

PRESERVATION AND THE FUTURE OF THE BAHAMIAN PAST: A CASE
STUDY OF SAN SALVADOR ISLAND'S HISTORIC RESOURCES

by

CHRISTOPHER C. JACKSON

(Under the Direction of Cari Goetcheus)

ABSTRACT

While the material remains of past human activity and the evolution of traditional cultural activities have been the focus of much scholarship regarding the history of The Bahamas, very little has been said regarding preservation, promotion and interpretation of such resources. Experiencing spaces, places and activities associated with specific strands of history offer the Bahamian observer unique opportunities to gain insights into their own culture and character. This thesis explores the wealth of cultural heritage resources on San Salvador Island in order to analyze how such resources could be managed to affectively reveal the breadth of The Bahamas' unique history and culture.

INDEX WORDS: The Bahamas, Family Island Culture, San Salvador Island, Historic Preservation, Cultural Heritage, Site Interpretation

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DEDICATION

*To my loving wife Hadley,
your resilience is unmatched,
your patience boundless,
and I could not have done this without you.*

*To my sweet Willow,
your timing is impeccable.*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
LIST OF FIGURES	x
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
RESEARCH QUESTION.....	4
METHODOLOGY	5
THESIS ORGANIZATION.....	9
2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT	12
GEOGRAPHY/GEOLOGY	12
HISTORY	17
BAHAMIAN HERITAGE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT	46
TOURISM TOPICS	59
3 CASE STUDY SITE: SAN SALVADOR ISLAND	71
ESSENTIAL TERMS, DEFINITIONS AND FRAMEWORK FOR SAN SALVADOR CASE STUDY	74
CASE STUDY CRITERIA AND SAN SALVADOR ISLAND	78
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	82
SAN SALVADOR: AN ISLAND REMOVED	98
DEFINING BAHAMIAN AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE.....	101

EARLY CASE STUDY FINDINGS	133
4 THREE HISTORIC RESOURCE SITES OF SAN SALVADOR.....	135
FORTUNE HILL PLANTATION	138
DIXON HILL LIGHTHOUSE	162
LAND FALL PARK.....	187
SITE AND DISTRICT PROPOSAL FINDINGS	206
5 FINDINGS	208
5 RECOMMENDATIONS	208
CONCLUSIONS.....	222
BIBLIOGRAPHY	228
APPENDICES	
A Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources Property Application Short Form.....	236
B Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources Application for Tax Concessions.....	243
C San Salvador Island Heritage Resource Reconnaissance Survey Form	246

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 2.1: The Bahamian Archipelago.....	13
Figure 2.2: Projected Lucayan Migration Routes to Known Bahamian Habitation Sites .	18
Figure 2.3: The Landfall of Columbus, San Salvador Island	22
Figure 2.4: Bahamas Demographics – 1713 to 1807.....	31
Figure 2.5: Population Expansion to the Bahama Out Islands, 1775 to 1807	31
Figure 3.1: San Salvador Island Context Map.....	72
Figure 3.2: San Salvador Island National Register Site File Index	86-87
Figure 3.3: National Register Sites – San Salvador Bahamas	94
Figure 3.4: The Footprint of Columbus	106
Figure 3.5: Nineteenth Century Steamer Routes – The Bahamas	115
Figure 4.1: Proposed Historic Sites/Districts – San Salvador, Bahamas.....	137
Figure 4.2: Proposed Fortune Hill Plantation Historic District	140
Figure 4.3: The Manor House Complex at Fortune Hill Plantation District	141
Figure 4.4: Slave Quarters area, Fortune Hill Plantation District.....	144
Figure 4.5: Industrial Building ‘J’ - Near cotton ginning circle in the Fortune Hill Plantation District Manor House Complex.....	147
Figure 4.6: Lignum Vitae Window Framing – Industrial Building ‘J’ near cotton ginning circle in the Fortune Hill Planation District Manor House Complex	147

Figure 4.7: Detail of Cut Limestone Block Construction – Northeast corner of industrial building 'J' near cotton ginning circle in the Fortune Hill Planation District Manor House Complex.....148

Figure 4.8: Fortune Hill Manor House Ground Floor Plan149

Figure 4.9: Fortune Hill Manor House Upper Floor Plan.....149

Figure 4.10: Elevations of Fortune Hill Manor House Upper Floor Plan150

Figure 4.11: Central-North Rooms of the Fortune Hill Manor House151

Figure 4.12: Detail of Tabby Wall Construction – Fortune Hill Manor House.....151

Figure 4.13: Raised Mortar Floor and Tabby Bench – Fortune Hill Manor House.....152

Figure 4.14: Western Entry Staircase – Fortune Hill Manor House.....152

Figure 4.15: Library at Fortune Hill Manor House Complex.....153

Figure 4.16: Detail of Lignum Vitae Lintel – Library at Fortune Hill Manor House Complex154

Figure 4.17: Latrine Interior – Fortune Hill Manor House Complex154

Figure 4.18: Sink Hole below Latrine – Fortune Hill Manor House Complex155

Figure 4.19: Stacked Stone Wall at Small Pond – Fortune Hill Plantation District156

Figure 4.20: Stone Wall with Lime Mortar – Fortune Hill Plantation District.....156

Figure 4.21: View to the West from the Fortune Hill Manor House157

Figure 4.22: Ruins of Fortune Hill Manor House and View to the East157

Figure 4.23: Proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District163

Figure 4.24: Main Gate at Dixon Hill Lighthouse165

Figure 4.25: Driveway to Dixon Hill Lighthouse Facing West – Notice the exposure of cut-out in bedrock165

Figure 4.26: Driveway to Dixon Hill Lighthouse Facing East	166
Figure 4.27: tacked Rock Wall at Dixon Hill Lighthouse Driveway – Notice the walk- through opening	166
Figure 4.28: Dixon Hill Lighthouse and Keeper’s Quarters.....	167
Figure 4.29: Dixon Hill Lighthouse Public Restroom Facility.....	168
Figure 4.30: View South from Dixon Hill Lighthouse – The building pictured is of unidentified purpose. There is a matching building just west	168
Figure 4.31: Grave Site of John Dixon and Wife – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	169
Figure 4.32: Rain Gauge – Dixon Hill Lighthouse.....	170
Figure 4.33: Sundial Pedestal – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	170
Figure 4.34: Original Lignum Vitae Framing – Dixon Hill Lighthouse.....	171
Figure 4.35: Original Window Framing for Fixed Louvers – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	172
Figure 4.36: Almond Tree at Dixon Hill Lighthouse	173
Figure 4.37: Remnants of Formal Paths – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	173
Figure 4.38: “San Salvador Lighthouse”	175
Figure 4.39: Stairs at Base of Dixon Hill Lighthouse.....	175
Figure 4.40: South Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	176
Figure 4.41: Tile Installation on Front Porch of South Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	177
Figure 4.42: Original Imported Brick Pavers on Front Porch of North Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	177
Figure 4.43: Glider Windows on North Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse.....	178

Figure 4.44: Exterior Condition of Public Bath House – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	179
Figure 4.45: Old and New Framing Retrofit inside Public Bath House – Dixon Hill Lighthouse.....	179
Figure 4.46: Communications Objects and Shed Buildings – Dixon Hill Lighthouse....	180
Figure 4.47: Abandoned Structure – Dixon Hill Lighthouse.....	182
Figure 4.48: Vegetation Management – Dixon Hill Lighthouse	182
Figure 4.49: Proposed Land Fall Park Historic Site	188
Figure 4.50: Columbus Monument – Land Fall Park	190
Figure 4.51: Columbus Monument Plaques – Land Fall Park.....	191
Figure 4.52: 1968 Mexico Olympic Monument – Land Fall Park	192
Figure 4.53: Top of Platform at the Mexico Olympic Monument – Land Fall Park	193
Figure 4.54: Bronzed-steel Torch at the Mexico Olympic Monument – Land Fall Park	193
Figure 4.55: Nao Santa Maria Monument and Plaques – Land Fall Park	195
Figure 4.56: Spanish Quincentennial Monument – erected 1992, Land Fall Park	197
Figure 4.57: Tile Mosaic Dedication – Spanish Quincentennial Monument.....	197
Figure 4.58: Views of the Replica Lucayan Village – 1992, Land Fall Park	198
Figure 4.59: Flagpoles Along Queen’s Highway at Long Bay – 1991, Land Fall Park.....	198
Figure 4.60: Monuments to Columbus – Land Fall Park.....	200
Figure 4.61: Community Bar and Volley Ball Court – Land Fall Park.....	200
Figure 4.62: Natural and Designed Landscape Features – Land Fall Park.....	201
Figure 4.63: Poor Condition of Concrete and Flag Poles on the South Side of Land Fall Park	202

Figure 5.1: Grahams Harbour Park, Before and After227

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Stretching 600 miles in a southeasterly direction from Florida, along the boundary of the Caribbean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, lies an archipelago of nearly 700 islands and some 2,000 associated cays. The archipelago, known as The Bahamas, lies in what many consider a vast paradise setting, boasting some of the clearest waters on the planet and an average temperature of 70 degrees Fahrenheit in winter and 82 degrees in summer. The many islands and cays share a common environment, culture and history, yet distance and division is inherent in their geography and character.

These divisions may be subtle or even temporary, akin to the separation that occurs between an island and an associated cay at high tide; or they may be vast, as evidenced in the fact that merely twenty-six percent of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas consists of land,¹ less than one percent of which is considered arable.² The Bahamas' larger and more fertile cousin islands throughout the Caribbean boast a rich and diverse history steeped in agriculture and production of trade goods and services, while the history associated with the Bahamian archipelago remains somewhat infamously rooted in pirate lore and an almost fringe society of rough and tumble

¹ James L. Carew, John E. Mylroie, "Geology of The Bahamas," in *Geology and Hydrology of Carbonate Islands, Developments in Sedimentology 54*, ed. H.L. Vacher and T. Quinn, (Amsterdam: Elsevier Science B.V., 1997), 91.

² "The World Factbook: The Bahamas," Central Intelligence Agency, Last modified July 31, 2017, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bf.html>.

peoples. Indeed, the distance and division that characterizes the physical geography of The Bahamas forms an underpinning for the cultural history of Bahamian people today.

Since Columbus made first landfall in the New World in 1492, on the Bahamian island of San Salvador, through a time of British Loyalist's occupation of the Commonwealth's islands and cays, and into the modern era, Bahamians have been a product of distance and separation. An early and brief Spanish occupation of the islands meant enslavement and displacement of the entire native Lucayan population, and by 1629, when Great Britain laid claim to the islands of The Bahamas, they were extremely isolated and virtually uninhabited. Early British colonization was characterized by the importation of enslaved peoples of predominately African descent. The American War of Independence led to a new influx of settlers. Known as British "Loyalists," these settlers were predominantly wealthy, white landowners from the southern United States. Essentially refugees in the American south during a time of war, Loyalists were granted land in The Bahamas and elsewhere in the British occupied Caribbean. As they relocated they brought wealth and slaves with them to the islands. Loyalist land grants were spread throughout the islands and as settlement occurred, certain islands became population centers and pockets of wealth. By 1670, a settlement on the island of New Providence had reached 300 inhabitants, and a 1690 listing of buildings included the Christ Church Cathedral, two public houses, Fort Nassau and at least 160 private dwellings.³ This successful early settlement was named Charles Towne and later renamed Nassau, after King William of Orange-Nassau, in 1688. It has remained the main center for commerce

³ Edward E. Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands*, (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1994), 26-27.

in the Bahamas since, and today it is the capital of the independent Commonwealth of The Bahamas.

During early colonization, commerce was primarily centered around the cities of Nassau and Freeport, on the islands of New Providence and Grand Bahama respectively, but the Loyalist era saw an expansion of industry onto other islands. During the nineteenth century, these islands became known as the Bahamas' 'Out Islands'. Today, these more remote islands are known as the Bahamas' 'Family Islands.' The distinction between these terms should be noted as they are regularly used throughout this thesis. The terms 'Out Islands' and 'Family Islands' both refer to all Bahamian islands that are able to sustain human populations, other than New Providence and Grand Bahama. The term 'Out Islands' was used to describe these specific islands before The Bahamas gained its independence from Great Britain in the 1970s. After independence, the term 'Family Islands' became the preferred term for that category of islands. These terms are not used interchangeably in this thesis, but rather the use of 'Out Islands' is reserved for association with pre-independent Bahamas and 'Family Islands' the contemporary status of the same geographic and cultural locations.

Divided by thousands of square miles of water, the remote Family Islands have each developed unique histories. During the social and economic development of The Bahamas, three types of settlement occurred; those dominated by all whites, all blacks, or bi-racial populations.⁴ It is within this context of division – physical, racial, social and economic, that Bahamian culture developed. Anyone who visits The Bahamas today, whether to the main population centers in Nassau and Freeport or to the more remote

⁴ Catherine A. Palmer, "Tourism and Colonialism, The Experience of the Bahamas," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994): 797-798. ScienceDirect.

Family Islands, will experience true Bahamian people. The self-identity of modern Bahamians is marked by a past of suppression from outside powers and inner struggles for worthwhile economic gain. It is a unique heritage that has persevered through oppression under colonial power, divisions within their own culture, geographic isolation, centuries of climactic hardships, and political struggles that makes a true Bahamian identity; and an identity that is worth preserving.

How then, under these circumstances can Bahamian heritage and a legacy, hidden for centuries, be revealed within their own culture?

RESEARCH QUESTION

There are interconnected research questions pursued in this thesis. The primary objective of this thesis is to perform a comprehensive survey and analysis of extant, ruinous, archaeological and/or intangible historic resources on San Salvador Island, The Bahamas. A second research objective is analysis of known legal and/or interpretive mechanisms, functioning at the public and private level, that might aid in the preservation of historically significant resources in The Bahamas. Analysis of the surveyed resources and legal/interpretive mechanisms will be directed toward answering the following research question: *Given that Bahamian heritage is important for creating and understanding the unique identity of modern Bahamian people, what physical resources and legal mechanisms exist today that allow the full breadth of history to be revealed, engaging Bahamians and visitors alike in an authentic experience?*

METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach for this thesis began by developing an understanding of the origins of the physical environment of the region within a broad, Caribbean and North Atlantic context. The remainder of this research focused more narrowly on physical, climactic and social themes within a Family Island and more localized context. An understanding of the geography and geology of The Bahamas provides a basis upon which the story of a unique peoples can be told and understood. This section sets a stage for discussion of typical Bahamian landscapes and how the physical geography of the region affected humans through three specific periods of occupation – prehistoric, colonial and modern. This section helps develop a context for discussions of the evolution of land use, the built environment, cultural landscapes, trends, and themes historically tied to the island of San Salvador, which serves as the case study for this thesis. The primary source material for this section includes publications on historical and on-going field work performed by geographers and geologists alike.

The background history research component began by establishing an understanding of the earliest human occupants in the region. This component drew heavily from the fields of cultural geography and archaeology. Building upon that work, the research processes focused on literature related to major population trends and social issues as they evolved to modern times. Specifically, topics such as land use, economics, demographics, and social history are highlighted within the context of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century Atlantic colonial history. Primary resources for this research include scholarly articles and history texts that draw primarily from archival research.

A third component to the background history section established the existence of a group of more localized histories that can be defined as Out Island histories. Aspects of these histories can be understood in a larger Bahamian, Caribbean, American or even international narrative. Narrowing the research focus provided a framework for understanding a unique Bahamian story. This collective research process produced key findings that were essential for further research of individual island cultures within contemporary Family Island and localized contexts. This component of the research process will be highlighted in Chapter 3.

The final background research component focused on Bahamian heritage resource identification, protection, management, promotion, and interpretation. The concept of ‘heritage preservation’ or ‘historic preservation’ is relatively new for The Commonwealth of The Bahamas. Research concerning this aspect of the nation’s legal system had a straightforward methodical approach. Online key word searches and correspondence with preservation professionals located in the United States, identified as key players in the early stages of a Bahamian preservation movement, led to the identification of key agencies and mechanisms concerning heritage resources of The Bahamas. Three major subsections were identified; government/legal agencies and mechanisms, interpretive and management programs, and tourism topics.

This research methodology focused on existing local and Family Island heritage resources and their identification, preservation and interpretation. This research material was more difficult to come by as scholarship on the topic is limited. The source material was drawn primarily from archaeological records, case studies, surveys, and from interdisciplinary scholarly research. Where possible, literature targeted specifically to

The Bahamas was used, but much of the research relies on comparisons drawn within the larger Caribbean context. A shortage of good comparisons and a lack of scholarly studies quickly became apparent. This shortage served as the principle driving force for a case study application, focusing on a specific Family Island's heritage resources.

San Salvador Island was quickly identified as a prime case study island for four reasons. First, the island boasts perhaps one of the richest histories of any in The Bahamas. One narrative, amongst many, to support this claim includes the story of Christopher Columbus' first landfall in his 'New World,' which is said to have occurred on the western shoreline of San Salvador Island on October 12th, 1492. Secondly, San Salvador's culture, people and landscape serve as a prime example of Bahamian Family Island life. Third is the existence of a significant body of documentary, historical and archaeological literature; accommodating and promoting the culmination of such scholarly work in San Salvador's Gerace Research Centre. Now an entity of the University of The Bahamas, the Centre has served as a field based classroom for over 40 years. Fourth, despite romantic notions conjured by a place with such rich history and cultivated scholarship, San Salvador has yet to be formally discussed in terms of heritage preservation.

The case study research method began with identification of key players and interested parties in relation to heritage preservation in the Family Islands and San Salvador. Those parties include governmental agencies, tourism agencies, heritage groups and historical societies, and interested individuals at the national, island and local level. The opinion and guidance of said parties and individuals is the primary source for development of the case study methodology.

The next step involved the identification of potentially significant heritage resources on San Salvador. Research centered around what resources Bahamians find significant in terms of understanding their own unique heritage. A *preliminary list* of target resource was developed based on properties listed on The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources (the National Register or NRHR hereafter), sites advertised on tourism websites, and sites identified by interested parties and individuals as significant.

During the process of developing the preliminary list, it became apparent that a site survey should be conducted. A survey form was created that encompasses elements pertaining to the existing Bahamas National Register while emphasizing a holistic heritage resource evaluation, akin to the practices common in the field of cultural landscape management. The scope of resources surveyed includes properties listed on the National Register, sites promoted by tourism agencies, National Parks, churches and cemeteries, archaeological sites, and those sites that represent ongoing intangible cultural heritage. The survey afforded a general understanding of the breadth of heritage resources on San Salvador, and served as a formal documentation of their existing conditions. The analysis of the surveyed resources includes categorization of resource types, documentation of existing conditions, reference to natural and built surroundings, and evaluation of significance and association with historic and cultural aspects of San Salvador's development and history.

In-depth analysis of three specific sites is presented in Chapter 4 and takes the form of formal proposals for two Historic Districts and one Historic Site. This analysis includes presentation of the case study's documentary findings as well as the author's

comments on the historic/cultural significance and integrity of each resource. Each proposal includes comments on challenges and opportunities specific to the protection, promotion and interpretation of the resource as a potential Historic District or Historic Site.

Chapter 5 is a reflection on the research analysis and includes presentation of island specific and nationwide findings. Further research is required in order to continue to develop good methods of preservation, promotion, and interpretation of San Salvador's heritage resources. The final chapter includes recommendations related to the findings in Chapter 5. Lastly, the Conclusions section of Chapter 6 includes reflections on the cases study. During the final stages of research for this thesis, two scholarly projects were discovered that focus on cultural resources in The Bahamas. These projects are highlighted in the conclusions because each offers some improvement on the case study methodology performed for this thesis.

Based on the results of the broad-scaled survey performed for this thesis, efforts to develop a more comprehensive inventory of heritage resources should be made. Such efforts should attempt to engage the local and national communities and develop a more precise and formally defined management system for listing, treatment and promotion of The Bahamas' heritage resources.

THESIS ORGANIZATION

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the content covered in the entire document and the methodology used to answer the research question. It serves as a

framework for understanding the main objectives, the case study approach, and analyzed survey results used to determine conclusions.

The second chapter provides an overview of the physical and social history of The Bahamas and the Family Islands. The chapter begins with a physical orientation to the geographic and geologic region followed by a narrative summary of the human occupation of The Bahamas. Emphasis is placed upon the social processes that shaped modern Bahamian culture to the present. Further focus on the unique identity of local island culture and identity within the greater Bahamian and Caribbean contexts is provided. The concluding section of Chapter 2 offers insights into heritage resource identification, protection, and interpretation in The Bahamas, highlighting the available management agencies and mechanisms that serve as the primary actors for preservation.

The third chapter begins with an outline of the research methodology for the case study of San Salvador Island. The chapter builds upon the background research presented in Chapter 2 and provides further context to the history and culture of San Salvador Island. Five areas of significance are introduced that are used to evaluate the significance and integrity of three historic sites that are introduced in the following chapter.

The fourth chapter presents proposals for two Historic Districts and one Historic Site as formal listings on The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources. Each site's name, location, boundaries, surroundings, associated features, and existing conditions are presented. Also, each resource is analyzed in terms of its potential association with the areas of significance identified in Chapter 3. Lastly, a critique on the unique opportunities and issues related to preservation and interpretation of each site is presented.

The fifth chapter presents the findings as they relate to subsequent stages of the overall thesis research process. These findings relate to identification, evaluation and treatment of heritage resources and are then augmented by recommendations presented in Chapter 6.

The last chapter begins recommendations for identification, evaluation and treatment of heritage resources in The Bahamas. A Conclusions section offers a reflection on the adopted research process and the case study methods. The thesis concludes with a reflection on what results further research might yield and how future research projects might be best formulated in order to continue to promote and protect heritage resources in The Bahamas.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

What follows is an attempt to highlight the many important aspects of Bahamian history that related to how and why Bahamians preserve their tangible and intangible cultural heritage. The chapter begins with an orientation to the natural and environmental scheme of the Bahamian archipelago, upon which the built and lived environment of The Bahamas exists. The evolution of the Bahamian landscape offers a backdrop upon which one can begin to imagine the vast variety of narratives that have shaped the cultural and physical environment. The second component is a narrative history of The Bahamas from pre-history to modern times. This section serves as a background review of the many narratives which shape modern Bahamian society and the built environment. The chapter also includes a description of the mechanisms and methods that aid in the preservation and promotion of Bahamian cultural heritage. The chapter concludes with a discussion of how tourism affects The Bahamas and ways in which preservation of heritage resources can offer new tourism programs.

GEOGRAPHY / GEOLOGY

The Commonwealth of The Bahamas encompasses most of the northern portion of an archipelago situated along the eastern edge of the Caribbean Sea and the western edge of the North Atlantic Ocean, including 9 islands, 661 cays, and 2,387 rocks.⁵ The

⁵ Paul Albury, "The Story of the Bahamas," (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 294.

northwestern islands of The Bahamas are scattered on two large banks known as Great Bahama Bank and Little Bahama Bank. The southeastern islands are situated on smaller banks, encompassing a majority of the bank area. Cay Sal Bank, located west of Great Bahama Bank and south of the Straits of Florida, lies primarily below sea level and lacks significant islands. Only minor portions of these banks rise above sea level to form an extremely sparse island chain which only supports small pockets of human settlement.

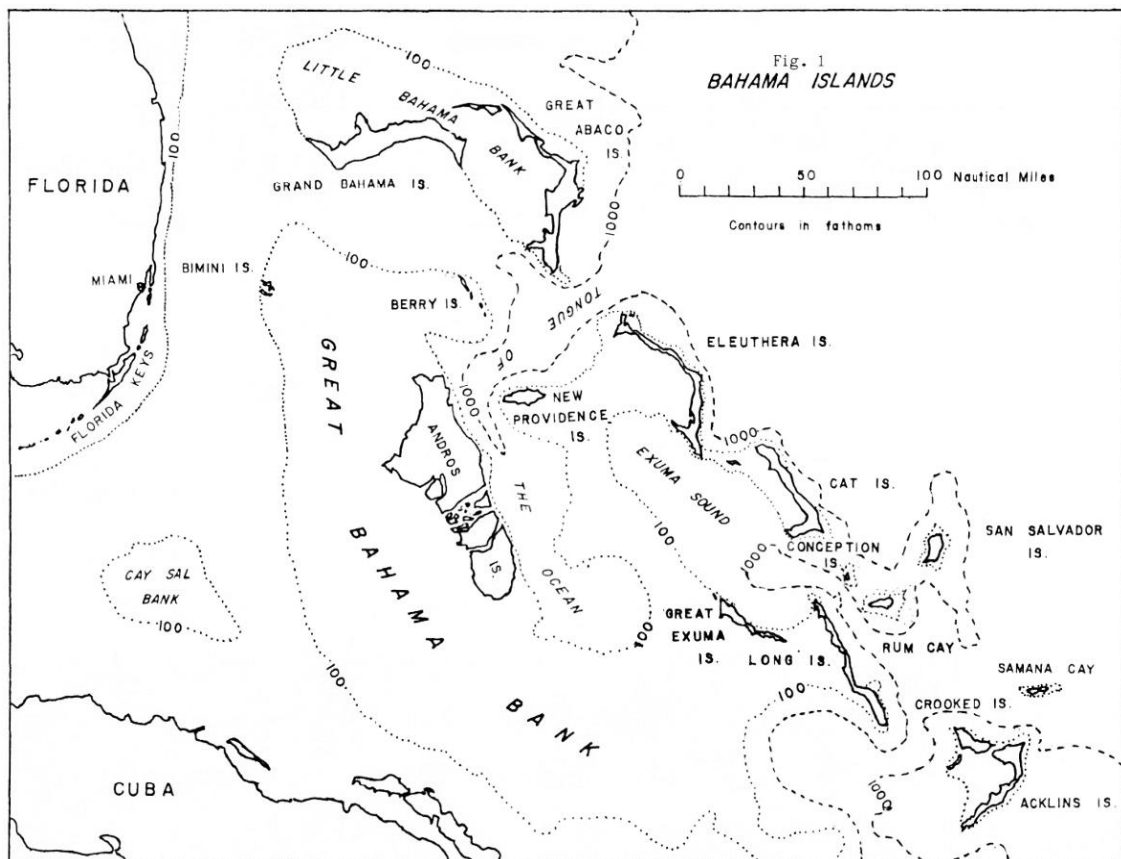


Figure 2.1 The Bahamian Archipelago (James L. Carew, John E. Mylroie, "Geology of The Bahamas," *Geology and Hydrology of Carbonate Islands, Developments in Sedimentology 54*, Edited by H.L. Vacher and T. Quinn, Elsevier Science B.V., 1997, 92.)

The Commonwealth of The Bahamas includes less than 6,000 square miles of land with the vast majority being sand deposits lying upon an extremely porous limestone base. The essentially flat topography and porosity of the bedrock results in a physical environment completely void of waterways with fresh water only found close to the surface. Top soil is extremely fertile but thin and is generally located in low pockets and holes in the rough limestone bedrock.⁶ Nearly all land in The Bahamas is located within sight, sound and smell of the sea. Vast regions of tidal flats and mangrove swamps abound on many of the inland regions of some islands while others are dominated by extensive sand deposits stretching for miles just above and below the ocean's surface.⁷

Juxtaposed against the harsh physical environment is a moderate region affected by an almost constant prevailing northeastern wind and a sweeping drift current that moves from west and south to north and east. The pleasant and moderate air and water temperatures are threatened seasonally by tremendous/powerful Atlantic hurricanes that visit the region with a 30 percent likelihood each year.⁸ The Commonwealth's islands lie within two climactic zones, with a related third zone comprised of the Turks and Caicos Islands (Figure 2.1).⁹ A "moist subtropical" zone lies northwest of the Northeast Providence Channel and is characterized by low-lying land covered with natural Caribbean pine forest. This region experiences more than forty-seven inches of rain on average each year and temperatures occasionally dip below forty-five degrees Fahrenheit.

⁶ Michael Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 3rd ed. (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: San Salvador Press, 1986), 11.

⁷ Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *From Aboriginal Times to the End of Slavery*, vol. 1 of *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, (Athens, Georgia, University of Georgia Press, 1992), 5.

⁸ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:10-13.

⁹ Thomas A. Rumney, *Caribbean Geography: A Scholarly Bibliography*, (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2012), *eBook Collection (EBSCOhost)*.

The central zone, identified as “moist tropical,” is the optimal region for human habitation. This zone is characterized by the existence of the most fertile soils and greatest topographical relief in The Bahamas. The islands here experience relatively consistent temperatures, never dropping below forty-five degrees Fahrenheit, and maintaining thirty-one to forty-three inches of rain annually. The resulting environment is characterized by natural “coppice” type vegetation with dense tropical hardwoods.

The geologic literature concerning the formation of the Bahamian archipelago dates to the mid-nineteenth century, focusing on observation of eolian deposits, or those related to wind action, throughout the region.¹⁰ Most geologic interpretations hold that the region consists of a massively eroded submarine mountain range extending from Central America to Florida. Erosion and deposition of this mountain range worked in conjunction with relative sea level changes and uplifting of great coral atolls¹¹ to produce the features that dominate the region today. Since the 1970s, geologic research on the Bahamas has focused on what lies beneath the carbonates. Sand and limestone dominate the top three- to seven-mile thick banks upon which the archipelago’s islands, cays and rocks are situated.

A generalized synthesis of the current geological record suggests that the physical makeup of the archipelago’s habitable landmasses is partially the product of coral

¹⁰ Carew and Mylroie, “Geology of The Bahamas,” 94.; Also see these summaries of the earliest interpretations on geology of the region: A.A. Meyerhoff, and C.W. Hatten, “Bahamas Salient of North America: Tectonic Framework, Stratigraphy, and Petroleum Potential,” *American Association of Petroleum and Geological Bulletin* 58, (1974), 120-139; N.E. Sealey, “Early Views on the Geology of the Bahamas: 1837-1931,” *Proceedings of the 5th Symposium on the Geology of the Bahamas*, (Bahamian Field Station, San Salvador, Bahamas: 1991), 203-208, http://www.geracerechresearchcentre.com/pdfs/5thGeology/203_Sealey_5thGeology.pdf.

¹¹ Sealey, “Early Views on the Geology of the Bahamas,” 205.

building.¹² Bahamian waters are home to an ideal set of climactic and physiological factors such as water temperature, water depth, sun exposure, nutrient rich ocean currents. Additional favorable factors culminate in an extraordinary coral building environment, resulting in the formation of fringe reefs, barrier reefs and coral atolls.¹³

Global cycles of sea level rise and fall have occurred in each glacial epoch of Earth's history. Each successive change has had profound effects on the physical condition of the Bahamian islands. The most recent Ice Age, the Wisconsin (64,000 – 11,000 years ago) left the archipelago at least 250 higher above today's sea level. This shift drastically increased the current landmasses we know of as the Bahamian islands. Additionally, the Wisconsin allowed animals such as fresh water turtles, large birds of prey, iguanas and others that could only evolve on vast landmasses to inhabit the region. Similar to previous epochs, the oceans slowly rose again and the ideal climactic conditions for coral building were restored.¹⁴

The result of the thousands of years of geologic processes discussed above is an incredibly interesting and unique habitat for human habitation, unmatched anywhere in the world. The following section concerns itself with the evolution of human occupation and habitation of Bahamian land and sea.

¹² Carew and Mylroie, "Geology of The Bahamas," 94.

¹³ Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 14.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 16.

HISTORY

The Pre-Columbian Period – 500 A.D. to October 12th, 1492

The first significant ‘native’ peoples of the Bahama archipelago were the Lucayans, who dominated the region during this *Pre-Columbian Period*.¹⁵ These peoples were the decedents of a group of Arawak that originated from the South American continent.¹⁶ They migrated in a rather complex series of passages, beginning about 500 to 800 A.D. from Hispaniola and Cuba into the Bahamas. Figure 2.2 shows a generalized view of projected Lucayan migration routes to known Bahamian habitation sites. They were a peaceful group of “short-range mariners” seeking safe-haven from a fierce group of Carib Indians who possessed the ambition of enslaving and cannibalizing the neighboring Arawak.¹⁷ Travelling by dugout canoe, the Lucayan civilization spread slowly and grew to a maximum population of roughly 40,000.¹⁸

¹⁵ Based on the material record to date, at least three possible accounts of Lucayan history have been identified. Any conflicts within these accounts does not take away from an overall accepted interpretation that the Lucayans, were the dominant native peoples of the period. See the of work Sears and Sullivan, John Winter, and Keegan; Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 16-23.

¹⁶ The indigenous peoples of the Caribbean include the Taino, the Caribs, and the Guanahatabey; All spoke Arawakan languages and were subsets of the Arawakan people. Several physical and cultural splits occurred during a slow migration out of the South American continent which started about 500 B.C.; A good synopsis of the current theories of the Arawakan expansion is here: William Keegan, “Caribbean Islands: archaeology,” in Peter Bellwood, and Immanuel Ness, *The Global Prehistory of Human Migration*, (John Wiley and Sons, Ltd., 2015), 376-386.

¹⁷ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:16.; Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 17.

¹⁸ William F. Keegan, *The People Who Discovered Columbus: The Prehistory of the Bahamas* (University Press of Florida: 1992), 54-58.

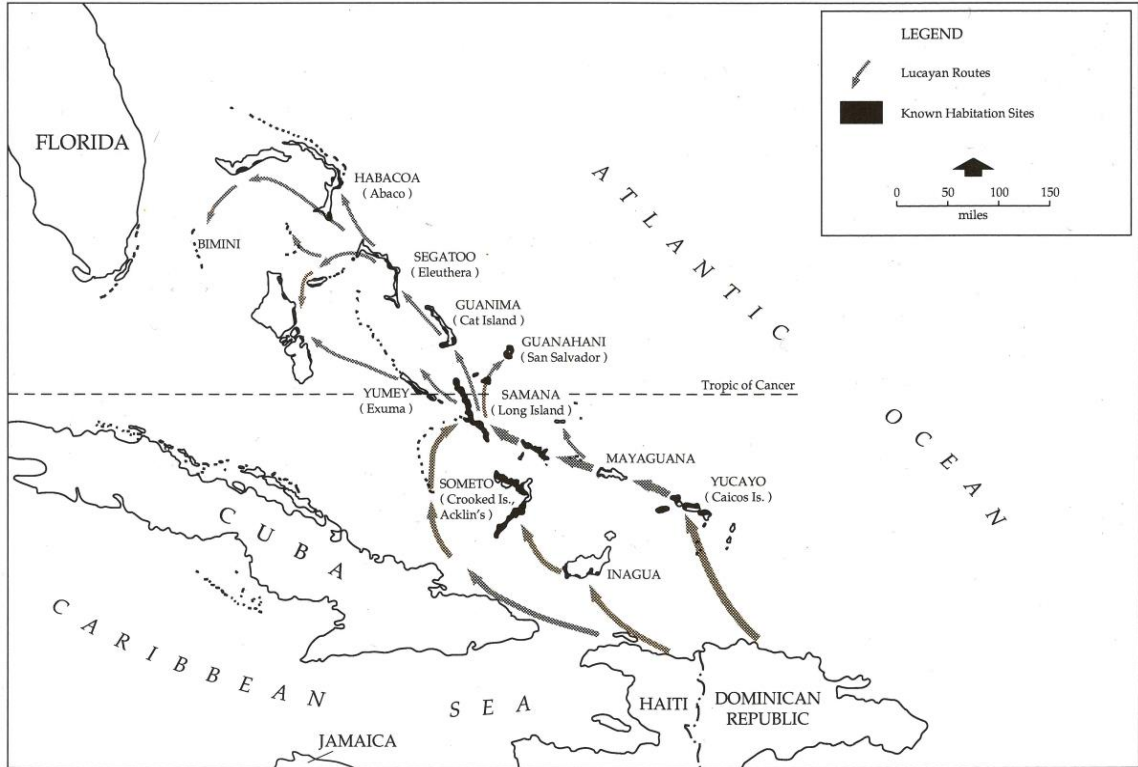


Figure 2.2 Projected Lucayan Migration Routes to Known Bahamian Habitation Sites. (Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream* 1:17.)

Lucayan households were multi-family with up to about 20 people per building.¹⁹ They lived in basic circular dwellings with conical roofs of thatch. Sleeping hammocks stretched across interior spaces and furniture and potted vessels were sparsely scattered about the dirt floors. While shelter on land was necessary to provide respite from the intensity of the sun and occasionally fierce hurricane conditions, access to the sea's bounty was critical. Throughout the region, remains of their settlements are found near the water, typically bordering protected coves, bays and tidal inlets.²⁰

¹⁹ Carl O. Saur, *The Early Spanish Main*, 4th ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 62.

²⁰ Richard Rose, "Lucayan Lifeways at the Time of Columbus," *Columbus and His World*, (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, 1987), 41, 72.

The sea dominated all facets of Lucayan life—from subsistence to safety. Excellent swimmers and divers, they caught fish and sea turtle with hooks made of fish bone, dove for conch and crustaceans, and used shell fragments for tools. Balancing a diet from the sea with carbohydrates is essential for survival, so they carried cultivated manioc, sweet potatoes, cocoyam, arrowroot, beans, peanuts and possibly corn with them on their voyages to new islands in the region.²¹

The *Diario* of Christopher Columbus and Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* (On the New World) provide the best-known descriptions of the Lucayan peoples as observed upon early European contact.²² Columbus' first observation of the Lucayans was of a handsome and graceful people, stating that "all of them go around as naked as their mother bore them... [all] were young people, for none did I see of more than 30 years of age. They were very well formed, with handsome bodies and good faces." Peter Martyr characterizes the Lucayans as living "...in that golden world of which the old writers speak so much, wherein men lived simply and innocently without enforcement of laws, without quarreling, judges and libels, content only to satisfy nature."²³ Though occasionally threatened by the neighboring Caribs, they did not possess arms of any significance. Columbus noted that when handed Spanish swords "they took them by the

²¹ Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 23.

²² Many versions of Columbus' *Diario* are available for free online and other publications have provided commentaries and abstracts such as those here: Christopher Columbus, et al. *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to America, 1492-1493*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).; Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo* has been translated from Latin to many languages over centuries and a rather large volume can be found here: Pietro Martire d' Anghiera and Francis Augustus MacNutt, *De orbe novo, the eight Decades of Peter Martyr d'Anghera*. (New York: B. Franklin, 1970).

²³ Martyr's descriptions of the Lucayans were first recorded in letters to the Italian Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Ascanius Sforza, in 1493 and 1494. These were accounts, or perhaps embellishments of Columbus' experiences and not his own. It can be argued that the accounts of Columbus and Martyr are extremely idealized versions of the first European experiences in the New World, but taken in context, they offer a unique viewpoint into the pre-historic west.

edge and through ignorance cut themselves.” He noted “marks and wounds” on their bodies which he interpreted as being from self-defense from an outside group “[coming] here from tierra firme to take them captive.”

First Contact

The narrative of Christopher Columbus and his discovery of ‘The New World’ has been told and re-told countless times, often with embellishments likened to those of myth or ancient lore. While he cannot be credited with the dramatic achievement of proving that the Earth is round and much of his maritime success is overshadowed by remarkably flawed navigation, the results of his exploits should not be devalued. Though his *discovery* was in fact a *rediscovery*,²⁴ the events that took place on and near Bahamian shores, during mid- to late-October of 1492, mark the beginnings of an unprecedented social, economic and demographic transformation of global proportions.

While historical analysis offers an opportunity to discuss the impact of this transformation, the material record can likewise be evaluated through the study of artifacts, architecture, and commemorative activities/objects associated with the symbolic discovery of the New World. At least since the mid-twentieth century, The Bahamas has placed great weight on the narrative of Columbus’ discovery and has used it as a claim-to-fame of sorts for promotion of tourism. As will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 3,

²⁴ While pre-Columbian contact claims are considered quite controversial, the subject has been a topic for historians and archaeologists at least since the 1930s. For a base understanding on these theories their scientific basis see: Jaime Cortesão. "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America." *The Geographical Journal* 89, no. 1 (1937): 29-42.; and Carroll L. Riley, J. Charles Kelle, Campbell W. Pennington, and Robert L. Rands, *Man across the Seas: Problems of Pre-Columbian Contacts*, (The University of Texas Press, January 1971), <https://utpress.utexas.edu/books/rilman>.

the commemoration of Columbus' discovery has led to the creation of a unique set of heritage resources that deserve comment in regard to preservation and interpretation.

Columbus' successes were a testament to his remarkable resilience. After years of presenting proposals and continual lobbying, he finally convinced Queen Isabella, in January of 1492 during a time of political uncertainty in Spain, to provide support for a voyage west across the Atlantic Ocean. The agreement honored Columbus with the royal title of "Admiral of the Ocean Sea," along with the promise of ten percent of all revenues collected on the new soil, and one-eighth of any trade ventures there.²⁵

Preceded by an intense thirty-three-day voyage, complete with near mutiny, his flotilla first sighted land around two o'clock in the morning hours of October 12, 1492. At daybreak, they sailed west and circled around the south side of the island (Figure 2.3). Careful to avoid the reefs that surround nearly the entire island, they made landfall that same morning on Guanahani, the Lucayan name for the island. Anticipating the discovery of the Spice Islands, the company was certainly disappointed with the lack of riches and finery they found amongst this small island population. They explored the island, which Columbus renamed San Salvador, and its surroundings for a day and a half, during which time they took six Lucayan men as personal guides.²⁶

²⁵ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea: The Life of Christopher Columbus*, (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1942), (Morison Press, 2007).; Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 31.

²⁶ Columbus, Christopher, et al., *The Diario of Christopher Columbus's first voyage to America, 1492-1493*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).

