Cupid’s Cay
Governor’s Harbor
Eleuthera, Bahamas

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Standing Structures Report

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Cover Illustration: The Catholic Manse in 2010, before its roof and balconies were lost in a hurricane. (Chilton 2010)

Inside cover panorama: Cupid’s Cay from the Methodist Church to the Shipping dock (Brabec 2012)
Introduction

This report outlines work conducted on the Island of Eleuthera by the Center for Heritage & Society (CHS): Elizabeth Brabec, Elizabeth Chilton, Pedro Miguel Soto and Whitney Battle-Baptiste, at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, as part of the Heritage Assessment Project in Cupid’s Cay. The goal of this project was to begin photographic documentation and mapping of the Cupid’s Cay standing structures, with general assessment of the state-of-preservation of the various structures, the potential for archaeological remains, and the connection to the intangible heritage of communities in Governor’s Harbour. Travel for the project was made possible by a gift from the Leon Levy Foundation. This project represents the first project conducted on Eleuthera by CHS since the “Report on the visit to Eleuthera,” by Elizabeth Chilton, Angela Labrador and Neil Silberman, March 2011.

The actions proposed in the 2011 report included: (1) the creation of the One Eleuethera Web Portal, which was completed in the Spring of 2013 (http://oneeleuthera.org/), (2) a cultural resources survey, and (3) UMass education programs and capacity building on the island. This Standing Structures Report represents a first step and pilot project for #2, the cultural resources survey. In this report we report on a survey of some of the tangible resources of a particular cultural and natural feature in Governor’s Harbour—Cupid’s Cay—and examine it’s potential for development, archaeological research, and an intangible heritage survey in the future.

This pilot project on Cupid’s Cay had three primary goals:

- photographic documentation and mapping of standing structures, with general assessment of preservation;
- evaluating the potential for archaeological remains; and
- promoting community engagement as a way to assess intangible heritage values and priorities.

Our specific objectives were to locate sites of importance to the community, survey the immediate need for preservation, identify people to interview for collection of oral histories, and share this information with stakeholders and the local community. A preliminary draft of this report was presented in a presented on Cupid’s Cay on March 19th, 2013. In attendance were a dozen residents from Cupid’s Cay and Governor’s Harbour. This final version incorporates many of the suggestions and information gleaned from that meeting.
Cupid’s Cay is a neighborhood of the town of Governors Harbor, located on the island of Eleuthera in the Bahamas. Located on a peninsula extending out into the Caribbean Sea, extending northwest from the main landmass of the island, the Cay is a critical cultural landscape of Governor’s Harbor and the Island. Cupid’s Cay was:

1. the location of the original settlement of Puritan colonists in the 17th century, continuously inhabited from that time to the present day.
2. a highly visible and significant neighborhood of Governor’s Harbor, the largest settlement on the island of Eleuthera.
3. Cupid’s Cay, and the town of Governor’s Harbor as a whole, offers opportunities for sustainable tourism and economic development, which supports and enhances the local community.
4. Cupid’s Cay is an excellent example of a Caribbean settlement maintained over hundreds of years in a harsh environment. Its vulnerability to severe storm events provides an opportunity to study and develop strategies to manage cultural resources under conditions that will become more common as climate change effects increase.

This project addresses the physical resources of Cupid’s Cay. The following report

☐ analyzes and documents the existing character of the Cupid’s Cay peninsula,
☐ analyzes the critical physical connections between Cupid’s Cay and the rest of Governors Harbor,
☐ presents an overview of the standing structures and other cultural landscape resources on the Cay, and
☐ develops recommendations for future work.

Site information was gained through a series of visits to Governor’s Harbor and the island of Eleuthera in March, June, and November of 2011, and March 2012, with a full site inventory completed in March, 2013. For this overview report, the site visit team focused on a comprehensive photographic inventory, along with interviews to gain a preliminary overview of historic significance.

The historic structures of Cupid’s Cay in Governors Harbor are an ideal place to begin a systematic inventory and analysis of the island’s historic and cultural resources. Cupid’s Cay is occupied by significant public and vernacular structures covering the entire span of colonial Bahamian history, including the site of the first Bahamian Parliament in 1746 and the site of the first US Consulate General established in 1789. More than twenty other structures built on the Cay throughout the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries provide a complete sequence of this community’s architectural heritage.

