completely demolished by a wealthy and well connected developer. No development has since taken place at the site and it is suspected that the magazine was destroyed to obtain and sell the masonry material. The powder magazine at Fort Londonderry was the largest existing on the island, leading the author to believe that the fort may have been a gunpowder store for Basseterre's other forts. Despite the significance of the site, the St. Christopher National Trust has not even uttered any public comment on its destruction.

The example above illustrates the very real danger that the farmer using Pump Estate could damage or destroy structures or artifacts with impunity. However, as a community member and therefore a stakeholder in Sandy Point's built heritage should he be obstructed from accessing a presently abandoned site? The author would argue that the farmer should be allowed to continue his activities at Pump Estate. However (in the absence of strong heritage legislation and the lack of political will to enforce existing legislation), he should be encouraged not to damage any structures at Pump Estate or to discard any artifacts found. Such encouragement has greater chance of success if the individual can be convinced of personal benefits from protecting the site. For example, guided tours of an organic farm where visitors learn about the history of Pump Estate and purchase produce. In this proposed scenario conflict between the values a community member ascribes to a site, of financial benefit, and the need to protect an important site is reduced or eliminated. As we can see from the proposals put forward for Charles Fort and Pump Estate, Sandy Point has potential to be an agro-tourism hub.

The official culmination of any academic research project is publication and/or the award of some form of certification of academic competence. From the outset; though, it was envisioned that this research would realize benefits not just for the researcher but for the community whose port town and anchorage are being studied. However, for there to be any realistic opportunity of a community reaping rewards from an archaeological research project the question must first be asked who is/are the community or communities relevant to the research. This seemingly simple question has proven to be a contentious one where a site has conflicting meanings or interest to various stakeholders. Perhaps the most famous example for archaeologists and laypersons alike is Jerusalem's Temple Mount, known to Muslims as the Haram esh-Sharif or the Al Aqsa Compound. The city of Jerusalem itself, undeniably one of the world's most important historic sites, is a holy city to Jews, Christians, and Muslims, which has made it a flashpoint for conflict and confrontation in the Middle East and foreign relations even further afield (Schulson 2018).

Chirikure and Pwiti have also outlined the challenges faced in reaching consensus among various ethnic groups, and between local communities and state managed heritage entities over the meaning of a site, and how its history should be interpreted, presented and preserved (Chirikure and Pwiti 2008, 467-85). Thankfully, unlike Jerusalem or the Southern African sites discussed by Chirikure and Pwiti, the port town of Sandy Point and its anchorage are not challenged by

such contentious issues. Sandy Point and St. Kitts for that matter is not as ethnically complex a society; therefore, identifying community stakeholders and bringing them together was a more straightforward affair as seen with the previous discussion on the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group. With respect to the Charles Fort Stakeholder Group and another stakeholder group formed the following year, the St. Thomas and St. Ann's Heritage Trail Committee, the issue has been one of continued engagement with the community. As the following discussion shall show this issue has arisen due to an apparent shift in priorities after personnel change at the heritage organization guiding the community initiatives. The St. Thomas/St. Ann Heritage Trail Committee was formed as a community based organisation seeking to bring attention to the unusually high density of unique historic sites found in the two neighbouring parishes. The inspiration for forming this stakeholder group derived from information uncovered on sites in both parishes through the course of conducting this research.

Often when conducting research, one encounters fascinating material that is not germane to the thesis and therefore cannot (and should not) be included. However, this information may be too useful, not only to the researcher but to the community it refers to, to ignore. Such is the case with much of the information on sites in St. Thomas and St. Ann, which while not directly relevant to the research, highlight the historic significance of the parishes in which the port and its defences are located. The research revealed that almost all of the historic sites in both parishes have historic relationships with the port and its fortifications, some of which may have been far from obvious. For instance, the St. Ann Anglican Church is featured prominently in one of the most famous late eighteenth century paintings of Brimstone Hill by Lieutenant James Lees, commanding officer of the Royal Engineers detachment in charge of the rebuilding of the fortress after the 1782 Siege. Several officers who served with regiments garrisoned at the Hill are interred in the church cemetery and undoubtedly some of them and their peers would have regularly attended Sunday service in the parish's Church of England edifice. The St. Thomas Anglican Church shares a similar relationship with Sandy Point's defences, with several officers including a Commander of Leeward Island forces being interred there. The Heritage Trail Committee has held breakfasts at the St. Thomas Anglican Church and the Sandy Point Public Market which have been rather well attended. These events have attracted parishioners from both parishes and even some individuals from communities further away, allowing a diverse cross section of persons to socialize at and learn about the history of these sites (through slide show presentations), each of which has made a unique contribution to the island's history and built heritage.