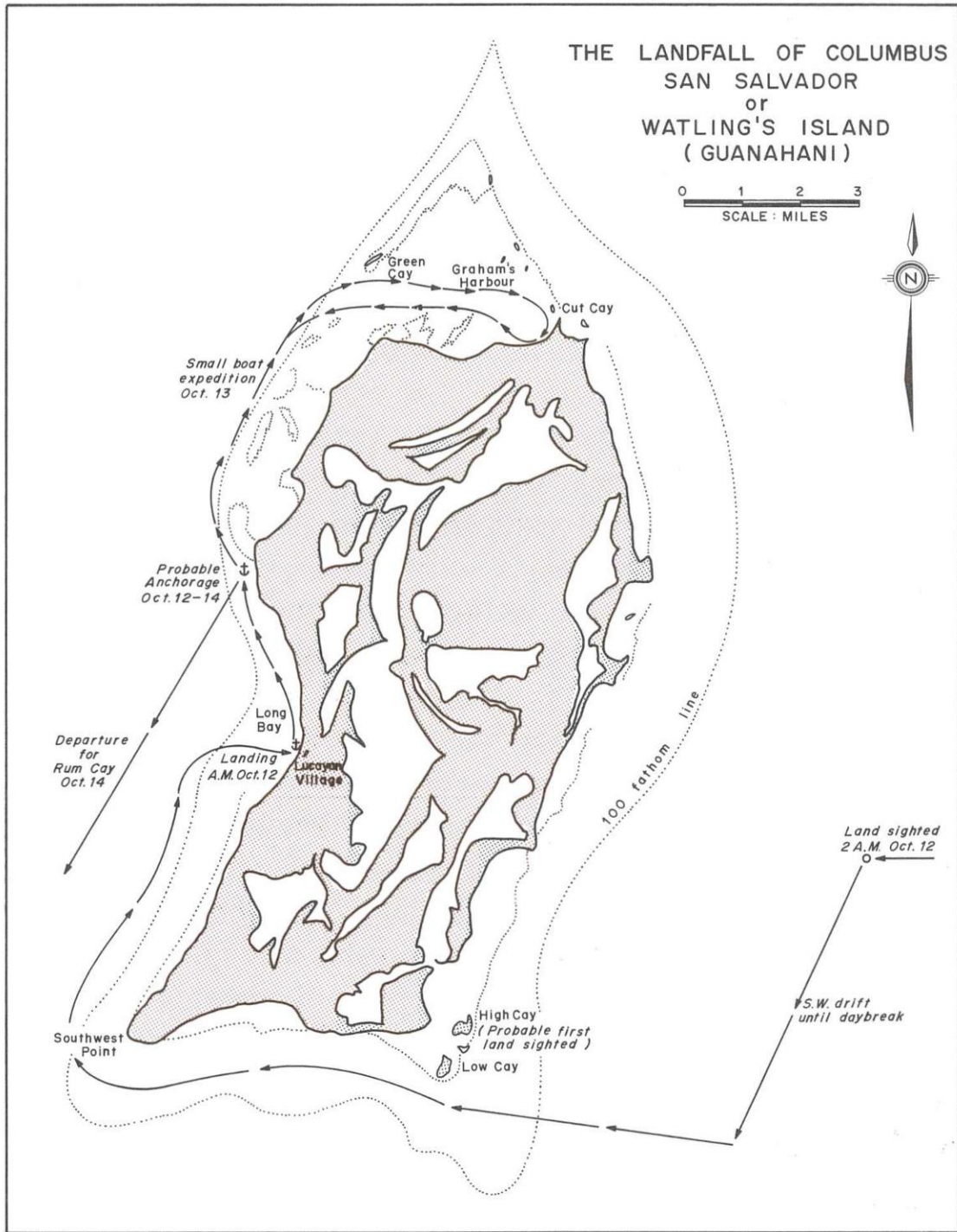


Figure 2.3 The Landfall of Columbus, San Salvador Island. (Michael Craton, *A History of The Bahamas*, 33.)

At this point, more than thirty-five days into their uncertain voyage, the anxious group of explorers learned that their adventures had seemingly just begun as they were made aware of “so very many [other islands] that they were numberless.” Thus, on the morning of October 15th, Columbus and his fleet set sail in search of “tierra firme” and began a quest that would reshape the lives of people across the globe forever. Columbus’ *Diario* from that day closed with a passage that affirms his intentions for the remainder of the voyage:

And close to sundown I anchored near the said cape in order to find out if there was gold there, because these men that I have had taken on the island of San Salvador kept telling me that they wear very large bracelets of gold on their legs and on their arms. I well believe that all they were saying was a ruse in order to flee. Nevertheless, my intention was not to pass by any island of which I did not take possession, although if it is taken of one, it may be said that it was taken of all.²⁷

Indeed, claiming the Bahamian islands for the Spanish Crown and enslaving a number of the native peoples provided proof of his success to his Spanish patrons and gave legitimacy to his discoveries there; his true intentions were clear: secure for himself as much of the New World riches as he could.²⁸

The Fate of a People – Post-Columbus Discovery

Following the moderate successes of his discovery voyage, Columbus completed three other trips to the New World. During these later voyages, Columbus had one goal – attaining great wealth and riches. Therefore, he focused on the exploration of the larger and more heavily populated islands of the Greater Antilles and mainland South America.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ronald V. Shaklee, *In Columbus’ Footsteps: Geography of San Salvador, The Bahamas*, 2nd ed. (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, 2008), 4.

Columbus never returned to the Bahamian archipelago. In the 150 years after Columbus arrived, little detailed history is known; what is understood through archaeological record and historic documentation is a dramatic decline in native peoples, and a fleeting and scattered occupation of piracy and wrecking culture.

Despite having essentially, the first opportunity at acquiring and exploiting the entire Caribbean region, the Spanish lacked the population and funding to facilitate a full-scale colonization of the newly discovered lands. They quickly realized that colonization efforts would have to focus on the most lucrative investment of resources. Thus, during the early sixteenth century, Spanish colonization efforts focused on gold, food and labor.²⁹

Perhaps owing to the lack of precious metals and a weak potential for agriculture on the Bahamian archipelago, no significant Spanish colonization efforts were made there. The Spanish did however identify one important resource in the Bahamas—the human population. The combination of their relative vulnerability in relation to other Caribbean native populations, and their extremely proficient diving skills, the Lucayans proved a lucrative resource. Between 1500 and 1520, the entire native Bahamian population was erased forever. During this period, the Spanish engaged in a systematic enslavement and relocation of the Lucayans, through a brutal system of “repartimiento.”³⁰ By 1513, all Bahamian Lucayans were removed from their home islands and great numbers were killed by the introduction of European diseases. Ironically, the last known population of Lucayans were worked to death along the

²⁹ Craton, *History of The Bahamas*, 38-39.

³⁰ *Repartimiento* was a system where individual Spaniards were granted control over whole family groups of Caribbean native communities. See: Carl O. Sauer, *The early Spanish Main*, 4th ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 101.

Spanish Pearl Coast, within sight of the land from whence they had migrated roughly one-thousand years before.³¹

Seventeenth Century Struggles

Having exhausted the most lucrative resource known in the Bahamian archipelago, the islands were effectively abandoned by the Spanish. Yet, recognizing the strategic value of The Bahamas geography, the Spaniards would attempt to hold their claim on the islands for some time. The seventeenth century saw an increase in French and English colonization efforts and the archipelago served as a region in contention between colonial powerhouses throughout the period.

Spanish, French and English mariners were familiar with the dangers of the archipelago's shallow banks and treacherous reefs; most steered clear of the Bahamian islands and rocks, opting for the major passages and deeper waterways. Human nature however, led to some occupation in the region. An early French effort, in 1625, to establish a colony on the island of Abaco, failed and re-supply ships could find no traces of their whereabouts.³² Slowly, the English attempted to establish a presence in the Bahamas, and in 1629, King Charles I granted the Bahamas to Sir Robert Heath.³³ In 1648, an independent group of Puritans established on the island of Bermuda known as The Company of Adventurers for the Plantation of the Islands of Elutheria, successfully

³¹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:57.

³² Craton, *History of The Bahamas*, 40.

³³ *Ibid.*, 50-2.

established a plantation colony on modern-day Eluthera Island. This colony is considered the first true colony in The Bahamas and remnants of its cultural legacy remain today.³⁴

The Spanish did not formally recognize any seventeenth century British claim to the Bahamian islands and they occasionally contested early attempts at settlement. The most significant test to British claim occurred in 1684, when Spanish forces raided the British capital city of Nassau, on New Providence Island. By this time, Nassau had a population of about 500, several permanent public buildings, and a fort.³⁵ The Spanish were able to successfully thwart English settlement initially, as the early formal British authority in the Bahamas was threatened by continuous internal struggle. As an example of that struggle, Nassau itself served as a port of call and safe haven for “pirates, wreckers and other disorderly persons” for the majority of its formative years.³⁶ During this period, the city and its governance was infamously named ‘The Privateers’ Republic’ or even ‘The Republic of Pirates,’ and many famous pirate captains, such as Henry Every, Henry Jennings, Blackbeard, Benjamine Hornigold and Stede Bonnet considered it home for a time.³⁷

³⁴ For the history of The Company of Adventurers see Albury, *The Story of The Bahamas*. and Howard Johnson, *The Bahamas from Slavery to Servitude, 1783-1933*, (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1996).

³⁵ Crain, *Historic Architecture in the Caribbean Islands*, 26-27.

³⁶ Thomas Southey, *Chronological History of the West Indies*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827), 82.

³⁷ A tale told extensively in: Colin Woodard, *The Republic of Pirates: Being the True and Surprising Story of the Caribbean Pirates and the Man Who Brought Them Down*. (Orlando, Florida: Harcourt Inc., 2007).

The End of Piracy and Slow Beginnings (1717 - 1776)

Transformation of the Bahamas from its pirate state into a reputable British colony was certainly a difficult task. By the early-eighteenth century, many attempts at governorship over the islands had failed. It wasn't until 1717, with the appointment of Woodes Rogers, that some semblance of official governance was achieved. Though Rogers' himself had dabbled in piracy for decades, by the time of his appointment, he had gained a reputation as a fierce privateer, circumnavigator and author. Quite fitting with his character, Rogers created a dramatic scene at Nassau Harbor upon his first arrival as royal governor on July 26, 1718. He brought with him news of an amnesty grant to any pirate willing to surrender himself to the British Crown. Many pirates, reformed on the spot, and much of the settled population of Nassau cheered as Rogers read the proclamation. Still others fled the island in hopes of continuing their pirate lifestyle.³⁸

Despite his grand entrance and domineering nature, Woodes Roger's two terms as Governor of the Bahamas were brief and fleeting. A poor economy and a lack of support from and communication with the Crown led to Rogers' incarceration into debtor's prison in 1721. His fame was his savior however, and his debtors quickly forgave his obligations. Rogers' was then reappointed Governor of the Bahamas by King George's successor and son, George II on October 22, 1728. His second term as governor proved equally as difficult and he died in Nassau on July 15, 1732.³⁹

³⁸ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:115-117.

³⁹ Woodard, *The Republic of Pirates*, 263, 312-4, 325-8.; "No. 6719," *The London Gazette*, 19 Oct. 1728, 3.

The story of Woodes Rogers' attempts to govern the Bahamas highlights the nature of eighteenth century Bahamian culture and society. The demographics of the period, and four trends in particular, follow this narrative of instability and uncertainty. First, there was a significant decrease in overall population of the Bahamas during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries. Second, white and freed black populations were able to more than recover during the middle-eighteenth century. Third, the population of enslaved blacks was unable to sustain itself through natural increase during this period, resulting in the need for white slave owners to rely heavily on the importation of African-born or Creole peoples. Fourth, population increases during the middle-eighteenth century were centralized primarily on New Providence, Harbor Island and Eluthera, all of which lie in the northwest region of The Bahamas. Very little expansion occurred in the leeward, southeastern islands, which were named the 'Out Islands' during this period.⁴⁰

The demographics, economics and culture of the Bahamas remained rather consistent and comfortable through the mid-eighteenth century. For example, when murmurs of revolt against the Crown began in the colonies of the North American mainland the citizenry of the Bahamas did not simply leap to arms for or against either side; this reluctance to join the American Revolution was perhaps a product of Bahamian independent nature.

⁴⁰ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:119-25.

The Loyalist Period (1776 - 1807)

The strategic location of the Bahamas was once again exploited by outsiders during the American Revolution. Serving as a re-supply point for British war vessels throughout the Revolution, American forces attacked and held Nassau briefly in 1776 and 1778. Any American occupation in the Bahamas was relatively non-violent, however, a joint Spanish and American attack in 1782 resulted in the full-scale Spanish takeover of the capital and its islands. This effort effectively reasserted Spanish dominance over the archipelago rooted in Columbus' initial claim.⁴¹

With the Revolution reaching its zenith on North American soil, British forces were unable to retake the Bahamian islands. Rather, the burden of reestablishing British dominion was placed upon the shoulders of an eclectic group of American colonists who had remained loyal to the British Crown. Many of these 'Loyalists' sought refuge in Canada and Florida during the war. Gathering word of the Spanish takeover of the Bahamas, a group of Florida Loyalists mounted an expedition in the spring of 1783 to retake Nassau. As described by Ronald Shaklee in *In Columbus' Footsteps*:

Through a combination of trickery, guile, exceptional military tactics, and outright gall the Loyalists defeated the Spaniards. Once again the Union Jack flew over the Bahamas. The Crown rewarded the Loyalists with 40-acre tracts in the Bahamas, ushering in a new era of Bahamian [history].⁴²

This risky, yet successful overthrow of the Spanish colonization efforts marked the end of yet another era of uncertainty, and Nassau quickly resumed its prewar normality.⁴³ Later

⁴¹ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 11.; Albury, *The Story of the Bahamas*.

⁴² Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 11.

⁴³ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:171.; A 1783-1784 account of Nassau describes the city and culture immediately after the end of its Spanish occupation available in English here: Johann David Schopf and Alfred J. Morrison, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783-1784, From the German of Johann David Schoepf*. (New York: Bergman, 1968).

that same year (1783), portions of the Peace of Paris treaties put East and West Florida back under Spanish rule and any remaining Loyalists were given eighteen months to relocate.⁴⁴

The most crucial phase of Bahamian social history relates to the resettlement of thousands of Loyalists and their enslaved individuals to the Bahamas. This establishment of chattel enslavement prompted the transformation of demographics, economics, government and culture. This phenomenon not only altered the existing Bahamian society, but the Loyalists themselves were also transformed, seemingly *by* the islands to which they immigrated. Furthermore, the enslaved and freed black majority that dominated the immigration had arguably the greatest impact on that period of history.⁴⁵

During the early influx of Loyalists, the population of the Bahamas exploded. This influx resulted in remarkable expansion of settlement throughout the leeward and Out Islands, areas south and east of the larger population centers (Figure 2.4 - 2.5). Estate expansion was based on the headright system of land acquisition, when initial grants of 40-acre plots of land were increased to 100-acres. Each member of the household, white or enslaved could secure a portion of acreage for the primary land owner. Over time, small landholdings grew into larger, consolidated blocks of land.⁴⁶ During the social and economic development of the Out Islands, three types of settlement occurred; those dominated by all whites, all blacks, or bi-racial populations.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ The Treaty of Versailles, 1783 as part of the Peace of Paris treaties.

⁴⁵ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:178. Much has been written about the cultural transformations during this period. Craton and Saunders' bibliography serves as a starting point, but a series of newer publications on black Loyalists have been published since their history text.

⁴⁶ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 12.

⁴⁷ Palmer, "Tourism and Colonialism," 797-8.

Bahamas Demographics – 1731 to 1807				
	1731	1773	1788	1807
Islands inhabited	3	6	11+	11+
Black enslaved/freed	453	2201	5736	12620
White	935	1992	760	3525
Total	1388	4193	6496	16145

Figure 2.4 Bahamas Demographics – 1731 to 1807. (Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream* 1:120, 180-181.; The 1731 and 1773 data derives from archival census: 1731, C.O. 23/2.; CSP 38 (1731), 298.; 1773, C.O. 23/22, 59-72.; William Wyly, *A Short Account of the Bahama Islands*, London, 1789, 7.; 1807, C.O. 23/48, and 23/59, 37.)

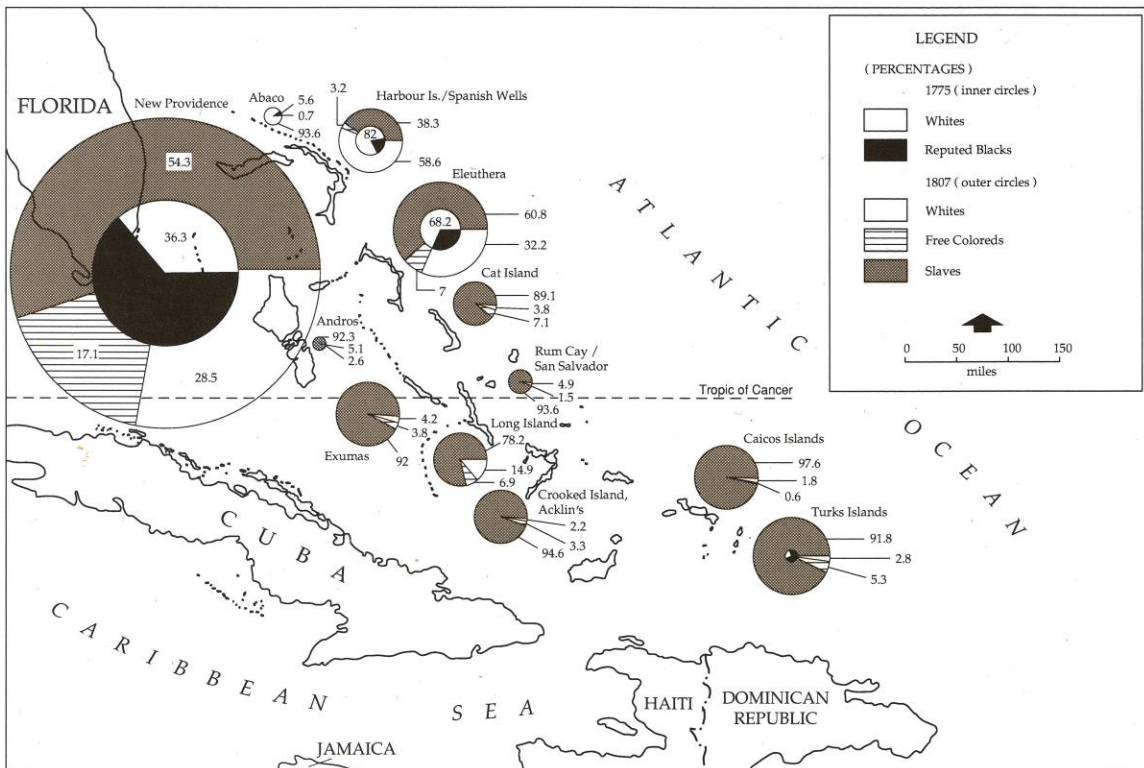


Figure 2.5 Population Expansion to the Bahama Out Islands, 1775 to 1807. (Craton and Saunders, *Islanders*, 1:181.)

Occupational demographics of these islands closely related to decisions made by the white planter class. Some opted to occupy and establish plantations on their granted lands, others decided to return to England or take up residence in Nova Scotia. A comprehensive overview of the history of San Salvador Island, one of the leeward, Out Islands, suggests that many white landholders chose to be absentee landlords, living in Nassau or elsewhere and hiring overseers. These overseers were often black Loyalists or freed or enslaved blacks.⁴⁸

Expansion of a plantation economy relied heavily on the cultivation of cotton. The Loyalists had access to a 'native' sea-island cotton variety that thrived in the thin but fertile soil; they also developed an innovative cotton ginning process during the boom years of the late 1780s.⁴⁹ In order to establish cotton plantations on islands that had never been cultivated, dense virgin forests of Caribbean pine, mahogany, lignum vitae, cedar and brazilletto had to be cleared. No doubt recognizing the value of this wood, the Loyalists immediately cashed in on the high export value of those resources. What was not exported was used in the building of houses, storage facilities, ships and small vessels, or was burned. The resulting landscape conditions were excellent for cotton and

⁴⁸ See the work of cultural geographers and archaeologists related to plantation and slavery culture on San Salvador, much of which is available through the Gerace Research Center, San Salvador, Bahamas.

⁴⁹ Ironically, this strain of cotton was brought to the Bahamas by the Lucayans, and through colonial exchanges, it became one of the staple cultivars that allowed the American South's cotton industry to thrive. For more about the influence of Bahamian cotton production on the American South and Joseph Eve, who improved upon a cotton cleaning machine that Bahamian slaves were using as early as the 1770s, see: Whittington Bernard Johnson, *Race Relations in the Bahamas 1784-1834: The Nonviolent Transformation from a Slave to a Free Society*, (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 22.

food crop production, albeit temporarily as the eager farmers quickly realized the dangers imposed by their hasty practices.⁵⁰

With no root system to hold the thin soil in place, heavy rains and fierce winds quickly removed the available top soil, leaving much of the landscape insufficiently fertile for cotton production while simultaneously vulnerable to the extreme sun and wind. Exacerbating the already harsh conditions, the first infestation of the chenille bug in 1789 drastically reduced cotton and food crop yields. The ensuing failure of the Bahamian cotton industry was further expedited by free trade agreements between the United States and Britain that allowed cotton producers in the U.S. cotton belt to compete with Bahamians, suffocating an already weak exports market. Salt production offered a brief respite from the failing cotton industry as the scorching effect of the sun upon the stripped landscape left clean salt readily available for harvest. Successful salt harvesting, however, “required large operations and more capital than most planters could muster.”⁵¹

Seemingly as quick as the Loyalists had populated the Bahamas they had systematically exhausted its resources, and as Craton and Saunders describe,

after the first flush of pioneering optimism, the whites in the newly settled Out Islands consisted mainly of those too poor to move, those managing estates for others, absentee owners rotationally visiting their scattered and decaying plantations, or white families spending time in the healthful quiet Out Island estates to escape Nassau’s clamor and occasional sieges of epidemic disease.⁵²

While most white Loyalists had the ability and means to choose when and where they travelled, black populations were generally not so fortunate. During this period, black Loyalists, freed blacks, and certainly enslaved blacks were subjected to a cultural system

⁵⁰ Kathy Gerace, “Three Loyalist Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas,” *The Florida Anthropologist* 35 no.4 (1982): 216.

⁵¹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 1:197.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 199.

unlike any other in the Caribbean. The Bahamian system of enslavement can be characterized as truly unique in comparison to those of other Caribbean neighbors.

Henry V. Storr outlined what he calls a “peculiar” slavery system in the Bahamas. Recognizing that while “the crack of the whip was just as loud, the sound of cold metal on warm black skins just as chilling, and the stench of ships packed with human cargo just as strong...” the peculiarities of Bahamian slavery offer a unique opportunity to discuss the heritage of the “enterprising slave.”⁵³ Following Storr’s line of reasoning and research, the Bahamian *enterprising slave* was set apart from those of Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Haiti and Cuba in at least four ways. First, nuclear families were remarkably stable and enslaved populations healthier in the Bahamas than those of neighboring colonies during the late eighteenth century.⁵⁴ Second, Bahamian slaves had more free time than their Caribbean cousins. Third, they were granted a considerable level of autonomy; they were given personal plots of land to produce their own provisions and crops to sell. The right to work their allotted land and the ability to contract their own labor force and conduct personal ‘business’ provided individuals the opportunity to attain a higher standard of living than in other Caribbean slavery systems. Fourth, the remnants of a culture steeped in piracy, wrecking and mischief served as a foundation for the nature of an ‘enterprising slave.’⁵⁵

⁵³ Virgil Henry Storr, *Enterprising Slaves and Master Pirates: Understanding Economic Life in The Bahamas*, (New York: P. Lang, 2004).

⁵⁴ A point that is corroborated by Craton and Saunders in *Islanders in the Stream*, vol.1, and serves as an interesting demographic and cultural shift that occurred during the Loyalist Period. As mentioned above, the census data from the pre-Loyalist Period suggests that Bahamian slave populations could not sustain themselves naturally during the middle-eighteenth century. Yet, during the Loyalist influx there appears to be a major shift in lifeways and conditions, allowing this trend to take hold.

⁵⁵ Storr, *Enterprising Slaves and Master Pirates*, 76-100.

Certainly the prevalence of absentee plantation owners and the advent of a system in which enslaved peoples worked their own personal plots provided an infrequently felt sense of ownership to the enslaved workforce. Furthermore, peoples of all status could trade with one another across the islands, where even enslaved peoples set up their own markets from Nassau's congested roadways to San Salvador's sleepy settlements.

Emancipation and Unfreedom (1807 – 1900)

Emancipation in the Bahamas, much like the system of enslavement itself, was quite unique within a broader Caribbean context. Characterized by historians as a transition, the abolition of Bahamian slavery involved many phases beginning in the early nineteenth century until emancipation in 1838.⁵⁶ As formal emancipation approached, the established social and legal systems allowed for two relatively successful periods of apprenticeship, which likely aided in harboring somewhat favorable work and living conditions for free and enslaved black peoples.

First, a period of 'liberation' occurred, from 1811 to 1838. The British Abolition Act of 1807 declared unlawful any and all forms of slave trading. Acting upon this declaration, in 1811 the British navy collected and 'liberated' hundreds of Africans. Those individuals who could not be repatriated were transported to the Bahamian islands and released to the local collector of customs in Nassau. These freed captives, mostly men under the age of thirty, were placed into a system of apprenticeship, many of whom

⁵⁶ Michael Craton and Gail Saunders, *From the Ending of Slavery to the Twenty-First Century*, vol. 2 of *Islanders in the Stream: A History of the Bahamian People*, (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 2-3.

were employed by the Crown. About one hundred of those ‘liberated’ were stationed in the Out Islands.⁵⁷

Having basically ceased all slave importation into the Bahamas before the turn of the century, most slave owners were in the process of exporting surpluses of slaves at the very same time that hundreds of liberated Africans arrived in the colony. Between 1816 and 1823, an estimated twenty percent of the slave population, and probably a similar number of planters left the Bahamas.⁵⁸ Certainly, there was uproar from the white planter class and murmurs of injustice amongst the still enslaved and impoverished free black communities. There was also the problem of where to house the immigrants, with one result of the mass influx being the creation of new neighborhoods and slums, especially in Nassau.⁵⁹

Formal emancipation served as yet another milestone in a social transition that occurred during nineteenth century Bahamian history. Plantation agriculture continued after the Emancipation Act of 1834, but the system was forced to evolve as the work force shifted rolls. With much of the working population gone, and all remaining population freed, many former slaves became tenant farmers for their former owners. As was the case before emancipation, absentee owners expected to see profits from their Bahamian lands, thus wages for tenants were minimal. Furthermore, being granted

⁵⁷ Ibid., 5.; London, Public Record, C.O., 23/58, 76-78; 23/59, 45-58.

⁵⁸ John D. Burton, “The Demographics of Slavery: Sandy Point Plantation and the Prince Storr Murder Case,” in *Proceedings of the 10th Symposium on the Natural History of the Bahamas*, San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Center (2005): 3, http://www.geraceresearchcentre.com/pdfs/10thNatHist/1_Burton_10thNaturalHistory.pdf.

⁵⁹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 2:3, 9-12.

freedom did not compensate for the fact that Bahamian soils and resources were inadequate for yields worthy of lucrative international export economies.⁶⁰

Despite these limitations, a rapid rise in population during the middle years of the nineteenth century can be linked to the “successful, even optimistic, adjustment to emancipation.” Perhaps owing to a renewed sense of optimism, Bahamian demographics and economies experienced a slight upturn from 1838 to 1861. The primary agricultural industries that dominated the period’s successes included exportation of citrus and tending of livestock.⁶¹

To supplement incomes, Bahamians also engaged in *wrecking* – a term that can refer to incidental or malicious salvaging of shipwrecks. With a history steeped in pirate narratives, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that a Bahamian wrecking *industry* involved misleading vessels into rocks in order to loot the contents. In reality, at least some Bahamian wrecking practice during this period was of an opportunistic rather than malicious nature. Even today, the archipelago’s unpredictable winds and tremendous waves can act harshly upon mariners of even the highest caliber as they attempt to navigate the complex systems of channels, shallow banks, and rocks. As shipwrecks often involve extremely valuable salvage potential, there are standard maritime salvage practices.⁶² Whatever the underlying intent, the Bahamian wrecking industry was at its height in the 1850s, a time when “wrecked goods comprised over two-thirds of the

⁶⁰ Shaklee, *In Columbus’ Footsteps*, 24.; Burton, “The Demographics of Slavery”, 3-4.

⁶¹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 2:3, 57-60.

⁶² Shaklee, *In Columbus’ Footsteps*, 24-5. Shaklee highlights an 1853 ship wreck at San Salvador Island. Here, the local people saved the passengers, captain and cargo. Planning to follow the proper maritime law procedures, they ordered the Captain to travel to Nassau to peruse their salvage reward, but the Captain refused and fled with passengers and cargo. *New York Times*, January 9, 1854.

colony's exports and nearly half of the able-bodied men in the colony were engaged in wrecking."⁶³

The colony saw another major economic boost in the 1860s, during the American Civil War. Once again, Bahamians were able to leverage the strategic location of the archipelago and their maritime skills to engage in lucrative enterprises. The revolting American Confederacy required arms, goods and food to fuel their rebellion, and official British support of the uprising provided a legal platform for Bahamians to engage in the transport of such wares. Attempting to cut off the Confederacy's supply routes, Union blockades were set up near major southern harbors and in the Atlantic Ocean. Many highly skilled and entrepreneurial Bahamian mariners cashed in on the opportunity to out-run and out-gun the Union's blockades. Also, the Bahama's northern islands served as an ideal staging area and safe harbor for these 'blockade runners.' Lasting no more than five years starting in 1861, this period saw great expansions of the primary port cities of the Bahamas. As Albury estimated,

Shops and warehouses sprouted up as fast as they could be built. And they were all fitted to the ceiling before the last nail was driven. Fortunes, which ordinarily could not be accumulated in a lifetime, were made in a few weeks... Captains, pilots, and sailors of the blockade runners found it impossible to spend, or even squander, all the money they made.⁶⁴

This boom was felt least in the Out Islands, likely due to their physical distance from the conflict. However, those who gained the most, suffered the most and the intensity of the subsequent bust overtook Nassau with a vengeance. The effects of over-

⁶³ Storr, *Enterprising Slaves and Master Pirates*, 48.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 49.; Albury, *The Story of The Bahamas*, 153.

optimistic development in Nassau were exacerbated by a significant diaspora of people, a typhoid outbreak and a catastrophic hurricane in 1866.⁶⁵

This hurricane, the most destructive known to the colony's history, "provided a rich harvest" for those who had taken to wrecking in the wake of the blockade-running bust. Any major rewards related to this storm were quickly offset during this period by new efforts of the British Imperial Lighthouse Service (ILS) to increase the adequacy and prevalence of lighthouses, beacons, and nautical charts for the Bahamas. The Crown had recognized the need for such structures much earlier in the century, resulting in construction of at least three low-power lights by the 1830s. Despite much opposition, ILS erected at least thirty-seven automatic acetylene lights by the 1870s. The most substantial lighthouses were designed by Trinity House in England and built and manned by the hands of local British subjects. The last lighthouse constructed in the Bahamas by the ILS was built upon Dixon Hill, San Salvador Island, and became operational in 1887.⁶⁶ The increased prevalence of navigational aids, along with technological advances in steam and motor powered shipping, greatly reduced the frequency of wrecks to the point that Bahamian wrecking culture died.

Because of all the changes, the latter half of the nineteenth century was dominated by troubling narratives of failure in The Bahamas. Poverty was endemic from 1865 on, and the period saw a society struggling with rigid racial stratification. In his chapter entitled "Forgotten Colony," Craton points out that perhaps the merchants suffered most,

⁶⁵ Craton, *History of The Bahamas*, 225-6.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 226-7.; Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 25.; "Historic Lighthouses of The Bahamas," *United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, World Heritage Convention, Tentative List*, The Bahamas National Commission for UNESCO, Ref.:6070, 11 Nov. 2015, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6070/>.

“for theirs was the greatest fall and they had none of the cheerful resilience of those to whom bare subsistence was the norm.”⁶⁷ Despite this seemingly desperate situation, the overall Bahamian population increased at a low but steady rate of about one percent each year from 1861 to 1901.⁶⁸ Underlying the negative forces that suppressed the Bahamian citizenry during this period was a resilient culture that would soon free itself once again.

Boom and Bust, Tourism and Independence (1900 to 2018)

It wasn't until the second decade of the twentieth century that the Bahamian economy saw significant relief from an almost sixty-year-long period of stagnation. As World War I erupted on the European continent, demand for Bahamian produced sisal fiber led to significant export opportunities. Increased production of sisal occurred primarily in the Out Islands where its cultivation dominated the available acreage.⁶⁹

Just a few years later, in 1919, the United States ratified the Eighteenth Amendment and on January 17, 1920, it became illegal to possess, sell, manufacture or transport intoxicating beverages in the United States.⁷⁰ Reminiscent of the blockade-running era, and even the age of Bahamian piracy, entrepreneurial Bahamians leapt at the opportunity to exploit their maritime cunning once again. These independent “rum-runners” were not the only ones to attempt to capitalize on the opportunities. The colonial government responded by expanding the Prince George Wharf in Nassau to accommodate the import and export of alcohol. The extensive economic gains during this

⁶⁷ Craton, *History of The Bahamas*, 241.

⁶⁸ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 2:57.

⁶⁹ For San Salvador, the acreage devoted to sisal production expanded drastically in both 1916 and 1917; Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 27.

⁷⁰ “History of Alcohol Prohibition,” *National Commission on Marihuana and Drug Abuse*, Accessed January 2, 2018, <http://www.druglibrary.org/schaffer/library/studies/nc/nc2a.htm>

period enabled Government revenue from import licenses to quadruple from 1920 to 1922.⁷¹ Prohibition lasted until 1933, and a subsequent Bahamian economic bust occurred, one sharing a striking similarity to that which followed the days of blockade-running.

Having endured centuries of hardships, the twentieth century Bahamian citizenry was still not ready to give up. As the rest of the world began to embrace the acceleration of technological advances, so too did Bahamas. Theirs was an embrace not of the manufacturing and industrial nature of these advancements, but rather of communications, international relations and air transportation. The combination of those advancements offered opportunities for tourism development—a totally new industry based on something the Bahamas possessed all along—an amazing natural environment.

Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century attempts to develop the tourism industry were thwarted due to logistical difficulties of getting tourists to the islands. During those early days, tourism revolved around catering to the world's richest and most powerful players. Speculative in nature, attempts to cash in on tourism required heavy investments and often lead to major bankruptcies. Even after the first World War ended, many nations remained weakened economically. Perhaps a product of crippled global economies, the period leading up to World War II saw mostly premature and unsuccessful Bahamian tourism enterprises. For example, even Henry M. Flagler, who saw great success in the hotel industry during this period in Florida, was unable to duplicate his accomplishments in The Bahamas. His 1901 Hotel Colonial in Nassau failed dramatically before it burned in 1922.⁷²

⁷¹ Storr, *Enterprising Slaves and Master Pirates*, 49.; Albury, *The Story of The Bahamas*, 180.

⁷² Craton, *History of The Bahamas*, 246.

Remaining true to their steadfast nature, Bahamians did not give up. The post-WWII era saw an explosion in the tourism industry. Vast improvements in air travel, an overcrowding of Florida's beaches, and revolution in Cuba gave The Bahamas its chance to shine. The Bahamian government embraced the hotel industry and established tax incentive programs such as the Hotels Encouragement Act of 1949. The majority of tourism focused on New Providence Island and its closest neighbor, Hog Island, which would eventually get the name 'Paradise Island.' Yet even the Out Islands saw appreciation of land prices during this period.⁷³

As the tourism industry grew larger, connections to foreign investors grew stronger. Links between Canada, other European powers and especially the United States offered great rewards to the colony. Recognizing the potential for cashing in on good relations with non-national corporations and private investors, The Bahamas embraced all forms of foreign investment. One such investment venture involved an estimated \$400,000,000 in foreign moneys into the development of a city, new harbor district and free trade zone at Freeport, Grand Bahama Island, in the mid-1960s. The large docking harbor supported a massive cement factory and oil bunkering facility. Wallace Groves, the principle financier for the venture, openly touted his vision of a city that could support double the entire existing Bahamian population. Though never reaching the exuberant populations Groves and his colleagues dreamed of, the Freeport development successfully established lavish hotels, casinos, and its own international airport. Freeport

⁷³ Ibid., 265, 267.

primarily catered to American tourists and expatriates who chose to take residence in its stylish comfort.⁷⁴

Other foreign investments focused on Bahamian natural resources. One successful venture involved American investment through Diamond Crystal Salt Company in the 1970s. Diamond Crystal mined and processed salt on Long Island until February of 1982.⁷⁵ Riding the coat tails of these major investments were ‘offshore’ or ‘suitcase’ companies. While vaguely legal, these companies took advantage of the fact that account activity on the books of a Nassau bank were not subject to the scrutiny of foreign authorities. Essentially these companies were formed in order to evade U.S., British and/or Canadian taxes.⁷⁶

The economic boom of the mid-twentieth century was not felt equally amongst social classes in The Bahamas. In Nassau and Freeport especially, the infiltrating foreign investors drove the price of real-estate and living to unmanageable levels. Furthermore, The Bahamian government could not keep up with the increasing need for updated infrastructure such as sewer, roads, electricity and drinking water. Naturally, working class wages could not keep up with inflation, leaving many Bahamians displaced into slums.⁷⁷

Along with this major economic and social segregation came a vast political divide in the colony. Though technically governed by the British Crown’s appointed

⁷⁴ Ibid., 269.; Richard Oulahan and William Lambert, “The Scandal in the Bahamas,” *Life Magazine*, February 3, 1967, 58, Accessed February 7, 2018, http://www.jabezcorner.com/grand_bahama/oulaha2.htm.

⁷⁵ “Diamond Crystal and Salt Flats,” *The Islands of The Bahamas*, Last Accessed 6 February 2018, <https://www.bahamas.com/vendor/diamond-crystal-salt-flats>.

⁷⁶ Craton, *History of The Bahamas*, 267.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 270-4.

officials, the first half of the twentieth century saw the rise of a “group of influential white merchants known as the ‘Bay Street Boys.’” Dominating the political system through the power they attained with foreign investment, they held economic and legislative power over The Bahamas until the 1960s.⁷⁸

The British Parliament granted the colony political autonomy in 1964, and soon after, an intense social revolt against the ‘Bay Street Boys’ began. Just three years later, Lynden Pindling of the Progressive Liberal Party (PLP) became the first native born Premier in the colony; for the first time in Bahamian history the black majority ran the colony. Pindling remained in office to become the first Prime Minister and oversaw the transition from colonial status to independence, on July 10th, 1973. The new nation joined the Commonwealth of Nations on the same day.⁷⁹ Pindling and the PLP’s government lasted nearly a quarter of a century until it was replaced by the Free National Movement (FNM) in 1992. Governance swapped between the two parties respectively in 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017.⁸⁰ The Commonwealth of The Bahamas became a member of the United Nations in 2013.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Philip Galanis, “Political Corruption in The Bahamas” pt. 1, *The Nassau Guardian*, October 16, 2017.

⁷⁹ “Bahaman Proposes Independence Move,” *The Washington Post*, August 19, 1966, A20.; “Bahamas Gets Deed,” *Chicago Defender*, July 11, 1973, 3.

⁸⁰ “The Bahamas,” *The Government of The Bahamas, About The Bahamas*, The Official Website of the Government of The Bahamas, 2011, accessed January 1, 2018, www.bahamas.gov.bs/wps/portal/public/about.

⁸¹ “Permanent Mission of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas to the United States,” United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Last modified December 2, 2013, accessed January 1, 2018, http://www.un.org/esa/forests/wp-content/uploads/bsk-pdf-manager/29_Bahamas.pdf.

The Out Islands and the Family Islands

As established in the first section of Chapter 2, the geography of The Bahamas, as well as the economic and social development of Nassau and Freeport as commercial, industrial and population centers, has developed a subset of Bahamian islands known today as the ‘Family Islands.’ Previously known as the ‘Out Islands’ this subset includes all populated islands of The Bahamas besides New Providence and Grand Bahama Island. Upon independence, the term ‘Family Islands’ took the place of ‘Out Islands,’ therefore, this thesis adopts both terms to refer to two different stages of Bahamian history in the remote islands.⁸²

The development of Out Island society (meaning pre-independence) has been a major subject of interest for historians, sociologists, human geographers and archaeologists for centuries. “The Bahamian islands beyond New Providence are often known as the ‘out’ or ‘family’ islands and are characterized historically, in part, by their relative isolation from major markets. The economic ties between these outer islands and Nassau are not well understood, particularly for the post emancipation period of the mid to late nineteenth century.”⁸³

The Breadth of Bahamian History

The geography, geology and history of The Bahamas is truly unique, and the ways in which these forces have affected the culture of Bahamian people is important

⁸² This distinction has been made by many scholars, and Catherine Palmer makes a good case for the distinction here: Palmer, “Tourism and colonialism,” 794.

⁸³ John Burton and Jane Baxter, “Out Island Life in the Nineteenth Century: San Salvador in Slavery and Emancipation,” Bahamas Country Conference, The University of the West Indies, (June 2006), <http://www.open.uwi.edu/sites/default/files/bnccde/bahamas/conference/paperdex.html>.

when evaluating what heritage resources are significant and why preservation of such resources matters. Defining historically significant periods, patterns and themes related to the development of The Bahamas affords the opportunity to answer the question of why and what heritage resources should be preserved. Identifying and preserving the physical and intangible resources that are associated with those patterns provides context through which individuals and communities can remember, experience and learn from their own past.

The following section describes the history of preservation, protection and promotion of heritage resources in The Bahamas, and sets the stage for discussion of how and why Bahamians preserve their heritage.

BAHAMIAN HERITAGE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

Early Bahamian Heritage Management

The complex history of The Bahamas can be seen through a diverse set of cultural heritage resources. A vast array of the Bahamas' architectural legacy exists, including Spanish and British fortifications, buildings and structures associated with the Bahamian plantation era, lighthouses, public and government architecture, a mixture of vernacular dwellings, and countless monuments. Aside from architecture, intangible cultural heritage resources also abound in the islands. During the 1970s, an old form of Bahamian cultural expression known as Junkanoo, offered the principle source of heritage recognition in the colony. Junkanoo, a street carnival and parade held on Boxing Day and New Year's Day each year, features explosive song and dance centering on The Bahamas' African cultural

roots.⁸⁴ Additionally, when examining heritage resources in The Bahamas, one cannot overlook the associative value of historical narratives related to Columbus, Caribbean piracy, and Lucayan history.

Along with the rich and diverse set of cultural resources comes the difficult task of identifying, preserving and interpreting them. This section takes a narrative approach and describes the history of heritage resource legislation in The Bahamas. Highlighting past and current legal frameworks and mechanisms for preservation offers insights into the importance of preservation of Bahamian heritage resources. Potential weaknesses within the current Bahamian heritage management system are also highlighted with attention on accepted international standards for preservation of cultural resources.