Figure 3: Map showing Cupid’s Cay in relation to the town of Governor’s Harbor (Google Earth, 2012a)

Figure 4: Monument sign on the causeway leading to Cupid’s Cay (Brabec 2012).
Located centrally on the island of Eleuthera, Governor’s Harbor is an important tourism and commercial center on the island. As can be seen on the map to the right, Eleuthera is one of the easternmost islands of the Bahamas, and is in close proximity to the state of Florida and just north of the other Caribbean islands.

The island of Eleuthera (pictured on the map to the left) is approximately 100 miles long and averages 2 miles wide. Its long, linear form is challenging for both transport and commerce. There are three centers with major airline service on the island: just north of Upper Bogue, is the North Eleuthera airport, Governor’s Harbor located at almost the midpoint of the island and Rock Sound to the south. In addition, the village commercial centers of Tarpum Bay, and Palmetto Point provide services to the island visitors and residents.

Located on the western side of the island, Governor’s Harbor and Cupid’s Cay are sheltered from the stronger Atlantic winds and currents, and therefore the major storms that affect the island. However, the fact that Cupid’s Cay is a peninsula that extends into the bay, subjects it to greater storm effects than the rest of Governor’s Harbor. This can clearly be seen in the erosion of the soil and bedrock layers, particularly on the southwestern waterfront of the peninsula.

Figure 6: The Bahamas, showing the relationship of the island of Eleuthera to the rest of the Bahamas and the state of Florida (Google Earth, 2012b).

Figure 5 (page 4 on the left): The island of Eleuthera, showing the location of Governor’s Harbor in relation to the other airport centers on the island at North Bogue and Rock Sound (Google Earth 2012 c).
Governor’s Harbor

The oldest community on Eleuthera, Governor’s Harbor is an important historic and cultural center for the island. The town has six neighborhoods or districts, all which exhibit different characteristics based on their historic development and current use. While this report focuses on the resources found on Cupid’s Cay, it is important to evaluate those resources and their future potentials in the context of the whole of Governor’s Harbor.

Cupid’s Cay, plus the five additional neighborhoods of Governor’s Harbor, can be seen outlined on the map to the left: the institutional and administrative district outlined in purple; adjacent to that the “Swamp” outlined in green; the commercial district of Governor’s Harbor outlined in yellow forming both the physical and perceptual center of Governor’s Harbor; and the two Hillside neighborhoods, the one to the north that contains the majority of colonial-era standing structures in the Town, outlined in red, and the mixed residential-commercial Hillside area to the southeast outlined in blue. Each neighborhood has a distinctly different character, and critical connections for Cupid’s Cay.

Institutional and Administrative District

The institutional and administrative district is located adjacent to the Harbor and also the causeway leading to Cupid’s Cay. It contains the Haynes Library, a church, cemetery, government buildings and a major park and playfield. Since it fronts on the harbor, this neighborhood has close visual and physical connections to Cupid’s Cay via the causeway. The neighborhood has an open character, with large lots and widely-spaced, large buildings. Much of the open space is accessible to visitors, and provides walking and relaxation opportunities.

This is also the area that sets the context for Cupid’s Cay and provides the gateway to the Cay. With the allee of Casuarina trees along the street fronting the harbor, the area attracts many local residents and visitors to enjoy the view of the harbor and the cooling breezes. The Haynes Library, located at the intersection of the harbor front road and the causeway leading to Cupid’s Cay, is a major destination in Governor’s Harbor and the Island. Local residents and visitors come to take advantage of the library’s facilities, and also the historic ambiance of the building. Built in 1897 and restored in 1994, the Library serves approximately 13,500 visitors a year. This level of visitor traffic is important for considering linkages to potential sites and resources in Cupid’s Cay.