One objective of the St. Thomas and St. Ann Heritage Trail Committee was to create a walking and driving trail of the two parishes, with brochures giving information on the parishes and their historic sites, as well as maps for guidance. Such an endeavour has the potential to create opportunities within the community, from the farmers selling produce to the owners of village shops[41] located on the walking/driving route along which the sites are located. An

[41] The village shop, often also known as a rumshop, is a Caribbean institution which can best be described as a combination of a pub and convenience store. These entities serve not only as watering holes and canteens but many also sell a diverse range of items including foodstuff, toiletries, household items, lottery tickets and clothing. In the age of mobile communications they are also convenient venues to buy credit for or "top up" one's mobile phone. Throughout the Caribbean many village shops are popular attractions for those visitors who prefer to go off the beaten path in search of a more authentic experience.

overwhelming majority of tourists only pass through the two parishes, usually on guided tours from Romney Manor/Wingfield Estate or Brimstone Hill. The Heritage Trail would be aimed not only at visitors but locals as well, as encouragement to 'rediscover' their heritage.

Despite the positive public response to the idea of a heritage trail for the area, the new management of the BHFNPS, which assumed office officially from February 2016, has not to date followed up with this initiative. It would be a shame for such an opportunity to be lost, for getting a community actively involved in promoting their heritage not only has the potential to provide economic opportunities, as already noted, but endowing a community with a sense of ownership in its heritage can help reduce incidents of vandalism of built heritage sites. Stephanie Moser and her colleagues make a strong case for giving communities "authorship and ownership" of their heritage by warning that "If local people are not involved in the presentation of their heritage, their sense of ownership and concern for maintaining a site … will not be as great (Moser et al 2002, 220-48)." Heritage organisations that ignore such advice do so not only at the peril of the sites they manage (on behalf of the community it should be stressed) but at the peril of their own perceived relevance which may undermine their support from at least some groups within the community.

The largely untapped potential for community tourism is implicated by the attention the proposed St. Thomas/St. Ann Heritage Trail received from government shortly after it was publicized. Despite requests from the Heritage Trail Committee to the Ministry of Tourism and the Sugar Industry Diversification Fund (SIDF) for funding to erect signage, place markers etc. being politely rejected, the Ministry of Tourism shortly after hastily erected signs in the St. Thomas/St. Ann area promoting the history of sites such as Old Road and the St. Thomas Anglican Church. Some of this signage has since notably deteriorated or disappeared. In 2015 after a change of administration, the Ministry of Tourism announced that it was embarking on a "community tourism" project specifically targeting rural communities. This announcement was tacit acknowledgement that many rural communities are not benefitting enough from the island's expanding tourism sector (Stancioff et al 2018, 459). To date nothing further has been heard of the community tourism initiative; however, as this manuscript focusing on just one port town and its surrounding parish indicates, there is considerable unrealized potential to create a viable heritage tourism product that provides benefits for many more members of typically overlooked communities such as Sandy Point. As a safeguard against over commercialization and the erosion of the culture of communities such as Sandy Point and Fig Tree, any endeavour at community tourism should be driven by community members knowledgeable in the community's history and cultural heritage with institutionalized stakeholders such as the Ministries of Agriculture, Tourism and Culture, the Brimstone Hill Society and the St. Christopher National Trust providing advice, and assistance with research and capacity building.

The submerged heritage of the Sandy Point Anchorage also holds great potential, not only for those of us who make a career in researching such sites, but for all stakeholders with a vested interest in protecting the cultural and natural heritage of the maritime zone off Sandy Point. There have been proposals by government to create a marine park in the waters off Sandy Point. In fact, for at least the last decade some tourist maps have been bearing the legend "Sandy Point Marine Park", even though the requisite legislation has not yet been enacted to make the anchorage a protected area.

The proposed marine park is intended primarily to protect marine life in the waters off Sandy Point. However, further investigation of the LB wreck site has the potential to reveal information on the significance of the shipwreck that may strengthen the case for making the anchorage a protected natural **and cultural** maritime zone. Such protection should not only boost dive tourism but at the same time (given adequate enforcement), protect UCH from further looting; anchors, cannon and other UCH have in the past disappeared from the anchorage. Research of any nature that helps to spur progress towards protection of the anchorage would also benefit one stakeholder group who has already been of great value to this research by providing information on the location of submerged sites, the fisherfolk of Fig Tree and Sandy Point who depend on the marine ecosystem of the anchorage for their livelihood. Therefore, further research on the underwater cultural heritage may accelerate progress towards implementation of legislation with the potential spinoff effect of also protecting the natural habitat of the Sandy Point Anchorage.