The earliest formal protection of cultural resources in The Bahamas occurred indirectly through adoption of The Bahamas National Trust Act of 1959. This act, born from the efforts of two conservation groups, was not intended specifically for preservation of heritage resources per se,⁸⁵ yet the act created the Bahamas National Trust, which is charged with “promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit and enjoyment of The Bahamas of lands and tenements (including buildings) and submarine areas of beauty or natural or historic interest.”⁸⁶ This legislation’s downfall was that the

⁸⁴ Junkanoo is a staple part of modern Bahamian culture. The parades that occur as part of Junkanoo cultural extravaganzas in The Bahamas incorporate elaborate costumes, dance and song inspired by a different theme each time. There are many myths as to the origin of Junkanoo, but the most popular belief is that it developed during Loyalist slavery days in The Bahamas, when enslaved Africans “were given three days off for Christmas, which they celebrated by singing and dancing in colorful masks, travelling from house to house, often on stilts.”; “What is Junkanoo,” *The Islands of The Bahamas*, The Bahamas Tourist Office UK, accessed March 11, 2018, <http://www.bahamas.co.uk/about/junkanoo/what-is-junkanoo>.

⁸⁵ It was an attempt to set aside a specific conservation area for protection of endangered flamingos and marine life. The result was The Bahamas’ first natural/eco-park known as Exuma Cays Land and Sea Park, which still operates in 2018.

⁸⁶ The Bahamas National Trust Act of 1959, Statute Law of The Bahamas, c. 391, Section 4(1), <https://bnt.bs/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/bntact.pdf>.

National Trust was established as a non-profit organization. With no governmental component, the organization relied heavily on private membership funding. Contributions came primarily from white and foreign-born elite, and thus heritage preservation efforts focused primarily on colonial and European heritage.⁸⁷

The mid-twentieth century saw a significant increase in interest in archaeology in The Bahamas. Primarily the work of American and European archaeologists, these projects focused almost exclusively on Lucayan sites throughout the archipelago.⁸⁸ Before the National Trust Act (1959), there was no formal permitting system in place and no governmental permission required for the removal of artifacts. The result of this lack of legal framework was that a significant amount of the material record of Bahamian prehistory was effectively relocated to foreign soil. Even after the National Trust was established, it lacked the funding and staff support to manage the increased interest in Bahamian archaeological excavations.⁸⁹

Whether in the name of science or for the sake of personal gain, the collection of cultural property and artifacts during this period did not go unnoticed by the British Crown. In 1965, an effort was made to secure the remains of abandoned shipwrecks in Bahamian waters. As established in The Abandoned Wreck Act of 1965, “abandoned wreck” was defined as any wreck “remaining continuously upon the sea-bed within the

⁸⁷ Michael P. Pateman, “The Bahamas” in Peter E. Siegel and E. Righter, *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean States Economic Union*, (Casteries, St. Lucia: Organization of Eastern Caribbean States, 2011), 2-3.; “Our History,” *The Bahamas National Trust*, accessed February 6, 2018, <https://bnt.bs/about-us/our-history/>.

⁸⁸ Early work by De Booy in the 1910s was followed by the work of Rainey in the 1930s. The mid-twentieth century saw a renewed interest in Lucayan and eventually Loyalists archaeological site excavations and studies by Hoffman, MacLaury, Sears and Sullivan (1960s and 1970s).

⁸⁹ Pateman, “The Bahamas,” 2-3.

limits of The Bahamas for a period of fifty years or upwards before brought to shore.”⁹⁰ Under this legislation, proprietary rights to any such shipwreck were to be transferred to “Her Majesty in Right of Her Government of The Bahamas” and barred any previous claims to said artifacts.⁹¹ While this act was perhaps developed as an attempt to assert colonial power over Bahamian claims on valuable artifacts, the Act’s language (as amended) proves quite effective in the preservation of maritime heritage resources. The current system requires that agreements be contracted between the Bahamian government and wreck salvors or “prospectors,” so that all parties can be sufficiently rewarded for ethical practice. Also, the Act incorporates a system of resolving disputes of wreck ownership.⁹²

In 1971, The Public Records Act established The Bahamas National Archive as the principle body in charge of collection, protection and preservation of Bahamian governmental records. With prominent Bahamian historian and activist Gail Saunders at the helm, the National Archives took charge of a comprehensive survey of the records and archives of The Bahamas, a continuation of a project Saunders had begun in the 1960s. In 1972, the office created a set of rules to regulate and protect the archives while allowing public access to them. The following year, the office published a series of guidebooks to assist interested researchers. In 1973, no formal national museums existed in The Bahamas, but the Archives began hosting exhibits in an attempt to highlight

⁹⁰ Abandoned Wreck Act of 1965, Statute Law of The Bahamas, c. 274, 2, http://laws.bahamas.gov.bs/cms/images/LEGISLATION/PRINCIPAL/1965/1965-0025/AbandonedWreckAct_1.pdf.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 9. For more on Maritime Salvage see: Geoffrey Brice, *The Maritime Law of Salvage*, 5th ed., (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 2001), 289-90.

Bahamian heritage and cultural history. With similar intentions, an oral history project was begun with the intent to document Bahamian stories.⁹³

Thanks to the successes of Saunders and the National Archives in the 1970s, the Bahamian government declared the ‘Department of Archives’ as the managing entity for all “material heritage, historic buildings, sites, and archaeology,” in the 1980s. However, these charges were not backed by any legislative support and little to no financial support.⁹⁴ From the mid-1980s to 1993, Saunders and a small team of professional historians, archivists, archaeologists and teachers worked together to “conserve the Bahamas’ material culture.” Together, with The Department of Archives, they focused on the documentation and preservation of historic buildings, curation of artifacts, and establishment of museums. This group also spearheaded the creation of the Register of Historic Places of New Providence in 1993. This list of historic places on New Providence Island served as the basis for the establishment of The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources.⁹⁵

The efforts of this team and the Department were not limited to preservation and conservation; they also sought to “disseminate historical information which had been largely neglected in the past.” They did so by publishing and promoting guides, booklets and a newspaper series called “Aspects of Bahamian History.” Their efforts were not limited to local Bahamian heritage, but rather they sought to tell a more holistic history of The Bahamas. As the National Archives evolved Saunders recognized the importance of creating ties with international and regional bodies. As a result of that recognition, the

⁹³ Gail Saunders, “Preserving Bahamian Heritage,” Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, accessed February 7, 2018, <https://folklife.si.edu/resources/Unesco/saunders.htm>.

⁹⁴ Pateman, “The Bahamas,” 3.

⁹⁵ Saunders, “Preserving Bahamian Heritage”

office is a longstanding member of the International Council on Archives, the Commonwealth Archivists Association, the American Society of Archivists, and the Caribbean Historical Archives Association.⁹⁶

Additionally, Saunders and her team made great strides in protecting and promoting the intangible heritage of The Bahamas. The 1994 Smithsonian Folklife Festival featured The Bahamas. The project was curated by Saunders and it involved a collaborative effort to revive intangible cultural heritage. The festival involved the recording of oral histories, video documentaries, and “Island Songs.” Furthermore, the festival hosted artists from all walks of Bahamian life who joined together to promote and sell their art, paintings, crafts and published writings. The festival featured a Junkanoo carnival and the Bahamas Government developed a Heritage Village for the event, which contained vernacular houses, a story-telling porch, a concert stage and an outdoor cooking area. The village now serves as a popular park in Nassau. Saunders claims that the 1994 festival created a “cultural renaissance in the preservation and transmission of the country’s cultural heritage.”⁹⁷

Perhaps thanks to this ‘cultural renaissance’ and the synergistic nature between interested parties, collaboration between The Bahamas Ministry of Education, Ministry of Tourism, the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, and the Embassy of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas, lead to the creation of an Educational and Cultural Kit. Entitled “Our Bahamian Heritage: A resource Guide for Teachers,” the kit serves as a resource for teachers and is filled with information not usually found in history books.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid.; Also see the *1994 Festival of American Folklife*, ed. Carla Borden and Perter Seitel, Smithsonian Institution, (1994), <https://www.si.edu/media/CFCH/CFCH-FESTBK1994.pdf>.

Published in 1995, the kit came at a pivotal moment in the process of reformation of educational standards in The Bahamas. Around this same time, a new national exam was implemented and there was a push to teach and test students on Bahaman history as opposed to British history.⁹⁸

An important step toward the protection of intangible cultural heritage in The Bahamas was the implementation of the Copyright Act of 1998, as enforced by legislation in 1999 and amended in 2004. With the intent “to confer rights on performers and others in live performances and for matters connected therewith...” the 1998 Act provides artists and performers with legal recognition of authorship of their work.⁹⁹ These protections are extended to creators of literary, musical, choreographic, audio-visual and other artistic works both tangible and intangible.

The Antiquities Monuments and Museums Act – Legislative Protection for Heritage Resources

The Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Act (the Antiquities Act) was passed by the government of The Bahamas in 1998. It created a quasi-governmental corporation known as The Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation (AMMC) that is charged with providing for the “preservation, conservation, restoration, documentation, study and presentation of sites and objects of historical, anthropological, archaeological and paleontological interest, to establish a National Museum, and for matters ancillary

⁹⁸ A good summation of Bahamian educational reform from the early- to mid-nineteenth century until 1998 is laid out here: Keva Bethel, *Educational Reform in The Bahamas*, Organization of American States, Education Portal of the Americas, accessed February 7, 2018, https://www.educoas.org/Portal/bdigital/contenido/interamer/BkIACD/Interamer/Interamerhtml/Millerhtml/mil_beth.htm.

⁹⁹ The Copyright Act of 1998, Statute Law of The Bahamas, c. 323, 3(11).

thereto or connected therewith.”¹⁰⁰ As Pateman established, the Antiquities Act is the first true protective legislation for heritage resources in The Bahamas, intended to provide the Bahamian citizenry the ability to influence the management of heritage resources.¹⁰¹

The Antiquities Act called for the consolidation of all cultural heritage programs under one agency’s purview (the AMMC). This framework allows for much more efficient and cohesive management practices, especially as it enables the National Trust and the Department of the Archives to focus more heavily on their own mandated purposes. The AMMC itself is separated into two divisions – the Survey and Registration Division and the Historic Preservation Division. The former is responsible for the management of The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources (NRHR). It aids the public in nominating resources to the list, reviews tax concession grants for preservation oriented projects, and administers The Bahamas Historic Marker Program. The latter division focuses on providing technical assistance for preservation projects, reviews tax-exempt applications and monitors public and private compliance with preservation laws.¹⁰²

As part of their management scope, the AMMC Survey and Registration division manages a strict permitting process for all archaeological excavations, historic or scientific research projects, and any development on Bahamian soil.¹⁰³ The permitting system requires fees for individual researchers, field schools and development projects,

¹⁰⁰ Antiquities, Monuments and Museum Act, Statute Law of The Bahamas, c. 51, 1998.

¹⁰¹ Pateman, “The Bahamas,” 4.

¹⁰² “Historic Preservation,” *AMMC Bahamas*, accessed February 8, 2018, <http://www.ammc-bahamas.com/historic-preservation/>.

¹⁰³ Antiquities Act, IV.

costing applicants \$250, \$500, and \$1000 respectfully. While these fees do not afford the agency full funding by any means, they help support the agency through the permitting process. The Antiquities Act also establishes a framework for levying fines for projects that do not follow the Act's permitting requirements.¹⁰⁴ These new provisions are a vast improvement over earlier legislations, such as those in place in the 1980s, which provided no legal protection. Prior to the Antiquities Act, archaeological fieldwork and excavation projects required approval by the Department of Archives, however very little protection was in place in the event of accidental discoveries of antiquities. Also missing was protection of cultural property, known or discovered, when development projects were permitted.

Another benefit to the permit system is the ability to manage new research and/or development projects in The Bahamas. The current system requires that all projects, whether research or development related, at least recognize heritage resources that will be potentially affected. Furthermore, the AMMC can require that projects involve input from local Bahamians and/or incorporate a collaborative framework. Throughout the progression of a given project, AMMC can track progress and reserves the right to halt projects at any time. Additionally, the permitting system affords an ease of documentation going forward, as final field reports and project findings must be submitted prior to issuance of new permits.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Antiquities Act, VII, (33).

¹⁰⁵ Pateman, "The Bahamas," 5.; An example of a project that invites local participation began in 2014 and is currently underway: Allan D. Meyers, "Historical Landscapes of Golden Grove and Newfield Plantations, Cat Island," *Journal of The Bahamas Historical Society* 37, (November 2015).

A key component to managing cultural resources is maintaining an inventory. As mentioned in the previous section, an effort was made in the early 1990s, prior to creation of the AMMC, to create a list of heritage resources in The Bahamas. Entitled the “Register of Historic Places of New Providence,” this list included primarily buildings possessing colonial and British heritage significance.¹⁰⁶ Another early list was compiled by two archaeologists, William Keegan and John Winter in the 1980s. They recognized the need to develop a standardized site file for archaeological sites throughout The Bahamas in order to avoid confusion and promote better research methods. Their system involved naming sites based on island and location and served as the first standardized compilation of archaeological findings in The Bahamas.¹⁰⁷ This list only included known archaeological sites, most of which were pre-Columbian sites.

These two lists served as a basis upon which the AMMC could create their own national inventory. With the help of James Miller in the mid-2000s, they compiled the known records and created a standardized site numbering system. The culmination of these efforts produced the current site file inventory for The Bahamas historical and archaeological resources/sites and is effectively the written and digital record of The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources. The site files are housed at AMMC’s Nassau headquarters.

¹⁰⁶ Pateman, “The Bahamas,” 5.

¹⁰⁷ Keegan and Winter’s compiled records include a vast number of hand written site files with GPS coordinates and descriptions. They are currently housed at the AMMC headquarters in Nassau. AMMC staff are in the process of digitizing these records.

The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources – Listing and Incentives

Over the past two decades, the preservation efforts of the AMMC have expanded beyond simply creating a list of culturally significant sites and resources and managing them. The agency has also taken on the role of promoter. One way in which the AMMC is able to promote preservation and conservation of physical sites and resources is through the process of growing the inventory of listed resources on The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources (NRHR). This process involves individuals and/or organizations nominating property and/or resources to the list.

Interested parties can begin by completing the “Individual Property Historic Register Preliminary Form” (Appendix A). The form offers the applicant some background information including a statement of the purpose of the NRHR, guidance as to what resources qualify for listing and how resources can be listed. Additionally, the document includes information highlighting incentives for property owners to list resources. While the form requires that the applicant provide basic information such as property ownership, location and resource type, there is an emphasis on evaluation of the potential historic significance of the property or resources being nominated. The applicant is required to comment, at least briefly, on the historical significance, classification, physical description, and the historic and current use of the property or resource.

Nominations to the NRHR are generally obtained through word of mouth and often require aid from AMMC staff. All nominations are reviewed for inclusion or

disapproval based on a criteria and evaluation formula.¹⁰⁸ The final approval for any nomination is made by the “Minister responsible for Antiquities, Monuments and Museums.”¹⁰⁹ The Bahamian government also reserves the right to place any property or resource on the NRHR and into the protection of the Antiquities Act, after public announcement. Per Part II, Section 3 of the Antiquities Act:

the Minister [of Antiquities] may, after consultation with the Board, by notice published in the *Gazette*, declare any place, building, site or structure, which the Minister considers to be of public interest by reason of its historical, anthropological, archaeological or paleontological significance to be a monument.

In order to promote nominations, The Bahamian Ministry of Finance, in conjunction with the AMMC, offers tax incentives for registered private property and resources. These incentives take the form of Duty Free and Real Property Tax breaks. They are afforded for a set number of years and can be forwarded with change of ownership within the selected period. The property owners are required to maintain the historic integrity of these properties or the incentives will be rescinded if the AMMC declares fit.¹¹⁰ In order to receive these tax benefits, applicants are required to fill out a separate form through the Ministry of Finance and Planning (Appendix B).

Regional and International Preservation

In May of 2014, the government of The Bahamas officially ratified the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage

¹⁰⁸ This criteria formula was not shared with the author for this thesis. Based on correspondence with AMMC staff, the process seems to include meetings between officials in both departments of the agency to determine eligibility on a case-by-case basis.

¹⁰⁹ Antiquities Act, I, (2). The Minister is an appointed official, typically the director of the AMMC.

¹¹⁰ This system was explained in a correspondence with Alicia Oxley of the AMMC in November of 2017.

through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). That same year they joined a group known as the Small Island Developing States (SIDS), and committed to developing and implementing World Heritage activities. The following year, two nominations for the World Heritage List were made. Currently listed on the tentative list these nominations include, first, a group of eleven lighthouses constructed by the British Imperial Lighthouse Service between 1836 and 1887, and second, Inagua National Park, a 32,600-hectare natural preserve that is home to a breeding colony of over 40,000 Caribbean flamingos.¹¹¹

In 2015, The Bahamas AMMC joined a collaborative effort with the Organization of American States to “expand the socio-economic potential of cultural heritage in the Caribbean.” Spearheaded through the Caribbean Heritage Network and Coherit Associates LLC, The Bahamas hosted a workshop on Harbour Island, Eleuthera, July 14-16, 2015. The workshop focused on development of community involvement practices for the creation and promotion of new National Register nominations. The workshop was part of a larger regional project to evaluate and promote cultural heritage in English – speaking Caribbean nations. Specifically, the Bahamian contribution to the project involved development of a regional model for evaluating National Registers of Heritage Places.¹¹²

¹¹¹ See links to “Historic Lighthouses of The Bahamas (2015)” and “The Inagua National Park (2015)” at “Bahamas,” *About World Heritage, World Heritage Convention*, United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, accessed February 8, 2018, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/statesparties/BS/>.

¹¹² The final report on the workshop and larger project could not be attained, but correspondence with key staffer on the project, Ray Luce offered insights into the successes of the Bahamian component of the project. More information is available on the websites of the respective agencies involved: The Organization of American States: <https://www.cfr.org/background/organization-american-states>; Caribbean Heritage Network: <https://www.caribheritage.org/>

TOURISM TOPICS

As established in the preceding section, defining historic patterns and identifying and preserving significant heritage resources offers Bahamians the opportunity to experience and learn from their own past. Doing so offers Bahamians a reason to preserve significant heritage resources. Furthermore, these activities afford an opportunity to share the unique qualities of Bahamian history and culture with visitors. In this regard, preservation of heritage resources can be promoted in order to develop a more sustainable tourism industry.

Bahamas Tourism

Tourism in The Bahamas began in the late nineteenth century and has only continued to grow to 2018. While the industry has seen its share of ebbs and flows over the years, and sources offer varying statistics on the matter, tourism is firmly the leading industry in The Bahamas, contributing at least 70% of gross national product each year. “Financial services,” i.e. banking and offshore investments, constitute the second-largest production of capital at about 15%, and, despite governmental incentives to boost manufacturing and agriculture, their combined contribution is generally less than 7%.¹¹³

This domination of the economy did not happen overnight. Prior to the 1950s, the Bahamas remained a relatively remote destination and the tourism industry accounted for only a small percentage of the economy. The mid-twentieth century saw a major shift in the tourism industry due to two main factors. First, major advancements in air travel

¹¹³ “The World Factbook,” “The Bahamas,” U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, last modified January 23, 2018, <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/bf.html>.

allowed easier and cheaper access to The Bahamas. Second, The Bahamas began to embrace foreign investment into the tourism industry. Before the 1950s, the Bahamian tourism industry catered primarily to an ‘up-market’ group of visitors consisting of primarily extreme upper class, international clientele. As the frequency of visitors to the archipelago increased there was a major shift in the ‘quality’ of tourist. In 1992, one local Bahamian claimed:

I mean years ago when I was growin’ up here on the Island... the caliber of tourist we had here was wonderful and... what they spent compared to what the tourist spends nowadays, its very hard to compare the two... we have cheapened ourselves by allowing a lot of these cheap tourists to come here... most people can’t even afford the departure tax ‘cause they came with no money anyway... I don’t think it helps us as a people or as an economy.¹¹⁴

As the industry evolved it became more reliant on sheer volume of visitors.

Between 1949 and 1968, the total number of visitors to The Bahamas grew from 32,000 to over one million per year.¹¹⁵ To keep up with demand, investors rapidly developed their enterprises. Characterized by some scholars as ‘enclave tourism’ the nature of the industry created pockets and ‘strips’ of large hotels and casinos.¹¹⁶ In The Bahamas, these developments popped up in two main locations. The first was Freeport, Grand Bahama Island, which started in the 1950s. By the late 1960s, Nassau had major developments at Cable Beach and Paradise Island.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ J. Solomon, 1992, in Palmer, “Tourism and colonialism,” 794-5.

¹¹⁵ “History of The Ministry of Tourism,” *Tourism History, Tourism today Network*, Bahamas Ministry of Tourism Research and Statistics Department, accessed February 9, 2018, <http://www.tourismtoday.com/about-us/tourism-history>.

¹¹⁶ Felix Bethel, “Tourism, Public Policy and National Development in the Bahamas,” in Dean W. Collinwood and Steve Dodge, *Modern Bahamian Society*, (Parkersburg, IA, USA: Caribbean Books, 1989), 129-38,

¹¹⁷ Sometime in the 1960s Hog Island, a cay just across Nassau Harbour from New Providence Island, considered part of Nassau, was renamed ‘Paradise Island.’ It remains home to the largest hotel on New Providence and in The Bahamas.

There was a brief lull in the industry during the 1970s and early 1980s due primarily to three main factors. First, Bahamians began to recognize that “the massive influx of tourists and the concentration in Nassau “put an almost unbearable strain on a very delicate ecosystem, on utilities and essential services, and on a very vulnerable culture.”¹¹⁸ Second, The Bahamas saw the election of the first black majority leader, Lynden Pindling, and achieved independence in the 1970s. These factors were a product of a new nationalistic mindset, which created uncertainty in the foreign investment community, effectively slowing the tourism industry for a time. Third, local attitudes became negative in relation to the service-based economy that ‘mass tourism’ had developed. Essentially, “many [Bahamians] found it difficult to distinguish between providing service and a feeling of servitude.”¹¹⁹

Despite these issues, the industry continued to grow and by 1982 visitor arrivals reached the two million mark. By 1986, that number increased to three million visitors per year, seemingly indicating that the hotel industry had effectively bounced back from the 1970s lull. However, a good portion of the 1986 visitor total came from a major increase in cruise traffic. While the cruise ship numbers boosted overall visitation records in the 1980s, it did little to boost revenues within the country, owing to the fact that it requires more than 14 cruise ship visitors to equal one hotel visitor.¹²⁰

Today, the tourism industry of The Bahamas can certainly be characterized as ‘mass tourism.’ Despite the history of tourism in The Bahamas, the Government continues to provide incentives to promote such tourism. For example, in 1995,

¹¹⁸ Bethel, “Tourism, Public Policy and National Development,” 135.

¹¹⁹ Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, “History of The Ministry of Tourism.”

¹²⁰ Ibid.

legislation was passed providing incentives to cruise line companies to encourage ships to stay longer in port and increase the overall volume of cruise ship stops in Bahamian harbors. However, a new shift in the Bahamian ‘mass tourism’ industry has seemingly begun in the last two decades thanks to the cruise lines. In 1997, Walt Disney Company purchased a 99-year land lease of Gorda Cay near the coast of Great Abaco Island. Renamed “Castaway Cay” it was the first private island to be developed by a cruise line in The Bahamas.¹²¹

There has been a steady increase in private island visitation since Disney’s 1997 purchase, and by 2018, at least four other Bahamian islands have been similarly secured as private tourist destinations tied to cruise line companies. It is uncertain, however, whether this new trend in private island development will decrease ship visitation in Nassau and Freeport.¹²² What is more interesting is how this new trend of private island, or ‘destination tourism’ will affect the Out Islands of The Bahamas.

As established above, the development of large resort ‘strips’ and casinos created major ‘enclaves’ and tourism hot spots in Freeport, Nassau and Paradise Island during the late-twentieth century. Certainly the cultural and physical nature of these places was transformed by these events. During that period, the Out Islands remained relatively free from the clutches of ‘mass tourism.’ However, as the cruise line companies spread their enterprises to the farther reaches of the archipelago, how will the cultural and physical environments be effected there?

¹²¹ Jeff Heimbuch, “The Colorful Story of Castaway Cay,” *Disney Dispatch: Daily Disney Columns, Commentary and Community*, February 4, 2011, <http://www.disneydispatch.com/content/columns/the-626/2011/04-the-colorful-story-of-castaway-cay/>.

¹²² Paul F. Wilkinson, “Caribbean Cruise Tourism: Delusion? Illusion?,” *Tourism Geographies* 1, no.3 (1999): 147, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616689908721321>.

Sun, Sand and Sea

Like most of their Caribbean neighbors, The Bahamas has almost always embraced a tourism *promotion* based primarily on ‘Sun, Sand and Sea.’ Certainly, the region offers incredible beaches, pristine waters, perfect temperatures, and luxury accommodations at a relatively affordable price, but a tourism that focuses solely on this platform has proven unsustainable. Recent scholarship has highlighted a multitude of economic and social issues associated with the ‘mass tourism’ developed from a reliance on ‘Sun, Sand and Sea.’ With the ‘quality’ and sustainability of such tourism in question, some Caribbean nations have begun to develop alternative tourism markets to create a higher-end and more sustainable tourism industry.¹²³

The Bahamas has certainly attempted to diversify their pallet of experiences available to visitors in recent years. The main tourism website for the nation highlights ‘Adventure,’ ‘Kids and Family,’ ‘Local Culture,’ ‘Relaxation,’ ‘Romance’ and ‘Events.’ Claiming “Its Better in The Bahamas,” they seemingly offer a full experience of their culture and environment juxtaposed onto an affordable and all-inclusive platform. In reality however, the vast majority of visitors experience only the all-inclusive and relaxation portions, leaving the spirit of adventure and culture out of their vacation all together.¹²⁴

¹²³ Catherine M. Cameron and John B. Gatewood, “Beyond Sun, Sand and Sea: The Emergent Tourism Programme in the Turks and Caicos Islands,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 3, no.1 (2008): 55-7.

¹²⁴ A 2015 report from The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism Statistics Department shows that 84% of visitors to The Bahamas intended to enjoy beaches, and 75% intended to rest and relax. Alternatively, only 36% and 16% planned to go snorkeling or go on an island tour respectively. Report retrieved 9 February 2018: http://www.tourismtoday.com/sites/default/files/all_bahamas_demographics_1996_to_2015.pdf

Given that there is so much potential culture, history and environment to experience in The Bahamas, why has there not been a push to develop tourism based on these narratives? There has, in fact, been an increased promotion of tourism related to modern Bahamian cultural expression through Junkanoo and Carnival activities in the past fifty years, but what of the colonial, Loyalist Plantation Period, pirate, and Lucayan history? And what of the unique physical nature and environment? The short answer to these questions is that Bahamian history is complex and there has been such an oppression of culture from the remnants of the colonial system that many Bahamians are not interested in sharing and/or interpreting that history and environment with visitors.¹²⁵ Furthermore, each narrative described above requires its own unique infrastructure and interpretation system in order to function as an effective tourism draw. To date, very few efforts have been made in The Bahamas to develop the necessary systems to support either ‘heritage tourism’ or ‘eco-tourism.’

Despite the difficulties associated with developing these alternative types of tourism, there are considerable reasons to do so. In recent decades, there has been increased awareness of the negative impacts of ‘mass tourism’ in the Caribbean. Some of the major pitfalls identified include issues associated with immigrant labor forces, degradation of the environment, erasure of culture, economic inequalities, and the relative ‘quality’ of the typical visitor. Caribbean nations have begun to consider these issues more seriously and there is a new push toward more economically and environmentally sustainable types of tourism.¹²⁶

¹²⁵ Palmer, “Tourism and colonialism, 797-806.

¹²⁶ A 2006 study by Jerome L. McElroy explores the impact of mass tourism across 36 small island economies. He does not include The Bahamas specifically due to their large economy, but

Sustainable Tourism Alternative

The World Tourism Organization has identified that a vast portion of all international tourism has a cultural component.¹²⁷ While The Bahamas clearly do not draw the majority of their visitors based on heritage and/or eco-tourism, there are many hidden reminders of the rich heritage of The Bahamas. Those who are willing to venture away from the resorts, casinos and cruise ships will enjoy a unique experience with friendly people, and a pristine ecosystem. The existence of this behind-the-scenes experience could not be possible without the work of cultural heritage management professionals and projects aimed at preserving the material and intangible cultural resources of The Bahamas.

As demonstrated above, the Bahamian Government has shown a commitment to preserve and promote the unique heritage of The Bahamas through the development of legislation as well as promotional activity. A testament to their commitment is the recent development of the Clifton Heritage Park on New Providence. The park is located on the west side of New Providence Island in an area home to many heritage resources, including “Lucayan sites, preloyalist settlements, several plantations – the most famous of which is the Whylly plantation – and postemancipation settlements, along with many environmental features, including beaches, wetlands, and coppice forests.”¹²⁸ In the 1990s, the area was threatened by a residential development proposed by foreign

hit findings highlight major issues with ‘mass tourism.’ Jerome L. McElroy, “Small Island Tourist Economies Across the Life Cycle,” *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 47, no. 1, (April 2006): 61-77.

¹²⁷ Cameron and Gatewood, “Beyond Sun, Sand and Sea,” 58.

¹²⁸ Pateman, “Bahamas,” 7.

investors. A grassroots effort brought it into the forefront of a political campaign in the late 1990s, and in 2004 its preservation and development began. It is protected under the Clifton Heritage Authority Act, which establishes a corporate body “to hold, manage, maintain, preserve, promote, and develop [the area] as a national park and historic cultural heritage site.”¹²⁹ The site was developed to attract and educate Bahamians and non-Bahamians alike about the history of The Bahamas.¹³⁰

The Clifton Heritage Centre serves as a unique example of how preservation and tourism can function in conjunction with one another in The Bahamas. While off the beaten tourist path, the park is free and open to the public. It offers a truly unique and interesting experience for visitors interested in Bahamian history and the natural ecosystem. It also offers Bahamians a chance to learn from the material record of their past and join together in a collaborative space. The park has many different types of resources, from commemorative monuments and reconstructed slave dwellings to community picnic areas and volley ball courts. The park hosts educational field days for Bahamian children and park staff are available to interpret the park’s many different aspects.

Clifton Heritage Park is just one example of how Bahamians continue to advance the promotion of heritage preservation. The work of promoting and protecting heritage in The Bahamas continues to strengthen as more and more Bahamians realize the benefits of doing so. Whether heritage or eco-tourism can further promote advancement of the field is unknown and untested to date, however, recent efforts on the part of preservation

¹²⁹ Clifton Heritage Authority Act, Statue Law of The Bahamas, c. 51B, Schedule 1, (4), 2004.

¹³⁰ Pateman, “The Bahamas,” 7.

professionals, such as those at the AMMC and other interested parties, such as the groups that helped save Clifton, have at least sparked a new curiosity in the citizenry.

Interpreting Bahamian Heritage

A commitment to the protection of cultural heritage requires more than just preserving old fabric and/or traditions; be it an old building in the woods, manuscript in a museum, or traditional street dance, these resources cannot reveal their worth on their own. A mechanism is required to enable people to *discover* the value in such objects and intangibles. For cultural heritage resources, that mechanism often involves some form of ‘interpretation.’ In this sense, interpretation refers to “an activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.”¹³¹ This can happen in many ways and through a variety of vehicles, such as a tour guide, a sign or plaque, an interactive display, or a nature trail to name a few.

Interpretation is indeed one of the most important aspects of managing cultural resources and historic sites because without some form of interpretation, the resources themselves are simply objects, or in the case of intangibles, the resources are activities or ways of doing things. It is only through interpretation that the visitor to a place, or to the experience of an intangible activity, can be affected by the resource. Interpretation makes a site come alive for the visitor and it provokes one to think about her own relationship with the site. Furthermore, good interpretation gives historic resources relevance to today.

¹³¹ Freeman Tilden, *Interpreting Our Heritage*, 4th ed., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 33.

If at any point a visitor, whether a history buff or elementary school child, becomes bored or overwhelmed by the interpreting media, the experience and value of the resource can be lost. Therefore, it is up to the interpreter, and ultimately the management of interpretive programming to be aware of the audience they hope to enlighten.

The development of interpretive programs for heritage sites and resources is an art. It requires imagination and intensive planning to develop effective programming in order to understand the audience, the story to be told, and the best way to tell that story. In *Interpreting Our Heritage*, Freeman Tilden presents six principles for designing and/performing effective interpretation, whether written, oral, or projected by mechanical devices:

1. Any interpretation that does not somehow *relate* what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.
2. Information, as such, is not interpretation. *Interpretation is revelation based upon information.* But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
3. *Interpretation is an art*, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.
4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but *provocation*.
5. Interpretation should aim to *present a whole* rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather than any phase.
6. *Interpretation addressed to children (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution* of the presentations to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.¹³²

As a final insight to these timeless principles, Tilden also offers a special insight to those individuals who find themselves in the role of interpreter—style. “‘Style’ is a priceless ingredient of interpretations.”¹³³ While others have expanded, shortened or rearranged Tilden’s six principles over the years, they have remained a staple part of the United

¹³² Ibid., 35.

¹³³ Ibid., 34-5.

States National Park Service’s interpretation program development and training for more than fifty years.

While perhaps not formally following Tilden’s philosophy on interpretation, The Bahamas continues to develop heritage management strategies that embrace a set of values that align with his principles. In seeking to develop effective heritage management and interpretive programs, the AMMC has embraced partnerships between researchers and local Bahamians in an attempt to increase “community investment in the stewardship of cultural heritage.” An example of this approach is the Cat Island Heritage Project that began in 2013 as a collaboration between the AMMC and Allen Meyers of Eckerd College, St. Petersburg, Florida. The project is an investigation of heritage resources on Cat Island, Bahamas that seeks to develop a comprehensive inventory of historical sites “with an eye toward creating a heritage management plan in accordance with the 1998 Bahamas Antiquities Act... It is especially committed to developing a collaborative framework for recording, interpreting and conserving materials related to slavery and emancipation.”¹³⁴

While major leaps have been made in the field of heritage preservation in The Bahamas, resources for the management of cultural heritage remain limited. Conflicts between private and government interests as well as conflicting cultural interests within the citizenry account for a delicate preservation situation in The Commonwealth of The Bahamas. While Bahamian history can be defined as complex and even dark in some aspects, it is imperative to develop a collaborative framework for recording, preserving and interpreting heritage resources in The Bahamas. Such work can focus on comparative

¹³⁴ Meyers, “Historical Landscapes of Golden Grove and Newfield Plantations.”

studies of existing archaeological and historical data, but it must also strive to develop new methods of understanding the cultural legacy of the Bahamas. Projects like Clifton Heritage Park and the Cat Island Heritage Project demonstrate the potential for effective cultural heritage management in The Bahamas.

The following chapters present a case study of a Bahamian Family Island that is used to analyze how preservation, promotion and interpretation of cultural resources can help reveal the unique heritage of The Bahamas. In promoting authentic heritage tourism, Bahamians can continue to learn and teach about their own past while reaping the benefits of more a sustainable tourism industry.

CHAPTER 3

CASE STUDY SITE: SAN SALVADOR ISLAND

This chapter introduces the case study site that will act as the background for understanding current heritage resource management practices in The Bahamas, specifically on San Salvador Island (Figure 3.1). The chapter begins with presentation of important terms and definitions, and the framework adopted for the case study. This information is essential for understanding how heritage resources are evaluated throughout the thesis and is located below the header entitled Essential Terms, Definitions and Framework. Next, the benefits of performing a case study are introduced and the two primary criteria for choosing San Salvador as a case study island are revealed. Subsequent sections include in-depth background on San Salvador Island, how and why resources were targeted for survey, as well as how a specific survey form was developed. The third header of the chapter provides an orientation to the case study island within its own context and within a larger Bahamian context. The fourth header presents five areas of significance in the developmental history of San Salvador, through which analysis of the case study is presented in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 4 includes in-depth evaluation of heritage management practices related to three proposed historic sites/districts.

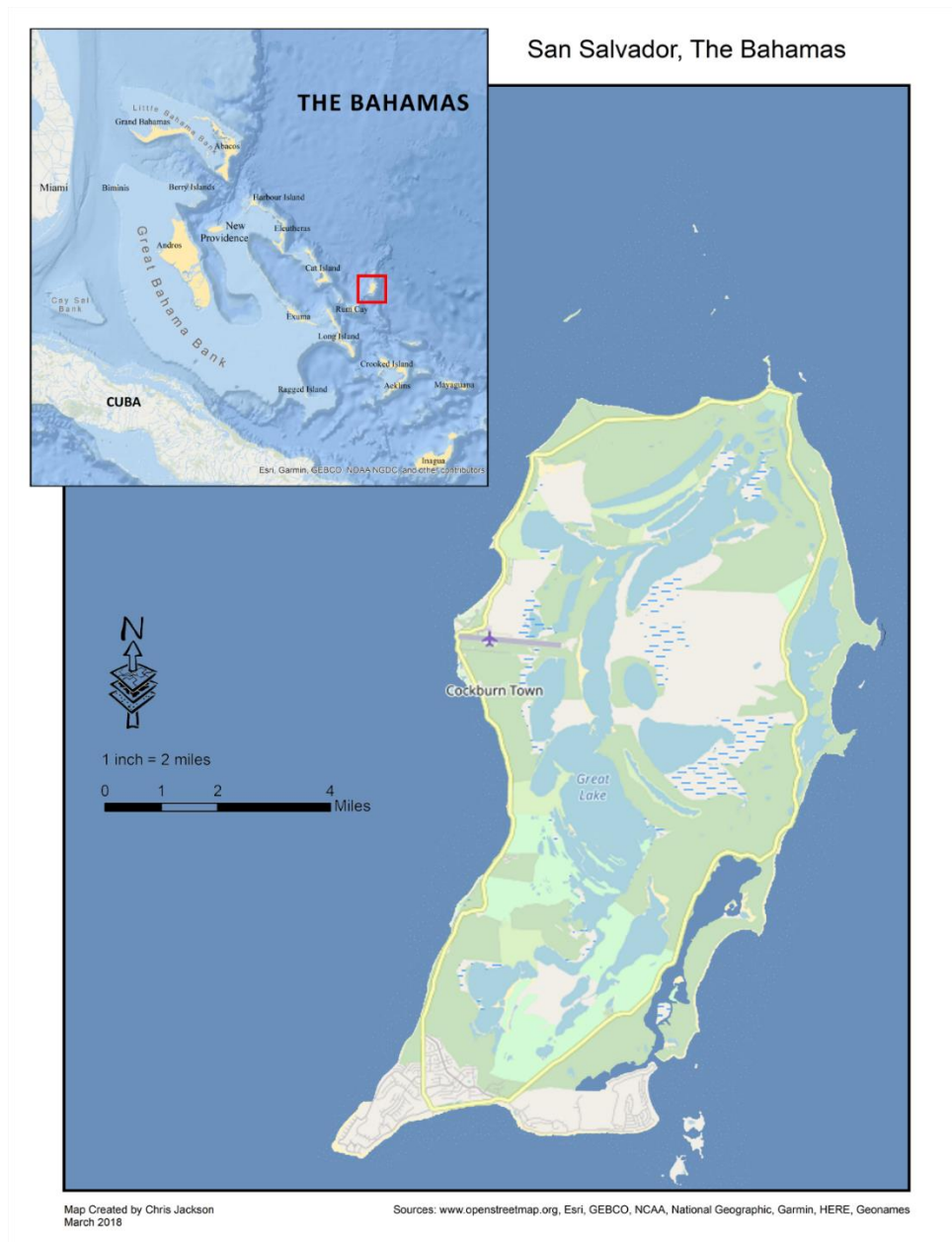


Figure 3.1 San Salvador Island Context Map. (Map created by the author, March 2018)

The previous two chapters established that there are many layers and complex narratives that have affected Bahamian heritage. Situated on each layer of history or narrative is the built environment and the intangible cultural heritage of Bahamian life. Over time there has been a complex stacking and meshing of these layers, and today, the

existing Bahamian landscape, whether built or natural, holds the material record of the past. So connected are the narratives of Bahamian history, that resources often hold value related to multiple layers of the past, in turn embodying multiple strands of history. Due to the complexities that arise when attempting to preserve and protect such resources, it is important that heritage management systems in The Bahamas take a holistic approach to developing preservation and interpretation strategies.

To evaluate the best strategies for heritage resource management systems within such a complex framework, this thesis adopted a case study methodology. For many years' case studies have been utilized by various professions and fields in order to conduct sound research. Traditionally, scholars of law, business, medicine, engineering, public policy, sociology, economics and psychology have used case studies as research methods in order to “make concrete what are often generalizations or purely anecdotal information about projects and processes.”¹³⁵ Case studies allow researchers and practitioners to produce clear source material when attempting to answer difficult questions. They also serve as an effective method for teaching by example. Furthermore, case studies serve as a body of work upon which scholarly criticism and critical theory can build. Case studies can be used in many ways; some are used to describe and/or evaluate a project or process, others attempt to explain or even predict theory related to the study's findings or evaluations. Successful case studies typically include as much of each of these aspects as possible.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Mark Francis, *A Case Study Method for Landscape Architecture*, (Washington, D.C.: Landscape Architecture Foundation, July 1999), 9.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10.

Adopting the case study method offered the best opportunity to answer the research question: Furthermore, a case study provides a basis to evaluate concrete evidence collected within this project's framework of two main objectives: (1) perform a comprehensive survey and analysis of the existing conditions of heritage resources on a Family Island and (2) analyze known legal and/or interpretive mechanisms, functioning at the public and private level, that might aid in the preservation of historically significant resources in the Commonwealth of The Bahamas.

ESSENTIAL TERMS, DEFINITIONS AND FRAMEWORK FOR SAN SALVADOR CASE STUDY

Having completed a significant amount of background research regarding heritage resource management in The Bahamas, the author came to realize there was not a sufficient framework for identification, evaluation, and management of heritage resources. Therefore, a framework was created, which is discussed in this chapter. Throughout the background research, evaluation, analysis and findings components of the case study process, a number of key terms are used. Guidance for establishment of heritage resource identification, categorization, evaluation, and management methods does not exist in the laws or policies of The Bahamas, therefore the following terms are defined based on guiding literature provided by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. The guidelines are outlined in published bulletins and brochures available to the public at www.nps.gov/nr/publications/. The author chose to follow these guidelines because The Bahamas developed their own identification, evaluation and management systems for heritage resources based on the U.S. model.