**Figure 7:** Map of Cupid’s Cay to the left, showing the 5 neighborhoods that make up Governor’s Harbor. Cupid’s Cay is located to the far left on the peninsula. (modified Google Earth image)

**Figures 8, 9 and 10 (from the top):** The Haynes Library; front entrance; the harborfront road lined with Casuriana trees, located in front of the Library (Fig. 7, Soto 2012; 8 and 9, Brabec 2012).
Figures 11 through 19 (from top left to the right): cemetery along harbor road; lane between cemetery and Anglican Episcopal Church; Anglican Episcopal Church; bleachers at park; park; food stand in park; view of cemetery back to Haynes Library; basketball court; Government Building with Ministry of Public Works entrance to the upper floor (Brabec 2012).
**Commercial District**

The commercial district of Governor’s Harbor is located along the Main Street through the town, stretching from the harbor to the north west to the southeastern area of the town. While it provides the majority of goods as services to the town and island residents, the commercial core has limited connection to Cupid’s Cay. It’s primary visual connection is along the harborfront.

The area is characterized by auto-oriented development. Stores and services are located primarily on larger lots with parking areas along the road frontage. The perceptual center of the commercial district is characterized by a large area of asphalt-covered parking, surrounded by a ring of buildings. The road travels diagonally through this area (figure 20).

The commercial district serves as a counterpoint and locus of economic competition with businesses and services on Cupid’s Cay. While this does not preclude Cupid’s Cay commercial development, it does mean that in order to be more competitive, the goods and services on the Cay will need to tend towards tourism and/or speciality goods and services.

*Figure 20: An aerial view of the center of the commercial district (Google 2007).*
The Northern Hillside Neighborhood

The Northern Hillside is the area of Governor’s Harbor with the most direct visual connection to Cupid’s Cay. The steep hillside is the location of the largest and most extensive collection of colonial era homes in Governor’s Harbor. The neighborhood is organized around two roughly parallel streets running northeast to southwest. The larger, colonial era homes are located on the higher portions of the hillside, with smaller historic homes on the lower slopes.

The views define this location, and visual access down the main streets and across the hillside are to Cupid’s Cay, the harbor and the ocean beyond. The visual quality of Cupid’s Cay is critical to this neighborhood, since it defines the viewshed. Therefore, any development or changes - positive or negative - to Cupid’s Cay will have the greatest impact on this neighborhood.

Figures 24, 25, 26 (from top to bottom): Historic colonial-era homes on the northern hillside; Belmont at the top, and Buccaneer Hill, middle and bottom (Brabec 2012).

Figure 27: An aerial view of the northern hillside, with the main two roads leading to the harbor on the bottom left (Google, 2007).
Figure 28, 29, 30 (from top left): Views to the harbor and Cupid’s Cay from the Northern Hillside. Figures 27 and 28 (top left and center) are taken along the main streets leading to the harbor (Brabec 2012).

Figure 31, 32 and 33 (from top to bottom): Historic colonial-era homes on the northern hillside; Belmont at the top, and Buccaneer Hill, bottom (Brabec 2012).
The Southeastern Hillside Neighborhood

Southeast of the Northern Hillside neighborhood lies an additional residential neighborhood of Governor’s Harbor. Composed of smaller, mostly historic buildings, the neighborhood also has several commercial establishments catering largely to tourists.

Although also located on a slope facing the harbor, the Southeastern Hillside neighborhood does not have the visual access to the harbor and Cupid’s Cay that is characteristic of the Northern Hillside. Its character is gained from the narrow streets, overhanging vegetation, and the vernacular buildings throughout.

Figures 34, 35, 36 (from top to bottom): Views of the Hillside neighborhoods from Cupid’s Cay (Brabec 2012).

Figure 37: An aerial view of the southeastern hillside neighborhood, showing the almost parallel grid of two streets running from northwest to southeast and perpendicular to the topography (Google, 2007)
The Swamp

Named due to it’s low-lying land, The Swamp is a largely residential neighborhood located to the south of the Commercial District and to the east of the institutional and governmental district. It is composed of modest, largely one-story homes. Along the coast are also located a number of small, local hotels, and several artists and carfts enterprises are interspersed in the residential area. While in close proximity to Cupid’s Cay, the neighborhood is largely separated from it both physically and visually.

In addition to it’s residential buildings, the neighborhood contains a cemetery located along the water front with many historic burials of community members.