### 7.5 Potential future research

Suggestions shall now be offered on how future researchers may continue beyond the present research on Sandy Point and its anchorage. Fort Charles (Fig Tree Fort) has huge potential for further archaeological investigation and is the only major site in Sandy Point not yet extensively surveyed. The existing footprint of the site with ruins dispersed extensively throughout the village of Fig Tree indicates that the fort may have been of similar size to Charles Fort, which means it may have been one of the largest coastal fortifications in the Eastern Caribbean. Fort Charles may have been of similar size to Fort Delgres, the citadel fort overlooking the city of Basse-Terre in Guadeloupe and one of the largest French forts in the Eastern Caribbean. Unlike other terrestrial sites which were investigated via standing structures reconnaissance survey, archaeological field investigation of Fort Charles which only exists now as incomplete ruins would require excavation. There are not enough above ground remains to rely solely on a standing structures survey. As St. Christophe was the first French colony in the West Indies, excavation of Fort Charles may reveal if the site had any influence on the design and construction of fortifications erected on later French colonies. Interestingly, while extensive archaeological investigation has been carried out on fortifications in the Anglo, Dutch and Hispanic Caribbean, very little of the archaeology conducted in the French Caribbean has paid any attention to fortifications. Time constraints mitigated against excavation of Fort Charles before the conclusion of the present research. However, the author and the STIMACUR team have prioritized archaeological investigation of Fort Charles as a possible future project.

Steven Pendery, an archaeologist at Laval University in Quebec, Canada, has also been in discussion with the author about conducting a LIDAR survey of the remains of French fortifications on St. Kitts. LIDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) is a remote sensing method employing light in the form of pulsed radar to measure variable distances to the earth.[42] LIDAR not only generates precise, three dimensional data about the shape of the earth and its surface characteristics but can also detect and map man-made features buried beneath the surface of the ground. LIDAR is commonly conducted using fixed or rotary wing aircraft, as well as drones. The proposed LIDAR survey of French fortifications on St. Kitts, which would commence with Fort Charles, would utilize drones, which as we have already seen in this research have been

[42] Oceanservice.noaa.gov.facts/lidar.html Accessed 29 Dec. 2019

extremely useful in revealing data about the possible construction of Fort Hamilton. Dr. Pendery is presently seeking funding for the LIDAR survey of French fortifications on St Kitts.

With respect to the UCH of the Sandy Point Anchorage, the LB wreck site bears huge potential for further research, for which the author is seeking funding. Circumstantial evidence already suggests that the wreck may be the remains of the French munitions ship which ran aground and sank during the Great Siege of 1782. Further underwater archaeological survey, including collection of samples, may yield tangible data about weapons and ammunition, as well as vessel types (although the latter may be less likely as timber remains rarely survive in warm Caribbean waters) used by the French during one of the largest amphibious operations in the history of warfare in the Caribbean. Due to several unsuccessful attempts before the wreck was finally located time conspired against further survey of the LB wreck site thus far.

There is potential for comparative archaeological and historical research on Sandy Point and Basseterre. The comparisons made in this research have perhaps just scratched the surface in understanding the historical development of the two earliest port towns in respectively the English and French West Indies. The parallel founding and development of English and French ports on the same island is a feature unique to St. Kitts. Additionally, no research has been conducted on what influence Kittitian towns may have had (or not had) on the later English and French towns in the West Indies, with respect to design and construction of fortifications that guarded their trade, town planning and the displacement of indigenous settlements (such as at Old Road).

Comparative research of the two most heavily fortified islands in the British Caribbean, Bermuda and St. Kitts, also holds exciting possibilities. The development of the British Naval Dockyard on Bermuda and the island's fortifications against the Brimstone Hill Fortress on St. Kitts and the island's other fortifications begs comparisons for two major reasons. One is that as already stated both islands are the most heavily fortified in the Anglophone Caribbean. However, while the development of fortifications on St. Kitts reached their apex in the late eighteenth century, development of fortifications and their armament on Bermuda continued well into the twentieth century. The comparative trajectory of fortification development on the two islands was influenced by geographic location and major geopolitical factors such as Bermuda's proximity to the United States, which up to the nineteenth century was perceived as a hostile power, and the two World Wars (Gill 2019, 163-176). The other reason such research is suggested is that both the Bermuda Dockyard and Brimstone Hill are now UNESCO World Heritage sites, inviting comparisons on approaches to managing and protecting built military heritage on the two islands. Similar comparative research may potentially be pursued of St. Kitts and Antigua, examining the roles of Brimstone Hill and the Antigua Naval Dockyard in influencing British defence strategy in the Leeward Islands, as well as respective approaches to management of built heritage, including World Heritage.