When addressing heritage resources, the quality of “significance” must be evaluated. The term “significance” relates to a resource’s association with significant events in history, the lives of important persons, distinctive features related to architecture, engineering and/or cultural values, or the resource’s potential to yield further information related to pre-history or history.¹³⁷ The term “integrity” relates to the ability of a property to convey its significance. The evaluation of integrity is sometimes subjective, but it must always be grounded in an understanding of how a resource relates to its significance. Some of the terms adopted for the case study of San Salvador include:

- **Area of Significance:** A theme that represents coherent patterns of development in history and/or culture based on elements such as the environment, social/ethnic groups, transportation networks, technology, or political developments.¹³⁸
- **Evaluation:** Process by which the significance and integrity of a resource is judged.¹³⁹
- **Condition:** The current physical state of a resource.
- **Context:** The realm of patterns or trends in history in which resources are understood and attain meaning.¹⁴⁰
- **Features:** Aspects of the built, natural or cultural environment that relate to a resource and its ability to convey its historic significance.
- **Historic Significance:** The aspect or aspects that make a resource important in understanding the associative value of a resource.
- **Integrity:** The unimpaired ability of a resource to convey its significance.
- **Resource:** Any building, structure, object, site or district evaluated as potentially significant in terms of portraying some aspect of history.
- **Identification:** Process through which information is gathered about resources.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ These four ways in which the author establishes the significance of a resource are derived directly from The Bahamas’ system for listing heritage resources to the Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources (see Appendix A). This same system exists within the framework for evaluating historic properties and resources within the U.S. system.

¹³⁸ Discussed thoroughly in the section entitled “Defining Bahamian Areas of Significance” later in this chapter.

¹³⁹ “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Registration Forms*, National Register Publications, U.S. National Park Service, accessed February 22, 2018, 59.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 59.

Categorizing Resources

Categorizing resources or properties is an essential part of identifying, evaluating and managing heritage resources. Categorization affords the opportunity to establish the significance and integrity of a resource and allows managing agencies to distinguish whether a resource is worthy of inclusion in a management system. The following categories of heritage resources are used frequently in the case study of San Salvador and specific examples provide clarity:¹⁴²

- 1) **Building:** A building is any construction created principally to shelter any form of human activity. Buildings include all historically and functionally related units, such as interiors, facades, wings, or additions to the original construction. Examples of buildings include: *barns, churches, city or town halls, courthouses, detached kitchens, dormitories, forts, garages, hotels, houses, latrines, libraries, mail buildings, office buildings, schools, social halls, sheds, stables, stores, and theaters.*
- 2) **Structure:** The term “structure” is distinguished from “building” in that structures are those functional constructions made usually for purposes other than human shelter. Examples of buildings include: *agricultural processing structures, automobiles, boats and ships, bridges, canals, corn or grain cribs, docks, earthworks, fences, gazebos, highways, lighthouses, stages, and walls.*
- 3) **Object:** The term “object” is used to distinguish from buildings and structures those constructions primarily artistic in nature and relatively small in scale.

¹⁴² Definitions and some examples derive directly from: “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Registration Forms*, National Register Publications, U.S. National Park Service, accessed February 22, 2018, 4-5.

They are typically simple constructions and can be moveable but must be associated with a specific setting or environment. Examples of objects include: *benches, fountains, grave markers, light poles, mileposts, monuments, mule posts, rain gauges, sculptures, signs, statuaries, and sundials.*

- 4) **Site:** The term “site” refers to the location of a significant event or activity in history or pre-history where the location itself possess historic, cultural or archaeological value. A site can be a building, structure or object, whether standing, ruined or vanished, and can also include multiple occurrences of said resource types. A site may also be a natural landmark. Examples of sites include: *battlefields, bays, beaches, burial sites, campsites, cemeteries, ceremonial sites, community parks, designed landscapes, habitation sites, picnic areas, natural features, rock carvings, rock shelters, ruins of buildings or structures, shipwrecks, trails, village sites, and volley ball courts.*
- 5) **District:** A district is a unified entity that possesses a concentration of linked sites, buildings, structures, or objects united historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development. Districts often include a wide variety of resources, functioning as a unit, that convey or reflect an activity or encompass several interrelated activities in historical or cultural development. Districts can comprise features that are individually distinctive as well as features that lack individual distinction. Examples of districts include: *business districts, canal systems, groups of archaeologically significant habitation sites, college campuses, estates and farms with large*

acreage/numerous resources, industrial complexes, residential areas/developments, towns, transportation networks, and villages.

Defining Boundaries for Sites and Districts

Carefully defining the boundaries of sites and districts is important for several reasons. Because sites and districts encompass multiple resources of varying types that relate to a specific context, the boundaries must encompass all resources, retaining sufficient integrity, that contribute to the site/district's significance. Boundaries may affect management and legal implications of historic sites and districts. Therefore, special care should be made to include all resources related to a site or district's significance while only including those areas and resources that are associated with the defined area(s) of significance and context.

Resources associated with sites or districts can range in scale and category, and they are often subject to change along with the development of physical and cultural events. Therefore, defining boundaries should involve consideration of historic, current and suspected future conditions. Some boundaries can be directly observed by examining the property while others require research. When defining boundaries one should consider the modern legal boundaries, historic legal boundaries, natural features, topographical features, cultural features, and the distribution of resources.

CASE STUDY CRITERIA AND SAN SALVADOR ISLAND

San Salvador Island was chosen as the preferred case study site because it met the four prescribed criteria: (1) the site should represent the full breadth of Bahamian history and have extant heritage resources to survey (2) the site should be a Bahamian 'Family

Island’, (3) the site should have extant research on a variety of heritage resources, and (4) the site, and its historic resources should afford the opportunity to apply preservation theory and process to it.

After considering numerous Family Islands, it was found that San Salvador Island best met the first criteria as it is characterized by Bahamians as one of the most historic islands in The Bahamas. Though this statement may seem a gross generalization, one must simply look to the San Salvador page of The Bahamas tourism website in order to gather a feel for the island’s reputation. The page invites visitors to “Discover San Salvador... [and] embark on an adventure full of history and culture...”¹⁴³ Despite tourism promotion as “historic,” the island embodies many Bahamian historical narratives. Perhaps most notable is its reputation as the location of the first landing in the ‘New World’ by Christopher Columbus, in 1492. Though it is impossible and impractical to attempt to prove that San Salvador has the *most* historic significance of any Family Island, research quickly revealed the existence of a variety of potential heritage resources located in a relatively small and manageable testing ground.

Furthermore, the available heritage resources on San Salvador, such as Loyalist plantation ruins and remnants of associated work environments, commemorative monuments, extant buildings, unique cemeteries, community parks, natural resources, and cultural activities such as ‘Homecoming’ festivals offered a unique opportunity to survey an array of sites. The variety and density of these resources provide visitors and locals the opportunity to experience a landscape, built environment, and cultural experience that reflects a vast array of Bahamian heritage narratives and experiences.

¹⁴³ “San Salvador,” The Islands of The Bahamas, 2017, accessed February 19, 2018, <https://www.bahamas.com/islands/san-salvador>.

San Salvador Island met criterion 2 for its exemplary status as a Bahamian ‘Family Island.’ The ‘Family Islands’ are often characterized as representing “Where it all began... Livin’ off the land and sea is part of life in the Southern Family Islands. The environment is unspoiled, and the people, in many ways depend on it. There is a beautiful balance between man and nature.”¹⁴⁴ Today, San Salvador seems to hold strong these lifeways as described in article after article in publications such as *Island Expedition* and *Family Island Express*. Furthermore, San Salvador’s history and the material record of that history offers insights into the development of Family Island culture.

During the background research performed on Family Islands, source material was located that revealed multiple layers of history on San Salvador. Particular attention was given to research related to the development of Bahamian Family Islands. Collected case study material for San Salvador includes historical documents describing Columbus’ first encounter with Lucayans on San Salvador, the only known surviving diary of a white Loyalist plantation owner in The Bahamas (Charles Farquharson’s for the year 1831-1832), and many magazine and newspaper articles from the twentieth century.

The third criteria used in choosing San Salvador was the identification of a vast amount of scholarly research focused on the island. Scholars of archaeology, marine biology, geology, geography, history, and even genetics, have been studying San Salvador for decades. San Salvador has such a rich history as a field-based classroom and case study island that the Gerace Research Centre was developed on the island to act as repository for much of the research and home base for all past and future research activities; this has been in place for over forty years. While the sciences have traditionally

¹⁴⁴ *Island Expedition*, ed. Dragan Popov and Nicolas Popov, Miami, Florida: Graphic Media, (1988): 2.

been the focus of most groups and scholars that utilize the Centre, a considerable amount of field work and subsequent reports and publications have surfaced in regard to the cultural geography and archaeology of San Salvador. This thesis' case study of San Salvador relies heavily on such publications and field reports as an important set of historical data and existing conditions documentation.

The case study of San Salvador draws heavily from the records and analysis of sites and resources published and recorded by cultural geographers and cultural archaeologists who have focused on San Salvador. Another important source includes the knowledge of local Bahamians groups and individuals. For example, Jermaine Johnson of the Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, San Salvador Office, embarked on a mission to teach local school children about San Salvador's heritage resources beginning in 2013. Each spring Mr. Johnson meets in local classrooms and presents his "Hearts for Heritage" lecture that highlights important resources on the island. He and the children then travel to the sites and discuss their historical and current significance within the local, Bahamian and international context.¹⁴⁵

Finally, the island meets criterion 4 as, despite a multitude of documentary, historical, archaeological and scientific information available in relation to San Salvador, there has not yet been a preservation-oriented study performed. Local histories have been written and the island has certainly been the target of interest from the Bahamian and foreign media at times over the years, but no formal evaluation of historical significance of specific resources, sites or activities has been made. Even the existing Bahamian National Register of Historic Resources for the island is incomplete. The listing includes

¹⁴⁵ Author correspondence in person with Jermaine Johnson, November, 2017.

many archaeological sites identified as being of Lucayan significance and a number of the Loyalist plantation sites are listed, but no comprehensive survey has been conducted to list the available heritage resources on the island or assess the overarching significance of the resources and whether the physical work done on some of the properties is in keeping with international best heritage resource management practices.

In addition to meeting the four defined criteria, the author's own experience on San Salvador will assist the research study. Having traveled there several times, it became increasingly apparent to the author that there were significant threats to heritage resources on the island. While hurricanes certainly have had a profound effect on the physical integrity of many heritage resources there, human threats, like neglect and improper physical care of heritage resources are a constant and relentless menace on the island. With sites of local, Bahamian and even international significance extant on San Salvador Island, it is imperative that Bahamian cultural resource management begin to address these threats, hopefully defining a nationwide approach to heritage resource management that follows international best management practices (BMPs).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Preliminary Research

The case study of San Salvador began with background research. The first step included identification of key players and interested parties in relation to heritage preservation in the Family Islands and on San Salvador. Those parties include Bahamian governmental agencies, tourism agencies, heritage groups, historical societies, and interested individuals at the national, island and local level. Amongst these parties were

officials and staff at the Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation (AMMC) in Nassau, Jim Lawlor and Mrs. Andrea Major with The Bahamas Historical Society in Nassau, Winifred Murphy of the Nassau Public Library, Jermaine Johnson with the Ministry of Tourism's San Salvador branch, Clifford Fernander as a local San Salvador guide, Kathy Gerace and Dr. Troy Dexter with the Gerace Research Centre on San Salvador, and many others. Another key aid in the information gathering phase of the case study was correspondences with U.S. heritage expert Dr. Ray Luce who worked directly with AMMC staff in 2015 to create a comprehensive evaluation of the current Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources (NRHR). Dr. Luce's work with Ms. Alicia Oxley, the principle official in charge of the NRHR for the AMMC, provided a basis to begin to understand the legal and managerial processes involved with heritage resource preservation in The Bahamas. The opinion and guidance of said parties and individuals would be the primary source for development of the case study methodology.

Another avenue of preliminary research was the identification of potentially significant heritage resources on San Salvador Island. In order to do so, research centered around what resources Bahamians find significant in terms of understanding their own unique heritage. A preliminary target resource list was developed based on the following three criteria. First, all properties listed on The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources for San Salvador were considered. Second, buildings, structures, sites and objects noted by San Salvador tourism websites and Bahamian magazines and newspaper articles were considered. Third, sites identified by interested parties and individuals as significant were considered. In developing this preliminary list, the author also

referenced the broad background and historical research performed before identification of the case study island, which yielded even more potential resources to target.

This preliminary list of potential heritage resources continued to grow with each stage of the research process and a wide range of resource types were identified. When more than 30 resources had been identified as potentially significant for the case study, it became apparent that a formal survey was necessary. Because the survey portion of the case study was to be performed by one person in a limited period of time on San Salvador Island, a criterion for selecting resources to be surveyed was required.

Review of Existing Bahamian National Register Content

A major component of the background research was review of The Bahamas' existing National Register list for San Salvador. Email correspondence with staff at the AMMC's Nassau office revealed that the site files for San Salvador were limited and unorganized in regard to current site listings and existing conditions. Figure 3.2 shows the list of registered resources received from the AMMC. Upon examination of the listed resources, it became apparent that most of the sites were listed based on three criteria: (1) known Lucayan archaeological sites, (2) sites with the potential to yield further prehistoric archaeological information and data, and (3) sites used primarily for scientific data collection and research.

The list seemed to be based on a collaboration of field reports and preliminary site surveys performed by researchers from various fields who typically focused on San

Salvador Island.¹⁴⁶ The AMMC research permitting process was created in 1999, allowing that office to continue to add to the various site files which had been started prior to that organization's establishment. AMMC staff continue to organize, digitize and geolocate the major backlog of site files and reports from a vast range of project types. Although a portion of the current list of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts are of potential significance as heritage resources, unfortunately the list was not created based upon any specific criteria for identifying or evaluating such resources.

As such, the San Salvador Island subset list included a number of unidentified sites, and a lack of any reference to historic context, significance, or integrity of the resources. AMMC staff has not yet begun to organize or digitize the site file for San Salvador, but a paper file for each identified site is available in their Nassau office. Initially, AMMC staff indicated that the file included 37 "Lucayan" sites, 61 unused site numbers, 8 "historic" sites, and 10 unnamed sites.¹⁴⁷ Upon examination of the physical site files, the author was able to identify a number of mislabeled and redundant site identification numbers.

¹⁴⁶ For example, see: John Winter, "1981 Archaeological Site Reconnaissance: San Salvador, Cat Island, and Rum Cay," *Bahamian Archaeology Projects, Reports and Papers, 1981*, San Salvador, Bahamas: College Center of the Finger Lakes Bahamian Field Station, (1981). During the late 2000s, AMMC staff and James Miller embarked upon a major attempt to consolidate the site listings for all previous Bahamian research.

¹⁴⁷ Email correspondence between Dr. Ray Luce and Alicia Oxley (AMMC) from 2013, provided in writing to the author from Dr. Ray Luce in 2018.

SAN SALVADOR ISLAND INDEX

SAN SALVADOR ISLAND INDEX

SS001	PIGEON CREEK
SS002	PALMETTO GROVE
SS003	MINNIS WARD
SS004	NORTH STORRS LAKE
SS005	DIM BAY
SS006	CUT ROCK (NORTH POINT)
SS007	DAVIS SITE
SS008	FERNANDER
SS009	LONG BAY
SS010	THE FORK
SS011	SUGAR LOAF CEMETERY
SS012	WILLIAMS SITE
SS013	SOUTH FARQUHARSON
SS014	EAST SNOW BAY
SS015	BARKERS POINT
SS016	THE BLUFF
SS017	FARQUAHARSON
SS018	OLD PLACE
SS019	FRENCH BAY
SS020	PIGEON CREEK DELTA SITE
SS021	3-DOG
SS022	STORR'S CAVE
SS023	WILLIAMS SINKHOLES
SS024	FARQUARHSON CAVE
SS025	BLACKE POND CAVE
SS026	CHICARGO TRIBUNE SITE
SS027	SOUTH CRAB BAY
SS028	DUMP POINT
SS029	KERR MOUNT SINKSHOLES
SS030	TWO POUND
SS031	SANDY HOOK
SS032	MANHEAD CAY
SS033	BOAT RAMP
SS034	GRAHAMS HARBOUR DOCK
SS035	DUMP
SS036	LAKE CAVE
SS037	CATTO CAY
SS038	MEXICAN MONUMENT
SS039	COLUMBUS MONUMENT
SS040	BURTON WILLIAMS PLANTATION
SS041	REV. FATHER CHRYSOSTOM SCHREINER GRAVE
SS042	HELAWISE MONUMENT
SS043	MAJOR'S CAVE
SS044	KERR MOUNT ESTATES

SS045	CHICARGO HERALD MONUMENT
SS046	OLD JAIL
SS047	NN
SS048	DIXON HILL LIGHTHOUSE
SS049	SOUTH VICTORIA HILL SETTLEMENT
SS050	SAN SALVADOR BURIAL CAVE
SS051	LAKE IN CENTER OF ISLAND
SS052	CLUB MED VILLAGE COMPLEX SITE
SS053	NN
SS054	WILLIAMS CAVE #2
SS055	WILLIAMS CAVE #1
SS056	UNNAMED
SS057	UNNAMED
SS058	UNNAMED
SS059	HARBOUR ESTATE
SS060	PUBLIC CEMETRY
SS061	CATHOLIC CEMETRY
SS062	DEVIL TREE
SS063	STROWN LANDING
SS064	WATLING'S CASTLE
SS065	SAN SALVADOR MUSEUM
SS066	QUARTERS SANDY POINT ESTATE
SS067	LOOKOUT TOWER
SS068	BELMOUNT CHURCH
SS069	BOUNDARY WALL
SS070	FARQUHARSON'S PLANTATION
SS071	RIDING ROCK POINT
SS072	BAHAMIAN FIELD STATION
SS073	UNNAMED
SS074	UNNAMED
SS075	UNNAMED
SS076	UNNAMED
SS077	UNNAMED
SS078	SANDY POINT ESTATE
SS079	FORTUNE HILL PLANTATION
SS080	POLLY HILL PLANTATION
SS081	HARBOR ESTATE QUARTERS
SS082	TRAIL FARM ESTATE
SS083	SPRINGFIELD PLANTATION
SS084	ST. AUGUSTINE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH

Figure 3.2 San Salvador Island National Register Site File Index. (The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources, list provided by Ms. Alicia Oxley of The Bahamas Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation, October 10, 2017.)

Upon examination of the San Salvador site file it became apparent that the author would need to look for additional information on resources on San Salvador, and that a large-scale survey of historic resources on San Salvador would need to be undertaken.

Performing a survey serves four important functions: (1) it affords an opportunity to record the existing conditions of resources already listed on The Bahamas National Register list, (2) those resources can be examined through a preservation lens rather than scientific or archaeological lens, (3) the survey can act as a test for potential use in future surveys for identification of resources in The Bahamas, and (4) new resources can potentially be identified.

There are no formal or standardized methods for the identification or evaluation of historic resources in The Bahamas. Therefore, the development of a survey would have to draw upon non-Bahamian sources. Evaluation of The Bahamas National Register Individual Property Form and correspondence with AMMC staff indicated that the processes of identification, listing, evaluation and preservation of historic resources in The Bahamas were developed based on the United States' Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines. Hence, the survey portion of this San Salvador case study was developed based on those same standards.

The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for identification indicate that "the scope of [identification activities] will depend on: existing knowledge about properties; goals for survey activities developed in the planning process; and current management needs."¹⁴⁸ Several field survey techniques are highlighted in the Guidelines with two

¹⁴⁸ "Archeology and Historic Preservation," *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Identification*, United States Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines [As Amended and Annotated], accessed February 21, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/history/local-law/arch_stnds_2.htm.

loosely grouped types identified: Reconnaissance surveys and Intensive surveys. A Reconnaissance survey is conducted when the goal of the survey is to develop a general understanding of the historic properties in a particular area and the data collected allows the formulation of estimates of the necessity, type and cost of further identification work and the setting of priorities for the individual tasks involved. A “windshield” or “walk-over” survey typically results in the “characterization of a region’s historic properties” and is considered a Reconnaissance survey. Intensive surveys consist of many of the same elements as Reconnaissance surveys but including more in-depth records of the precise location of properties and information about appearance, significance, and integrity of resources. Intensive surveys are conducted to determine the number, location and condition of properties and permit classification of individual properties.¹⁴⁹

Survey Development

The survey developed for this case study drew aspects from both reconnaissance and intensive survey forms, yet due to the scope, complexity of logistics and limited time constraints to undertake the field work, the survey adopted a “windshield” or “walk-over” approach model. That approach would allow the survey to document sites of known historic significance as well as resources that may or may not possess historic value. By doing so, future surveys could build upon the identification of potentially significant buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts on San Salvador.

Four aspects that influenced the development of the survey for San Salvador Island included: (1) The total area to be surveyed, (2) the number of potential resources

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

identified, (3) the variety of resource types, and (4) the time constraints for case study field work. Additionally, two overarching goals were defined for the survey methodology: (1) Document existing conditions of known resources, and (2) attempt to gather information on historic significance, integrity and resource boundaries. The goals of the case study could be addressed in a section of the survey reserved for including potential information gathered regarding the “appearance, significance, integrity and boundaries of each property sufficient to permit an evaluation of its significance.”¹⁵⁰

Creating the survey form consisted of a comprehensive study of scholarly recommendations and guidelines for creating heritage resource inventories, with the final survey form containing elements drawn from multiple time-tested and proven surveys.¹⁵¹ Further, in an effort to develop a survey form that can be adopted by future research projects and The Bahamas AMMC office, the form was created to encompass elements pertaining to the existing Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources Individual Property Form. Perhaps the most important element of the survey form is the emphasis on a holistic heritage resource evaluation. Akin to cultural landscape management practices, the survey affords a general understanding of the breadth of heritage resources on San Salvador, serves as formal documentation of their existing conditions, and affords the opportunity to build upon this case study in the future.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Publications such as : “Heritage Inventories,” *Conservation Perspectives, The GCI Newsletter*, The Getty Conservation Institute, (Fall 2013).; Anne Derry, H. Ward Jandl, Carol D. Shull, Jan Thorman, and Patricia L. Parker, “Guidelines For Local Surveys: A Basis For Preservation Planning,” *National Register Bulletin 24*, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, (1977 and revised 1985).; Survey forms drawn from: Georgia’s Natural, Archaeological, and Historic Resources GIS, Historic Resource Survey Form; The University of Georgia Cultural Resources Survey of Historic Cultural Landscapes Form.

See Appendix C for the San Salvador Island Heritage Resource Reconnaissance Survey Form used in this case study.

Defining Criteria for Surveyed Resources

As noted previously, one of the primary goals of the survey was to formally survey and create an inventory of San Salvador historic resources of varying types and contexts. This goal was created based on two issues: (1) the background research was unable to yield sufficient results to get a clear picture of the heritage resources on San Salvador from a remote location in the United States, and (2) the existing inventory of San Salvador historic resources was incomplete and most listed resources (on The Bahamas' National Register) had little to no reference to historic context, significance, existing conditions, or integrity. Therefore, it became apparent that the fieldwork would need to include an on-island information collecting component to assist in identifying potential sites to survey that Bahamians would find significant.

The on-island information gathering involved three stages. First, there was an attempt to contact, via phone and email, as many potentially helpful individuals and groups as possible to get a feel for how the field work could be performed most efficiently. Targeted parties included staff and officials from The Bahamas National Trust, The AMMC, The Bahamas National Archives, The Bahamas Historical Society, The Nassau Public Library, the Ministry of Tourism, San Salvador locals such as tour guides, and any known individuals who had an interest in research on San Salvador. The second stage involved a four-day information gathering period in Nassau, New Providence Island. There, the aim was to collect as much information as possible about

San Salvador Island's potential heritage resources, specifically, archival documentation such as historic photos, maps, newspaper articles, scholarly journal articles, field reports, and oral histories. While in Nassau the author was allowed access to the entire San Salvador National Register site file. Finally, upon arrival at San Salvador, the author met with several individuals to discuss what specific resources, as well as types of resources, locals might find historically or culturally significant.

Throughout this three-staged process, a list of potential resources to be surveyed was kept. In reflecting on this list, and the various conversations with agencies and individuals it became apparent that a diverse set of resource types would need to be surveyed in order to represent the cultural values and significant narratives of Bahamian heritage. Therefore, the survey targeted buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts of known historical significance, as well as features that may not be known to possess such significance but rather other local cultural values.

Another important driver for the survey was The Bahamas National Register criteria for listing historic resources, which is based on guiding literature of the Individual Property Historic Register Preliminary Form (Appendix A). Under those guidelines, any "buildings, structures, districts, sites and objects significant in history, architecture, archaeology, paleontology, engineering and culture of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas"¹⁵² are considered eligible for listing. Generally, a property or resource must be at least fifty years of age to be eligible. Historic significance can be achieved through association with historic events or activities, important persons, distinct design or physical characteristics, or if a resource has the potential to provide important

¹⁵² The Individual Property Historic Register Preliminary Form (Appendix A).

information about prehistory or history. Resources must retain historic integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association in relation to some identified historic context. Context for historic resources relate to “major trends of history in [a local] community, island or the nation. Information about historic properties and trends is organized by their place and time which can be used to weigh the historic significance and integrity of a property/resource.”¹⁵³

Therefore, the reconnaissance survey would attempt to formally record buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts of potential historic and/or cultural significance including any:

- (1) Sites/resources currently listed on The Bahamas National Register that did not incorporate any reference to historic significance, integrity or context;
- (2) Any resource that appeared to be more than 50 years old, to capture resources that may possess significance but had not yet been listed;
- (3) Sites and resources less than 50 years old that hold known cultural value, such as community parks, transportation hubs, night clubs, and social/cultural centers;
- (4) As many churches and cemeteries as possible, and;
- (5) Commemorative sites such as monuments and graves of important people.

Survey Process

Following the criteria outlined above, the survey process was straight forward. The first step was mapping known target sites currently listed National Register sites. By mapping those resources, it was possible to develop a systematic approach to performing

¹⁵³ Ibid., Section 2.

the site surveys. Survey zones were created based on their geographic location on the island so that travel could be as efficient as possible (Figure 3.3). While in a specific region, any resource that fit the survey criteria was documented.

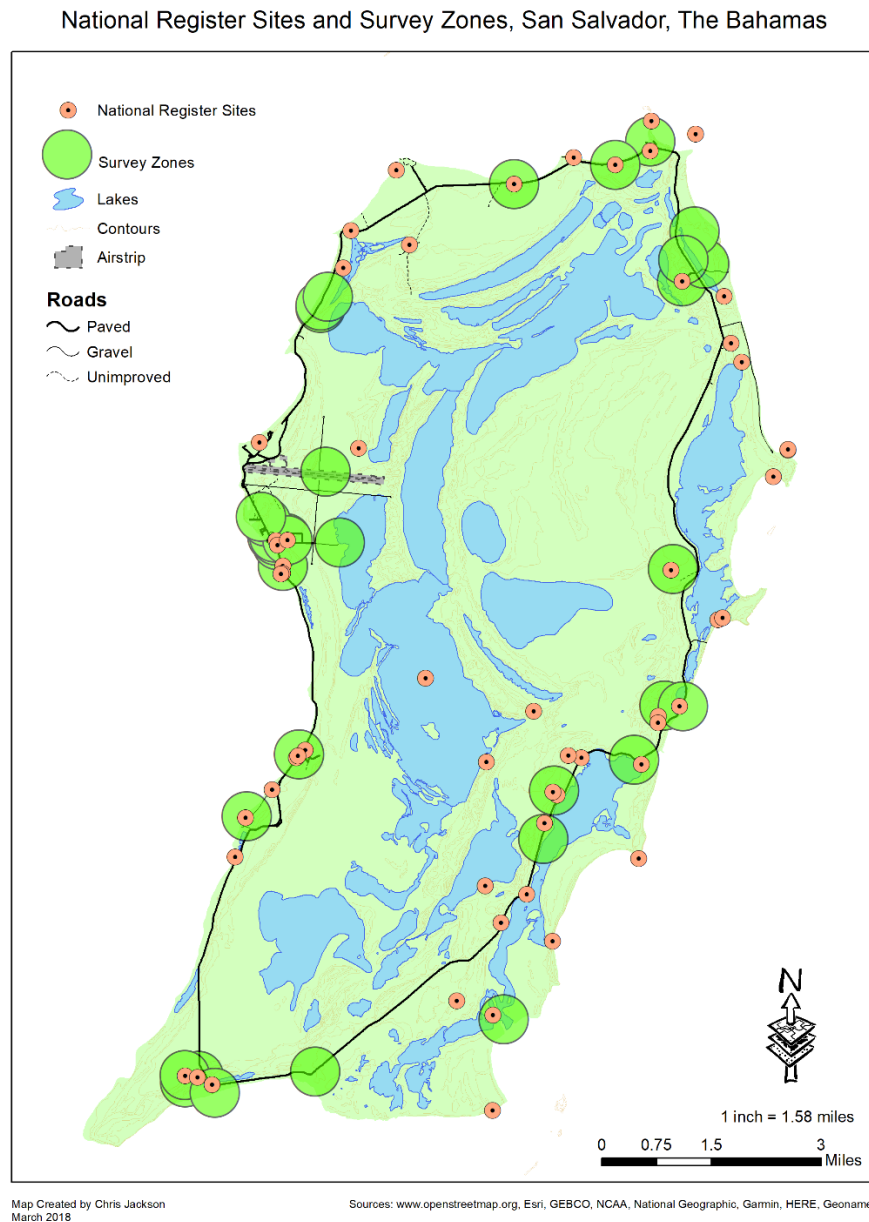


Figure 3.3 National Register Sites and Survey Zones – San Salvador, The Bahamas. This map shows the sites and resources listed on the National Register and targeted areas for survey. Within these target zones, 37 resources were identified and surveyed, 16 of which were previously listed on the National Register. (Map created by the author. Archaeological site GIS data derived from The San Salvador Island GIS database. Compiled by Matthew C. Robinson and R. Laurence Davis. The University of New Haven and Gerace Research Centre, 1999.)

The survey fieldwork was conducted over a five-day period in November of 2017. Most of each day was spent locating sites, recording existing conditions, and capturing documentary photographs. Some portion of each day included cross-checking the written survey forms with collected historical and documentary information. Many of the sites were relatively difficult to locate. Without the help of local experts, Gerace Research Centre staff and Global Positioning Systems (GPS) the survey would have failed to record many of the targeted sites; luckily those resources were available. During the five days 11 buildings, 4 structures, 1 object, 10 sites, and 11 districts (which also incorporate many additional contributing and non-contributing buildings, structures, objects, and sites) were surveyed, totaling 37 features documented.

Each resource's paper form (Appendix C) provides data on as many of the following aspects as possible:

- 1) **Resource reference number:** This survey adopted its own system for numbering surveyed resources and sites. Each feature surveyed was assigned a reference number for this project. The reference numbers include a three-part numbering system. Each starts with "SS" indicating San Salvador Island, a dash, a three letter reference to the site/resource type, another dash and then a three-digit number corresponding to the specific order in which the site/resource was surveyed. For example, the first resource surveyed was Little Lake Dock and its reference number is "SS-STRC-001." Additionally, a line on the survey form provides reference to AMMC site numbers if known.
- 2) **Name:** Names of resources were particularly problematic due to inconsistencies between formal and informal resource names historically and currently. The

survey form includes lines for recording historic name(s), current name(s), and other name(s) in an attempt to record any conflicting naming conventions for future reference.

- 3) **Associated resources:** Known associations with previously listed or newly surveyed resources was recorded.
- 4) **Location:** Location of each resource was recorded in the form of a regional reference code (N, NE, E, SE, S, SW, W, or NW), GPS coordinates, and written description.
- 5) **Bahamas National Register Status:** If known, the status of the resource was recorded as listed on the National Register or not. If the resource is not listed on the National Register, note was taken on potential eligibility of the resource.
- 6) **Property Ownership:** If known, property ownership status was recorded.
- 7) **Date of Construction**
- 8) **Known Alterations:** If known, note was taken as to any major alterations made to the original form or design of the resource.
- 9) **Resource Type:** Building, structure, object, site, or district.
- 10) **Contributing/Non-Contributing Resources:** If the resource was identified as a site or district, note was taken as to the number of contributing and non-contributing buildings, structures, objects, and/or sites in that site or district.
- 11) **Use:** Current and historic
- 12) **Boundaries**
- 13) **Architectural Details:** To include extant, ruinous, or known lost building types, floor plans, roof types, window types and/or any other character defining features.

14) Materials: Existing and/or historically used materials.

15) Landscape, Setting, and Environmental Description: Note was taken of any natural features, built features that respond to natural features, patterns of spatial organization, views/vistas, circulation, vegetation, small-scale features, immediate surroundings, and regional surroundings.

16) Significance: Whenever possible, comment was made on the historic and/or cultural significance of resources based on background information and correspondence with interested individuals. Comments on the significance of resources relate to patterns of development in prehistory and history as well as current cultural values identified for San Salvador, The Bahamas and/or the international community.

17) Integrity: For most resources, comment was recorded on the integrity of location, design, setting, materials, feeling and association based on the resources potential to convey its respective thematic significance. Each aspect of integrity was examined and given a rating as poor, fair, good, or excellent.

Typology and Context

After completion of the fieldwork, the collected data was recorded in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to assist the analysis. Prior to any formal analysis, the surveyed resources were categorized into resource types based on their potential significance and context respectfully. Preliminary groupings included resources relating to local community, San Salvador Island, national (Bahamian), and/or international significance. A deeper classification of groups also occurred based on how well each resource

demonstrated thematic contexts; the defined thematic contexts are: the Exploration Period, San Salvador's Loyalist Period, Technology and Transportation, Commemoration, and Community and Culture. Thematic narratives specific to San Salvador's history and development up through today came out of the contexts in order to shed light on how the surveyed resources relate to the breadth of local, Family Island, Bahamian, and international heritage and culture.

SAN SALVADOR: AN ISLAND REMOVED

San Salvador Island sits in an exposed location near the rim of the Atlantic Ocean in the southeastern region of The Bahamas. The island is 397 miles east-southeast of Miami, Florida and 202 miles from Nassau, the capital of The Bahamas (Figure 3.1). The island sits atop an isolated continental plate, separated from the major Bahama Banks.¹⁵⁴ The relatively remote location of San Salvador, along with its exposure to certain climatic forces has had a profound effect on the physical, historical and cultural development of the island. Furthermore, the character of the geography and climate present unique circumstances for any stabilization, preservation and/or promotion of San Salvador's existing heritage resources. Preservation strategies for the various types of built features on San Salvador must address the impact of these geographic and climatic forces in order to provide a sufficient link to the narratives of history they represent.

The depth of the waters immediately surrounding San Salvador range from 118 to 607 feet followed by a steep drop to a depth of about 15,500 feet into the Hatteras Abyssal Plain. This drop, known to divers as 'the wall' is located as close as a mere 300

¹⁵⁴ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 37.

feet from the shoreline in places. A series of coral reefs surround the island which offer protection from erosion by often intense Atlantic Ocean wave action and provide adequate habitat for continued island formation.¹⁵⁵ The barrier and patch reefs that surround the island offer adequate habitat for marine life such as fish and shellfish that provide a consistent food source for the humans that inhabit San Salvador. The reefs also provide an extensive system of protected bays that serve as calm anchorages. Because protected bays are available on all sides of the island, mariners can find refuge near San Salvador during almost any wind or ocean current pattern. Depending on these patterns, safe anchorages are available at Grahams Harbor at the north, French Bay at the south, Cockburn Town (pronounced ‘Co burn’ Town) on the west, and Pigeon Creek at the southeast.¹⁵⁶ Access to these protected bays has played a crucial role in the development of San Salvador’s settlement patterns for as long as humans have lived there.

The island has a roughly rectangular shape oriented southwest to northeast. It measures 6.9 miles at its widest east to west stretch and 11.95 miles north to south. The total landmass of the island is roughly 59 square miles consisting of alternating low, carbonate landforms (sand dune ridges on limestone bedrock) and interior lakes. The highest point is 123 feet above sea level at Kerr Mount, situated along the largest of San Salvador’s fossil dune ridges that dominate the southeast portion of the island. It is upon these ancient dune structures that humans would first build their homes and landscapes of work, taking advantage of the prevailing ocean breezes and easy access to the fertile sea. A complex series of interconnected brackish lakes make up approximately one third of

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., 37-8.

¹⁵⁶ Kathy Gerace, “Early Nineteenth Century Plantation on San Salvador, Bahamas: The Archaeological Record,” *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society* 9, no.1, (October 1987): 14.

the total surface area of the island. As these lakes are situated on San Salvador's interior, they offer sheltered passage routes to and from many of the island's coastal settlements.

San Salvador's climate is relatively moderate compared to the rest of The Bahamas and offers a frost and freeze-free environment year-round. The island experiences seasonal variations in precipitation with a pronounced dry season in winter and a bimodal pattern of two wet seasons in late spring and fall.¹⁵⁷ The total annual precipitation on San Salvador averages around 42 inches, but there are often significant variances to this average from year to year.¹⁵⁸ As rain falls on the island's surface it quickly sinks through the thin, sandy soils and collects in pockets within the highly porous limestone bedrock system. As fresh water seeps down, it collects in shallow pools resting atop the underlying tidal ocean water that infiltrates much of the island's interior subaqueous landscape. Due to the inconsistency of rainfall, San Salvador retains a relatively unpredictable availability of fresh water. Though highly unpredictable, these conditions offer prime opportunities for the cultivation of agricultural products ranging from small grains to large fruiting trees.

Further exacerbating the unpredictable nature of San Salvador's availability of fresh water is the ever-threatening occurrence of violent hurricanes. The hurricane season for San Salvador coincides with the island's June to December rainy season and though much needed rainfall often arrives to the island during this season, the threat of powerful wind damage and storm surge often offset the beneficial nature of such weather patterns. Though hurricanes only periodically effect San Salvador directly, they too are highly

¹⁵⁷ Douglas Gamble, "Weather and Climate," in Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 41.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 42.

unpredictable. In fact, the degree to which a given hurricane effects San Salvador depends highly on the relative path of the storm. For example,

The difference in damage between two storms can be attributed to the difference in the location of San Salvador with the quadrant of the storm as it passes the island... Thus, on a small island such as San Salvador, hurricane track can be just as important as hurricane intensity in determining damage.¹⁵⁹

It is for these reasons that the location of human settlements on the island have historically been effected differently by any particular hurricane.

From the initial habitation of San Salvador, by the Lucayan peoples, to modern societies, access to the ocean, fresh water, cool ocean breezes and shelter from climatic hazards have had a profound effect on the location and shape of the built and cultural environment. Geographic and climatic factors affecting San Salvador consistently serve as the foundation upon which all built and cultural features of human society have developed and continue to evolve there.

DEFINING BAHAMIAN AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

When considering the significance of historic resources, whether built or intangible, it is important to determine how a resource can represent a certain historic context through association with events, activities, patterns of development, and/or important persons. These associations can be made by determining how resources relate to and convey certain themes or areas of significance within local, national, or international contexts. "A theme [or area of significance] is a means of organizing properties [or resources] into coherent patterns based on elements such as [the]

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 44.

environment, social/ethnic groups, transportation networks, technology, or political developments that have influenced the development of an area during one or more periods of prehistory or history.”¹⁶⁰

The following five sub-headers highlight areas of significance for the developmental history of San Salvador Island, Bahamas; The Exploration Period, San Salvador’s Loyalists, Technology and Transportation, Commemoration, and Community and Culture. While these areas of significance are certainly not the *only* important aspects of San Salvador’s history and culture, they offer insight into the preservation of historic and cultural resources identified in the case study for this thesis. Besides affecting the shape of the built environment over time, these areas of significance can be examined for how they will continue to affect current and future preservation and interpretation of historic/cultural resources.

The Exploration Period

The first area of significance considered for analysis of San Salvador’s historic resources is the Exploration Period. This area of significance relates to the cultural and physical exchanges that occurred between Europe, the Americas, and Africa during the early colonial exploration of the New World. For San Salvador, the Exploration Period includes the time between Columbus’ first contact in 1492 and approximately 1790, when the first British Loyalists were granted lands on the island.

¹⁶⁰ “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” *National Register Bulletin: Guidelines for Completing National Register of Historic Places Registration Forms*, National Register Publications, U.S. National Park Service, accessed February 22, 2018, https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_5.htm.

The symbolic starting day for this period is marked by Christopher Columbus' landfall on San Salvador Island, on October 12th, 1492. As discussed in Chapter Two's History section, sub-header First Contact, Columbus' first visit to San Salvador would be his last, but the series of events that began that historic day, on the western shore of San Salvador, would change the world forever. Soon after Columbus' first contact, other European mariners began to travel to the Bahamas archipelago. These explorers were seeking the precious resources of the New World, and as the most lucrative Bahamian resource proved to be the native population, most of San Salvador's Lucayan peoples were enslaved and relocated to Cuba or Hispaniola to work gold and silver mines. Any who escaped this horrific fate were likely killed by European diseases. Though the Spanish had laid first claim to the island of San Salvador, they made no known attempt to hold or occupy the island. It is suspected that the island lay totally abandoned for nearly 300 years after the Lucayans were removed.

While a few Bahamian islands were "rudely settled by small scale farmers and fishermen, and by pirates and privateers" during the two hundred or so years leading up to the late eighteenth century.¹⁶¹ These settlements were few and far between and generally situated in strategic locations close to the common shipping routes to and from the North American mainland, the highly profitable Caribbean colonies such as Cuba and Hispaniola, and Europe. The domestic architecture in these settlements was rather crude and characterized by mostly 1 story wooden houses with no chimneys, glass windows, cellars or basements.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas," 14.

¹⁶² Grace Turner, "Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in the Bahamas," *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society* 14, no. 1 (October 1992): 30.

No evidence of such settlements exist for San Salvador, a testament to the island's state as an unsettled outpost on the eastern fringe of the archipelago. Therefore, the Exploration Period, as it relates to San Salvador, is associated not only with Columbus' landfall, but with the period between first contact and the arrival of a new group of settlers, the Loyalists; those who would build the first substantial architecture on San Salvador and implant the ancestors of today's inhabitants there.

