



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Gill, C.H.S.

Citation

Gill, C. H. S. (2020, February 4). *Brimstone, sea and sand : the historical archaeology of the Port of Sandy Point and its anchorage, St. Kitts, West Indies*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/84690>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/84690>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/84690> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Gill, C.H.S.

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

Issue Date: 2020-02-04

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 cobsles 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 communities³⁸, 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 be 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 Archeologisch 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 its 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 stakeholder 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 shops⁴¹ 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](https://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.