There is scope for further research on trade between St. Kitts and St. Eustatius. The twin influences of proximity to French St. Christophe and the Dutch island of St. Eustatius on the development of the port of Sandy Point and its defences should be further investigated. As we have seen in this research, fortifications at Sandy Point evolved from simple gun positions such as Fort Hamilton (whose construction was; however, anything but simple), to Charles Fort, a large conventionally designed but unconventionally planned fortress, onto innovative

fortification designs such as the Fort George Citadel at Brimstone Hill. This evolution of fortification types at and around Sandy Point should be more extensively studied.

Future research projects must involve community stakeholders who should be the ultimate beneficiaries of data gathered and information uncovered. They are descendants of the people who built or used the sites and participated in the events covered in the present research and that would be analysed in any future research: The enslaved who arrived at Sandy Point in shackles over the course of two centuries; the labourers and craftsmen who cut and placed the stones to erect its fortifications, some now towering above the landscape, others submerged off its coast; the soldiers who in a literal sense planted their seed in the community; the migrants for whom Sandy Point was a gateway to start a new life in St. Kitts and many others who shaped the history, built heritage and submerged heritage of what this research has shown, was for five centuries one of the most important port towns in the Eastern Caribbean. So important and overlooked is the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage in fact, that it opens many other research avenues.

# Summary

This dissertation investigates the terrestrial and maritime archaeology of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage on the Eastern Caribbean island of St. Kitts. St. Kitts was originally home to indigenous people who arrived on the island thousands of years before the first European settlers landed in the mid-1620s. Within a few decades after European colonization Sandy Point had become the first major Anglophone port on an island where the first English and French West Indian colonies planted roots side by side. The anchorage at Sandy Point was the only one in the Caribbean through which ran a boundary between two European colonies. The location of the town and its large anchorage increased their strategic value and made Sandy Point the flashpoint for Anglo-French conflict in the Americas from the 17th to 18th century.

A *longue durée* approach is taken in this research into a port and anchorage that remained at the centre of Atlantic World geopolitics for three centuries, and that even after the decline of its strategic value continued to impact economic and social life on St. Kitts and its neighbours well into the mid-20th century. Terrestrial and underwater archaeological survey, ethnographic fieldwork and archival research have been utilized in a study of Sandy Point and its anchorage encompassing a span of time from early settlement to the mid-20th century. The researcher's emphasis on community archaeology has influenced not only the approach to conducting fieldwork but also much of the data collected.

From the 16th to 19th centuries, during the creation, expansion and clash of European empires in the Americas, where there was significant trade there was also a pressing need to create visible defences to deter attacks on trade which created wealth for rival powers. As the only frontier port town in the Caribbean, Sandy Point's defences assumed a scale and complexity unrivalled by those at any other Anglophone Caribbean port and only matched, at least in scale, by the Spanish fortifications of the Caribbean. While like many of its Hispanic counterparts Sandy Point's first fortress, Charles Fort, was constructed during the early period of colonization, the latter differed significantly in its method of construction and evolution. Most early structures in the Caribbean, including the region's now renowned churches, plantation Great Houses and fortresses were initially erected in timber then rebuilt in masonry. The masonry fortifications were then expanded and significantly altered in form before reaching their present monumental states. Charles Fort, on the other hand, was erected in its initial form as a large stonework fortress, meant to convey England's intention to become a permanent presence in the Caribbean. In the face of Spanish hegemony and tensions with fellow upstart France, Charles Fort and the contested Sandy Point Anchorage became indispensable to survival of the English colony on St. Kitts and expansion of England's empire to the rest of the West Indies.

If Charles Fort represents a tangible response to the need to defend one of the most strategically vital anchorages in the Caribbean, Pump Estate represents a tangible response to the desire to seek innovative solutions to profit from the lucrative maritime trade at the port. The molasses storage and pumping infrastructure at the Mercer Estate operated from at least the early 19th to mid-20th century. Captain Mercer's innovation not only facilitated more efficient transfer of sugar by-products to ships for export but even after ceasing operation left an indelible mark on the maritime cultural landscape of Sandy Point. Pump Estate and Pump Bay now bear names forever influenced by the "Pump of Capt. Mercer". The infrastructure installed at the Mercer Estate to capitalize on maritime trade and the permanent influence of said infrastructure on place

names in Sandy Point illustrate how a maritime cultural landscape can be created due to a port's connection to a maritime world system through which valuable commodities are exported.