Preservation/Interpretation of the Exploration Period

San Salvador's connection to the Exploration Period is certainly strong due to the accepted fact that Columbus' first landfall in the New World occurred on her shores, but as the remainder of the Period was characterized by total abandonment, what associated resources exist there? The material record of Columbus' landfall and the subsequent emigration of San Salvador's prehistoric population exist only in archaeological evidence, historic documentation, and oral mythologies. Therefore, the preservation and interpretation of the Exploration Period on San Salvador must rely on heritage resources developed after the Period's close. These resources include tangible and intangible resources such as (1) archaeological artifacts associated with the Period, (2) commemorative objects dedicated to the Period, (3) reenactments and other interpretive activities related to the Period, and (4) local lore and myth associated with the Period. Each of these resource types requires its own set of preservation standards and includes a unique opportunity for interpretation of the Exploration Period on San Salvador.

As discussed in the Heritage Resource Management section of Chapter 2 of this document, protection of these significant resources requires particular attention to how

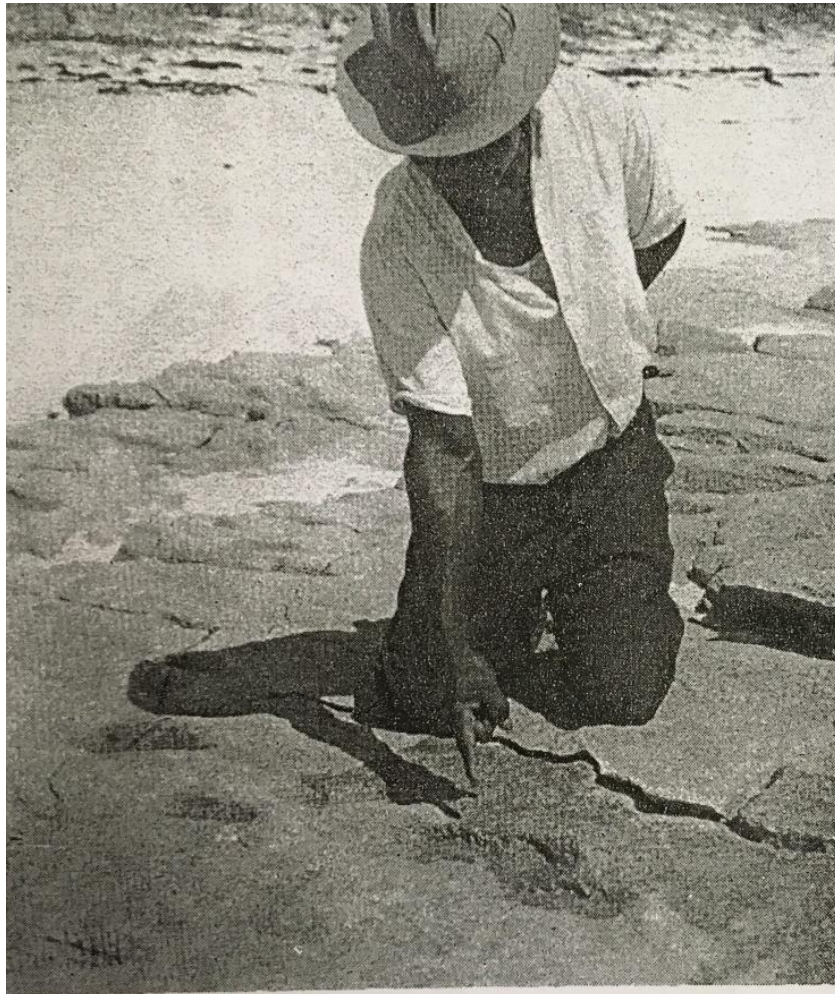
they can be interpreted, in order to reveal the breadth of San Salvador's, and The Bahamas' unique history. Collected artifacts associated with the Exploration Period include items that Columbus traded with San Salvador's native population such as Spanish "beads, buckles, European ceramic fragments, and ships' spikes, all of which were mentioned as gifts in Columbus' log."¹⁶³ While these artifacts are extremely important in terms of relating the importance of San Salvador with the Exploration Period, without interpretive efforts they remain simply objects retrieved from the sand. Other important resources include the many monuments to Columbus' landing that have been erected on the island. While these resources are directly related to the tangible and intangible resources associated with the Exploration Period, they are also associated with the area of significance entitled Commemoration, discussed thoroughly below.

Other than the obvious physical resources associated with the Exploration Period, there are local folk tales related to Columbus' landfall and rather mythical associations with the island's state of abandonment after the removal of the Lucayan population. Examples include the claim of locals that a small depression in the limestone on the northwest side of the island is "the footprint of Columbus" (Figure 3.4), and that the seventeenth century pirate John Watling had built a personal estate on San Salvador from which he conducted raids on passing ships.¹⁶⁴ While still locally known as Watling's Castle, the ruins of this suspected 'pirate estate' are in fact the remains of a Loyalist Period plantation at Sandy Point.

¹⁶³ Jane Eva Baxter and John D. Burton, "Historic Sites on San Salvador, Bahamas: A field Guide for Teachers and Students," (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Center, 2006), 27.

¹⁶⁴ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 7.

Whatever their particular story, the historic resources associated with the Exploration Period offer unique opportunities to tell the history of San Salvador and to share the breadth of The Bahamas roll in the cultural, economic, and physical changes that occurred on a local, Bahamian and global level during the Period.



Near Riding Rocks the natives point out a peculiar depression in the rock at the water's edge as "the footprint of Columbus, "believing it to be the spot where he first landed. The mark does resemble a foot, and if the legend is true, the Great Admiral wore size ten buskins and had a highly arched instep!"

Figure 3.4 The Footprint of Columbus. (Carleton Mitchell, "A Flying Trip to San Salvador," *Nassau Magazine* IV, no.2 (1939): 19.)

San Salvador's Loyalists Period

The second area of significance is San Salvador's Loyalists Period, that is the period of time from the first British land grants of San Salvador, in the 1790s, to the formal emancipation of slavery in the Bahamas, in 1834.

The 1770s saw some increase in overall Bahamian population as unrest in the British colonies in North America intensified and many individuals who remained loyal to the British Crown (Loyalists) were offered land grants in The Bahamas. The earliest grants were for land on the most established islands such as New Providence, Eluethera, Harbour Island, Long Island, Exuma and Cat Island, and expansion to the 'Out Islands' did not occur quickly.¹⁶⁵ It is likely that San Salvador's remote location had an effect on its uninhabited status even during the initial land grants to British Loyalists.

In 1783, there was a massive influx of Loyalists to The Bahamas from East Florida. Most moved first to Nassau and very slowly spread plantation style agriculture and its associated architectural and landscape forms to the archipelago's farthest reaches, south and east. The drastic immigration of white landowners and the enslaved peoples they brought with them dwarfed the existing population of The Bahamas. The newcomers "despised the old inhabitants (whom they nick-named 'Conchs') for their apparent lack of initiative,"¹⁶⁶ and they would change the face of the built environment drastically within a short period of time. Many of the travelers were rich cotton planters but there were also the middle-class, workers, servants and enslaved peoples. They carried with them their

¹⁶⁵ In 1783, British Lieutenant John Wilson reported cotton being produced for profit on said islands; James H. Stark, *Stark's History and Guide to the Bahama Islands*, (HathiTrust, 1891), 169-74, EBSCOhost.

¹⁶⁶ Turner, "Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in the Bahamas," 30.

building practices, techniques and style, as well as vernacular styles from New England, the Carolinas, Mississippi, Louisiana or Florida.¹⁶⁷

The architectural history associated with Loyalist plantations is particularly difficult to understand due to a lack of evidence and extant architecture. A vast range of wealth, status, and access to consumer goods characterized individual plantation developments, but subtle variations on building styles and techniques employed in Nassau during the early influx of Loyalists are reflected in the plantation architecture of the more remote islands.¹⁶⁸ Primarily less extravagant, architecture here tended to be of a more traditional Bahamian style. Typical dwelling types in the ‘Out Islands’ were

Usually designed and made by those who lived in them... conformed to a narrow range of invention... family-oriented units, whether isolated behind high white walls in town, clustered in villages around a harbor, or as isolated fisher-peasant homesteads. Even the ‘great houses’ of planters or merchants were seldom ostentatious, though situated on ridge land and balconied to catch the summer breezes and to look out over the fields, town, or sea.¹⁶⁹

In fact, despite any visions of grandeur that the Loyalists may have initially had about their private island estates, by 1800, many plantations had fallen to near abandonment as “the harsh realities of Bahamian weather, the topography, insects and sheer inexperience had all but taken their toll. A number of Loyalists left The Bahamas and their grants were reassigned. Ironically, those remaining adapted the survival strategies of the ‘Conchs’ whom they so despised upon arrival.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁷ Andrew Gravette, *Architectural Heritage of the Caribbean*, (New Jersey: Markus Wiener Publishers Inc., 2000), 43.

¹⁶⁸ Jane Eva Baxter, “A Comparative View of San Salvador’s Plantations,” *Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on the Natural History of the Bahamas*, San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Center, (2016).

¹⁶⁹ Craton and Saunders, *Islanders in the Stream*, 2:477.

¹⁷⁰ Turner, “Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in the Bahamas,” 31.

The first land grants of San Salvador to Europeans were issued in the 1790s, yet it wasn't until the early 1800s that large plantations began to develop.¹⁷¹ Before arrival of the Loyalists to San Salvador, the island was covered with large virgin forests of mahogany, brazilletto wood, lignum vitae and mastic. In order to begin plantation agriculture, the landscape had to be cleared and the wood was exported as an early cash crop for the new land owners. Some of the wood was used in the building of domestic buildings and work structures, but the primary building material came from the limestone bedrock. The main walls of dwellings were constructed of either stacked rubble stone stuccoed with a limestone mortar, cut limestone block with the same mortar, or a limestone paste cast in a form of tabby construction. The interior floors of larger buildings were structured with timbers of local wood and roofs were thatched with local palm. Property boundaries, areas of work activity, and agricultural and livestock fields were lined with walls of stacked stones.

In The Bahamas, the Loyalists developed their plantations much as they had in the North American colonies and they chose strategic locations for their buildings and structures. The plantations on San Salvador generally consisted of two main areas referred to as “the yard” and the “quarters.”¹⁷² The yard included the estate house, typically sited on the highest ground to capture prevailing ocean breezes and ‘oversee’ the rest of the plantation. The estate or manor houses were constructed of the best possible materials such as tabby or cut limestone in order to withstand hazardous weather and reflect the wealth of the plantation owner. The yard also encompassed the majority of the work buildings such as the kitchen, latrine, storage, and agricultural processing

¹⁷¹ Gerace, “Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas,” 14.

¹⁷² Ibid., 15.

structures. The quarters areas were reserved for enslaved peoples and were typically sited on lower ground and constructed of less permanent materials such as rubble stone, stacked and stuccoed. Additionally, rock walls delineated the fields for livestock and pathways or roads.¹⁷³

The most long-lasting plantations on San Salvador had personal docks located near the owner's land holdings in sheltered bays at the ocean's coastline and at locations along the interior lake system. These waterways were crucial to allow travel by boat to and from other plantations and settlements on San Salvador as well as the docks were important for the import and export of goods.

Upon initial clearing of the landscape, San Salvador's soil was rich and fruitful. During the first years of cultivation, the planters experienced excellent cotton yields and local production of food crops easily maintained the population of enslaved peoples. However, over cultivation and major rain and wind erosion caused by clearing the landscape had a profound impact on the available soil nutrition. During the first decades of the nineteenth century, crop yields were further impacted by drought and insect invasion and many plantation owners on San Salvador opted to abandon their holdings for business in other colonies or in Nassau. Those who stayed on San Salvador tried to diversify their enterprises with livestock and citrus fruits such as tomatoes and pineapples, but any efforts to maintain their plantations were further thwarted in the 1830s with the emancipation of slavery in The Bahamas.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷³ Charles Farquharson, *A Relic of Slavery: Farquharson's Journal for 1831-1832*, (Nassau, Bahamas: Deans Peggs Research Fund, 1957), 1-2, 13-14, 38.; Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas," 20.; Turner, "Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in the Bahamas," 31.

¹⁷⁴ Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas," 15.

With San Salvador's white plantation elite mostly gone, many of the formerly enslaved peoples were left as overseers or tenant farmers on the same lands they worked before emancipation. Some continued to live in the homes they had built in the "quarters" areas of the plantations while others chose to relocate to new settlements on the island.¹⁷⁵ The early post-emancipation period on San Salvador saw drastic changes to the social environment on the island, but even today, the legacy of the Loyalist Period remains etched on the natural and cultural environment there.

Preservation/Interpretation of the San Salvador's Loyalist Period

Basically all of the buildings and structures associated with the plantation period lie in ruin deep in San Salvador's thick bush vegetation. While some associated buildings and work structures were used into the twentieth century, basically all of the architecture of the period has been neglected by the local population. Some plantation sites lie in complete rubble while others remain relatively intact. While almost all wooden features have rotted away, much of the structural tabby and cut limestone components remain standing. The degree to which the buildings and structures have withstood time depends on the materials from which they were constructed. Many of the less permanent buildings, such as those in the quarters areas of the plantations have fallen to rubble, while considerable portions of the estate houses and kitchen buildings remain standing. In almost all cases, stacked stone walls associated with the plantations remain as reminders of the period's major impact on the natural and cultural environment of San Salvador.

¹⁷⁵ John Burton, "A Terra Incognita: Life on Post-Emancipation San Salvador," *The Journal of The Bahamas Historical Society* 28 (October 2006): 6.

Despite their ruinous condition, the remains of these plantations serve as important physical reminders of the history of San Salvador, The Bahamas, and the colonial experience. It has been argued that some would rather see the physical reminders of a dark past left to ruin, these sites offer locals and visitors alike the opportunity to learn about the unique heritage of San Salvador and The Bahamas. San Salvador Island offers a particularly interesting opportunity for the preservation of these resources as *Bahamian heritage sites* due to the island's reputation as the place of first European landfall in the New World. Furthermore, two very important Loyalist plantations have been identified on San Salvador. One is the plantation of Charles Farquharson, a prominent San Salvador Loyalist originally from South Carolina. His prominence is remarkable due to his relatively lengthy occupation on San Salvador as well as the discovery of his journal from 1831-1832, which remains the only known written record of daily Bahamian plantation life in the early nineteenth century. Another important plantation site on San Salvador is Fortune Hill Plantation, which has been characterized as having the "largest and grandest plantation ruins" on San Salvador and perhaps the 'Out Islands.'¹⁷⁶

Technology and Transportation

The third area of significance relates to the evolution of Technology and Transportation on San Salvador. Just as the Loyalists built their plantations in the manner and style of their time, utilizing the best technologies available to them, the evolution of the built environment on San Salvador has remained closely tied to technological advancements. Advancements in transportation have been particularly

¹⁷⁶ Turner, "Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in the Bahamas," 37.

influential for San Salvador perhaps due to its remote location. The themes of technology and transportation begin with the sea and the interior lake system on San Salvador and can be traced through the development of infrastructure that enabled vehicle and air travel as well as the electrical grid and communications technologies.

Plantation agriculture on San Salvador relied entirely on maritime transportation for the export of goods as well as the import of necessities that could not be produced on the island. Since the earliest settlement of San Salvador, physical links to export markets and any personal travel relied on slow and dangerous voyages by sailboat. This form of transportation remained the only viable option for connection between San Salvador, other Out Islands and Nassau well into the Post-Emancipation Period. Even into the twentieth century, inadequacies in boat service effected the profitability of agricultural production on San Salvador.¹⁷⁷

With early Loyalist's land holdings on San Salvador spread rather far apart, communication and trade between established plantations was rather difficult. In many cases, the fastest route to and from neighboring plantations was by small sailboat on the interior lakes or along the ocean shoreline rather than by foot. This reliance on maritime travel meant that established plantations built and maintained their own personal docks. After emancipation, however, San Salvador experienced a significant internal migration within the island. The island's first settlement not associated directly with a specific plantation was Cockburn Town (pronounced Co burn Town), laid out on the island's northwestern coastline in the late 1830s. By 1840, up to one-third of the population of San Salvador had relocated from the plantations, primarily on the southeastern side of the

¹⁷⁷ Burton, "A Terra Incognita," 6, 10-11.

island, to Cockburn Town in the northwest. The migration was a direct response to opportunities to break free of the plantation slavery system as Cockburn Town residents could purchase their own house lots and work Crown lands there in common, without tenant agreements with white landowners. Moreover, the newly freed peoples had access to a government dock in Cockburn Town which allowed greater access to external markets. Cockburn Town became the first community port for San Salvador Island.¹⁷⁸ During the 1840s and 50s, the number of people farming the former plantation lands decreased drastically and many of the estates fell into disrepair. The associated docks were also neglected as almost all of the island's commerce was conducted at the government dock in Cockburn Town.

The overall frequency of shipping in The Bahamas increased dramatically in the 1800s due to advancements in maritime technology. While San Salvador remained rather removed from the influences of these forces in comparison with New Providence, the island certainly saw increased opportunities for wreck salvaging during the mid-nineteenth century. The *New York Times* ran many stories about wrecks on San Salvador in the 1850s, 60s and 70s.¹⁷⁹ In response to the increased frequency of shipwrecks during the early 1800s in The Bahamas, the British Crown created the Imperial Light Service (ILS) to erect a series of lighthouses and navigational beacons in the archipelago (Figure 3.5). It wasn't until 1887 however that San Salvador's ILS lighthouse was completed on Dixon Hill, on the island's east side. The Dixon Hill lighthouse was the last ILS

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁷⁹ *New York Times* (New York, New York), January 9, 1854; August 9, 1866; September 7, 1872; July 25, 1874.

lighthouse constructed in The Bahamas and it is one of only 11 ILS lighthouses that remain standing in The Bahamas.¹⁸⁰

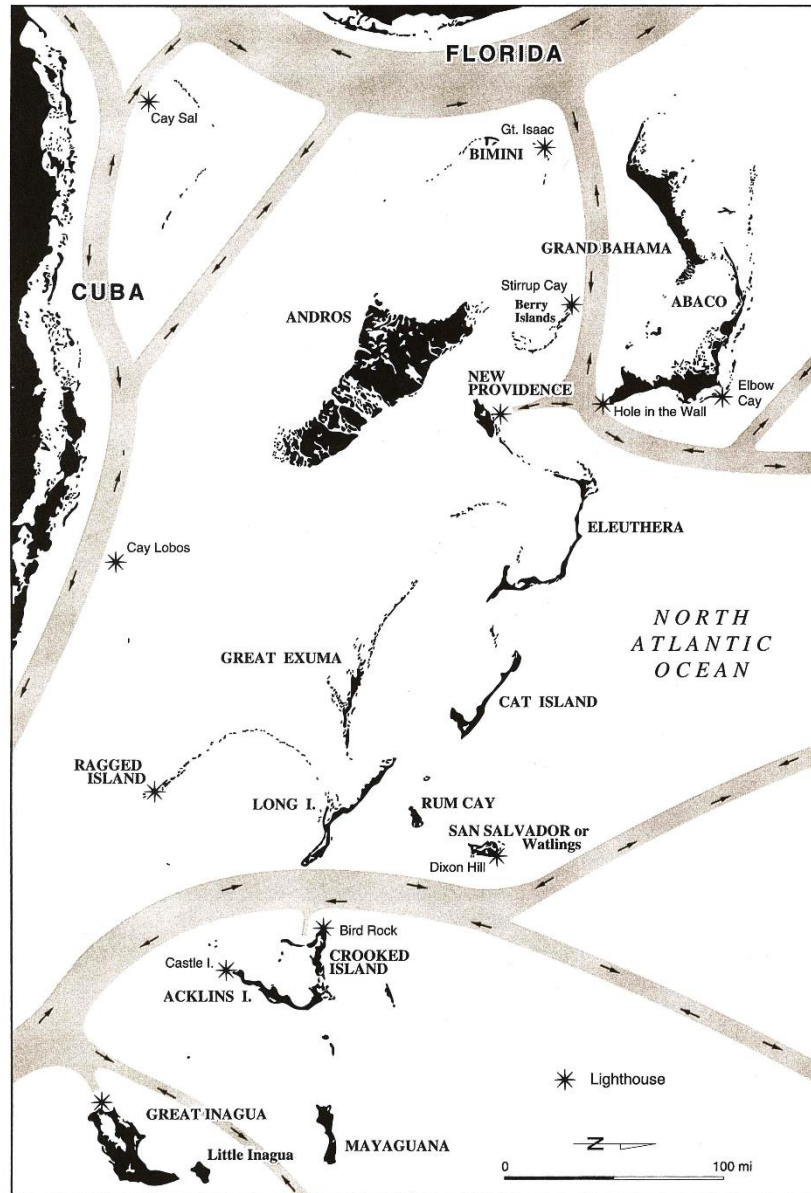


Figure 3.5 Nineteenth Century Steamer Routes – The Bahamas. (Craton and Saunders, *Islands in the Stream* 2nd vol., xii.)

¹⁸⁰ “Historic Lighthouses of The Bahamas,” <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6070/>.

San Salvador's residents lived a rather slow-paced lifestyle of subsistence throughout the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, but the end of World War II ushered in a new era of development for the island. Beginning in the 1950s, the United States military began a campaign to develop a series of bases on San Salvador, taking advantage of a land-lease agreement with Britain established during World War II. The initial phase of development involved the construction of a naval base near the northeast corner of the island. The facility was sited near the shoreline and included a complex of buildings, an air strip, and expansion of a former British mail boat dock in Graham's Harbour. The base was established as part of a network of stations used by the U.S. Navy to track the movements of submarines in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Soon after the completion of the naval base, the U.S. Air Force began installation of a missile tracking facility occupying a four-square-mile area just north of Cockburn Town.¹⁸¹ Finally, in 1958, a U.S. Coast Guard Loran Station was completed at Rice Bay, just east of the naval base.¹⁸²

The development of these U.S. military facilities meant major change for San Salvador. The construction of the bases required labor, offering employment opportunities for the local people, and the arrival of a significantly large number of outsiders meant increased frequency of shipping of goods to and from the island. Furthermore, in an effort to increase efficiency of communication and physical connection between the new facilities, the U.S. military enhanced the existing road system from Cockburn Town to the Loran Station. The local economic boom that

¹⁸¹ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 30-31.

¹⁸² "Loran Station San Salvador," *Loran-history.info*, accessed February 27, 2018, http://www.loran-history.info/san_salvador/san_salvador.htm.

stemmed from these developments was short lived and by the late-1960s, new advancements in military technology had rendered the sites obsolete. As the U.S. military abandoned their bases, much of the infrastructure associated with their presence on San Salvador was inherited by the local people and government. For example, diesel generators that had supplied power to the facilities were inherited by the Bahamas Electric Corporation who then extended power to Cockburn Town from the navy base.¹⁸³

In December of 1970 the naval base and the Air Force facilities were given to the island officially. The facilities themselves are interesting case studies for the field of historic preservation as they were adapted and reused rather than neglected or raised. The naval base at Graham's Harbour now houses the Gerace Research Centre which serves as a Bahamian field school run through the College of The Bahamas. The associated dock has since fallen into disrepair, but it serves as a fishing pier today. The former loading area associated with this dock is now a community park with a group of colorful wooden buildings, a bath house, stages and open pavilions. Residents of the nearby United Estates settlement regularly host community cook outs and events at the dock/park.

Many of the buildings associated with the Air Force missile-tracking facility still stand to the north of Cockburn Town and have been integrated into the French Club Med Columbus Isle Resort, which opened in 1992. The Coast Guard Loran Station remained in use until 1981 when it was converted into San Salvador's Secondary School facility. In early October of 2015, category 5 Hurricane Joaquin ravaged the east coast of San Salvador resulting in considerable damage to the Secondary School. The school complex has remained in poor shape since Joaquin and in 2017, The Bahamas Government broke

¹⁸³ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 30-31.

ground for a new Secondary School site to the west of the Gerace Research Center. The fate of the Loran Station site is unknown as no future use for the buildings has been identified.

During the 1970s, The Bahamas became an independent nation and joined the United Nations. The embrace of internationalism that characterized the period was followed by an embrace of foreign investment throughout The Bahamas. Even remote San Salvador was considered by speculators and plans for an ambitious resort community were developed. The development was called Columbus Landings Resort and was to include homes, condominiums, hotels, and a world class golf course. The initial plans involved creating an intricate system of interior canals, new roads, a large airstrip and major infrastructure to support the development. Highly speculative, the developers removed dense vegetation and sections of bedrock to create a network of roads and subdivisions on the south end of the island. The development ultimately failed due to a lack of funds and issues in securing adequate fresh water sources, but not before miles of roads were paved and power lines installed. Despite its massive failure, the attempted development meant upgrades on San Salvador's technological and physical infrastructure, in the form of extension of the road system and electrical grid to the island's southwestern region.¹⁸⁴

San Salvador saw further advancement with the development of the Club Med Columbus Isle Resort in 1991 and 1992. In anticipation of the increased power needs for the resort, San Salvador upgraded their electrical power generators in Cockburn Town. As a result, they were able to extend electricity to the United Estates community on the

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 62.

east side of the island for the first time.¹⁸⁵ Also, thanks to the Club Med development, San Salvador's airport was updated and the runway extended to accommodate the large passenger jets that were to fly direct from Paris, New York and Miami.

While most tourists that visit San Salvador's Club Med tend to stay within its all-inclusive compound, there has been an unmistakable stimulation of the local economy since the resort's opening. A new medical facility was established during the 1990s which is still available to visitors and locals alike. The increasing tourism economy has driven at least some increase in local island population as more jobs have become available and more San Salvador natives are able to stay and work rather than leave for Nassau or the U.S.

Preservation/Interpretation related to Technology and Transportation

While major technological advancements have enabled San Salvador to upgrade its infrastructure over time, they also threaten the historic resources that give the island such a wonderful character. A 2017 article in *The Nassau Guardian* highlights San Salvador's potential for development of "New small, boutique hotels [that] could attract new and returning visitors while also creating demand for new restaurants and excursions."¹⁸⁶ San Salvador is offered a unique opportunity in this regard as it is one of the few Family Islands that has an established international airport. If The Bahamas and San Salvador decide to embrace a new form of tourism that breaks the 'all-inclusive'

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 61.

¹⁸⁶ Roderick A. Simms II, "Island Insights: San Salvador," *Nassau Guardian*, Nassau, Bahamas, July 17, 2017, <https://thenassauguardian.com/2017/07/17/island-insights-san-salvador/>.

mold, it is likely that historic and cultural resources will be threatened by development and further neglect.

Commemoration

The third area of significance is Commemoration which begins on San Salvador at least as early as the late nineteenth century when the Chicago World's Fair commemorated the 400 year anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival to the New World. In 1891, *The Chicago Herald* commissioned a monument to be built on the east side of San Salvador Island, laying claim to the island as the location of first landfall. The team that erected the monument sailed up and down the eastern coast of the island and made an educated guess as to where Columbus might have made first landfall. They chose a high point slightly inland from the shoreline and built the monument out of local stone from the site. They placed a time capsule with newspapers of the day at its base. Ironically, the eastern edge of San Salvador is extremely treacherous and it is highly unlikely Columbus would have attempted a landing there.

For centuries, scholars of Columbus' travels have debated the true location of first landfall in the New World. As a result of these debates, there are monuments to the event on several islands in The Bahamas. San Salvador itself has three such monuments. While a rather hot topic for debate during the nineteenth and twentieth century, the most recent consensus on the topic is that San Salvador's Long Bay, an especially calm anchorage on the west side of the island, is the most likely location for the 1492 landing.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ Neil Sealey, "The Columbus Landfall Debate in The Bahamas 1982-1992," *The Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society* 14, no. 1 (October 1992): 26.

Long Bay has an extensive history related to commemoration. A monument lies on the ocean floor in Long Bay marking the “exact spot where Columbus dropped anchor on October 12th, 1492.”¹⁸⁸ In 1956, Columbus historian Ruth D. Wolper and the people of San Salvador erected a nine-foot tall, simple white cross commemorating the first landfall on the beach at Long Bay. Located just south of the cross is the Mexico Monument which commemorates the 1968 Olympic Games. The monument consists of a series of circular concrete slabs and a spiral sculpture of rusticated concrete. Atop the monument is a three-foot bronzed-steel torch that held the Olympic flame brought from Greece on its way to Mexico City in 1968. Today, the site is a community park named Monument Park and the beach at Long Bay is known as Columbus Landing Beach. Columbus Landing settlement is located just to the east of the park.

One hundred years after the Chicago Herald Monument was erected, The Bahamas embarked on a year-long celebration in commemoration of the Quincentennial anniversary of Columbus’ landfall. The Bahamas saw the anniversary as an opportunity to promote international tourism and boost the economy. Ironically, most of the events and festivities associated with the anniversary were held in Nassau and not on San Salvador. San Salvador was not totally left out of the celebrations however, and new interest was focused on the island as the “Island of Discovery.”

The years leading up to the Quincentennial saw a significant increase in development of commemorative sites and activities as well as new commemorative monument installations related to Columbus’ landing. Preservation of these sites and

¹⁸⁸ “Columbus Monument,” “Things To Do, San Salvador,” *The Islands of The Bahamas*, Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, accessed March 1, 2018, <https://www.bahamas.com/vendor/columbus-monument>.

objects has been of a mixed nature with some being maintained and others completely neglected. In February of 1990, thanks to efforts by the local Kiwanis body and other groups, the first museum in San Salvador opened. The San Salvador Museum occupied the old courthouse and prison building in Cockburn Town which is perhaps one of the oldest buildings on the island. The San Salvador Museum housed Lucayan and Loyalist artifacts found on San Salvador as well as interpretive panels about Bahamian history and Columbus' impact on the New World.¹⁸⁹ The Old Jail building has since fallen into major disrepair and it was recently condemned by its managing body, The Bahamas Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation (AMMC). All of the interpretive display panels and artifacts are currently housed at the Gerace Research Center on San Salvador.

In 1991, Italy honored the memory of Columbus' landing at San Salvador by commissioning the design of a tile mosaic that is affixed to the northwest corner of the Old Jail in Cockburn Town. The mosaic was in good condition as of November 2017, but the fate of the Old Jail remains unknown. In August of 1991, the Director General of the UNESCO declared San Salvador a Monument of the Quincentennial and a monument was erected in the center of Cockburn Town honoring the island. In the following year, the opening statements of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development honored San Salvador Island with a *Declaration* as the geographical starting point of the new American epoch.¹⁹⁰ Also in 1992, a series of flagstaffs were erected along the Queen's Highway that flew the flags of each country in the New World.

¹⁸⁹ "Places of Special Interest," *Family Island Express New Magazine*, March/April, 1991, 13.

¹⁹⁰ Kim Outten, "Quincentennial Notes," *Journal of the Bahamas Historical Society*, 14, no. 1 (October 1992): 51.

Several events took place at Long Bay during the official Quincentennial year including the arrival of the *Nao Santa Maria*, a Japanese replica of Columbus' flagship (the Santa Maria). In 1992, the vessel was sailed from Barcelona, Spain to San Salvador, tracing Columbus' 1492 route to the New World. A monument in the International Style was erected to the event on Columbus Landing Beach.¹⁹¹ This monument remained in fair condition at the time of this case study. In October of 1991, The Bahamas Chamber of Commerce promoted a "Quincentennial Discovery Fly-out" in which participants flew to San Salvador from Nassau to collect sand from the landfall beach. The sand was placed into the Urn of Guanahani (the Lucayan name for San Salvador Island) and in 1992 it was transported by the Flying Caravel *Santa Maria* to the Dominican Republic. The urn is made of native Bahamian *lignum vitae* wood.¹⁹² The Dominicans placed the urn in the Columbus Lighthouse Museum as part of a series of commemorative exhibitions, supplementing the museum's main attraction, the supposed tomb of Christopher Columbus.

In March of 1992, work started on a replica Lucayan village near Long Bay, and it served as an interpretive site during the Quincentennial. The village was also used as a backdrop for cinematic re-creations of Columbus' landing on San Salvador.¹⁹³ The village was developed as part of an attempt by the Bahamian Government to promote the entire island of San Salvador as a "living museum" during the Quincentennial. The aim was to promote the unique significance of the island in world history and was to include "Several stops and exhibits developed at points around the island to encourage visitors to

¹⁹¹ Ibid., 52.

¹⁹² Larry Smith, "Urn of Guanahani," *The Diario of the Discovery Fly-out: In Search of Columbus* (October 1992): 8.

¹⁹³ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footprint*, 33.

traverse San Salvador and enjoy a unique historical experience.”¹⁹⁴ No trace of the village nor any formal documentation of preservation of any of the ‘living history’ sites exist today.

Commemoration on San Salvador has not been *entirely* focused on Columbus. One site commemorates a locally significant spiritual, government and community leader, Reverend Father Chrysostom Schreiner. Reverend Schreiner died on January 3rd, 1928 and per his wishes, he was buried atop a hill overlooking Graham’s Harbour. The site that the citizens of San Salvador chose for his burial site is also the burial place of prominent Loyalist and plantation owner Burton Williams and his wife. Upon burial of Reverend Schreiner, stones were removed from Williams’ grave and used in the construction of the Reverend’s tomb. William’s remains were then reinterred into a crypt, constructed of concrete, a few feet from the original grave location. There is currently no textual representation for Williams’ grave, but the Reverend’s concrete and stone tomb is situated adjacent to the tomb of Mrs. Williams. As of November 2017, the plaque that was originally situated atop the Reverend’s tomb has been broken and lies on the limestone bedrock nearby.

Reverend Schreiner’s grave is atypical for gravesites on San Salvador. There are a few similar gravesites scattered about the island and at least three churches have their own cemeteries, but the vast majority of people are buried in one of 5 official island cemeteries. These cemeteries are managed by the island’s government and they have been in constant use since the mid-nineteenth century. As each settlement on San Salvador developed, they developed their own cemetery. All of the official cemeteries

¹⁹⁴ “San Salvador to become ‘living museum’, says DPM,” *Nassau Guardian*, (Nassau, Bahamas), April 4, 1991, courtesy of the Nassau Public Library, November 2017.

include containment walls and the graves are oriented east/west, but individual grave markers vary greatly in frequency and type, from tree plantings to elaborate commemorative monuments of tabby. “These deliberate choices in grave markers reflect social, cosmological, and at times functional aspects of funerary rituals and community life in the mid-19th and early 20th century when these new settlements were becoming established on the island.”¹⁹⁵

Preservation/Interpretation of Commemorative Objects and Sites

The siting of these cemeteries is rather interesting in terms of preservation. All but one of the official cemeteries on San Salvador are situated atop the very first dune directly adjacent to the beach. Their proximity to the ocean means they are regularly hit directly by major storm surge and hazardous weather. Often, the walls and many graves are destroyed by storms. As they are active burial sites, they are maintained by mechanical means when necessary. After any destruction of a cemetery or displacement of the dune upon which a site sits, locals come in with back-hoes and large machinery to move sand back into place. They also reconstruct any damage to the perimeter walls.

The perimeter walls of the cemeteries were originally constructed of rubble stone, stuccoed with a locally produced limestone mortar. Over the years, the coastal cemeteries have required major maintenance and almost none of the original wall material remains. The exception to this is the cemetery at United Estates which is the only official cemetery not immediately adjacent to the ocean. Here, the threat of storm

¹⁹⁵ Jane Eva Baxter and Michael Steven Marshall, "Cemeteries, Histories, and Communities on a Bahamian Family Island: Historical Archaeology and Cemeteries on San Salvador," *Journal of The Bahamas Historical Society* 31 (October 2009): 21.; Burton, "A Terra Incognita," 3-18.

surge does not exist, and much of the original construction of the walls and grave markers remains extant. In November of 2017, work began on replacement of the walls at the United Estates cemetery as part of a community revitalization effort. The rebuilding process involves removal of the original rubble stone and replacement with imported concrete block. Before the renovation began, the United Estates cemetery was the most in-tact representation of a San Salvador cemetery with all original wall construction and material in place.¹⁹⁶

Community and Culture

The final area of significance used for analysis of San Salvador's historic and cultural resources is Community and Culture. The community and culture of San Salvador is closely tied to an almost constant ebb and flow of economic fortune associated with foreign investment on the island. The Loyalist Period saw major emigration of people to San Salvador, but as quick as plantation agriculture developed it failed and the island's new population, of formerly enslaved blacks, were left to subsist on the land and sea. After emancipation in 1834, the island remained in a quiet state of economic stagnation until the 1950s when a major boost in the economy occurred. This economic upturn centered around the U.S. military developments, which meant a major immigration of outsiders to San Salvador. The newcomers were mostly American military personnel, but a significant number of Bahamian outsiders came to San Salvador as demand for construction laborers increased. While the U.S. military occupation on San

¹⁹⁶ Jane Eva Baxter has recently begun an effort to document and analysis San Salvador's cemeteries through the lens of historical archaeology. Her first publication on the subject is cited above, but her work continues in conjunction with the Gerace Research Center, San Salvador, Bahamas and DePaul University, Chicago, IL, as of 2018.

Salvador was rather short-lived, officially only about 15-20 years, the effects of the integration of outside cultures into San Salvador's community were significant. The physical representation of the narrative of this cultural meshing remains extant in San Salvador's cultural resources today.

During the mid-twentieth century many foreigners called San Salvador home and the associated boost in imports and local cash flow allowed local investors the opportunity to develop their own enterprises. One such business was the Riding Rock Club which provided accommodations such as hotel rooms, meals and a nightclub atmosphere. During the U.S. military occupation, the Riding Rock's rooms were often filled with visiting military personnel dependents.¹⁹⁷ During this boom period, gift shops and grocery stores opened up in the island's largest settlements and near the airport. These businesses supported visitors and locals alike.

Expectations for continued growth remained in the island's consciousness even as the U.S. military closed their facilities in the 1960s. By the early 1970s, development of the massive Columbus Landings project on the southwest side of the island had begun. The project began by extending the Queen's Highway and the island's electrical grid system to support the intended resort complex. These efforts offered a short lived continuation of the economic boost that had characterized the U.S. military days on San Salvador, but the success of the development was fleeting, and only a limited number of vacation homes were ever built. A few of the homes have become year-round residences for ex-patriot Americans or British citizens.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁷ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 31.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

Today, the Columbus Landings area is likened to a ghost town of sorts. The complex, gridded system of roads that were intended to support hundreds of homes, a hotel, casino, and golf course have become overgrown and support only a few vacation homes. The area does however offer private individuals a good opportunity to own a small piece of San Salvador paradise thanks to the area's availability of electricity, telephone, internet, water service and the promise of clear title of the land. Ironically, while these amenities were originally developed to support foreign investment, a number of locals are taking advantage of the infrastructure and availability of clear title and are building new homes in the northern portion of the development.

Following the failure of the Columbus Landings Development and the closure of the U.S. military bases, San Salvador's economy sunk back into a rather sleepy backwater state. With no major cash flow from foreign sources, the 1980s were a rather quiet time on the island. The Riding Rock Inn (formerly the Riding Rock Club) had been purchased by the Columbus Landings developers during the 1970s and it was closed briefly from 1983-85. The Riding Rock was purchased in the late 1980s by a local family and reopened as the Riding Rock Resort and Marina.¹⁹⁹ Today, the resort caters to a small number of tourists interested in diving on San Salvador's extensive reef wall system. The Riding Rock offers all-inclusive packages with three dives per day and all meals included. The marina portion of the resort caters to a few private yachts and visiting sport fisherman each year.

Beginning in the 1990s, a rather short-lived economic upturn occurred for San Salvador with the speculative development of the Club Med Columbus Isle Resort. Once

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 62, 33.

again, the local labor force was not large enough to support the development and a number of outsiders, mostly Bahamian, came to fill the shortage. This period of economic boom was even shorter lived than the previous one, and after the build out of the resort the majority of imported workers left the island for other employment opportunities. The Club Med Resort has not, however, left the people of San Salvador back in a state of economic depression. The falloff in construction wages that occurred after the build out of the resort was supplemented by jobs at the resort.²⁰⁰ The Club Med has been a major success since its opening and it remains the largest employer of locals on the island. The resort brings in hundreds of French, Canadian and American visitors each week and there are regular international flights direct from Paris and Fort Lauderdale, Florida each week.

Today, thanks in great part to Club Med's employment opportunities, living conditions on San Salvador rival those of the major economic centers of The Bahamas such as Nassau and Freeport. A collective local mindset focused on easy living paired with the availability of consistent wages have allowed the people of San Salvador to have a unique cultural history even in relation to their Bahamian brethren. Subsequent waves of cultural infiltration, ebbs and flows in economic prosperity, and the relatively remote location of San Salvador have produced a close-knit local community with an inherently strong sense of place. They are a welcoming people who treat visitors and locals alike with respect and kindness. Family ties are strong on San Salvador and everyone is greeted with a smile.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 35.

San Salvador's strong sense of community is evidenced in the way in which they gather and socialize with one another. Cultural geographer and San Salvador expert, Ronald Shaklee has identified three general focal points of interactions on the island:

Lacking the movie theaters, bowling alleys, golf courses and other means of diversion available in other societies, the local 'Clubs' become one of the primary focal points of interaction. These clubs host weekly gatherings and dances. They also host both casual and formal domino competitions, a game Bahamians approach with fierce competitiveness. Churches serve as a second meeting ground with organized activities for adults and youth. The final source of interaction simply transpires wherever they happen to be at the moment.²⁰¹

Any visitor to San Salvador will quickly see the importance of these three community focal points. Just across the street from the airport, in fact, is a local hang out and outdoor bar called Sandy's. At all times of day and night one can join the locals here for an ice cold Kalik beer, a game of dominoes and a conversation about the next big community event.

Community events are a regular occurrence on the island and each settlement has their own favorite place to hold them. Sometimes these events are parties or fish-frys coinciding with holidays, but at other times they are simply impromptu celebrations with seemingly no formal incentive. The larger events involve setting up huge speakers and hiring a band or DJ from Nassau. One such event has traditionally been held each spring and fall and is known as the San Salvador Homecoming festival. The Homecoming is an opportunity for anyone with family ties to San Salvador to come 'home' and celebrate San Salvador from anywhere in the world. Interestingly, as of 2017, The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism has begun to promote this festival as "Discovery Day Homecoming" and has seemingly warped the festival to promote heritage tourism. The tourism website

²⁰¹ Ibid., 54.

for San Salvador promoted the 2017 festival as “[commemorating] the first landfall of the great navigator Christopher Columbus...”²⁰²

The larger community events are often held in community parks that are managed by the local government. One such site is Graham’s Harbour Park. The site has a colorful group of vendor stands, a large bathhouse, a stage, playground area, outdoor bar and dance floor. The site also utilizes the old commercial doc at Grahams Harbour. This site was ravaged by strong winds during Hurricane Joaquin in 2015. The site has since been rebuilt and continues to be the go-to spot for many large community events. The park’s buildings were rebuilt in a rather temporary structural format and of wood instead of concrete block. The site remains highly vulnerable to hazardous weather. Perhaps the locals chose not to build in a more permanent manner because their culture is simply not worried about the facilities in which they host community events. As Shaklee highlighted, San Salvador’s culture is not heavily tied to physical buildings, structures, objects, or sites. They are content to enjoy the company of their neighbors under the shade of a tree or on any of the island’s pristine beaches.