**Figure 38:** An aerial view of the neighborhood known as The Swamp. It is located to the south of the commercial district and the the east of the institutional and governmental district (Google, 2007)

**Figure 39, 40 and 41 (top to bottom):** The cemetery; a residential home; an artist’s studio.
Cupid’s Cay

Seen to the left, the Cay is organized along roughly parallel streets running its length from southeast to northwest. There are four streets in the southeastern portion of the Cay, transitioning to only two at the northwest end. The Cay shows the effects of successive hurricanes and violent storms, particularly on its southern edge where wave action continues to erode the shoreline. As can be seen in the photo below (figure 43), the southern shoreline is entirely denuded of vegetation, exposing the bedrock of the Cay. In this area can also be seen the remains of the colonial road along the southern shore, cut into the bedrock (figure 44).

In counterpoint to the erosion of the southern coastline, the northern shoreline of the key is sheltered from excessive wind and wave action. The Cay has seen extensive filling in this area, outlined in red on the map to the left. The fill was dredged from the northermost end of the Cay to accommodate the port in the 1970’s.

Given the level of destruction evident from wind and water over the past centuries, it is surprising that as many standing structures and historical remains exist as can be found on the Cay. The next section of the report describes and analyzes the historic resources and important standing structures of the Cay. First, the most significant standing structures are illustrated and annotated to document their significant features, and a short history sketch is provided where available. The following section provides a complete inventory of all standing structures currently on the Cay as of March, 2013.

**Figure 42 (left):** Aerial photograph of Cupid’s Cay (Google, 2003)

**Figure 43 (left):** View of the southern shoreline of the Cay showing the erosive action of the wind and waves.

**Figure 44 (top):** View of the colonial-era road cut into the bedrock.
Figure 45 (top): A postcard view of Cupid’s Cay in 1906. The Catholic Manse can be seen in the distance on the left side of the street.

Figure 46 (right): A view of Cupid’s Cay across the harbor before fill was placed at the edge of the harbor, making the Cay much wider.
Primary Standing Structures

The following sections lists the primary standing structures and visible resources of historic significance on the Cay. These structures were identified in interviews with Roderick Pinder, Lionel Fernander, Shauna Nairn Knowles and Edith Rolle, and were discussed at a community meeting March 19, 2013.

☒ Causeway: Created during the early part of the 20th century, the causeway was expanded from a two-lane road to its present configuration when the harbor area was filled during the 1970’s.

☒ Colonial Road: Perhaps the most intriguing historical resource remnant is the colonial road that runs along the southern shoreline of the Cay. The road was cut into the rock, and remains visible along almost the entire length.

☒ Masonic Lodge
☒ Catholic Manse
☒ Methodist Church
☒ Methodist Manse
☒ Baptist Church
☒ Jail
☒ First Colonial Parliament
☒ Site of the first American Embassy to the Bahamas
☒ Pillar
☒ Dance Hall
☒ Old Bakery

To complete the review of standing structures on the Cay, each standing structure has been given a number indicated on the map to the left. Each structure is illustrated in the comprehensive inventory of structures on the Cay following the expanded description of primary structures, beginning on page 43.

*Figure 47 (left)*: Map of Cupid’s Cay. Each structure is given a unique number, which correlates to the number of each photograph on the following pages.
Cupid’s Cay is accessed from the Town of Governor’s Harbor by a causeway with a harbor on both sides. Originally developed as a two lane access, it was widened during the 1970’s with dredge fill from the port. Now much wider, the causeway is largely devoid of vegetation. A large monument sign marks the entrance to the Cay, along with an associated fenced green space.

At the Governor’s Harbor end of the causeway and across the street from Haynes Library, is the location of the Friday fish fry, marked with signs. The width of the causeway, and the lack of vegetation and other pedestrian features discourages pedestrian traffic.

A n early circa 1970’s photo (below) shows the causeway before fill was added on the harbor side of the Cay and the causeway was widened.