That same connection to a maritime world system also made a strategically important Caribbean port and anchorage such as Sandy Point vulnerable to seaborne assaults from interlopers or rival European powers seeking to gain the upper hand in the Atlantic arena. The underwater archaeological survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage gave priority to locating and investigating a submerged wreck site that oral evidence from Fig Tree fisherfolk suggested was a munitions ship, a theory strengthened by survey evidence. Both survey and archival evidence also strongly suggest the wreck is that of the *Lion Britannique*, a French munitions ship that ran aground and sank off Sandy Point during the 1782 Siege. While the functionality (purpose) of the vessel that became the LB Wreck Site, as it is now called, has been all but confirmed, confirming the identity of the vessel remains a priority for future survey.

Shoreline survey was conducted of Pump Bay and the coastline of the Downing Street/Fort Hamilton area. As environmental factors prohibited SCUBA or snorkel survey off Downing Street/Fort Hamilton, remote sensing via sidescan sonar and aerial survey utilizing a drone were the methods employed. Survey data and cartographic evidence suggest one of two reasons for the current submergence of the fort and its ambiguous depiction on 18$^{th}$ century maps. Either the fort was constructed on built up land or on a submerged foundation. Precedence for this not unheard of yet uncommon approach to the construction of coastal fortifications can be found at the River Thames in London and Fort Augusta at Port Royal, Jamaica. There is also probable evidence of similar coastal forts having existed at Nelson's Dockyard in Antigua. The expense and engineering effort required to literally construct a fort in the sea and the fact that the only other locations in the region where such an approach has been recorded are at the Royal Navy's two Caribbean bases, is yet another indication of the strategic importance of the Sandy Point Anchorage.

As survey of the fortifications of Sandy Point provides insight into the strategic significance of the port, so has survey of the anchorage been revealing with respect to the volume of maritime traffic the site once saw. During the underwater survey of the Sandy Point Anchorage anchors of varying types and sizes, most probably from the 19$^{th}$ century or earlier, were recorded. Observable attributes in the anchors surveyed indicate that the anchorage was a frequent port of call for naval and merchant vessels of varying sizes. The large number of anchors with features suggesting they came from 19$^{th}$ century or earlier British naval vessels suggests that the height of naval traffic at the anchorage coincided with the high point of Anglo-French tensions.

By the mid-20$^{th}$ century a port that once held strategic significance to the major powers jostling for primacy in the Atlantic World had receded to merely regional significance to the islands of the northeast Caribbean. A half decade before the Cuban Missile Crisis; however, the Sandy Point Anchorage once again assumed international geopolitical importance as both the USA and the UK conspired to erect a top secret radar facility at Belle Tete. Primary documents show that the installation was intended to monitor submarine activities of their Cold War adversary, the USSR. The plans never came to fruition but they provide yet another example of how over the *longue durée* the strategic location of the Sandy Point Anchorage brought St. Kitts into the forefront of military rivalry between major Atlantic World powers.

Prior to this research historical sources would mention that the gargantuan Brimstone Hill Fortress was erected to defend the Sandy Point Anchorage. However, there was never any explanation of why Sandy Point and its anchorage became the most heavily fortified in the Caribbean outside of the Greater Antilles. While St. Kitts was a valuable sugar colony and Sandy Point one of its largest ports, this alone is not an explanation for both Jamaica and Barbados exported far more sugar than St. Kitts, yet none of their ports were anywhere near as heavily fortified. From the onset the location of the Sandy Point Anchorage on the boundary drawn in the early 17th century between English and French St. Kitts placed it literally in the middle of expansionist rivalry between two emerging powers. Even after St. Kitts came completely under English control in the early 18th century, the islands proximity to the French West Indies made it perpetually vulnerable. Such vulnerability necessitated continued upgrading to fortifications up to the late 18th century at St. Kitts most important port, Sandy Point. The impact of these fortifications and their soldiers on St. Kitts' society has also not been previously studied.

The size of the Sandy Point Anchorage and its proximity to the Dutch entrepot of St. Eustatius ensured Sandy Point's continued primacy as an important trade port. With the decline of the British West Indies strategic importance in the 19th century Sandy Point saw its garrisons withdrawn and its fortresses abandoned. However, the port remained an invaluable centre for trade, migration and other important connections in the north east Caribbean. This research marks significant progress in uncovering Sandy Point's role in the creation of Britain's West Indian empire and after the decline of said empire the continued role in influencing the relationship between several Caribbean islands. Community outreach undertaken in this research has also created opportunities for Sandy Pointers to become actively involved in the conservation of their built heritage.

# Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift onderzoekt de terrestrische- en maritieme archeologie van de havenstad Sandy Point alsmede de ankerplaats aan de oostkust van het Caribische eiland St. Kitts. St. Kitts was oorspronkelijk de thuisbasis van een inheemse bevolking die al duizenden jaren op het eiland woonden voor de aankomst van de eerste Europese kolonisten halverwege van de jaren 1620. Binnen enkele decennia na de Europese kolonisatie was Sandy Point de voornaamste Engelse haven op een eiland waar de eerste Engelse en Franse West-Indische koloniën zich naast elkaar vestigden. De ankerplaats bij Sandy Point was de enige in het Caribisch gebied waar een grens tussen beide Europese koloniën liep. De ligging van de stad en bijbehorende ankerplaats verhoogde de strategische waarde en maakte Sandy Point het vlampunt in het Engels-Franse conflict in de Amerika's tussen de 17e en de 18e eeuw.

Dit onderzoek is gebaseerd op de *longue durée* benadering van de haven en ankerplaats die gedurende drie eeuwen centraal bleven in de politieke geografie van de Atlantische regio, en die zelfs na de afkalving van de strategische waarde, nog steeds invloedrijk bleven op de economie en het sociale leven van St. Kitts en naburige eilanden tot halverwege de 20e eeuw. Terrestrisch- en maritiem archeologisch onderzoek, etnografisch veldwerk en archiefstudie zijn gebruikt in de bestudering van Sandy Point en de aangrenzende ankerplaats over een tijdsbestek van vroege nederzetting tot het midden van de 20e eeuw. De nadruk die de onderzoeker legt op gemeenschapsarcheologie heeft niet alleen de aanpak voor het veldwerk beïnvloed, maar ook veel van de verzamelde gegevens.

Waar sprake was van belangrijke handel tijdens de stichting, uitbreiding en botsing van de Europese mogendheden in de Amerika's tussen de 16e en de 19e eeuw, was er ook een dringende behoefte om zichtbare fortificaties te bouwen om aanvallen op handel die rivaliserende machten verrijkten te ontmoedigen. Aangezien Sandy Point de enige grens-havenstad was in het Caribisch gebied werd de schaal van de vesting uitzonderlijk groot en complex. Wat grootte betreft bleef Sandy Point ongeëvenaard door andere Engels-Caribische havensteden, met uitzondering van de Spaanse vestingen in het Caribisch gebied. Hoewel het eerste fort van Sandy Point, Charles Fort, net als veel Spaanse tegenhangers gebouwd werd tijdens de vroege periode van kolonisatie, wijkt Charles Fort aanzienlijk af, zowel wat de bouwmethode en de ontwikkeling betreft. De meeste vroege bouwwerken in het Caribisch gebied, waaronder de nu beroemde kerken, plantagehuizen en forten, werden oorspronkelijk van hout gebouwd en vervolgens herbouwd in metselwerk. De gemetselde forten werden daarna uitgebreid en aanzienlijk van vorm veranderd voordat ze hun uiteindelijke monumentale grootte aannamen. Daarentegen, Charles Fort werd oorspronkelijk gebouwd als een groot stenen fort om zo duidelijk te maken dat het de Engelse intentie was permanent aanwezig te zijn in het Caribisch gebied. Gezien de Spaanse hegemonie en de spanningen met mede-kolonist Frankrijk, werden Charles Fort en de bestreden Sandy Point ankerplaats onmisbaar voor de overleving van de Engelse kolonie in St. Kitts en de expansie van het Britse rijk in de rest van de West Indische regio.

Waar Charles Fort kenmerkend is voor de noodzaak om één van de meest strategische ankerplaatsen in het Caribisch gebied te verdedigen, vormt Pump Estate daarentegen een tastbaar antwoord op de wens om op innovatieve wijze van de maritieme handel in de haven te profiteren. De opslag van melasse en de infrastructuur van de Mercer Estate om deze te pompen

waren minstens sinds het begin van de 19e tot het midden van de 20e eeuw actief. De innovatie van Captain Mercer bewerkstelligde niet alleen een efficiëntere manier om bijproducten van suiker op schepen te laden voor uitvoer; zelfs nadat dit niet langer voorkwam bleef het een belangrijk aspect van het maritieme culturele landschap van Sandy Point. Pump Estate en Pump Bay dragen nog steeds de naam van de "Pump of Capt. Mercer". De geïnstalleerde infrastructuur van Mercer Estate, die bedoeld was om te profiteren van de maritieme handel en de permanente invloed van deze infrastructuur op plaatsnamen in Sandy Point, geven aan hoe een maritiem landschap gecreëerd kan worden als gevolg van de connectie die een haven heeft met een maritiem wereldsysteem waarin waardevolle grondstoffen geëxporteerd worden.