The cultural makeup of San Salvador’s citizenry reflects the mixed heritage of The Bahamas. The remnants of British culture certainly remain as evidenced by the continued celebration of popular British holidays such as Whit Monday and Boxing Day. Furthermore, the bulk of the population of San Salvador, and The Bahamas, is of primarily African descent, a reminder of their plantation heritage. As part of their African heritage, Bahamians have two annual Junkanoo celebrations, one on Boxing Day and a repeat of the festivities on New Year’s Day each year. San Salvador’s Junkanoo parade

²⁰² “Discovery Day Homecoming Festival,” “Things To Do, San Salvador,” *The Islands of The Bahamas*, October 2017, <https://www.bahamas.com/event/discovery-day-homecoming-festival>.

begins in Cockburn Town and is followed by marchers loading up into any available transportation to continue the celebration throughout the island's other settlements.²⁰³

Preservation/Interpretation of Community and Cultural Resources

The influence of foreign investment and the U.S. military occupation on San Salvador has had a lasting effect on the island's overall cultural values. Evidence of these factors relate to new developments of the island's infrastructure as well as housing styles and construction techniques. While stone, tabby and thatch once made up all of the buildings on the island, today, almost no building or structure is made of anything but concrete block with decked roofs of plywood and asphalt shingles. Domestic and commercial building styles have changed dramatically over time, but many still incorporate truly Bahamian architectural features. These features include porches and verandahs with wooden screens for ventilation and shade, and exterior color schemes of pastels; the lighter colors are supposedly beneficial for reflecting the sun's radiation and help keep interiors cooler. Recently, more people have added electric air conditioning systems to their homes and businesses, affording a mosquito and sand fly-free environment. Along with such technological advancement, the common local custom of lounging and socializing in the shade of the nearby almond tree has been somewhat lost.

Despite the powerful influence of the outside world, the state of San Salvador's culture and society is remarkably resilient. It is their ability to maintain their core cultural values, while embracing modern influences, that has afforded such a rich cultural heritage on San Salvador. The physical representation of the narrative of this cultural meshing

²⁰³ Shaklee, *In Columbus' Footsteps*, 63.

remains extant in San Salvador's cultural resources today. Preservation of such heritage resources offers the citizenry of San Salvador an opportunity to better understand their cultural history.

EARLY CASE STUDY FINDINGS

Chapter 3 introduced the case study methods for this thesis. San Salvador was revealed as the case study island, and its physical and historical context was presented. The development of the case study of San Salvador revealed that a framework for identifying, evaluating and managing heritage resources does not exist. It was also discovered that the process of identifying potential heritage resources in The Bahamas is rather difficult due to inadequacies of The Bahamas' National Register of Historic Resources—including a lack of previously identified resources and logistical issues related to accessing the site files for listed resources. With no guiding literature for surveying or categorizing identified resources, a framework for achieving a cohesive site file was required.

The broad scaled survey of San Salvador revealed that there were a wealth of heritage resources not listed on the National Register. Furthermore, there was a lack of formally defined historic/cultural areas of significance, within Bahamian developmental history, through which evaluation of significance and integrity of identified heritage resources can be achieved.

Chapter 3 sets up a framework for discussion and evaluation of historic significance of three specific sites chosen to be analyzed in more depth, as presented in Chapter 4. The analysis is based on evaluation of each site's significance in terms of the

five previously defined areas of significance. While the defined areas of significance relate specifically to San Salvador, they also related to the broader history of Bahamian Family Island development and Bahamian history in general.

The case study of San Salvador therefore, affords the author the ability to present findings that relate to how and why Bahamians should preserve their heritage resources throughout the nation. It is through this framework that preservation of Bahamian heritage resources can be revealed as important for two specific purposes—for educating the Bahamian citizenry of their own history and significance, and for developing historic resources that can be promoted as authentic in a ‘heritage tourism’ model.

CHAPTER 4

THREE HISTORIC RESOURCE SITES OF SAN SALVADOR

This chapter is an in-depth analysis of the significance and integrity of three specific historic resource sites identified during the survey of San Salvador. Each of the three sites are listed on The Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources (NRHR or National Register hereafter), but the Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation's (AMMC) site files for each does not include sufficient documentation of their historical/cultural context, significance or integrity.

Analysis is presented in the form of individual proposals for listing these resources on the National Register as potential historic/cultural sites or districts, hence using the defined areas of significance from the previous chapter, each site's historic context and association are revealed. Two of the historic resources analyzed contain multiple buildings, structures, objects, and sites, that are best considered as a unified entity, therefore are proposed as potential historic districts. The third resource also contains multiple resource types but is proposed as a historic site because it possesses associative significance with a specific event and commemoration thereof.

Each proposal addresses the information required to complete the section entitled "Step 4: About the Property/Resource" of The Bahamas' Individual Property Form (Appendix A), hence each proposal includes:

- (1) A narrative description of the developmental history of the district/site;

- (2) reference to the resource types and number of contributing and non-contributing resources within the district/site;
- (3) description of boundaries (including context and site maps)
- (4) description of the architectural style and materials of construction employed;
- (5) documentation of existing conditions;
- (6) statement of the district/site's historic significance within identified historic contexts; and
- (7) notes on the integrity of the district/site's location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association with the stated significance.

In order to discuss the historic significance, context and integrity of the resources, the section entitled "A. What Qualifies as a Resources for Listing?" of the Individual Property Form was referenced. As this section includes only a limited amount of guidance for considering historic significance, and The Bahamas' process for listing historic resources was adapted from the U.S. National Park Service system of evaluation, supplemental guidance was taken from National Register Bulletin 15, "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation."²⁰⁴

The three resources chosen for analysis and proposal for listing are associated with multiple historic contexts and areas of significance in Bahamian history. While each resource discussed retains sufficient integrity to represent the associated areas of significance, each is susceptible to a unique set of threatening circumstances. The final section of each proposal includes potential issues and challenges for the preservation of each resource. Comment is also made regarding how preservation and interpretation at

²⁰⁴ "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation," <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/>.

each site might help Bahamians and visitors alike understand the breadth of Bahamian history.

The findings developed through the in-depth analysis and proposal of the three historic sites/districts are revealed in Chapter 5.

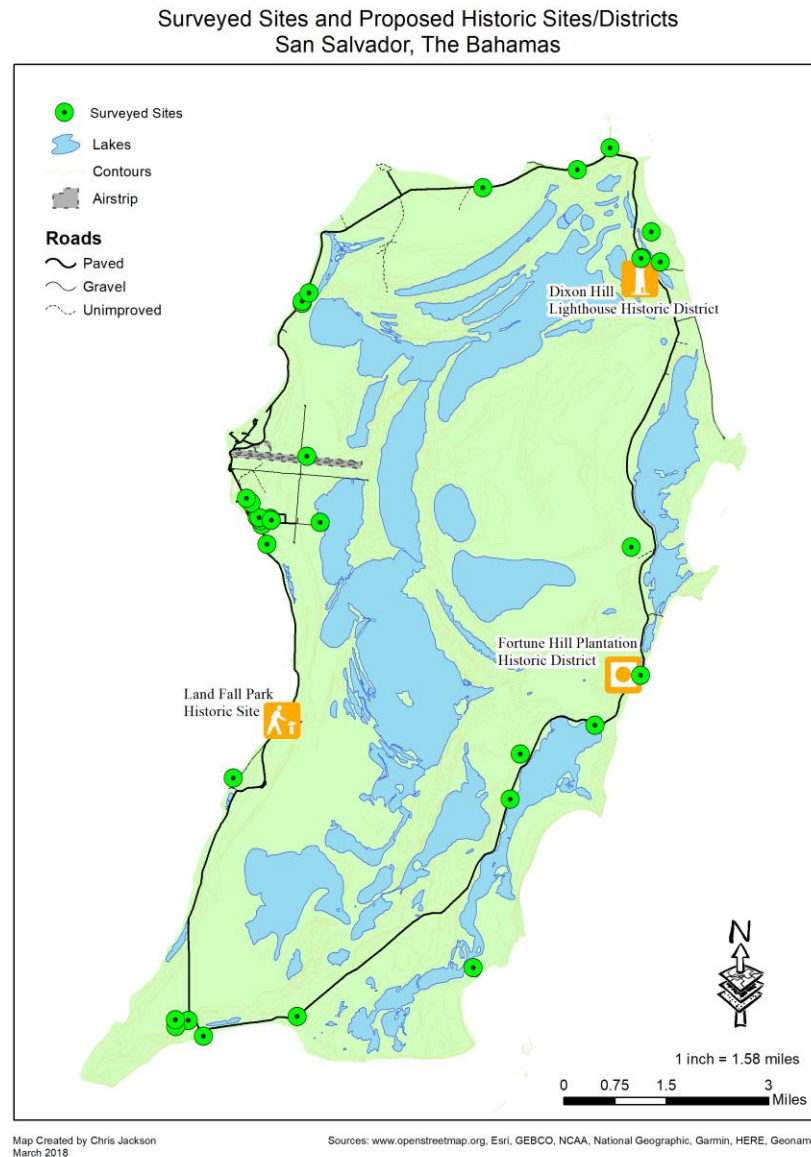


Figure 4.1 Proposed Historic Sites/Districts – San Salvador, Bahamas. (Map created by the author. GIS data derived from The San Salvador Island GIS database. Compiled by Matthew C. Robinson and R. Laurence Davis. The University of New Haven and Gerace Research Centre, 1999)

FORTUNE HILL PLANTATION

The Fortune Hill Plantation proposed Historic District consists of the ruins of a Loyalist Period plantation situated on roughly 250 acres in the east-central part of San Salvador Island. The proposed Historic District lies in an inland location directly west of the Queens Highway. (Figure 4.1) The tract was originally granted to Alexander Muir of Great Britain in 1789. Muir never lived on San Salvador and in 1804, he sold the land to Burton Williams. It is believed the current ruins at Fortune Hill represent Williams' development of a plantation estate. Fortune Hill Plantation was one of eight plantations operating on San Salvador when the final Bahamian slave registrations were recorded prior to emancipation in 1834.²⁰⁵

The Fortune Hill Plantation proposed Historic District is bound by the known historic property boundaries of Fortune Hill Plantation where possible. It is suspected that the parcel purchased by Muir in 1804 included a much larger acreage than is encompassed in the proposed Historic District, but lacking sufficient evidence of the original boundary, the proposed boundaries include only those areas of known association with the plantation. Furthermore, the existence of associated docks for transportation of people and goods is suspected, but evidence related to the location of such sites does not exist. Remaining portions of rock walls line the proposed Historic District on the north and south, running west-southwest from the Queen's Highway. The western boundary line is defined by a connecting stone wall that runs perpendicular to the north and south boundaries, and the east boundary is defined by the Queen's Highway.

²⁰⁵ Kathy Gerace and Ronald Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, July 5, 1995): 1.; Gerace, "Early nineteenth Century Plantations," 19.

There are three distinct zones within the proposed Historic District—the Manor House Complex, the Slave Quarters Area, and the suspected Agricultural Zone.

The Manor House Complex is situated atop a ridge that runs south-southeast across the center of the District and overlooks Granny Lake to the west, Storr’s Lake to the east, and the Slave Quarters area to the west-northwest. The Slave Quarters are situated atop a separate ridge with an east-west orientation. The western side of the District has a number of pot-hole ponds in the limestone bedrock, while the rest of the District consists of sandy dune ridges and low brush lands.

The Manor House Complex includes the ruins of at least five buildings including the manor house, a detached kitchen, library, servant’s quarters, and latrine. Four structures are also located on the hilltop complex including a large, three-room industrial building, a cotton gin/processing facility, and the foundations of two structures likely associated with agricultural processing. Additionally, the hill top contains a whipping post and flag pole site, a walk-in well, many rubble stone walls and “a series of circular stone platforms of unknown purpose.”²⁰⁶

²⁰⁶ Gerace and Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, 1.

Proposed Fortune Hill Historic District
San Salvador, The Bahamas

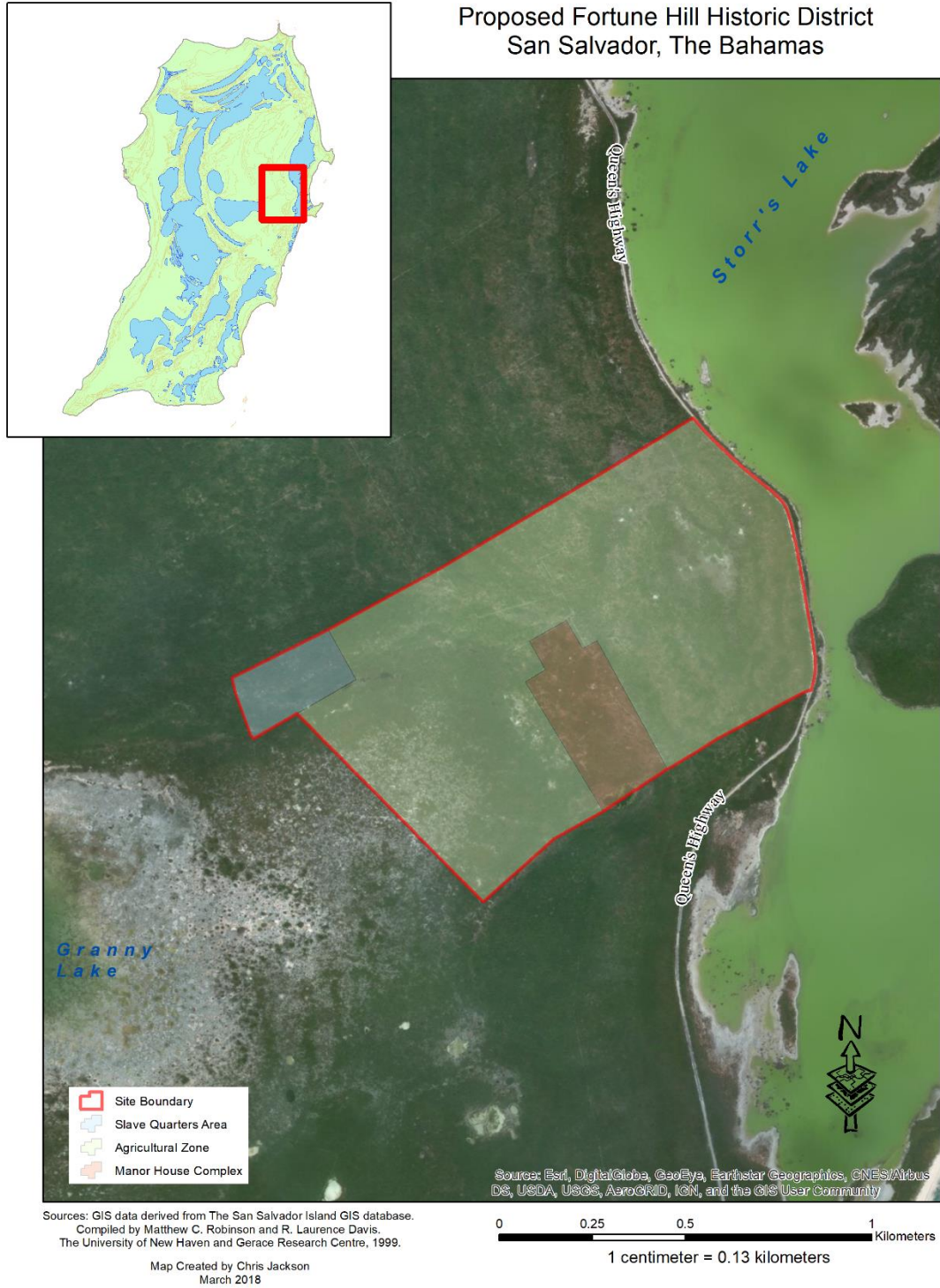


Figure 4.2 Proposed Fortune Hill Plantation Historic District. (Map created by the author, March 2018)

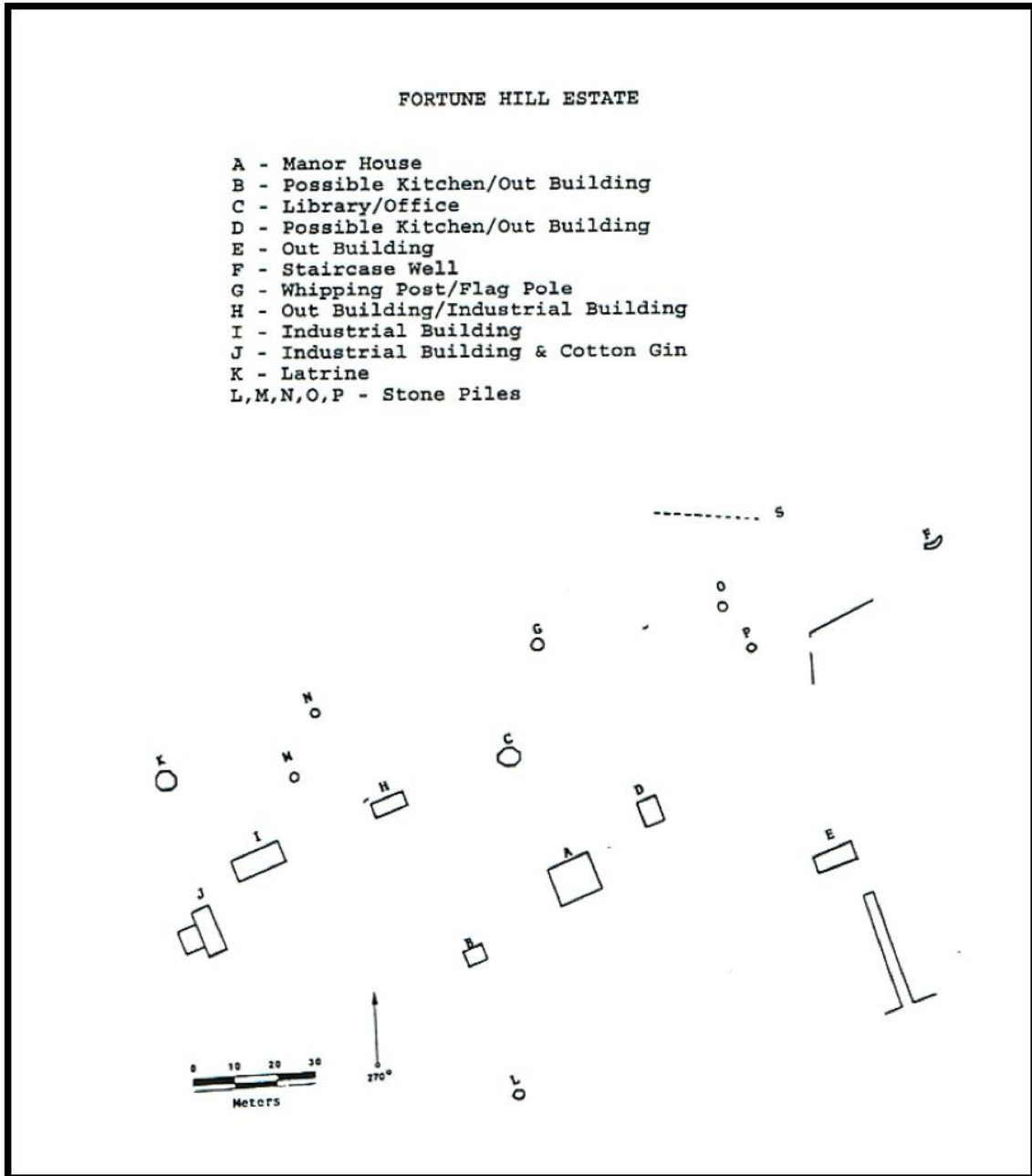


Figure 4.3 The Manor House Complex at Fortune Hill Plantation District. (Kathy Gerace and Ronald Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, July 5, 1995), 4.)

The buildings and structures in the complex are situated along the ridge-line with the manor house (A) at the center. At the south end of the complex are two of the districts most in-tact structures (I and J). These structures are associated with an area of work and agricultural processing. The latrine (K) is located just north of this area. It is octagonal in

plan and is built over a natural sink hole in the limestone bedrock, approximately four meters deep. Clustered in the central portion of the complex are the foundations of two buildings (B and D). the plantation's kitchen building likely sat atop one of these foundations. Just west of this central region is another octagonal building suspected to be the owner's personal library or office (C). Just north of the manor house lies the ruins of a two-room building that was likely the quarters for enslaved peoples who worked in the manor house or as overseers of the plantation (E). Eight meters east of this building is a paved walkway, one-meter-wide, with stacked rubble stone fences on both sides. This walkway extends away from the complex to the east and is likely associated with a livestock handling facility.²⁰⁷

The buildings and structures in the Manor House Complex are in various states of ruin. Four lack only their roofs and shutters, the manor house's south wall has fallen, one structure has only one wall standing, and three others only retain their foundations. The buildings and structures incorporate a mix of construction techniques typical to plantation architecture on San Salvador and The Bahamas during the Loyalist Period. Several have foundations of tabby cast directly on the limestone bedrock. The load bearing walls are constructed of cast tabby, dimensional cut limestone blocks, or stacked rubble stone with lime mortar stucco. Some floors are of a tabby mortar poured directly on the bedrock while others were raised on wooden framing. Door and windows frames and lintels, as well as roofs, were once framed with native *lignum vitae* timbers. Clusters of foundation stones near the manor house remain as evidence that at least some of the buildings/structures in the complex were constructed entirely of wood. These buildings

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 4-5, 17.

have deteriorated completely or were scavenged at some point for other purposes, leaving only their foundations behind.

The manor house at Fortune Hill is the grandest estate house built on San Salvador during the Loyalist Period and it is the most elaborate building in the proposed Historic District. This two story building has a raised bottom floor of tabby mortar. It is situated along an east-west axis with its main entrance on the second floor via a rather grand thirteen-step staircase. The ground floor consists of four rooms and the upstairs of two. Wood-framed verandahs on the east and west (front and back) of the second floor offered views of Storr's lake and the coastline to the east and Granny Lake to the west.

The Slave Quarters area of Fortune Hill Plantation proposed Historic District encompasses an area of approximately 12.5 acres, fully enclosed by a rock wall. The Quarters area makes up the northwest corner of the proposed District, approximately 400 meters west-northwest of the manor house. Because of the remote location of the Quarters and the density of vegetation in the area, little research and/or fieldwork has been conducted. One major effort was taken to document and map the site during the winter of 1990-91. The report of these findings indicates that a total of thirty building/structure sites were identified. Eleven of these bore evidence of having been residential. All buildings and structures are arranged in an east-west orientation along the dune ridge upon which they are situated. They form two parallel rows along a central 'lane', approximately 10 meters wide, that was perhaps used as a street or broad walkway.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Kathy Gerace and Ronald Shaklee, Fortune Hill Estate, Slave Quarters Site Map, (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, 1991), 3,5.

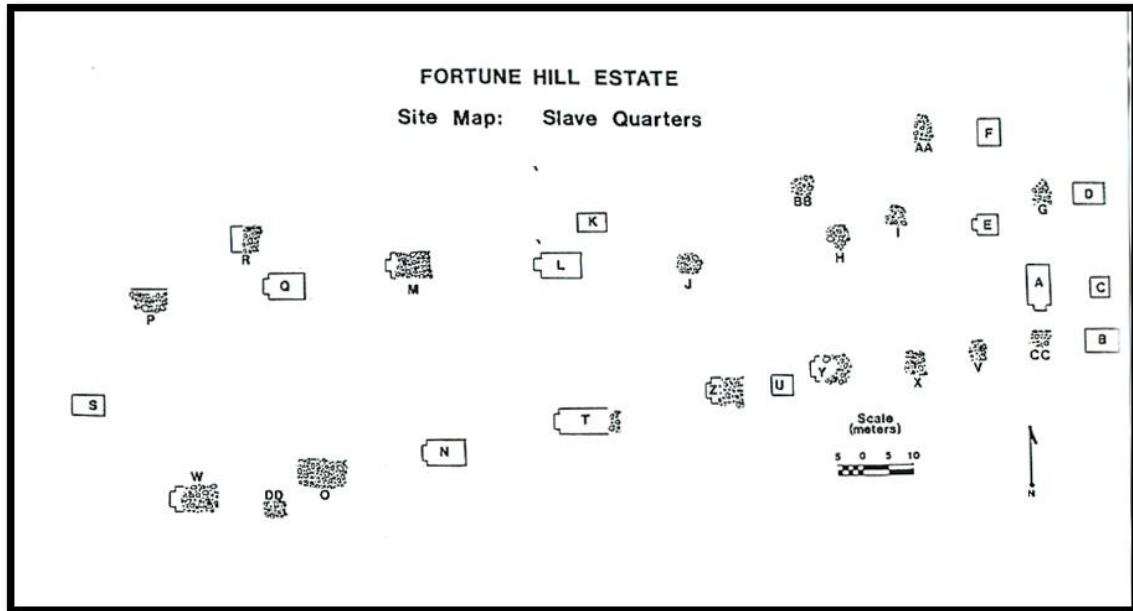


Figure 4.4 Slave Quarters area, Fortune Hill Plantation District. (Kathy Gerace and Ronald Shaklee, Fortune Hill Estate, Slave Quarters Site Map, (San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, 1991).)

Eleven of the buildings incorporate fireplaces and are suspected to have been residential structures (A, E, L, M, N, O, Q, T, W, Y, and Z). These buildings are constructed of native limestone blocks cut to uniform dimensions. The non-residential structures are also made of cut limestone, but the blocks are of varied dimensions. The residential buildings were once stuccoed with lime mortar on the interior and exterior while the non-residential structures either showed no evidence of this treatment or only had an exterior coating.

The eleven residential buildings are relatively uniform in size at approximately 8 by 4.5 meters in plan. The non-residential buildings are of varying sizes. All buildings in the Quarters are oriented east and west along the central ‘lane.’ The residential buildings have chimneys on their west walls. The only building that does not follow the pattern of orientation along the lane is suspected to be the home of the plantation’s “taskmaster” or

overseer (A). This building is oriented north and south with its chimney on the south wall.²⁰⁹

Fortune Hill Plantation was perhaps the most prosperous of any on San Salvador. The siting, style, design and material makeup of the manor house, the work buildings and the intricate supporting structures of the plantation indicate a wealth most Bahamian planters did not achieve. The overall site design and the quality of the construction of buildings and structures at the Slave Quarters further emphasize a high level of prosperity at Fortune Hill Plantation.

Existing Conditions

Fortune Hill Plantation is one of the least accessible plantation sites on San Salvador. Prior to the extension of the road system (the Queens Highway) to the associated Fortune Hill Settlement, in the mid-twentieth century, the estate remained extremely remote. Even access through the island's interior lake system is rather limited as neither of the two closest lakes offer direct connection to the main avenues of transportation and communication with the west side of the island. After emancipation, the west side of the island became the new economic and social center of the island, leaving most of the island's eastern plantations, including Fortune Hill, in a state of abandon.

The degree to which the plantation was occupied after emancipation is unknown, but it is perhaps the proposed District's remote location and a lack of accessibility that have left the built environment in a relatively well-preserved state. Some plantation sites

²⁰⁹ Ibid., 5, 7.

on the island were adapted and reused for diversified agricultural practices, leaving only the most practical buildings in place. Another site, Sandy Point Estate, is so easily accessed from the Queens Highway that it has become the target site for tourist excursions from the Club Med Resort. This site has been threatened by looting and vandalism for decades and many of its character defining features have been compromised because of the ease of accessibility.

Fortune Hill Plantation has seen no preservation, stabilization, restoration, reconstruction or promotional effort to date. A few research projects have been performed on the site, however these projects only focused on documenting and mapping the buildings and structures. An extensive above ground archaeology project, performed in the late 1980s, yielded one of the largest collections of plantation period artifacts on San Salvador. These artifacts date primarily to the first half of the nineteenth century and they serve as evidence of the estate owner's substantial wealth.²¹⁰

Many of the buildings and structures in the proposed District remain in relatively good condition, lacking only their roofs and some interior fixtures. The two large industrial buildings and the cotton ginning circle are in perhaps the best condition of any of the District's structures (Figures 4.5 - 4.7). Evidence of the interior workings of these structures exists and many of the windows and doors retain their original lignum vitae framing.

²¹⁰ Kathy Gerace, "Three Loyalist Plantations on San Salvador Island, Bahamas," 216-22.; Gerace, "Early Nineteenth Century Plantations on San Salvador, Bahamas," 15.



Figure 4.5 Industrial Building 'J' - Near cotton ginning circle in the Fortune Hill Plantation District Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.6 Lignum Vitae Window Framing – Industrial Building 'J' near cotton ginning circle in the Fortune Hill Planation District Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.7 Detail of Cut Limestone Block Construction – Northeast corner of industrial building 'J' near cotton ginning circle in the Fortune Hill Plantation District Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)

The manor house's original tabby walls remain in relatively good overall condition except for the southern portion of the upstairs, which fell during a strong storm in 1990.²¹¹ Although the wood framed verandahs, roof, and floor system have deteriorated completely, many of the character defining features of the house remain as testaments to the high quality of construction at the manor house. The plan of the house is easily understood when visiting the site (Figures 4.8 – 4.10), and extant features include raised slab-like floors of lime mortar on the ground floor, a raised bench in the central-north room of unknown purpose, and the large western entry staircase (Figures 4.11 - 4.14).

²¹¹ Gerace and Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, 6.

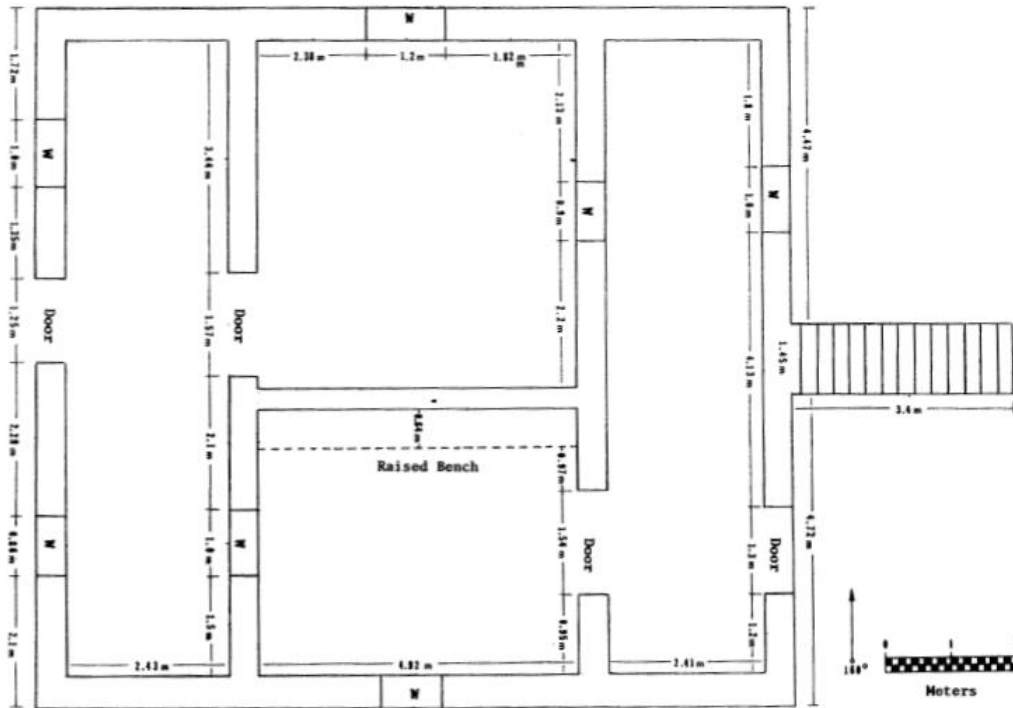


Figure 4.8 Fortune Hill Manor House Ground Floor Plan. (Gerace and Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, 7.)

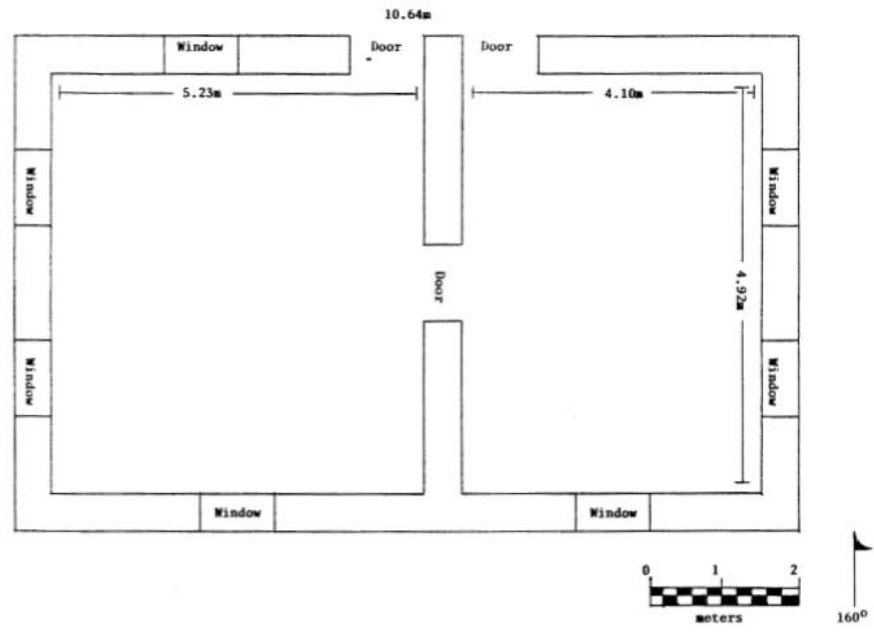


Figure 4.9 Fortune Hill Manor House Upper Floor Plan. (Gerace and Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, 9.)

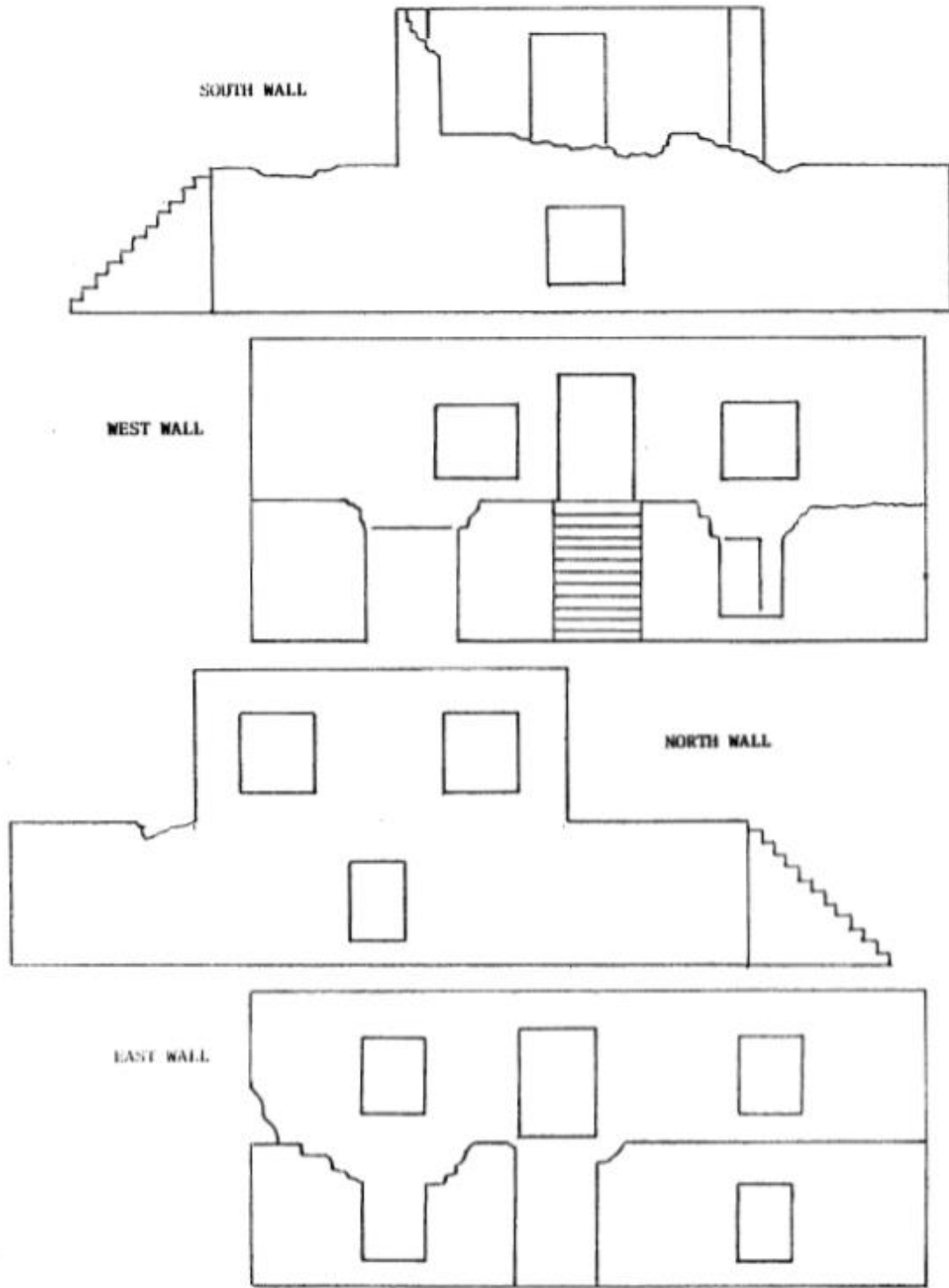


Figure 4.10 Elevations of Fortune Hill Manor House Upper Floor Plan. (Gerace and Shaklee, *Fortune Hill Estate, Manor House Complex*, 10.)



Figure 4.11 Central-North Rooms of the Fortune Hill Manor House. (Photo by the author, November, 2017).



Figure 4.12 Detail of Tabby Wall Construction – Fortune Hill Manor House. (Photo by the author, November 2017).



Figure 4.13 Raised Mortar Floor and Tabby Bench – Fortune Hill Manor House. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.14 Western Entry Staircase – Fortune Hill Manor House. (Photo by the author, November 2017)

Some of the most unique buildings and structures in the proposed District include the two octagonal buildings; the office and the latrine. The office retains its complete octagonal walls, constructed of stacked limestone blocks, cut in dimensional blocks and stuccoed. The lignum vitae lintels remain above the doors and windows as well (Figures 4.15 – 4.16). The latrine was built over a sink hole and originally incorporated a second story that was likely used as a cistern. Square holes in the upper portion of the latrine’s tabby walls serve as evidence of the second story’s wooden framing (Figures 4.17 – 4.18).



Figure 4.15 Library at Fortune Hill Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.16 Detail of Lignum Vitae Lintel – Library at Fortune Hill Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.17 Latrine Interior – Fortune Hill Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.18 Sink Hole below Latrine – Fortune Hill Manor House Complex. (Photo by the author, November 2017)

While most of the other buildings and structures lie in ruin or are only evidenced by foundations, the overall experience of Fortune Hill is enhanced by the many small-scale features, views and vistas, and built and natural landscape features. Rubble stone walls traverse the tract for kilometers, serving as testaments to the large-scale of the plantation (Figures 4.19 – 4.20). The built features in the proposed District respond to the natural topography, and buildings and structures are sited to take advantage of cool, prevailing ocean breezes (Figures 4.21 – 4.22).



Figure 4.19 Stacked Stone Wall at Small Pond – Fortune Hill Plantation District. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.20 Stone Wall with Lime Mortar – Fortune Hill Plantation District. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.21 View to the West from the Fortune Hill Manor House. (Photo by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.22 Ruins of Fortune Hill Manor House and View to the East. (Photo by the author, November 2017)

The physical relationships between buildings, structures, objects and sites at Fortune Hill reveal the nature of everyday plantation life and social organization. Patterns in the spatial organization of specific functional areas, including the manor house, the agricultural processing areas, the slave quarters, access to fresh water, and fields for livestock and crops, offer insights into San Salvador's plantation economy and history. Today, the vegetation in the proposed Historic District is the primary limiting factor to any visitor's experience. While the landscape was once cleared of its native vegetation, today the entire tract is covered in a dense thicket of brambles and small shrubs, making it extremely difficult to move about and take in the breadth of the site.

Significance

Fortune Hill Plantation is significant on a local and national (Bahamian) level for its association with the development of colonial plantation life during the Loyalist Period (1776 - 1834). The proposed Historic District possess integrity of feeling and association with the defined areas of significance entitled San Salvador's Loyalist Period, Technology and Transportation, and Community and Culture.

The many buildings and structures at Fortune Hill embody the distinctive characteristics of British colonial architecture and construction methods employed in The Bahamas during the Loyalist Period. The manor house, the octagonal office and latrine, and the industrial buildings are perhaps the most intricately and grandly designed Loyalist buildings and structures on San Salvador. The remains of these and other buildings, structures, objects and sites serve as some of the best known examples of specific building types typical of The Bahamas' Loyalist Period. The spatial organization

of the built environment at Fortune Hill Plantation, particularly the relationship between the Salve Quarters and the Manor House Complex, exemplifies the distinctive methods of plantation design and layout employed by San Salvador's first colonial settlers.

The methods of construction employed throughout the proposed Historic District illustrate those typical to plantation architecture and landscape design during the Loyalist Period in the Bahamas. The designers and builders of Fortune Hill are unknown, but they used locally available materials such as limestone and native wood. The structural forms used include foundations and load bearing walls of (1) stacked rubble stone, with or without lime mortar, (2) stacked cut limestone blocks of proportional or disproportional dimensions, or (3) cast tabby. Some buildings and structures incorporate the use of locally sourced lime mortar as a stucco on interior or exterior walls. All buildings and structures used native wood for framing of roofs and local palm leaves for thatching. Some buildings were constructed entirely of wood. All of these methods of construction were typical for plantation architecture in The Bahamas during the Loyalist Period, but no other known plantation site on San Salvador retains the evidence of all methods within one site or district.