*Figures 48 to 51 (top right, clockwise): The entry sign to Cupid’s Cay; the causeway looking towards Cupid’s Cay; the causeway looking from Cupid’s Cay to the Haynes Library; a circa 1970’s photo of the causeway.*
Colonial Road

Original road, now abandoned, providing access to the southern shoreline of the Cay. Figures 52 to 56 (from top left clockwise): view along the southern shoreline; bedrock limestone cuts visible; a smooth portion of the old road - other areas are pitted from erosion; clearly visible colonial road cut along the eastern end of the shoreline; high degree of erosion from the force of the waves.
**Masonic Lodge**

Figures 57 to 61 (top left, clockwise): Northwest facade of the structure; second floor; detail of wooden lintel, window casing and interior stucco over concrete and rubble construction; main, northeast facing facade, showing integral stairway leading to the second floor; detail of the stairway and the main door opening.
Figures 62 to 67 (upper left, clockwise): First floor showing support structures; detail of the support members; detail of iron strap hinge fastened to wooden window casing on second floor window; window with full wooden shutter on southeast facade; window opening on second floor with shutter strap hinges in place and full wooden window casing; northeast facade from second floor stair landing showing double wooden window casings and remanats of strap hinge fasteners.
Catholic Residence / Manse

Figures 68 to 72 (from top left clockwise): detail of wooden front door with security bar held in proper location; detail of ground floor window with pin hinge; second floor balcony door; main north facade; second floor window wooden shutters, multiple strap hinges, bolt and bar securing the shutters.
Figures 73 to 77 (from top left clockwise): west facade; detail of mortise and tenon and peg construction of the rear addition; detail of the balcony and openings to the second floor: stairs to the third floor are visible through the central opening; east facade; southern facade showing wooden rubble from the collapsed roof and addition.
Methodist Church

Figures 78 to 82 (from top left clockwise): the Methodist Church backs onto the shoreline on its eastern facade; the distinctive blue shutters in the window openings, stained glass gothic arches above; ground floor windows are rectangular with similar wooden shutters; interior of the central portion of the church looking toward the apse; the north facade of the Methodist Church
Figures 83 to 87 (from top left clockwise): interior of the church showing the side aisle and the double wooden shutters characteristic of the windows; post and arch construction of the side aisles; ground floor showing ceiling beams and arched construction of the support walls; ground floor entrance door with stucco arch in the foreground; southern facade showing exterior detail of the windows and exterior wooden shutters.

seen from the causeway; the west facade seen from the porch of the Manse.
Methodist Church Manse

Built in 1845 by John Rhodes Davis, the Manse was restored in 2005. It currently serves as a children's center.

Figures 88 to 93 (from top left clockwise): view from the west of the Methodist Church (left) and the Manse (right); the condition of the Manse before restoration in 2004; the south facade; the main west facade; photo of the rear balcony before restoration.
Baptist Church

Figures 94 to 98 (from top left clockwise): church signboard; detail of the wooden roof and belltower structure; copper bell; bell tower with concrete and stucco base and wooden stairs and bell-support structure; north facade of church building; bell tower is located to the left of the building.
Jail:

Figures 99 to 103 (from top left clockwise): curved wooden door frame of the entrance to the right-hand cell; interior view of front cell window; interior roof joists and beams; north facade of the jail building with two cell entrances; wooden door to the left cell.
Figures 104 to 108 (from top left clockwise): concrete cistern on the south facade of the jail building; upper and lower terraces of the jail complex; arrow-headed strap hinge on discarded right hand cell door; interior view of left hand cell; view of the northern portion of the jail yard showing the surrounding stucco and concrete and rubble walls surrounding the yard.
First Parliament
Site of the first Parliament of the Bahamas. Figures 109 to 113 (from top left clockwise): street view; west facade; south facade; south facade showing adjacent fence; detail of window frame on the south facade showing mortared cut stone construction.
First American Embassy Site

Site of the first Consulate General of the United States, established in July, 1789. Figures 114 to 118 (from top left clockwise): foundation remnants on the site; terracing remaining for the site of the Governor's house; commemorative plaque for the site of the first US Consulate; street view of the area; remnants of cut stone stairs.
Old Brick Oven and Kitchen

Site of an old brick oven and kitchen in an accessory building. Figures 119 to 123 (top left clockwise): private home associated with the kitchen; close-up of brick oven; accessory kitchen building; view of brick oven and work area; condition of roof and walls of the kitchen.
Figures 124 to 127 (from top left clockwise): views of the extant decorative pillar at the western edge of the Consulate/First Parliament sites, closeup; decorative pediment detail; full view of the pillar constructed of cut stone and concrete; location view of the pillar next to the Old Bakery.