Diezelfde verbinding met een globaal maritiem systeem maakte een strategisch belangrijke Caribische haven en ankerplaats zoals Sandy Point kwetsbaar voor aanvallen van zee door indringers of rivaliserende Europese mogendheden die hegemonie in de Atlantische arena nastreefden. Het onderwater archeologisch onderzoek van de Sandy Point ankerplaats richtte zich met name op het vinden en onderzoeken van een gezonken wrak, dat volgens de lokale vissers uit de stad Fig Tree een munitie schip was; een theorie die ondersteund is door bewijs uit onderzoek. Zowel het onderzoek en archeologisch bewijs suggereren dat het wrak de Lion Britannique is, een Frans munitie schip dat strandde en zonk voor de kust van Sandy Point tijdens het beleg van 1782. Terwijl de functie (rol) van het schip, dat nu als de LB Wreck Site bekend staat, vrijwel bevestigd is, is de bevestiging van de identiteit van het wrak nog een prioriteit voor toekomstig onderzoek.

De kustlijn van Pump Bay en Downing Street/Fort Hamilton zijn ook onderzocht. Vanwege milieufactoren kon het onderzoek niet middels SCUBA of snorkelen gedaan worden. Daarom heeft het onderzoek rondom Downing Street/Fort Hamilton gebruik gemaakt van prospectie door middel van side-scanning (sonar) en luchtfoto studie door middel van een drone. De verkregen data en cartografisch bewijsmateriaal suggereren twee mogelijke redenen voor zowel de huidige onder water locatie van het fort en de ambigue aanduidingen op landkaarten uit de 18e eeuw. Ofwel is het fort gebouwd op opgehoogd land, of op een fundering onder de zeespiegel. Ondanks dat deze bouwmethode ongewoon is bestaan er soortgelijke constructies van vestingen aan de kust zoals aan de rivier Thames in Londen en Fort Augusta in Port Royal in Jamaica. Er is ook redelijk bewijs dat soortgelijke kustvestingen bestonden in Nelson's Dockyard in Antigua. De kosten en technische inspanning die nodig waren voor de bouw van een fort letterlijk in de zee, evenals het feit dat de enige andere locaties in de regio waar een dergelijke aanpak is gevonden, namelijk de twee Caribische bases van de Royal Navy, zijn wederom een indicatie van het strategische belang van de Sandy Point Anchorage.

Waar het onderzoek van de vestingen van Sandy Point inzicht geeft in het strategische belang van de haven, is de analyse van de ankerplaats onthullend gebleken ten aanzien van de hoge mate van verkeer dat indertijd passeerde. Verscheidene soorten en maten ankers, hoogstwaarschijnlijk uit de 19e eeuw of ouder, zijn tijdens het onderwater onderzoek van Sandy Point Anchorage geregistreerd. De waarneembare kenmerken van de ankers die zijn opgetekend geven aan dat de ankerplaats een frequente aanloophaven was voor marine- en koopvaardijschepen van verschillende afmetingen. Het hoge aantal ankers met kenmerken van de Britse marine uit de 19e eeuw of ouder duidt erop dat de periode van meest intensief verkeer op de ankerplaats samenviel met het hoogtepunt van de Brits-Franse spanningen.

Tegen het midden van de 20e eeuw was de haven, die ooit strategisch belangrijk was voor de grootmachten die elkaar bestrijden voor oppermacht in de Atlantische Wereld, gereduceerd tot een haven van slechts regionaal belang voor de noordoostelijke Caribische eilanden. Maar zo'n vijf jaar voor de Cubacrisis verkreeg de Sandy Point Anchorage wederom internationaal geopolitiek belang aangezien zowel de Verenigde Staten en Groot-Brittannië samenspanden om een geheime radarinstallatie op te zetten in Belle Tete. Uit originele documenten blijkt dat de installatie bedoeld was om onderwateractiviteiten van hun Koude Oorlog opponent, de USSR, in de gaten te houden. De plannen werden nooit uitgevoerd, maar onderschreven wel hoe over de *longue durée* de strategische locatie van de Sandy Point Anchorage bepalend was voor de centrale positie van St. Kitts in de rivaliteit tussen belangrijke Atlantische Wereldmachten.