The proposed Fortune Hill Plantation Historic District is also significant because of the potential of its component sites to yield important information about patterns of development of the built environment at Loyalist Period plantations in The Bahamas and San Salvador. Above ground archaeology, existing conditions reports, architectural descriptions, and other field work have been performed in the proposed District, but further investigation of the site will likely yield much more substantial evidence as to how plantation life functioned on San Salvador and The Bahamian Out Islands. Further

study of Fortune Hill Plantation may yield information regarding questions of the intricacies of slave culture in The Bahamas as well as the ways in which a system of absentee plantation ownership effected cultural development.

The artifact evidence collected at Fortune Hill's Manor House Complex includes no late-nineteenth or early-twentieth century ceramics, indicating that the plantation's Manor House Complex was likely abandoned soon after emancipation. With no oral histories, archival documentation, or archaeological evidence gathered regarding the Slave Quarters area of the proposed District, very little is known about Fortune Hill during the Post-Emancipation Period (1834 to 1900). Field work and historical research of this proposed District is likely to provide important new insights regarding the transition of San Salvador's economy, society and culture after emancipation.

Preservation Critique

While much of Fortune Hill Plantation lies in ruin, the proposed Historic District offers a unique opportunity for visitors to experience one of the most in-tact plantation complexes in The Bahamas. Despite its deteriorated state, the plantation's built resources and patterns of spatial organization retain remarkable integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship associated with the original design. While neglect and abandonment of the plantation has led to overgrown vegetation, making it difficult to experience the site, its neglect is perhaps the only reason it has retained such integrity.

Due to the proposed Historic District's remote location and overgrown status, the site has not been targeted for preservation. The area would require significant clearing and regular maintenance to reveal the landscape's rough terrain and keep the quick

growing vegetation under control. Despite these issues, preservation and promotion of sites like Fortune Hill Plantation could offer unique opportunities for further research focusing on plantation life in The Bahamas and San Salvador. Efforts to preserve and stabilize the buildings and structures could be augmented by efforts to open the site up of overgrown vegetation, allowing visitors and researchers alike a more comprehensive experience.

Some sort of formal designation for Fortune Hill Plantation would serve as a first step in developing preservation and promotion of the proposed District. If the proposed District were established as a Bahamian Heritage Park,²¹² promotion could target three potential types of visitors: local citizens, visiting tourist interested in heritage tourism (Bahamian or international), and researchers. Collaborative efforts between researchers, the Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, and interested local groups could help promote and protect this important historic site.

Threats to the proposed District include hazardous weather, further neglect, and looting. While these potentially destructive forces should be addressed immediately, any efforts to promote or preserve Fortune Hill should also address issues related to improper physical repair to an international preservation standard. What remains of Fortune Hill Plantation should be considered extremely delicate and any efforts to stabilize, restore, reconstruct, or rehabilitate the built or natural environment should be approached with extreme caution.

²¹² Perhaps similar to Clifton Heritage Park on New Providence, see discussion in Chapter 2.

DIXON HILL LIGHTHOUSE

Dixon Hill Lighthouse is located on a large dune ridge in the northeast corner of San Salvador. Standing 163 feet above the sea, the lighthouse is one of the most prominent features on the island and its beacon can be seen across the entire island.

Dixon Hill Lighthouse is part of a larger complex of associated buildings, structures and objects located on San Salvador's picturesque Dixon Hill, the former location of a Loyalist's plantation known as Dixon Hill Plantation (Figure 4.23). On a clear day, the view from the top of the lighthouse affords up to nineteen miles of visibility, allowing views of the entire island, the interior lake system and many of the island's bays and points.

The British Imperial Lighthouse Service (ILS) completed the construction of Dixon Hill Lighthouse in April of 1887. During the 1930s, the ILS updated the lighthouse's lens, turning mechanism, and burners. Dixon Hill Lighthouse is part of a series of ILS navigational beacons erected in The Bahamas during the nineteenth century. These beacons were built as maritime navigational aids in an attempt to cut down on wrecking and salvaging in the archipelago. The Lighthouse at Dixon Hill, like other ILS-managed navigational aids was built and managed by local Bahamians. Oversight of the lighthouse was passed to the Bahamas Port Department and the Royal Bahamas Defense Force upon Bahamian independence in 1973. While other ILS lighthouses in The Bahamas have been converted to electric lighting, the Dixon Hill Lighthouse is rumored to be the last operational kerosene powered lighthouse in the world. The resident lighthouse keeper lives on the site and manually refuels the kerosene lantern every 2 hours and 15 minutes.

Proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District
San Salvador, The Bahamas

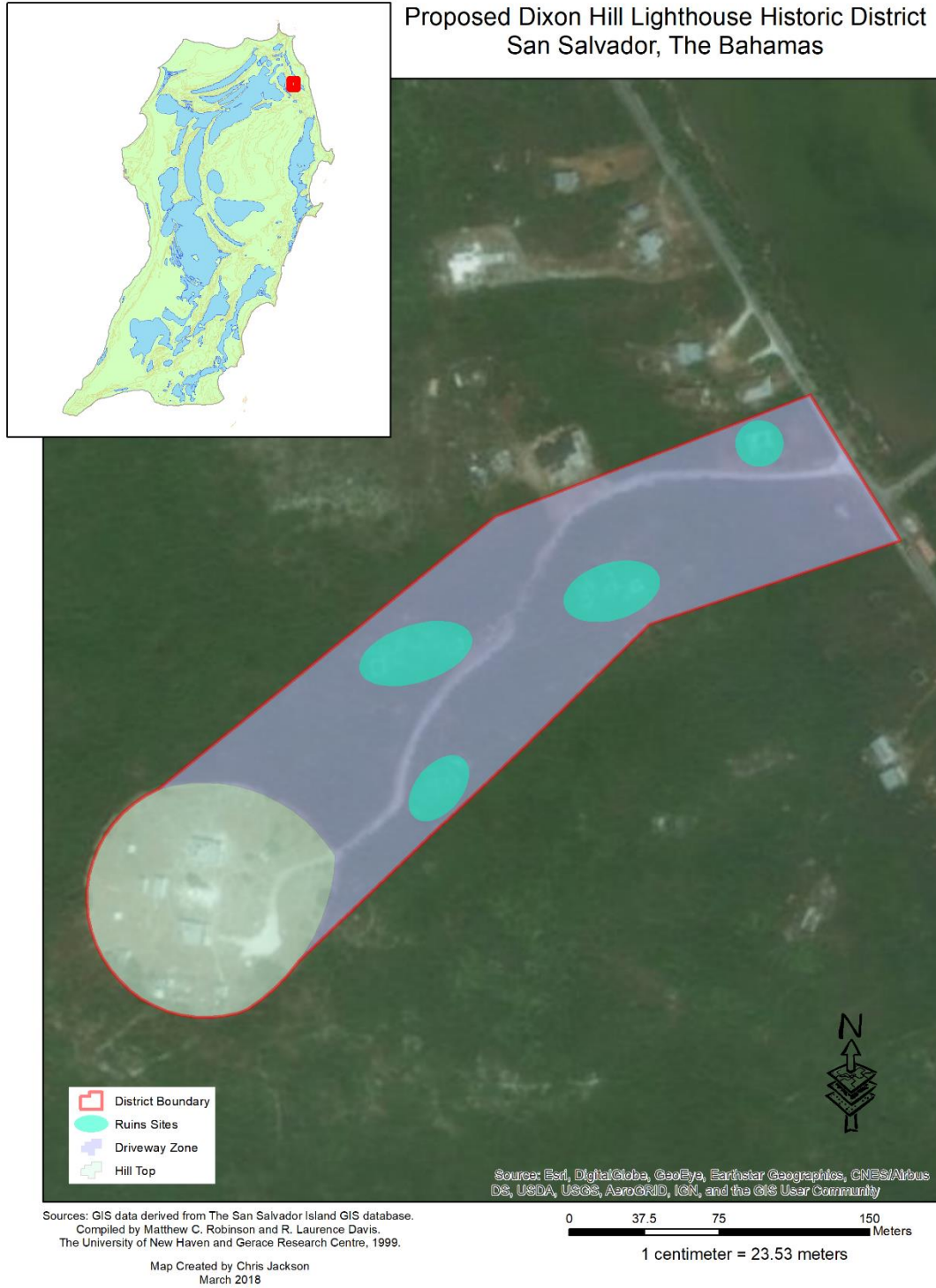


Figure 4.23 Proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District. (Site map created by the author, March 2018).

The proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District includes roughly 7.5 acres of land extending southwest from the Queens Highway, approaching and atop Dixon Hill. The proposed Historic District's boundaries include a roughly rectangular swath of land approximately seventy meters wide surrounding the complex's driveway. The eastern zone of the proposed Historic District includes areas associated with above-ground archaeological sites that offer potential information regarding the development of the lighthouse complex. The main area of the proposed Historic District is located on the hilltop and is surrounded by a wall, approximately eight feet tall, with the lighthouse at the center. The boundaries for this zone are defined by said wall and include all extant resources related to the development of the lighthouse as a site for managing the lighthouse as a navigational beacon. As this is the area regularly maintained, it offers the most logical boundary for the proposed Historic District, but further research may reveal a need to include other resources separated geographically from the main complex.

Within the wall, the landscape consists of primarily exposed bedrock upon which all built features are situated. The area outside of the wall is primarily dense bush vegetation. There are only two entry/exit points for the compound. The eastern gate serves as the main entry point and is marked by two fifteen-foot stone gate posts, adorned with British colonial style ball finials (Figure 4.24). The other gate is located on the south edge of the compound and is reserved for foot traffic only. This gate leads to an often overgrown path to Dixon Hill Cave, a popular attraction for the lighthouse's more adventurous visitors.

The road that leads up to Dixon Hill is a steep driveway of concrete built directly on the bedrock. At places, the road is carved through the bedrock while in other places

there are low stacked-stone walls that line the road. Breaks in these low walls once offered access by foot to a number of buildings and structures of unknown purpose that now lie in ruin to the north and south of the road (Figures 4.25 – 4.27).



Figure 4.24 Main Gate at Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.25 Driveway to Dixon Hill Lighthouse Facing West – Notice the exposure of cut-out in bedrock. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.26 Driveway to Dixon Hill Lighthouse Facing East. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.27 Stacked Rock Wall at Dixon Hill Lighthouse Driveway – Notice the walk-through opening. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

The lighthouse dominates the site and is situated in the center with the site's two largest buildings, the keeper's quarters, flanking it to the north and south (Figure 4.28). All buildings and structures on the site are 1 story, with the exception of the lighthouse. Just west and behind the lighthouse, a duplex building serves as a retrofitted restroom with men's and women's stalls (Figure 4.29). A few meters behind the restroom facility is a slightly smaller structure of unknown purpose. To the northwest and southwest of the restroom facility are two identical buildings, each measuring roughly 2.5 meters square (Figure 4.30). Situated near the southern wall of the site are two structures of unknown purpose and a storage building used by the lighthouse keeper.



Figure 4.28 Dixon Hill Lighthouse and Keeper's Quarters. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.29 Dixon Hill Lighthouse Public Restroom Facility. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.30 View South from Dixon Hill Lighthouse – The building pictured is of unidentified purpose. There is a matching building just west. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

The eastern area of the hilltop is dominated by the primary parking area. A number of the site's small features are situated around this rather informal parking area. To the west of the parking area is the site of two barrel-shaped burial tombs (Figure 4.31). These are the graves of John Dixon and his wife, the mulatto owners of Dixon Hill Plantation that occupied the site before the lighthouse was constructed. East of the parking area is a rain gauge, made of three graduating rings of limestone tabby, hollowed out in the center for collecting and measuring rainfall. Just north there is what remains of a sundial on a three-foot tall pedestal base (Figures 4.32 – 4.33)



Figure 4.31 Grave Site of John Dixon and Wife – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.32 Rain Gauge – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.33 Sundial Pedestal – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

All buildings, structures and objects on the site are constructed from locally sourced limestone and mortar, and all are painted a bright white on the exterior. All roofs are hipped or pyramidal, framed with native *lignum vitae* and covered with pressed-tin shingles. The window openings on the site's buildings and structures were originally fitted with fixed-louver vents, but only a few retain these features in their original state (Figures 4.34 – 4.35).



Figure 4.34 Original Lignum Vitae Framing – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.35 Original Window Framing for Fixed Louvers – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

The site's topography slopes gently away from the lighthouse and there are a number of natural and designed landscape features present. Shade trees and ornamentals are informally scattered about the site, but a mix of exposed limestone bedrock and grassy vegetation dominate the hilltop (Figure 4.36). In some places foot-paths paved with concrete lead to and from the buildings and structures, but the majority of vehicle and pedestrian circulation is left up to the visitor (Figure 4.37). The layout of at least seven of the site's buildings/structures are positioned rather formally in diagonals to a central axis running east to west. The lighthouse serves as the central focus of this layout, but a number of the site's built features do not follow the pattern.



Figure 4.36 Almond Tree at Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.37 Remnants of Formal Paths – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

Existing Conditions

The site's built features are in varying conditions and some have been neglected, others renovated, and the lighthouse itself has been beautifully preserved. With the exception of the lighthouse and the perimeter wall of the compound, the dates of construction are unknown. The historic and current use of most of the buildings and structures is also unknown, but the site has been occupied and maintained by the lighthouse's keeper since its construction.

The lighthouse structure remains much as it did when constructed in 1887. Built of native limestone, quarried on site, its conical tower is topped with a cast-iron lantern approximately ten meters tall. A dome shaped cap made of pressed-tin and a cast iron wind vane adorn the lantern's peak. Two levels of viewing platforms, made of intricately designed cast-iron work, offer extraordinary views. The original, diamond paned, leaded glass encasement that surrounds the lighting mechanism remains in good condition. In the 1930s, the ILS updated the lighthouse, equipping it with a Fresnel lens, a Chance Brothers mercury bath turning mechanism, and a mantle burning Hood Petroleum Vapor burner.²¹³ These updates remain in place and are still used, producing a double-flash of 400,000 candle-power light every ten seconds. A canvas tent is pulled down over the lighting mechanism during the day in order to protect the inner workings of the light. At the base of the tower is a set of stairs constructed of bricks that were likely imported to San Salvador by the ILS at the time of the lighthouse construction (Figure 4.39).

²¹³ "Historic Lighthouses of The Bahamas," <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/6070/>.

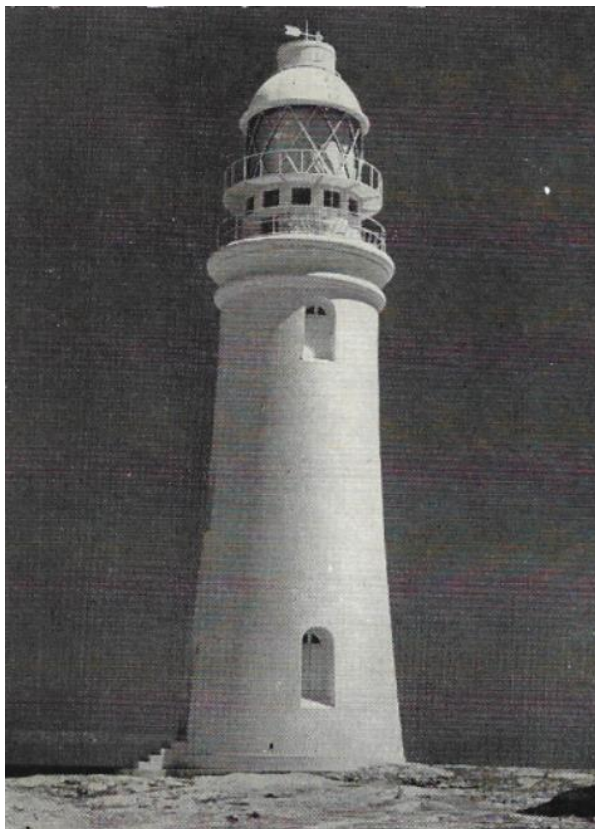


Figure 4.38 “San Salvador Lighthouse”. This circa 1944 photo reveals Dixon Hill Lighthouse in much the same shape as surveyed by the author in November of 2017. (Commander R. Langston-Jones, R.N., *Silent Sentinels*, (Great James Street, London: Frederick Muller, Ltd. 29, 1950), 65.)



Figure 4.39 Stairs at Base of Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

The two keeper's quarters buildings are identical, and retain their original form. The common plan is roughly square, and consists of 1 story raised on a crawlspace with a pyramidal roof, adorned by a pointed finial. There are porches attached to the east of each, and they feature the same brick pavers as the lighthouse's stoop. A renovation was underway on both of the keeper's quarters in November of 2017. The full extent of the renovations is unknown, but new glider windows had been installed, modern air conditioning retrofitted, and the interior and exterior repainted. Also, work was under way to cover the original imported brick paving on the front porches (Figures 4.40 – 4.43).



Figure 4.40 South Keeper's Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.41 Tile Installation on Front Porch of South Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.42 Original Imported Brick Pavers on Front Porch of North Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.43 Glider Windows on North Keeper’s Quarters Building – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

Just west of the lighthouse is a 1 story building constructed of cut limestone blocks that has been retrofitted with modern bathroom facilities. The date of the retrofitting is unknown, and the facility was in poor condition in at the time of survey. This building retains its original structural components including the load bearing walls and structural framing made of native timber. The roof has been sheathed with imported plywood and covered with asphalt shingles. Hurricane Joaquin affected the condition of this building’s roof, and it remains in rather poor condition. The functional parts of the restroom facilities are in good condition with the exception of water infiltration issues resulting from roof issues (Figures 4.44 – 4.45).



Figure 4.44 Exterior Condition of Public Bath House – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.45 Old and New Framing Retrofit inside Public Bath House – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

A building located on the south side of the complex, near the boundary wall currently houses the lighthouse keeper. It is suspected that occupancy here is related to the renovations taking place in the keeper's quarters and that this is a temporary occupation. The building's historic use is unknown. Nearby this building are two large communications towers and associated machinery. A small storage shed with a barrel-shaped roof is located just west of the communications machinery (Figure 4.46).



Figure 4.46 Communications Objects and Shed Buildings – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

The remaining four structures are of unknown purpose and have been seemingly abandoned completely. There are no formal paths leading to these structures. Two of the four retain their original roofs, one has almost no structural integrity and the other retains only the original roof framing atop the masonry walls (Figure 4.47).

The compound's walls are in a state of disrepair in many places, including at the main entry gate, as a section just north of the gate has fallen. The gate posts appear to have been rebuilt of concrete block, but the original ball finials were retained. What is left of one of the original limestone posts lies on the ground nearby. The overall condition of the boundary walls is good as they have been maintained with periodic applications of new limestone stucco and bright white paint.

The condition of the compound's landscape remains good as semi-regular maintenance of vegetation is performed within the bounding walls. Especially during wet periods, the grassy vegetation that dominates the hilltop can become extremely dense. The local custom for managing this type of vegetation involves a combination of mechanical maintenance with push mowers and a system of patch-burning in small sections (Figure 4.48).



Figure 4.47 Abandoned Structure – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.48 Vegetation Management – Dixon Hill Lighthouse. Notice the charred grass, evidence of recent vegetation management using fire and mowing. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

Significance

The proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District is significant at international, national, and local levels for its association with the area of significance entitled Technology and Transportation. The lighthouse structure atop Dixon Hill has been grouped with ten other ILS lighthouses in The Bahamas and nominated for listing on the World Heritage List. Justification for the outstanding universal value of this group of lighthouse in The Bahamas is stated in the World Heritage nomination as follows:

For over 150 years, British Imperial Lighthouse Service lights have been a constant in Bahamian maritime history. They are sources of pride and visible symbols of the unique heritage of a maritime nation as well as the nation's colonial past.

There are only a few of these hand-wound kerosene-burning lighthouses left in the world and they are found in The Bahamas.

The selected lighthouses were all originally built by the British Imperial Lighthouse Service (ILS) between 1836 and 1887. The lighthouses were built and manned by the hands of local British subjects, the ancestors of present-day Bahamians. It has remained their daily job to keep international shipping safely off the reefs and sandbanks.

These lighthouses embody the nation's rich cultural and historical past, playing a crucial role in the development of The Bahamas and surrounding colonies.

The extensive placement of imperial lighthouses throughout the Bahamian archipelago is testimony to the use of lighthouses in antiquity and to The Bahamas as a maritime nation. The lighthouses are proof of the continuity of the Bahama Channels as shipping lanes and routes by all nations in and out of the New World.

Prior to the installation of lighthouses throughout the Bahama Islands by the British Imperial Lighthouse Service, wrecking was a cultural tradition that defined the way of life in the Bahamas during the 18th and 19th centuries. This tradition and economic industry, as it has been defined, atrophied with the installation of the lighthouses. The testimony of this tradition, in the form of the lighthouses themselves, is their memorial.²¹⁴

²¹⁴ Ibid.

Aside from the lighthouse structure, the many features that make up the proposed Historic District retain sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association with the development of Technology and Transportation on San Salvador, in The Bahamas, and in the world that occurred during the nineteenth century. The lighthouse complex, as a potential Historic District, embodies the characteristics of typical ILS lighthouse complexes built during the nineteenth century in The Bahamas.

On the local level, the proposed Historic District serves as an iconic representation of the evolution of San Salvador's Community and Culture during the period from the initial construction of the lighthouse, in 1887, to contemporary times. As a public destination, the Dixon Hill Lighthouse site has served as one of the most prominent features on San Salvador. An associated settlement called "Dixon's" once extended onto the proposed Historic District's boundaries. A number of ruins situated on the northeastern face of Dixon Hill are associated with this once prominent community. Furthermore, the establishment of the lighthouse and its complex upon Dixon Hill replaced one of San Salvador's Loyalist plantations.

Dixon Hill Lighthouse is perhaps the most visited historic site on San Salvador. Its cast-iron stairs are climbed by almost every visitor to San Salvador, and almost certainly, every local has at some point made their way to the tower's lookout platforms for a view of the island's extensive interior lakes, rolling dunes, rocky points, and sandy beaches.

Preservation Critique

Due to its extremely significant status on the local, national and international levels, preservation of the proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District is of the utmost importance. While the lighthouse is still maintained and used as a navigational beacon, the advent of new maritime navigational technologies such as GPS and RADAR, as well as major advancements in communications have rendered Bahamian lighthouses basically useless. As Dixon Hill Lighthouse's primary purpose is rendered increasingly obsolete, the threat of neglect will only become stronger for this site as a whole. Already, the many auxiliary buildings and structures on the site have been neglected to the point of requiring at least some restoration work. Stabilization of these structures is required immediately in order to preserve what is left of their character defining features.

While preservation and stabilization of the lighthouse itself has been excellently maintained since its construction, the significance of the entire complex should not be overlooked. In order to preserve the integrity of the site as a Historic District, efforts should be made to establish a regular maintenance and preservation schedule for the site's built features. Furthermore, in order to serve as a prime example of a nineteenth century Bahamian lighthouse complex, the character of the existing buildings and structures should be preserved in as close to their original state as possible.

As a potential Historic District, the lighthouse complex offers a unique opportunity for promotion and interpretation of the evolution of technology and transportation in the Americas, The Bahamas and San Salvador. Preservation of the picturesque setting as well as the built environment on Dixon Hill will afford great promotional and educational opportunities on San Salvador.

At the time of the case study of San Salvador, Dixon Hill Lighthouse remains in service and the site is open to the public. It is promoted as a historic site by The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism and is a site of interest for Jermain Johnson's local 'Hearts for Heritage' program.²¹⁵ An educational field trip to the lighthouse site was designed through the Gerace Research Centre in 2006 and the site is frequently visited by students and faculty who travel to San Salvador each year.²¹⁶ Besides these specific promotional and educational activities, an interpretation program for Dixon Hill does not currently exist.

If developed as a Historic District, the lighthouse complex could help advance the protection and promotion of the site to include (1) new insights into the site's history and development, (2) better understanding of the site's connection with the local, national and international advancement of Technology and Transportation as well as local Community and Culture, (3) and new standards for the stabilization, preservation, and restoration of the built features there.

²¹⁵ Hearts for heritage was discussed in Chapter 3. Jermaine Johnson of the Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, San Salvador Office, embarked on a mission to teach local school children about San Salvador's heritage resources beginning in 2013. Each spring Mr. Johnson meets in local classrooms and presents his 'Hearts for Heritage' lecture that highlights important resources on the island. He and the children then travel to the sites and discuss their historical and current significance within the local, Bahamian and international context.

²¹⁶ Baxter and Burton, "Historic Sites on San Salvador, Bahamas, 12.

LAND FALL PARK

Land Fall Park includes an area of approximately 2.5 acres that make up a local, beachside community park. The park is located near the most likely site for Columbus' first landing in the New World, on the beach at Long Bay (Figure 4.1). Situated within the park are five monuments and each commemorates Columbus' landfall on San Salvador in a unique way. The park serves as an entertainment/recreation site with public facilities such as an outdoor restaurant/bar area, a stage, volleyball court, picnic areas, restrooms, and access to the beach (Figure 4.49).

Land Fall Park proposed Historic Site includes the open areas and all historic and cultural resources associated with Land Fall Park. The boundary is defined based on the current Land Fall Park boundaries and includes the resources maintained and promoted by San Salvador's local government and The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism. There is a known archaeological site outside of the defined boundary, but there is insufficient information to include this site in the proposed Historic Site. The proposed Historic Site is a rectangular tract of land situated immediately adjacent to the coastline at Long Bay. The site measures roughly 30 meters deep and 200 meters long, with its length oriented from southwest to northeast. The proposed Historic Site is bound to the northwest by the ocean, the northeast by an unmaintained area of dense vegetation, the Queen's Highway to the southeast, and an unmaintained area to the southwest.

The park has recently taken the official name "Land Fall Park," but the site was formally designated as a park as early as 1956, when the first monument to Columbus' landing was dedicated there. Since Columbus' landfall there, the site has taken many names. Some common names for the site include, 'Monument Beach,' Land Fall Beach,'

‘Columbus Landings,’ ‘Columbus Park,’ Long Bay,’ and ‘Monument Bay.’ This analysis and proposal has adopted the current official name of the park (“Land Fall Park” as distinguished from “Landfall Park” or any other names) in order to remain consistent.

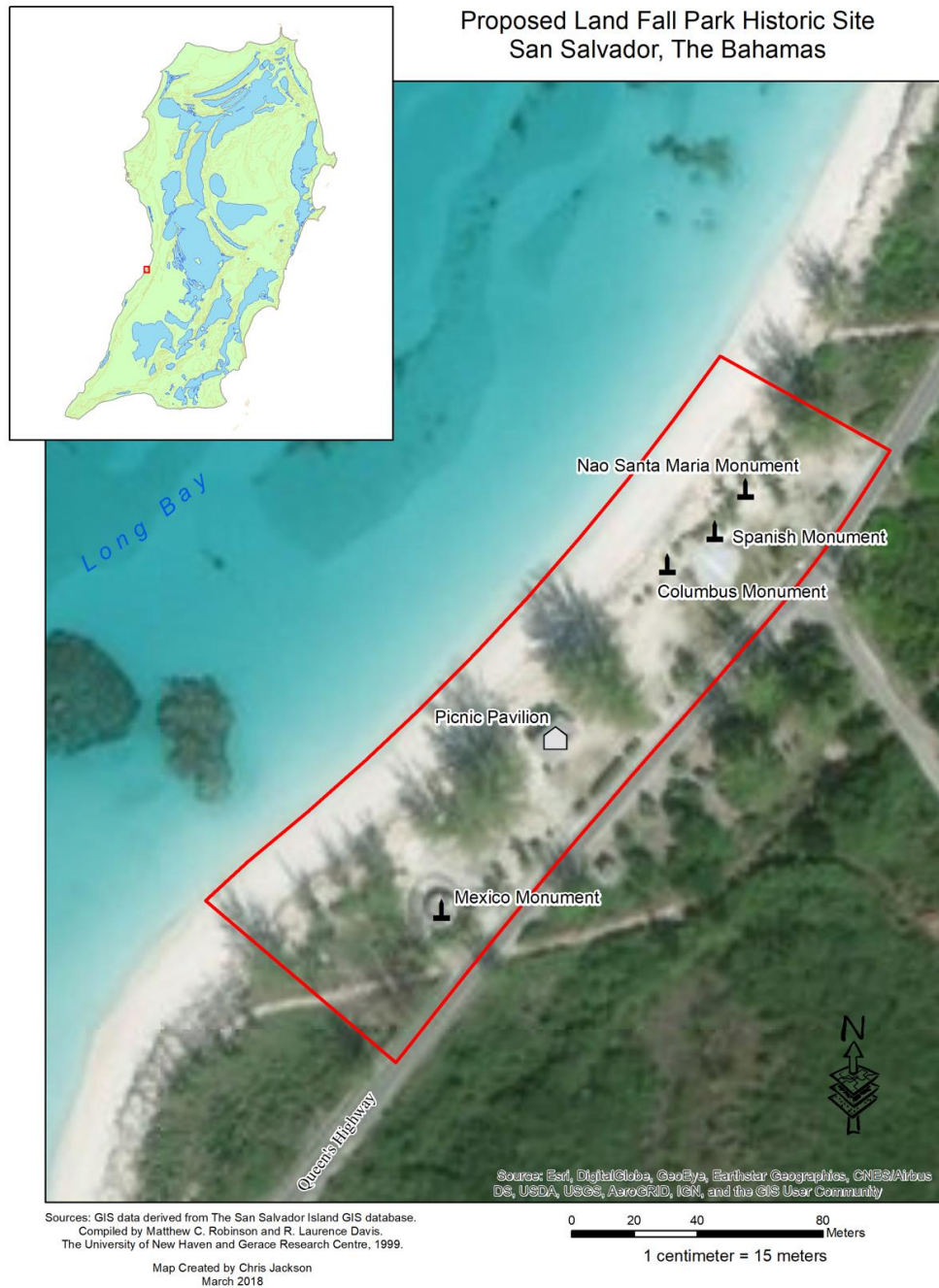


Figure 4.49 Proposed Land Fall Park Historic Site. (Map created by the author, March 2018)

The oldest monument in Land Fall Park is a nine-foot tall white cross, erected by Ruth Wolper and the people of San Salvador, known as “Columbus Monument.” The cross was placed atop the front edge of the dune immediately adjacent to the beach in 1956. It sits at the suspected location of Columbus’ first steps in the New World. The original cross has been replaced, but the monument retains its original form and material composition. (Figure 4.50).²¹⁷ Four plaques remain affixed to the monument’s base. (Figures 4.51). The east plaque commemorates the landing of Columbus with reference to the dedication ceremony for the monument. Each of the other plaques commemorates important events as well as important persons in the history of San Salvador. Some of the persons mentioned include those who funded the construction and reconstruction of the monument, but others include important local politicians and public figures.

²¹⁷ Baxter and Burton, “Historic Sites on San Salvador, Bahamas,” 27.



Figure 4.50 Columbus Monument – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.51 Columbus Monument Plaques – Land Fall Park. (Photos taken by the author, November 2017).

The second monument erected on the site was the Mexico Olympic Monument. This “low spiraling stone platform at the south end of the park, was a gift from Mexico, and was part of the 1968 Olympic Torch relay; San Salvador was the first stop for the torch on its trip to the new world.”²¹⁸ It is constructed of a series of concrete slabs that form a spiral. At the top of the spiral walkway there is a three-foot tall bronzed-steel torch sculpture. The sloping edges of the monument are covered in rusticated concrete squares that form a grid pattern. A raised section of rusticated concrete sculpture on the north face of the monument spells “MEXICO” and includes the Olympic rings (Figures 4.52 – 4.54).



Figure 4.52 1968 Mexico Olympic Monument – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

²¹⁸ Ibid., 27.



Figure 4.53 Top of Platform at the Mexico Olympic Monument – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.54 Bronzed-steel Torch at the Mexico Olympic Monument – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

In the early 1990s, during the Quincentennial Celebration of Columbus' discovery of the New World, a series of commemorative events took place at the site which Land Fall Park occupies. In 1991, a Japanese replica of Columbus' flagship, the *Nao Santa Maria*, landed in Long Bay while reenacting Columbus' 1492 voyage. A monument to this event was erected in 1992 (Figure 4.55). This monument is known as the Nao Santa Maria Monument and is constructed of concrete with a smooth, white outer coating. Two plaques on the monument include English and Japanese versions of a statement of significance for the monument. The plaques commemorate the construction and voyage of the *Nao Santa Maria* as an attempt to "pay homage to Columbus and his crew and to carry [a] message of hope for a grand harmony in the future: harmony between men and nations, between man and the environment and between the earth and the universe."²¹⁹

²¹⁹ Excerpt from inscription on the Nao Santa Maria Monument, Land Fall Park, San Salvador, Bahamas.



Figure 4.55 Nao Santa Maria Monument and Plaques – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

In 1992, another monument to the Quincentennial anniversary was erected just north of the Columbus Monument cross. This monument was dedicated to the island of San Salvador from the Spanish. It is built in a modernist style with stacked triangular slabs of concrete as its base, a three-foot tall triangular projection, and a fifteen-foot tall abstract cross made of steel tubing. The tubing is painted in the black, blue and yellow colors of the Bahamian flag. It includes a tile mosaic that references the 1992 visit of the *Nao Santa Maria* and a series of commemorative activities that took place at Land Fall Park in 1992 (Figures 4.56 – 4.57).

A flurry of excitement erupted on San Salvador during the Quincentennial anniversary celebrations, and the site of Columbus' first landfall was used for a series of celebrations on October 12, 1992. These events included a church service, a reenactment of Columbus' landing and the dedication ceremony of a reconstructed Lucayan village (Figure 4.58). The sense of excitement during this time was coupled with an explosion of international travel as visiting dignitaries and tourists from around the world joined in the celebrations on San Salvador. Along with the many monuments constructed during this period, a series of flagpoles were erected lining the road near Land Fall Park (Figure 4.59). Feelings of enthusiasm and optimism during the early 1990s were further boosted by the opening of the Club Med Resort.



Figure 4.56 Spanish Quincentennial Monument – erected 1992, Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.57 Tile Mosaic Dedication – Spanish Quincentennial Monument – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

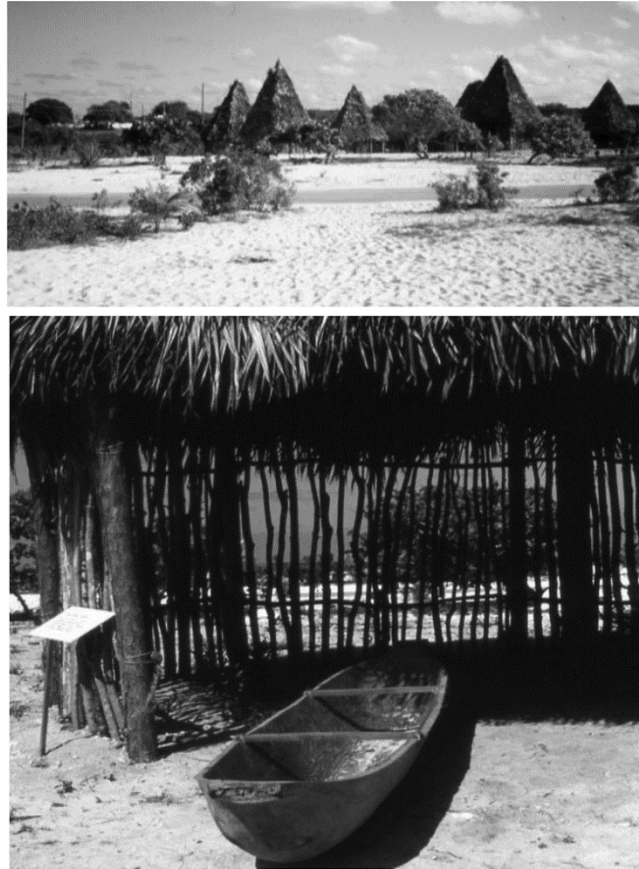


Figure 4.58 Views of the Replica Lucayan Village – 1992, Land Fall Park. (Ronald Shaklee, “Cultural Landscape Change at San Salvador: 1984-2011,” *The 14th Symposium on the Natural History of the Bahamas*, San Salvador, Bahamas: Gerace Research Centre, (2011): 263.)



Figure 4.59 Flagpoles Along Queen’s Highway at Long Bay – 1991, Land Fall Park. (Shaklee, “Cultural Landscape Change at San Salvador: 1984-2011,” 264.)

While the spirit of commemoration is certainly strong at Land Fall Park, the site is also an important place for the island as a community park. The designed features that support community gathering and recreation at the site include an outdoor restaurant/bar area for public use, stage for concerts, volleyball court, picnic areas, restrooms, and access to the beach. The site's built features interact with the natural features, taking advantage of native vegetation in places. Large trees offer picnic areas shade, and sculptural slabs are paved in open areas to take advantage of the flat topography east of the beach. The monuments on the site are scattered throughout the park with no formal circulation between them or other features on the site. The only formal pathway at the site is a paved sidewalk along the western edge of the Queen's Highway. This sidewalk is lined by a single ship's rope hanging from two-foot tall posts set into the sand on the path's western edge. This fence delineates the main area of the site from the road, but across the road is an associated bath house made of concrete block, painted white and bright green. A newly installed sign near the northeast corner of the site notifies visitors of the site's name (Figures 4.60 - 4.62).



Figure 4.60 Monuments to Columbus – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.61 Community Bar and Volley Ball Court – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)



Figure 4.62 Natural and Designed Landscape Features – Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017)

Existing Conditions

Land Fall Park is officially managed by the local government and it is marketed to tourists interested in San Salvador's ties to Christopher Columbus' landfall. The site is maintained fairly regularly, including maintenance of vegetation and periodic repainting of the bar building and bath house. This maintenance, has allowed the site to remain in an overall state of fair to good condition, with the exception of a few key elements of the commemorative objects present. As it is located very close to the ocean, the park is periodically struck by hazardous weather, sometimes resulting in major degradation of character defining features of the site.

To date, natural forces, such as hazardous weather, have primarily affected the integrity of materials of construction on the monuments (Figures 4.63). The spatial organization, patterns of landscape features, circulation and small-scale features have not been highly impacted by such weather events and remain in good overall condition. Also, regular maintenance has insured that the buildings, structures and sites used for local community gatherings remain in good overall condition.



Figure 4.63 Poor Condition of Concrete and Flag Poles on the South Side of Land Fall Park. (Photo taken by the author, November 2017).

Significance

The Land Fall Park proposed Historic Site is significant on an international level for its association with the Exploration Period, and on the national and local levels for its association with Commemoration, and Community/Culture.

As this site is the most likely site of the first landfall of Christopher Columbus and his crew, on October 12, 1492, it is considered the starting point from which European colonial or ‘Columbian’ cultural exchange began in the western hemisphere. Proposal for the park as a Historic Site not only relies on its association with Columbus’ landfall, but also on the site’s role in the development of commemorative activities and monuments on San Salvador Island. The monuments at Land Fall Park provide important insight into the attitudes and opinions of the people who created, erected, dedicated, and continue to preserve them. San Salvador is home to at least five monuments to Christopher Columbus designed and constructed in the last 100 years, Land Fall Park houses four of these monuments today, created by varying groups of people. These monuments are an important part of San Salvador’s legacy and the formal landscape upon which they are situated should be protected.

A third aspect of the Park’s significance relates to themes of social history and entertainment/recreation on a local (San Salvador Island) and Family Island level. The Park is one of three important sites on San Salvador that offer the local community and visitors to the island public facilities for hosting major, Island-wide events and every day recreational opportunities. Events range from large-scale celebrations, such as Junkanoo parades and commemorative dedications, to smaller gatherings for fish-frys and volleyball games. Every day locals and tourists alike visit Land Fall Park for a quick

lunch break in the shade of the park's large trees or a nighttime gathering by an ocean-side fire. Perhaps owing to the site's reputation in relation to Columbus' landfall and the many monuments there, the Park is the most photographed place on San Salvador. The often calm and always crystal clear waters of Long Bay offer wonderful swimming and snorkeling opportunities right from the beach and access to the park is easy and free for all visitors.

Preservation Critique

The greatest challenge to the significance of Land Fall Park as a Historic Site is the question of integrity of the landscape in association with Christopher Columbus' first landfall in the New World. While it is suspected and very likely that this site is very close to the first landfall, there is simply no way to prove the claim. Archaeological evidence collected by Charles Hoffman during the early 1980s certainly backs up the claim, and scholars on the subject have come to a general agreement that the site is at least close to the first landfall. The issue of location in this case is rather unimportant however because knowing the *exact* location of Columbus' first footsteps on San Salvador does not take away from the site's association with the actual event. Connections between the physical location of the Park, Long Bay, the supposed beach landing site, and the narratives of the landfall event are certainly strong enough for visitors to recognize and appreciate the importance of the site.

Therefore, the bigger question becomes one related to the site's integrity of feeling and association with the historic event. Certainly, the physical environment has been manipulated drastically over the 500-plus years since that faithful day of first

landfall. The native vegetation has been stripped from the landscape, roads built, power lines added, a commemorative park established, and a community park complex erected on the site. How then does the site convey the landfall event? The best answer to this question relates to how the park has become a popular site for commemoration of that event.

Therefore, the significance of the site should not be underestimated, but rather promotion and interpretation of the site should address issues of the location of first landfall and the evolution of the Park's landscape. In fact, the unique set of resources at the proposed Land Fall Park Historic Site afford a wonderful opportunity to engage visitors, locals and tourists alike, in conversations not only about the significance of the Exploration Period, but also the attitudes and opinions of the people who have engaged in commemorative activities on the site to date.

Land Fall Park is a beautiful place to enjoy one of San Salvador's pristine beaches, excellently clear waters, rich history, and local culture. Therefore, the park has been heavily promoted to San Salvador's tourists. Though only a relative few tourists are adventurous enough to leave the all-inclusive compound of the Club Med Resort during their vacations, almost all who venture out are likely to visit Land Fall Park. While these encounters are somewhat by chance, owing to the close proximity of the park to the Resort, the park sees many types of visitors. Island heritage excursions are promoted by San Salvador's Ministry of Tourism, and Land Fall Park is one of the most important stops on these tours. Periodically, larger tourism-related activities focus on the site. While visiting the Land Fall Park in late November of 2017, the author noticed a considerable effort to clean up the site and repaint the buildings there. Upon inquiry as to

the motivation for the work the locals explained that a small cruise ship would be dropping anchor just off of Long Bay to visit San Salvador the following week. It was understood that a large number of foreign tourists would be visiting the park to learn about Christopher Columbus and to enjoy San Salvador's historic sites such as Land Fall Park, the Loyalist plantation ruins and the Dixon Hill Lighthouse.