**Pillar**
Dance Hall

Figures 128 to 132 (from top left clockwise): side facade of the dance hall; close-up of mortared stone construction; construction using bottles in mortar; front and west facade; front door with wrought iron strap.
Old Bakery Site

Figure 133 to 137 (from bottom left clockwise): Site of the old bakery in March 2012 showing partially dismantled structure; location and street view; foundation of the old bakery; the site in March 2013, with loss of the remaining building on the site.
Summary and Conclusions

Cupid’s Cay plays an important role in the character and quality of Governor’s Harbor (see panorama of the Cay below in figure 138). The Cay is a key aspect of the historical and scenic viewshed from several vantage points in the town, such as the northwestern hillside residential area, the harbor, and the Haynes Library. Maintaining the visual quality of the Cay is dependent on maintaining the historic character of the standing structures, and also the defining characteristics of density, size, bulk and heights of the various structures on the Cay.

The area of the Cay that fronts on the inner harbor is the most in need of attention in order to make it more visually inviting. Used as a parking lot for large trucks, and as a staging area for shipping, the area has an industrial character. Although the use is compatible with the shipping function of the harbor, greater attention could be paid to the visual impacts the shipping functions have on this area, and attempts made to minimize them. The town could also consider moving some of these functions to a location with less visual impact on the town and the Cay.

The interior of the Cay has a residential character and is low density. The area has some commercial clusters, and these integrate well with the residential uses. Buildings are one to two stories in height, and vary considerably in architectural style and orientation, giving the Cay an informal vernacular character.

Finally, the area along the southern shoreline is different from the other two zones of visual character of the Cay. Characteristically wind swept, the area is composed of exposed bedrock, with little soil covering. The historic colonial road provides an interesting visual quality to this area, with a reminder of the conflict between human and natural forces.

Figure 138: A panorama of Cupid’s Cay taken opposite across the harbor.
Figure 141: A view of the character of the interior of the Cay.

Figure 142: A view of the character of the southern shoreline.
Some of the potential next steps for heritage work in the area of Cupid’s Cay include:

- Collection oral histories of buildings on the Cay and surrounding neighborhoods. This would be a critical next step to developing a sustainable tourism development plan for Cupid’s Cay. It would allow for the formation of a local advisory board, and it would bring together information about the history of the Cay in a systematic way that would help in planning decisions that are sensitive to the values of local stakeholders.

- Mapping and survey/targeted excavation of archaeological resources. We were not able to assess the potential for archaeological research, but we did note the presence of intact archaeological deposits, both inside and adjacent to current standing structures. A local archaeology project would be a way to get the community involved, and it would help tie oral histories to tangible places and artifacts. An historical and archaeological exhibit could be created as part of a visitor’s center.

- Ultimately a full inventory of both the tangible characteristics of standing buildings and archaeological remains and the oral histories associated with the Cay could lead to the creation of a heritage trail (e.g., Jail for exhibit space, photos, crafts; Parliament building for broader discussion of colonial history in the Bahamas). Such a trail would ideally tie Cupid’s Cay to the greater Governor’s Harbour area. In order to have sustainable value to the local community, this should be done with a local advisory board and community engagement. We recommend that our work, presented here, and the work of others involved in the future be shared via the One Eleuthera web portal so that people both on and off the island can be informed and contribute to the project going forward.
Comprehensive Catalog of Standing Structures
1. Dock buildings

2. The Pier

3. Masonic Lodge

4. Home
30 First Embassy Site

31 Colonial Building Site

32 First Parliament Street

33 Colonial Building Site
42 Dance Hall ruins

43 Home

44 Outbuilding

45 Outbuilding
46 Outbuilding

47

48 Home

49 Home
Although the aerial shows a structure in 2003, there are no remnants in 2013.
79 Jail
80
81 Restaurant
82 Roofed Enclosure on Dock
Building foundations

First Parliament

Home

Home
Home (south exposure)

Home (north exposure)

Pillars at entrance to Cupid’s Cay, formerly with arch.