In de aanloop van dit onderzoek hebben historische bronnen aangegeven dat het reusachtige Brimstone Hill fort gebouwd was om Sandy Point Anchorage te verdedigen. Er was echter nooit een verklaring voor de reden waarom Sandy Point en diens ankerplaats de meest gefortificeerde plaats in het Caribische gebied was buiten de Grote Antillen. Het feit dat St. Kitts een waardevolle suikerkolonie was, en Sandy Point één van de grootste havens op het eiland, vormen op zichzelf niet een redelijke verklaring. Zowel Jamaica en Barbados exporteerden veel meer suiker dan St. Kitts, maar geen van hun havens waren zo zwaar gefortificeerd. Vanaf het begin in de vroege 17e eeuw, toen de grens tussen de Engelsen en Fransen getrokken was, bevonden Sandy Point Anchorage en St. Kitts zich op de frontlijn van twee expansionistische en rivaliserende grootmachten. Zelfs nadat St. Kitts volledig onder Britse controle viel aan het begin van de 18e eeuw bleef het eiland voortdurend kwetsbaar door de geografische nabijheid van de Franse West-Indische eilanden. Om deze redenen was het noodzakelijk om continu de vestingen te versterken, hetgeen tot aan het eind van de 18e eeuw gedaan werd in de meest belangrijke haven van St. Kitts, Sandy Point. Hoe deze fortificaties en de soldaten de samenleving van St. Kitts hebben beïnvloed is ook tot op heden niet bestudeerd.

De grootte van Sandy Point Anchorage en nabijheid van het Nederlandse entrepot, St. Eustatius, zorgden ervoor dat Sandy Point een primaire rol bleef spelen als handelshaven. Naarmate het strategische belang van de Britse West-Indische eilanden afnam in de 19e eeuw, werden de garnizoenen teruggetrokken uit Sandy Point en de vestingen achtergelaten. Desalniettemin bleef de haven een centrum van onschatbare waarde voor handel, migratie en andere belangrijke connecties in het noordoosten van het Caribisch gebied. Deze studie bewerkstelligt veel betekenende vooruitgang in de ontmanteling van de rol die Sandy Point speelde in de formatie van het Britse West-Indische rijk en de doorlopende invloed op de relatie met meerdere Caribische eilanden na de val van dat rijk. Door het betrekken van de lokale bevolking in dit onderzoek zijn er ook mogelijkheden gecreëerd voor bewoners van Sandy Point om actief betrokken te zijn in het behoud van hun bouwkundig erfgoed.

# Curriculum Vitae

Cameron Gill (Basseterre, St. Kitts 1969) completed a BA degree (with Honours) in History with a Minor in Archaeology at the University of the West Indies, Cave Hill Campus in 2003. From 2003 to 2007 he taught History and Agricultural Science at the Charlestown Secondary School in Nevis. During this time he participated in archaeological excavations with Roger Leech of University of London at Pinneys and Montravers Estates, and with Marco Meniketti of San José State University at Bush Hill Estate. He also conducted archaeological surveys of the Box Cottage in Charlestown and the Combermere Library.

In 2007 Cameron returned to the UWI, Cave Hill to pursue an MA in Heritage Studies. In 2009 he received his Masters with Distinction. For his Master's thesis he researched the maritime heritage of Barbados from a material culture perspective, including comparisons with several Anglophone, Francophone and Dutch Caribbean islands.

From 2010 to 2016 Cameron served as the General Manager of the Brimstone Hill Fortress National Park Society and the UNESCO Focal Point for St. Kitts and Nevis. During this period he directed and successfully completed several major restoration projects at the Brimstone Hill Fortress (a UNESCO World Heritage Site). These include: restoration of the eighteenth century limekiln, one of the largest known existing vertical limekilns in the Americas; restoration of several casemates at the Fort George Citadel; and restoration of the Infantry Officers Quarters. Cameron also initiated the rehabilitation of two of St. Kitts' other important historic fortifications, Charles Fort, which is the sister fortification of Brimstone Hill and Fort Thomas in Basseterre.

As part of investigations into why one of the smallest and lesser known towns in the Caribbean is also one of the most heavily fortified, from 2012 to 2015 Cameron directed an extensive terrestrial and underwater archaeological survey of the port of Sandy Point and its anchorage. Conducted by The Foundation for Maritime Archaeology in Curacao (STIMACUR), the survey comprised the archaeological fieldwork component of his doctoral research at Leiden University. Cameron is also the Principal Archaeologist and Heritage Consultant at C. Gill Consulting. As an independent consultant he has been involved in the training of park rangers for St. Kitts and Nevis' Rainforest Reserves, and the creation of the sugar industry museum at the St. Kitts Eco Park, one of the largest industrial heritage museums in the Eastern Caribbean. Cameron presently teaches History and Social Studies at a private Catholic School on St. Kitts and is an Adjunct Lecturer at the Clarence Fitzroy Bryant College.

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