Should San Salvador continue to promote these sorts of tourist activities, the government agencies and local actors in charge of the preservation, promotion and interpretation of sites like Land Fall Park will be presented with considerable challenges as to how to interpret and protect cultural and historic resources. Land Fall Park is an interesting test case for analyzing these issues due to the intricacies involved in balancing the management of its association with Columbus' landfall, its history as a commemorative site, and its current function as a community gathering place. Perhaps the best way to continue to promote the site is through collaborative efforts of promotion and protection between The Bahamas Ministry of Tourism, the Antiquities, Monuments, and Museums Corporation of The Bahamas, and interested locals such as Jermaine Johnson and his 'Hearts for Heritage' program.

SITE AND DISTRICT PROPOSAL FINDINGS

The in-depth analysis and proposal of historic sites and districts on San Salvador reveals four key findings.

First, as evidenced by the analysis of three sites on San Salvador, at least some heritage resources already listed on The Bahamas National Register of Historic

Resources can be reevaluated and successfully linked to significance on a local, national and even international level.

Second, there is a potential for such resources to achieve significance relating to associations with multiple areas of significance.

Third, evaluation of previously listed or newly identified heritage resources with an eye toward preservation, promotion and interpretation as historic/cultural sites or districts, affords an opportunity to address the question of why and for whom such resources should be preserved. In the case of the three sites on San Salvador, considering resources as historic sites and districts revealed interconnections and layering of areas of significance that affords the potential for heritage resources to aid in educating Bahamians, promoting heritage tourism, and performing future research. This type of evaluation allows a fuller and more authentic story to be revealed, By establishing the connection between important aspects of Bahamian history and actual resources, interested parties can begin to use them as educational tools for Bahamians, authentic sites for promoting heritage tourism, and for the promotion of future research.

Fourth, the research required to develop the case study of San Salvador, along with the in-depth analysis of the three sites and districts, revealed that The Bahamas has no formal standards for treatment and physical management of heritage resources.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

The case study of San Salvador's heritage resources led to a number of key results and findings, at both the island specific level and at a nationwide level. On the island level, the findings relate to specific resources identified on San Salvador, and on the nationwide level to broader analysis of resource management in The Bahamas. The broader analysis involves referencing the physical and historical contexts established in the first two sections of Chapter 2. With these contexts in mind, findings were developed based on reference to current heritage resource management systems and the implications of tourism topics on preservation in The Bahamas. On both levels, analysis includes how historic resources are identified, evaluated, and treated in order to answer the original research question, *What physical resources and legal mechanisms exist today that allow the full breadth of history to be revealed, engaging Bahamians and visitors alike in an authentic experience?*

Why Preservation Matters

Chapter 2 established that The Bahamas has a unique physical, historical and cultural heritage that can be understood through development of formally defined areas of significance. Heritage resources are the physical and intangible record of that unique heritage and they can be preserved in order to act as aids in revealing Bahamian history

through programs aimed at educating Bahamians about their own history, and promoting heritage tourism.

A review of general Bahamian history and the history of preservation activities there, reveals that The Bahamas is interested in developing systems for identifying, evaluating, protecting, and promoting their heritage. The inclusion of Bahamian history, as opposed to British history, into curriculum for middle-school-aged children did not begin until the 1990s. Grassroots efforts led by organizations and influential community leaders have increasingly recognized the opportunities that preservation of heritage resources offers in relation to creating authentic experiences. Even with these efforts, there is a need to further develop formal systems for doing so. Furthermore, there is a significant deficiency in regard to funding and national support for management of heritage resources.

Identification of Heritage Resources

The Bahamas' heritage inventory is housed within The Bahamas' National Register of Historic Resources and one of the first stages of the case study of San Salvador involved an evaluation of the National Register site files for the island. This evaluation revealed that the site files for the entire nation lack key reference categories required for analysis of heritage resources.

Early evaluation of San Salvador's site file revealed that little to no effort had been made to survey *heritage resources* of the island, but rather the files include primarily the sites targeted by archaeologists and other scientific disciplines. Listings include name and location for each site, but do not include size, boundaries, or lists of

features. Some site files include reference to site type, such as “pre-Columbian” or “historic,” but, as almost all of San Salvador’s listed sites are the record of previous archaeological excavations, they are primarily pre-historic sites. The sites listed as “historic” include Loyalist plantation ruins, but very little to no reference is made to size, boundaries, existing conditions, significance, integrity, landscape features, or surround topography. Furthermore, the files are inconsistent. A number of files are empty or mislabeled, and some files only include the name and location of the resource, while other files include obscure history write-ups and/or detailed geologic analysis.

Another major issue involves availability. The site files for San Salvador, and the rest of The Bahamas for that matter, are not readily available or easily acquired. Like the majority of the files, San Salvador’s are not digitized and can only be accessed in person at the Antiquities, Monuments, and Museums Corporation’s (AMMC) Nassau headquarters. Before performing the survey of San Salvador, quantifying the number of heritage resources listed on the National Register for San Salvador proved extremely difficult. Therefore, significant research was required to decipher which listings relate to historic/cultural resources and not specifically natural or scientific studies.

During the development of the survey process it became increasingly apparent that certain resource types were only minimally represented in the National Register site files for San Salvador. Perhaps most notably missing are local parks, cemeteries, churches, and nightclubs. Prior to this thesis, these types of resources had not been documented or considered for listing on a heritage inventory.

These factors led to the adoption of one of the two main objectives of this thesis—to *perform a comprehensive survey and analysis of historic/cultural resources on*

San Salvador. During the five-day-long comprehensive survey on San Salvador, 11 buildings, 4 structures, 1 object, 10 sites, and 11 districts (which also incorporate many additional contributing and non-contributing buildings, structures, objects, and sites) were surveyed, totaling 37 features documented. As this survey was the first comprehensive survey of heritage resources of San Salvador, a number of resources were surveyed for the first time. Of the 37 surveyed resources, only 16 were listed prior to the survey.

Besides expansion of the existing inventory of San Salvador's heritage resources, the case study also afforded an opportunity to compile research findings and historical documentation about specific resources into one place. This process proved particularly important regarding resources that had been previously listed but whose site files did not include reference to all aspects for which they are significant, namely those which are best considered as sites or districts. For example, there are three National Register site files that lie within the boundaries of the proposed Land Fall Park Historic Site. One is listed as a prehistoric archaeological site and two of the park's monuments are listed as separate resources. A fourth site is potentially associated with the park as it is located just north of the proposed boundaries and is the place of an archaeological excavation that yielded evidence of Christopher Columbus' first landfall. Scholars have vaguely referred to this site in scholarly articles for decades, yet the site is not referenced in the National Register. The result of the case study's compilation of research is a more complete site file for resources already listed on the National Register, as well as for newly identified sites.

A reflection on the survey process indicates that the scope of the survey was too large given the available time, and more survey and research is required to gain a better feel for the scope of heritage resources on San Salvador.

On a broader level, research related to heritage resources of The Bahamas is extremely difficult in terms of logistics. As a researcher of heritage resource management, the author was faced with the difficulty of locating and gaining access to the National Register site files; which, for the majority of the Commonwealth's islands and local communities, exist only in roughly organized paper files in a single file cabinet in the AMMC's Nassau office. While efforts to digitize these files is underway, major budgetary constraints and limited staff availability inhibit progress.

Evaluation of Significance and Integrity

While developing a system for evaluating significance and integrity of heritage resources for the case study of San Salvador, the author first turned to the guiding literature provided by the AMMC (Appendix A). This source proved inadequate however, as it does not include sufficient guidance into developing context and areas of significance within Bahamian history. Therefore, the author turned to the guidance of the US National Park Service for evaluating significance of heritage resources.

Three specific issues are highlighted in regard to establishing a system for evaluating the significance and integrity of heritage resources in The Bahamas. First, a formally designed system for evaluation is required as individuals and agencies continue to identify and nominate heritage resources to the National Register. Second, there is a need to reevaluate previously listed resources with a preservation minded evaluation

protocol. Third, there is a need for defined contexts and areas of significance in local, national, and international history that can be used for evaluation of significance and integrity for identified heritage resources.

Finally, the in-depth analysis of three sites on San Salvador indicate that there are resources that offer great opportunities for developing historic/heritage parks, sites and/districts that will support education of Bahamians, visitors to the nation, and further research related to Bahamian pre-history and history.

Treatment of Heritage Resources

As discussed in the Bahamian Heritage Management section of Chapter 2, the consolidation of heritage resource management under one office's purview, the AMMC, has had both positive and negative effects. On one hand, it means all records and research go through one office, allowing for the potential to consolidate collected information and scholarly research into one database and efficiently propose new listings on the National Register. On the other hand, budget restrictions and limited staff availability limits the agency's ability to manage such an extensive list of responsibilities. Currently, the office is in charge of all aspects related to heritage resource management in The Bahamas, including (1) the creation of inventories, (2) keeping the National Register records safe, organized, up to date, and available to the public, (3) evaluation of significance and integrity of resources already listed as well as those newly proposed, (4) promotion and interpretation of resources, and (5) management of the physical treatment of listed resources.

One of the AMMC's greatest weaknesses relates to the final charge—management of physical treatment. Through all levels of research for this thesis, the author was unable to locate any formal or informal guidance, or sets of standards for the treatment of heritage resources in The Bahamas. Issues related to a lack of standards for treatment became increasingly obvious during the process of surveying San Salvador. During the survey, several resources listed on the National Register were identified as having received improper treatment, threatening the integrity of said resources. A number of newly surveyed resources were similarly noted as having received improper treatment in the past.

Good promotion and interpretation of heritage resources relies on authenticity and integrity. As such, one's experience of a historic resource is typically enhanced by management that chooses an appropriate treatment for historic/cultural buildings and landscapes. While this thesis does not attempt to analyze the treatment of specific heritage resources in The Bahamas beyond the case study of San Salvador, no evaluation of heritage resource management can go without at least some discussion of treatment.

CHAPTER 6

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following three subheaders include a few recommendations for further development of identification systems, evaluation protocols, and treatment policies related to Bahamian heritage resource management. They are provided based on the findings of the case study of San Salvador Island and an overall review of heritage resource management in The Bahamas, as discussed in Chapter 5, Findings.

Recommendations for Identification

As described in Chapter 3, creating comprehensive inventories of heritage resources is essential in developing management plans for such resources. Inventories are a necessary tool because they...

inform authorities, scholars and the public of essential information about heritage resources including their size, location, and significance. They also enable comparison of sites, aiding in categorization, appraisal of authenticity and integrity, and determination of relative significance—assessments that can assist in prioritizing management interventions.²²⁰

Inventories can only function in this way if they include reference to key aspects or characteristics of identified heritage resources. For example, if an inventory is only a list of resources by name and type, it cannot serve as an adequate inventory to discuss geographic distribution, as it lacks spatial reference. Therefore, heritage resource

²²⁰ David Myers, Yiannis Avarmides, and Alison Dalgity, “Changing the Heritage Inventory Paradigm,” in “Heritage Inventories,” *Conservation Perspectives, The GCI Newsletter*, The Getty Conservation Institute, (Fall 2013): 4.

inventories must include reference to a variety of characteristics in order to ensure proper management at the island specific and nationwide levels. Reference categories can be standardized within a heritage management program, and when inventories are developed on the island specific level they should, at minimum, include resource name, location, size, boundaries, list of contributing and non-contributing features, resource type, and existing condition. When resources are assessed on the nationwide level, references to significance and integrity are important, and additional references should be made in order to examine how specific resources fit into the overall scheme of identified heritage resources. For example, categorization of building type, style, and setting offer the opportunity to compare and contrast when analyzing heritage resource programs. Likewise, if an inventory includes references to landscape features and surrounding topography, analysis can be made as to how the physical setting affects identified resources.

It is important that a system of surveying and managing inventories be established in order to provide a comprehensive National Register of Historic Resources for The Bahamas. It is imperative that The Bahamas government provide sufficient funding and training for staff within the AMMC to reorganize the existing site files nationwide. Also, national policy should be developed requiring local island communities to perform surveys on regular intervals in order to develop a more complete site file for the National Register. In such a system, the nationwide policy will help engage local communities in creating inventories, enabling Bahamians to better understand why and how they should preserve their own heritage.

Recommendations for Evaluation Protocol

Heritage resource inventories should not be simple lists of old buildings, structures, objects, sites and districts, rather they should incorporate references to the value of resources in terms of their association with certain areas of significance and context within history. Resources must also retain sufficient integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association with defined areas of significance.

Adopting a more comprehensive system for listing sites and districts onto the National Register will allow places like Fortune Hill Plantation, Dixon Hill Lighthouse and Land Fall Park to include references to varying resource types and narratives of significance into one site file. Compiling varying resource types and their respective documentation into a singular and more comprehensive site file will allow researchers, educators, and managers easier access to pertinent information.

The case study of San Salvador sheds light on how The Bahamas' heritage resources can be evaluated within defined contexts and areas of significance not currently being considered. By highlighting five themes or areas of significance in the history of San Salvador and The Bahamas (the Exploration Period, San Salvador's Loyalist Period, Technology and Transportation, Commemorations, and Community and Culture), this case study provides examples of how preservation and interpretation of heritage/cultural resources can help reveal the breadth of The Bahamas' rich history.

Moving forward, agencies such as the AMMC should attempt to formally define and promote specific areas of significance, historic contexts, periods of significance, categories of buildings, national and local styles of art and architecture, important peoples

in history, and important cultural activities. By defining such categories, trends and themes, Bahamians will be able to better understand what resources are significant and why/how they should be preserved.

Recommendations for Treatment Policies

First, the AMMC should define a set of treatments and then develop a set of standards and process for choosing which treatment is appropriate for specific applications. The process of determining how to treat specific resources is typically performed on a case-by-case basis, but developing a broad set of standards serves as a starting point when developing strategies aimed at retaining the associative value of heritage resources. If following the US model for choosing the appropriate treatment, the categories are *preservation, rehabilitation, restoration* and *reconstruction*.²²¹

The *preservation* treatment focuses on maintenance and repair while retaining as much original material and character defining features as possible. Preservation often includes stabilization and regular maintenance. *Rehabilitation* acknowledges a need to alter or add to the original form, but does so while retaining the historic character of the resources. Often rehabilitations involve a new use for the resource, and therefore, can offer an opportunity to save a property that otherwise might be lost completely.

Restorations attempt to return a resource back to its form during some particular time in history. *Reconstruction* is a re-creation of lost, totally vanished, or non-surviving

²²¹ “Choosing an appropriate treatment for a historic building or landscape is critical,” “Four Approaches to the Treatment of Historic Properties,” Technical Preservation Services, US Department of the Interior National Park Service, accessed March 20, 2018, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards/four-treatments.htm>

portions of a resource. Reconstructions can be performed on varying scales, from reconstruction of lost objects or footpaths to entire buildings and landscapes.

The choice of treatment depends on a number of variables including the significance, current condition, proposed use and intended interpretation of the resource. In order to decide on a particular treatment, a resource should first be evaluated in terms of these variables in order to retain sufficient integrity of association with the defined historical/cultural context.

A prime example of not understanding that historic materials retain significance, resulting in the choice of an improper treatment of historic fabric is the renovations at the proposed Dixon Hill Lighthouse Historic District, underway during this survey process. While the Dixon Hill Lighthouse retains its integrity as a historic ILS lighthouse in the Bahamas, part of a group of lighthouses eligible for the World Heritage list, considerable mistreatment of character defining features on associated buildings was underway during the survey. While not affecting the lighthouse directly, it is the opinion of the author that the removal of original windows to be replaced with modern windows for weatherproofing, and covering of imported historic brick pavers on the keeper's quarters with new pavers, as well as replacement of original stone wall material with concrete block negatively impacts the historic integrity of the site as a whole. Furthermore, without immediate stabilization, many of the site's auxiliary buildings, structures and objects will soon be left in ruin. Improper renovations and neglect of auxiliary structures may not sacrifice the eligibility of the lighthouse itself for listing on the World Heritage List, but retaining the complex' overall integrity of feeling and association as it represents the theme of Technology and Transportation within the Atlantic colonial context, is of

utmost importance for promoting and interpreting an authentic site to encourage sustainable heritage tourism

From preservation and stabilization, to rehabilitation, restoration and reconstruction practices, it is imperative that the AMMC define appropriate heritage conservation treatment strategies.

Final Recommendations

The case study of San Salvador serves as an example of documentation of heritage resources with an eye toward creating historic/cultural sites and districts, therefore, the findings can perhaps begin to help develop templates for required heritage management plans in accordance with the Bahamas Antiquities Act of 1998. It is the hope of the author that the results of this research can be used by the AMMC to develop strategic plans for the preservation, promotion and interpretation of heritage resources on San Salvador and for the rest of The Bahamas. Upon reflection on the case study process, the following five general recommendations are offered.

First, there is a need for development of a set of standards for creating heritage inventories for The Bahamas. These inventories should draw on a standardized comprehensive survey form and process that can then be narrowed to a specific level.

Second, the creation of inventories should afford opportunities to evaluate significance and integrity of heritage resources on multiple levels (local, island, national and international) and within a pre-defined list of areas of significance. Such a pre-defined list should not be totally exclusive, but should be developed in order to provide

property owners and the public opportunities to begin to understand how heritage resources relate to specific aspects of Bahamian history.

Third, efforts to develop inventories and evaluate significance/integrity should engage the public whenever possible. Incentive programs such as tax concessions offer a starting point to promote preservation of privately owned resources, but the AMMC should go a step beyond these programs and attempt to engage the public in conversations about how and why preservation of heritage is important.

Fourth, adopting a collaborative framework between interested parties such as research groups, educational groups, non-profits and historical societies, and the AMMC is of the utmost importance. While AMMC should remain the primary governing and managing body for heritage resources, collaboration with other interested parties will allow the organization to delegate some of its responsibilities to other parties. Essentially sharing the load, collaboration could help develop more efficient processes for identification, protection, promotion, interpretation and treatment of heritage resources.

Fifth, there is a need to formally categorize building types, styles, materials of construction, areas/periods of significance and historical contexts in Bahamian history. Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis attempt to discuss some of these aspects as they relate to specific resources and areas of significance for San Salvador, but revealing the full breadth of Bahamian history requires further work. Creating categories and typologies will help to quantify the diverse set of potential heritage resources of The Bahamas.

CONCLUSIONS

“It has been said that, at its best, preservation engages the past in a conversation with the present over a mutual concern for the future.”

- *William J Murtagh*

The story of The Bahamas is rich and unique, and despite having spent the better part of a year researching, surveying, and analyzing heritage resources there, I have only begun to scratch the surface in regard to preservation of heritage resources. The background research component of this thesis reveals a wealth of significant historic and cultural contexts awaiting promotion and interpretation. While major leaps have been made in the field of heritage preservation in The Bahamas over the past 30 years, financial resources for the management of cultural heritage remain limited. Furthermore, physical and cultural division within The Bahamas account for a delicate preservation climate in 2018. Just as the physical separation of the islands creates a difficult environment for developing collaborative programs for identification, preservation, and promotion of heritage resources, internal division within Bahamian culture and society are likewise equally limiting. Cultural division between foreign nationals and native Bahamians, native lower- and native upper-class individuals, along with the lingering effects of the Atlantic colonial/slavery system on the archipelago pose difficult questions as to what, how and why The Bahamas should engage in heritage resource management.

The case study of San Salvador afforded an opportunity to test a survey program aimed at developing a more comprehensive approach to creating heritage resource inventories in The Bahamas. Furthermore, it allowed the author to discover and propose five specific areas of significance in Bahamian developmental history. It is the hope of the author that these discoveries can be used in the future to evaluate the significance of

heritage resources. While the case study was also successful in formally documenting a number of potential new listings to The Bahamas' National Register, it was somewhat lacking in terms of developing sufficient documentation of significance and integrity for each site. Therefore, more research is required for San Salvador. This is not stated to downplay the results of the thesis, but it should serve as a call to others to continue this work. Furthermore, like San Salvador before the case study, other Bahamian islands have never received scholarly attention in regard to heritage resources, and a systematic approach to creating inventories, evaluating significance, and protecting/promoting heritage resources throughout The Bahamas is required.

Moving forward, attempts to develop heritage resource inventories for The Bahamas should inherit a more collaborative framework for surveying, recording and researching. By engaging local communities in the process of developing inventories, the resulting documentation would likely include much more comprehensive evaluation of their significance. Furthermore, some resources simply cannot be identified as significant nor evaluated for their associative value without the input of local community members and interested parties.

This study is also successful in developing a framework from which future research projects can draw. Analysis of the process adopted for this case study yielded new insights into the relationship between scholarly research, focused on specific spaces, places and activities, and how people actually perceive, learn from, and experience those resources. Insights into how heritage resources are evaluated, interpreted and experienced by locals and visitors is a relatively new field of scholarship for The Bahamas. The availability of research related to the field is obscure, and even the AMMC has not

compiled resources for beginning a research process in regard to such topics. The following three examples, in conjunction with this thesis, offer insights into how future projects can be developed.

First, scholars from the field of historical archaeology have been interested in San Salvador's Loyalist Plantations for decades. Their findings include insights into the evolution of not only San Salvador's culture and environment, but of Bahamian lifeways and the implications of the Atlantic colonial narrative. Often missing from these research projects is comprehensive analysis of how San Salvador's own people and its visitors experience these resources.

A project that attempts to develop a more comprehensive evaluation of the contemporary value of Bahamian Loyalist Plantation resources is the Cat Island Heritage Project, which began in 2013 as a collaboration between the AMMC and Allan Meyers. This project includes historic archaeological survey and comprehensive analysis of Loyalist plantation sites while embracing

...a collaborative framework for recording, interpreting and conserving materials related to slavery and emancipation... It evaluates consultation with descendants and others who have historical connections to study sites [and] invites local participation with the goal of increasing community investment in the stewardship of cultural heritage.²²²

The Cat Island Heritage Project's collaborative framework is an improvement on both this thesis' case study and previously conducted archaeological field studies of Bahamian plantation sites, but its focus is limited to the Loyalist Plantation narrative. Therefore, the project leaves out other significant resource types that require survey and analysis, such as those suggested in this study.

²²² Meyers, "Historical Landscapes of Golden Grove and Newfield Plantations."

An example of a more inclusive study of cultural resources was conducted on San Salvador, by Ronald Shaklee, during a period from the mid-1980s to 2011. Though rather informal, Shaklee presents a series of photographs taken during his frequent visits to the island over the almost thirty-year period. Essentially charting cultural change over time through photographic documentation of physical spaces and places, Shaklee characterizes cultural landscape change on San Salvador as a “now you see it, now you don’t phenomenon.”²²³ Shaklee’s project highlights the implication of cultural shifts in relation to the physical environment, presenting a variety of resource types, such as community parks, docks, nightclubs, monuments, settlements, roadways, historic sites, and natural environments. Many of the researches Shaklee documents overlap with those surveyed in this thesis’ case study.

Shaklee’s charting of cultural landscape change over time offers the opportunity to not only document that change but interpret how that change affects the people of San Salvador. While such information is remarkably useful when attempting to understand San Salvador’s unique history, the application of preservation-minded analysis, as performed in this case study, offers the opportunity to take Shaklee’s documentation a step further. The portion of this thesis’ case study that focuses on why and how to preserve, promote and interpret heritage/cultural resources is an attempt at taking that next step.

San Salvador and The Bahamas have undergone many changes since their historic beginning, and some of these changes are considered advantageous, others detrimental, but what is clear is that despite any alterations to their culture and built

²²³ Shaklee, “Cultural Landscape Change at San Salvador: 1984-2011.”

environment, Bahamians have retained their core values. San Salvador and The Bahamas is home to a uniquely friendly people whose' easy-going and hospitable embrace extends to any visitor willing to reply in kind. It is this unique culture that should serve as the primary driver for preservation—which, when performed in earnest, attempts to promote holistic experiences and culturally rich communities.

Scholarly attempts to quantify the significance and integrity of cultural resources can help develop formal standards for the evaluation and treatment of cultural resources, but future preservation efforts in The Bahamas should also embrace the value of local grassroots efforts to preserve culturally significant sites. A successful example of such preservation efforts on San Salvador was the recent reestablishment of a local park at Grahams Harbour. Though not a formal 'preservation' project, a local grassroots effort successfully saw the site's complex of colorful buildings restored after being almost totally destroyed by Hurricane Joaquin.

Whether on the local, national or international level, the protection, promotion and interpretation of heritage resources offers an opportunity for Bahamians to reveal the full breadth of their history and culture. Whether targeting local communities or visitors, interpretation of such resources takes the Bahamian narrative beyond sun, sand and sea, revealing a truly unique Bahamian heritage.



Figure 5.1 Grahams Harbour Park, before and after. (Photographs taken by the author, May 2016 on the left and November 2017 on the right)

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APPENDIX A:

Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources Property Application Short Form



**Antiquities, Monuments & Museum Corporation
Historic Preservation Department**



**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC RESOURCES
APPLICATION FORM**

The National Register of Historic Resources is the official national list of building, structures, districts, sites and objects significant in the history, architecture, archaeology, paleontology, engineering and culture of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas. These resources contribute to an understanding of the historic and cultural foundation of the Nation. The National Register includes:

- All prehistoric and historic resources under the mandate of the National Museum of The Bahamas, Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation.
- National historic landmarks, which are properties recognized by the Minister as possessing national significance.
- Properties that have historical significance in Islands of the Commonwealth of The Bahamas and its communities that may have been nominated by preview agencies.
- Other properties/resources that have been approved for listing by the Antiquities, Monument and Museums Corporation.

Governed by the Antiquities, Monuments and Museum Act (1998) & the Regulations (1999), the National Register listing is designed to assist in the preservation of historic resources in several ways:

- **To recognize and appreciate the importance of historic properties/resources.**
- **To consider historic properties in national planning projects.**
- **To allow owners of historic properties eligibility to tax concessions and other benefits.**

The Antiquities, Monuments and Museum Act (1998) & Regulations (1999) authorized the Minister responsible, to nominate properties and other resources to the National Register. Additionally, the Minister has the authority to carry out other preservation activities. Consequentially, preservation officers from the Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation have been mandated to nominate resources which are significant to the Bahamian patrimony.

A. WHAT QUALIFIES AS `A RESOURCE FOR LISTING?

Applications for properties/resources requesting to be listed in the National Register of Historic Resources **MUST** first be evaluated in accordance with one or more criteria for listing.

Generally a property must be fifty years of age or more to be considered a historic resource.

Historic Significance

- Association with historic events or activities,
- Association with important persons,
- Distinctive design or physical characteristics, or
- Potential to provide important information about prehistory or history.

Historic Integrity must also be evident through historic qualities including location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

Historic Context: information in relation to major trends of history in their community, island or the nation. Information about historic properties and trends is organized by their place and time which can be used to weigh the historic significance and integrity of a property/resource.

B. WHO MAY PREPARE A REGISTER APPLICATION?

Prior to submitting the **NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC RESOURCES APPLICATION FORM**, the applicant is required to review **Step 1: PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS** of this Form. This will not only guide the Applicant in determining whether the resource is eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Resources, but also whether he/she should continue completing the Form.

Any person or organization may prepare the Questionnaire and the subsequent National Register Application Form. This includes property owners, public agencies, private institutions, local historical societies, local preservation agencies, special interest groups, or other interested members of the general public.

Applicants must submit the completed forms to the Antiquities, Monuments & Museums Corporation, Historic Preservation Section or to the local Island Administrator's where the property/resource is located (to the attention of the Director of the Antiquities, Monuments & Museum Corporation)

Enquiries regarding whether a property/resource may be deemed historic must be submitted to the Antiquities, Monuments and Museums Corporation c/o the Historic Preservation Section. You will receive helpful hints regarding the documenting of your resources – historic houses, commercial buildings, churches public buildings etc. – as well as guidance on determining whether the resource meets the criteria for being listed.

ATTACHMENTS

It is extremely important in the evaluation of potential historic properties/resources that appropriate attachments are submitted. This will aid the decision-making process regarding the eligibility for listing to the Register.

The following back up information must be submitted. This information would ably assist in the evaluation of the application.

☐ PHOTOGRAPHS

(N. B. Photographs will not be returned, and will become a permanent part of the AMMC site records)

- Clear and descriptive photographs (recent and older photographs where possible) that show all elevations/facades of the exterior of the structure; view/s of significant interior features; any other associated structures
- It may be necessary to submit as many photographs as needed to represent the current condition as well as significant aspects of the property/resource. The photos should illustrate the qualities discussed in the description and statement of significance
- The size of each digital image must be 1600x1200 pixels at 300ppi (pixels per inch) or larger. A photo sheet is attached to this application.
- If available, historic photos of the property are also useful to supplement the application. Photocopies of historic photographs area also accepted.

☐ OTHER INFORMATION

- Other documentation regarding the property, such as deed/s of ownership is required with the application.
- Additional documentation such as newspaper articles; excerpts from books, family histories etc. - any information to enhance the application should also be submitted.
- The Historic Preservation Section also accepts **completed** applications via e-mail. Applications may be submitted to info@ammcbahamas.com

☐ ELIGIBILITY FOR TAX CONCESSIONS (DUTY FREE AND REAL PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTIONS)

- Properties meeting the Criteria and Eligibility for being listed on the National Register of Historic Resources are also eligible for Duty Free and Real Property Tax Exemptions as administered by the Ministry of Finance.
- The Application Form for these Concessions are also available from the Historic Preservation Section of the Antiquities, Monuments & Museum Corporation and from the Ministry of Finance



The National Museum of The Bahamas
Antiquities, Monuments & Museums Corporation

National Register of Historic Resources
Individual Property Form

This questionnaire is designed to help to determine whether a property is eligible to qualify for nomination in the National Register of Historic Places. Upon completion, submit the Form with attachments to the *National Museum of the Bahamas – Historic Preservation Section, P. O. Box EE 15082, Nassau, N. P. The Bahamas*

Step 1: PRELIMINARY QUESTIONS:

Is the structure/resource at least 50 years old?

Yes No

Is the property/resource historically significant?

Yes No

Is the structure/resource historically significant?

Yes No

If Yes – in what way is it historically significant?

If the answer to one or more of the above questions is 'NO' – the property/resource may not be eligible to be listed on the National Register of Historic Resources.

If the answer is 'YES' to all questions go to **Step 2.**

Step 2

ISLAND

Step 3: OWNER/LOCATION OF PROPERTY/RESOURCE

1. NAME OF APPLICANT/OWNER/AGENT

NOTE: Deed of Ownership must be attached to this Application

2. ADDRESS OF APPLICANT/OWNER/AGENT:

Street: _____

Town _____ P. O. Box _____

City: _____ Country: _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

3. OTHER INFORMATION (if any)

Street: _____

Town _____ P. O. Box _____

City: _____ Country: _____

State _____ Zip Code _____

Step 4: ABOUT THE PROPERTY/RESOURCE

4. Historic Name *(if known)*

5. Original date of construction *(if known)*

6. Status of Property:
 Occupied Vacant Abandoned

CLASSIFICATION

7. (a) **Ownership of Property**
(Check boxes that apply)
- Private
 - Public/Government
 - Public/Corporation
 - Other _____

- (b) **Category of Property**
(Check one box only)
- Buildings
 - District
 - Site
 - Structure
 - Object

(c) **Number of Resources within Property**

Contributing <i>(historic #)</i>	Non Contributing <i>(non-historic #)</i>
_____ Buildings _____	
_____ Sites _____	
_____ Structures _____	
_____ Objects _____	
_____ Totals _____	

FUNCTION OR USE

8. (a) **Use of Property**
(Check boxes that apply)
- Residential
 - Commercial
 - Industrial
 - Educational
 - Religious
 - Other _____

DESCRIPTION

9. (a) **Architectural Classification/Style**
(Select one)
- Georgian
 - Colonial
 - Classical
 - Gothic
 - Romanesque
 - Key West
 - Eclectic
 - Other _____

- (b) **Materials**
(Enter Category)
- Foundation (e.g. stone) _____
 - Walls (internal) (e.g. wood) _____
 - Walls (external) (e.g. stone) _____
 - Roof (e.g. tiles) _____
 - Other _____

- (c) Briefly describe the structure/resource *(building type, method of construction, materials used, distinctive features, etc.)*
- _____
- _____
- _____

- (d) What, if any, changes were made to the structure/resource that contribute to the historic integrity of the structure/resource? – *(example: additions, new windows, siding, roof, internal and external configurations, etc.)*
- _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

(e) Is the property on its original site? *(If Yes, where was it relocated from?)*

(f) What were/are the important features of its setting? Are they intact? *(If Yes, give details)*

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

10. (a) What is/was its original function?

(b) How is its history associated with major historical developments in the community, island or country?

(c) How did the pattern of events associated with the property contribute to the development of the community, island or country?

(d) Were any important person/persons associated with the property/resource? *(If Yes – give details)*

10. Is/are there any publication/s that feature/s the structure/resource? *(newspaper, magazine clippings, books, movies/films etc.)*

19. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Step 5: PHOTOS

(Checklist)

Existing photos of structure/resource

Exterior

Front Elevation

Side Elevations

Back Elevation

Interior

Pictures of the main rooms, wall, ceiling, floor etc.

Common spaces, such as living, dining, kitchen, enclosed verandah, classroom, auditorium, warehouse etc.

Private spaces, bedrooms etc.

Old and/or Historic Photographs

Photos of the structure/resource may be submitted as scans, photocopies, newspaper clippings etc.

DO NOT SUBMIT YOUR ORIGINAL PHOTOS AS THEY WILL NOT BE RETURNED.

Additional photos that may be submitted include any or all of the following:

Front Door and Door Frame

Window and Window Frame

Ornamental Details

Cornerstone
Dome

Stained Glass

Barns, Stables, Outbuildings

Iron, Wire, or Wooden Fences

Gardens, Terraces, Setting

Other _____

Ornamental
Plaster

Old Lighting
Fixtures

Vintage Equipment

Tower, Steeple,

Old or New
Alterations

Staircases

Mantels

Fine Woodwork

Step 6: SUBMITTING THE COMPLETED FORM

Completed Forms are to be submitted to:

Antiquities, Monuments & Museum Corporation
Centreville House Complex
#34 Collins Avenue
P. O. Box EE15802
Nassau, Bahamas

The completed Application Form will be reviewed and the Applicant will be contacted regarding whether the Structure/Resource is eligible for Listing in the Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources

Contact Information:

Street: _____

Town: _____ P. O. Box: _____

City: _____ Country: _____

State: _____ Zip Code: _____

E-mail Address: _____

Any other contact information: _____

APPENDIX B:

Bahamas National Register of Historic Resources Application for Tax Concessions



Ministry of Finance and Planning
 Sir Cecil Wallace-Whitfield Centre
 P. O. Box N-3017
 Nassau Bahamas

**NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC RESOURCES
 APPLICATION FOR TAX CONCESSIONS**

- REAL PROPERTY TAX EXEMPTION
- DUTY FREE EXEMPTION

1. _____
NAME OF APPLICANT/AGENT

Address:
 Street: _____
 P. O. Box: _____
 Telephone: _____
 Fax: _____
 Email: _____

2. _____
NAME OF PROPERTY OWNER

Address:
 Street: _____
 P. O. Box: _____
 Telephone: _____
 Fax: _____
 Email: _____

3. _____
NAME OF PROPERTY (if any)

Historic Name: _____
 Original Date of Construction (if known): _____
 Description: _____

 *Attach unmounted photographs (See Explanatory Note 1)

4. **LOCATION OF BUILDING:**
 Street: _____ House No: _____
 P. O. Box: _____
 Community/Settlement: _____
 City/Town: _____

5. **OCCUPATION OF BUILDING:** (See Explanatory Note 2)

- Occupied
- Vacant
- Abandoned

6. **CLASSIFICATION:**

<p>(A) OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY (Check boxes that apply)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Private <input type="checkbox"/> Public/Government <input type="checkbox"/> Public/Corporation 	<p>(B) CATEGORY OF PROPERTY (Check one box only)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Buildings <input type="checkbox"/> District <input type="checkbox"/> Site <input type="checkbox"/> Structure <input type="checkbox"/> Object
<p>(C) USE OF PROPERTY (Check boxes that apply)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <input type="checkbox"/> Residential <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial <input type="checkbox"/> Industrial <input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Religious <input type="checkbox"/> Other 	<p>(D) MATERIALS (Enter category)</p> <p>foundation (e.g. stone) _____ walls (internal) (e.g. wood) _____ walls (external) (e.g. stone) _____ roof (e.g. tiles) _____ other (e.g. asbestos, shingles) _____</p>

7. **NUMBER OF RESOURCES WITHIN PROPERTY:** (See Explanatory Note 3)

<p>Contributing (historic)</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>Non-Contributing (non-historic)</p> <p>Buildings _____</p> <p>Sites _____</p> <p>Structures _____</p> <p>Objects _____</p> <p>Totals _____</p>
---	---

EXPLANATORY NOTES:

Note 1. (Question 3)

Applicants should provide good, clear photographs to describe the building or site and its surroundings *before* improvement. ***Polaroid photographs will not be accepted.*** Photographs should be numbered, dated and labeled with property name, the view (e.g. east side) and a brief description of the view. Photographs should be keyed to the application narrative and sketch map where appropriate.

Note 2. (Question 5)

In deciding whether a building is occupied, vacant or abandoned, a structure is considered occupied if the space therein is occupied for a minimum period of one month per year. A vacant structure is one that is habitable but is temporarily unoccupied. An abandoned building is a structure that is either habitable or inhabitable that has not been continuously occupied for a period of three years or more. The authority will give consideration to the following; (a) the physical condition of the building; (b) the period of non-use; (c) whether there had been any other intervening use; and (d) the owner's intention.

Note 3. (Question 7)

It is recognized that there may be cases of multiple resources (i.e. buildings, structures, objects, etc.) located within a property where all of the same do not have historic merit. Contributing resources are those that have been deemed to have historic merits. Although non-contributing resources may not have historic merits they sometimes make up an essential part of the overall historic entity and should be listed in the space provided.

Note 4. (Question 8)

Information provided in response to Question 8 should include a detailed description of the restoration, renovation or rehabilitation works being proposed. For buildings, begin by describing site work, following by work on the exterior, including new construction and finally work on the interior, as applicable.

Note 5. (Question 9)

- a) A building permit and approval of the Town Planning Committee is required for any material changes (modification, addition, demolition, etc.) to the exterior of a building whether the building is an historic structure or not. The Special Projects Committee of the Ministry of Finance and Planning will review all applications, and the Special Architectural Committee must review applications for sites in the Historic Nassau area.
- b) Application should be made for Approval in Principle for more complex proposals and should follow preliminary discussions with the Planning Department.

**NOTE: ALL PRIOR REAL PROPERTY TAXES ARE TO BE
PAID UP IN FULL TO BE ELIGIBLE FOR THESE
EXEMPTIONS**

APPENDIX C:

San Salvador Island Heritage Resource Reconnaissance Survey Form

San Salvador Island Heritage Resource Reconnaissance Survey Form **RESOURCE ID:**

NAME Project: _____ AMMC: _____ Historic (4.4): _____ Current: _____ Other: _____ _____		LOCATION Island (2): <u>San Salvador, The Bahamas</u> General Region: N NE E SE S SW W NW Other: _____ GPS Coordination: _____	
		NATIONAL REGISTER STATUS: Listed: YES NO Bahamas Index #: _____ Eligible: YES NO <i>Elaborate in SIGNIFICANCE section</i>	
SITE OWNERSHIP Deed records: _____ Owner/Agent (3.1): _____ Contact information (3.2-3.3): _____ _____ Classification (4.7.a): Private Public/Government Public/Corporation Other: _____			
ABOUT THE PROPERTY Status (4.6.): Occupied Vacant Abandoned Other: _____ Date of Construction (4.5): _____ Known Alterations (4.9.d): YES NO <i>If YES, elaborate</i> Moved/Destroyed/Reconstructed (4.9.c): YES NO <i>on rear of form.</i> Category (4.7.b): Building District Site Structure Object Other: _____ Type: Plantation Monument Church Cemetery (specify associated Church Site if applicable): _____ Other (specify): _____			
NUMBER OF RESOURCES (4.7.c): TOTAL #: _____ Contributing # Non-Contributing # _____ Buildings _____ _____ Sites _____ _____ Structures _____ _____ Objects _____ _____ Totals _____		USE: Mark ALL that apply (4.8.a): Mark "C" for current (4.10.a): Mark "H" for historic Domestic/Residential: _____ Secondary Structure: _____ Commercial: _____ Religious: _____ Educational: _____ Agricultural/Food: _____ Ag./Storage: _____ Ag./Processing: _____ Industrial: _____ Transportation/Land: _____ Trans/Sea: _____ Trans/Lake: _____ Government: _____ Entertainment/Recreation/Culture: _____ Commemorative: _____ Funerary: _____ Military: _____ Healthcare: _____ Civic/Social (Club, group, etc.) _____ Unknown or Other: _____ (elaborate on rear)	
PHYSICAL BOUNDARIES: Briefly describe (natural and built)			

LANDSCAPE / SETTING / ENVIRONMENT (4.9.f): For each of the following categories provide a list of features and brief description.	
Natural Features: landforms, topography, fresh/salt water resources (start large and zoom in).	Built Features that Respond to Natural Features: Siting, bridges, grading, etc.
Patterns of Spatial Organization: Those built – ie. fence/wall lines, boundaries, outbuildings, surrounding structures, ruins, etc.	Views / Vistas: Note if designed or by chance.
Circulation: Roads, paths, etc.	Vegetation: Note if designed, natural or by chance – also, describe state of maintenance.
Regional Surrounding: Is the site a part of a larger context, community, cultural practice, etc.?	Small-scale features: picnic tables, fountains lighting, benches, etc.
SIGNIFICANCE (4.10): Circle one or more Architecture Type: Common Rare Style: Common Rare Technique: Common Rare Design: Common Rare Craftsmanship History Development Activity Person Event	Notes on Significance:
INTEGRITY: Given note to each below Location: Design: Setting: Materials: Feeling: Association:	Notes on integrity and/or criteria considerations: