

Pavilion of Antigua and Barbuda
At the 16th International Architecture Exhibition
La Biennale di Venezia

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT



ANTIGUA BARBUDA VENICE

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Foreword

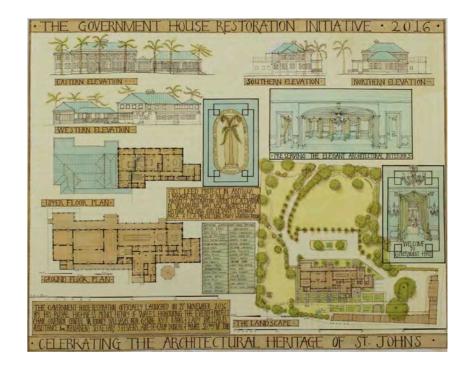
Sir Mark Moody-Stuart, PhD, KCMG Board Member, Government House Restoration Initiative

Following on from the very successful Frank Walter exhibition at the 2017 Venice Biennale, now on tour, Antigua and Barbuda will have an inaugural pavilion at the Biennale Architettura 2018. Given the catastrophic devastation wreaked on Barbuda by last year's hurricane, which left the island temporarily uninhabitable, it is perhaps appropriate that the theme is to be environmental justice as a civil right.

The architectural focus for Barbuda and Antigua will be on sustainable reconstruction, which is proof against the unfortunate probability of more violent and more frequent weather events. The positive side of the recent devastation will be the opportunity to rebuild and make structures supporting community activity and living that are also robust to storm winds and floods. Funding this will be a challenge, but it is a real chance to demonstrate creative design and construction. This is not just a challenge for Antigua and Barbuda. The challenge is for all of us, wherever we are in the world, to take steps to avoid the worst effects of climate change.

Despite having been born in Antigua and listened to many hurricane warnings, I have never actually experienced the fury of such a storm myself, although I remember the impacts of the hurricanes on the island and my family in the 1950s. At that time, I recall my father describing a winter-like landscape with trees stripped completely of all their leaves by the ferocious winds. As a geologist, I have spent my life in the global oil and gas and mining industry. That industry has brought great benefits to the world through the provision of the reliable and cost-effective energy on which our current economic development has been built. But along with these great benefits has been the impact of the greenhouse gas emissions created by the combustion of these fossil fuels as energy is generated.

To drive the necessary change to low-carbon energy we need economic measures such as carbon pricing and carbon trading. This is something that the "Caring for Climate Initiative" of the United Nations Global Compact, with which I have long been involved, has called for. Indeed, many in this and other industries have acknowledged this challenge for the last twenty years, but progress has unfortunately been slow. The Paris Climate Agreement was an encouraging step forward, but even if all the voluntary commitments made by governments in Paris are implemented in full, the effect will be only about half that thought to be needed to avoid damaging climate change. There is much to do. There are great opportunities for renewable energy in Antigua and Barbuda. As a small boy, I recall that our only water heating came from a lattice of pipes on the roof and the use of wind power from the reliable "trade winds" for pumping water; generating electricity on a small scale was quite common. Now the opportunities for solar power are much greater due to technological development. Wind power is also an opportunity, but it is challenged by the need to make towers and blades sufficiently robust to withstand hurricane force winds, even though these may be relatively rare.



One of the most encouraging aspects of the Antigua and Barbuda National Pavilion is the involvement of youth. It is their future, so it is great to see young people stepping up with energy, imagination, and creativity in support of the Pavilion. In many cases, they are the driving force, taking over the planning with great ideas.

But this is not just about youth and the future. Antigua and Barbuda have wisely recognised that we must also preserve what is best from the past and learn what lessons we can from it. The expansion of the Victoria Park Botanical Gardens will allow both citizens and visitors to enjoy the wealth of plant life in the islands and also learn about their uses in the past and in the future. The Government House Restoration Initiative will also preserve a very important historical monument, covering both the main building and the gardens. Here, too, this is being done in a way that builds on local crafts and involves people of all ages and from all walks of society, including current residents of the nearby government prison. In this way, the entire community can feel involved and learn from the process as well as enjoy the results.

As Barbuda is rebuilt, the expansion of the Botanical Gardens and the restoration of Government House will be major contributions to tourism. Sustainable tourism that makes maximum use of local facilities and products will be a very important contribution to employment and to the economy. It is vital that this tourism be developed in a way that protects natural resources and allows wider society in the islands to be engaged and benefit from it. In a world which worries about the future loss of jobs to artificial intelligence applications, most of the tourism industry is proof against this. There is no replacement for friendly face-to-face human contact between visitor and host, and there is no place in the world better to experience it! The National Pavilion will help to showcase what makes Antiqua and Barbuda so unique.

SIR MARK MOODY-STUART was born in Antigua and received a Ph.D. in geology at Cambridge University. He worked for Shell in many different countries around the world before retiring as Chairman of the Royal Dutch/Shell Group and later as Chairman of Anglo American. He is Vice Chair of the UN Global Compact and author of the book, Responsible Leadership: Lessons from the Front Line of Sustainability.

Introduction

In Between Heaven and Hell: Islands of Utopia and Dystopia

Nina Krushcheva

Since the first woman or man first yearned for a better place, dreamers have dreamed them at the tops of mountains and cradled in hidden valleys, above clouds and deep under the earth—but above all they have imagined them on islands.

-China Miéville

In the fifteenth century, the old religious man Zosima, future St. Zosima of Solovki, left the Russian mainland ruled by Moscow, seeking refuge from the everyday world for solitude and silent prayer. He and two other monks settled in Russia's northwestern Solovetsky Islands—colloquially known as Solovki—in the White Sea, establishing a Russian Orthodox monastery that soon morphed into a wealthy and influential Christian Orthodox citadel. With large landholdings and extensive commercial activities, Solovetsky Monastery flourished and began to be seen as a heavenly brotherhood. The harsh polar climate—with hellish winters at forty degrees below freezing and summers with forty types of ferocious mosquitos—only added to the mythology of this blessed place. Only the most devoted could survive the inhuman conditions. The Solovki were able to defend the islands' autonomy for a few hundred years, welcoming exiled opponents of autocracy and withstanding war and even a period of schism with the main branch of the Orthodox Church subordinate to the Kremlin.

In the eighteenth century, Peter the Great's Russia encroached on Solovki's monastic seclusion, convincing the monks to serve as jail guards of political opponents deemed guilty in the eyes of the czars. The independent Solovki religious branch turned into an oppressor following the Kremlin lead. The meters-thick walls of the monastery and surrounding water now served to entrap rather than protect, and the island became a living hell for many exiles.

Following the October Revolution in 1917, the monks began to serve the new power with the same vigor they served the old. They eagerly accepted political prisoners on behalf of the new communist state, only to soon become prisoners themselves. The Soviets were atheists and now had little use for the Christian guards. Priests were declared enemies of the people, the monastery was closed, and the brutal Solovki prison was established in its place. It became the first forced-labor camp under the Gulag, the State Prison Camp Directorate. Many say as God's punishment, the Solovki monks betrayed their heavenly aspirations, allowing for an earthly hell to take its place.

The story of Solovetsky Island offers a powerful lesson that highlights both the real and symbolic power of islands in human history as well as their inherent utopian and dystopian possibilities. Similar to the historic Solovetsky Island in its first, aspirational, medieval incarnation, islands have been a tabula rasa for settlers and thinkers since antiquity,

embodying the ideal setting for musings on the idyllic community. Examples abound for fictional island societies, including lambulus's Islands of the Sun, Euhemerus's Panchaea, and, later, Sir Francis Bacon's Bensalem in The New Atlantis (1627) and Aldous Huxely's Pala in Island (1962). Surrounded by water and separated from the mainland, islands seem to open the human imagination to the possibility of perfection. Geographically set apart from wider civilization, they are also thereby perceived to be removed from its ills.

The most famous fictional island utopia—meaning "no place"—is undoubtedly Sir Thomas More's Utopia (1516), which is a satirical description of an agrarian-based island society with radical communal and monastic traits. More's imagined world has no private property, citizens eat together, and any material surplus is shared. His utopia views symbols and measurements of wealth and hierarchy as absurd; the island is headed by a simple prince only distinguished by the humble symbol of a sheaf of corn.

As the story of Solovetsky Island exemplifies, however, an island utopia is ultimately distinguished by the equivalent reality of its opposite: dystopia. For while islands are separate from the mainland they cannot escape it completely and seclusion can also help facilitate decidedly undesirable conditions, often enforced by a mainland government. Like Solovetsky, famous islands such as Alcatraz, Robben Island, and Devil's Island have served as prisons, effectively satellite spaces subservient to the state. And places like the island Poveglia near Venice have historically been sites of both plague quarantine and psychiatric asylum, where undesirable citizens are sent to remain out of sight.

Islands have been liminal spaces, buffer zones, and places of legal exception. Under the fascist regime of Ioannis Metaxas in the 1930s, Greece targeted the ideas and philosophies of leftists, and, under the auspices of the notorious Idionymon law, exiled individuals as political prisoners to camps across the nation's islands. Today, Greek islands like Lesbos and Kos are areas where refugees remain in legal limbo, held for months on the outskirts of the EU before being accepted or denied political asylum. Similarly, Guantanamo Bay on the island of Cuba holds individuals accused of terrorism outside the jurisdiction of US domestic law, beyond the reach of habeas corpus.

The conception of an island as separate and complete in and of itself has the potential to influence the collective state of mind and nurture a belief based on exceptionalism. The famous myth of the island of Atlantis, described in Plato's works Timaeus and Critias, tells the story of a powerful and thriving people based on an empire of oppression and slavery. The Atlanteans were conquered by Athens, and, having fallen out of favor with the gods, their island fell into the sea, plunged beneath the Atlantic Ocean. A cautionary tale on the hubris of nations, Atlantis has metaphorical parallels in present day Britain. Once a sweeping global empire, Britain is now submerging itself in isolation. With the 2016 referendum in favor of Brexit, the UK is headed for a diminished role in Europe and around the world—its island exceptionalism now the cause of its potential downward trajectory.

Antigua and Barbuda is positioned within this rich island history—real and imagined, utopian and dystopian. Like Solovetsky Island, Antigua and Barbuda is comprised of extremes. Its incredibly beautiful natural environment knows violent storms just as its rich

culture and close-knit communities descend from the complex history of enslavement. It is a space apart, yet it is firmly situated within the global context. Through all of these contradictions, Antigua and Barbuda remains a microcosm of possibility, an island ripe for its future. With the utter devastation of Barbuda during Hurricane Irma in 2017, Antigua and Barbuda can reinvent itself as a model for the world in its approach to the natural environment and global warming.

When a single bird changes course, the entire flock instinctually alters its trajectory. In a similar way, big changes on a small island nation can inspire—as they have throughout history—initiating a reverberating impact felt throughout the world.

NINA KHRUSHCHEVA is Professor of International Affairs at The New School in New York. Her forthcoming book is In Putin's Footsteps: Searching for Russia's Imperial Soul.



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Curator's Note

Barbara Paca

ANTIGUA is beautiful. Antigua is too beautiful. Sometimes the beauty of it seems unreal. Sometimes the beauty of it seems as if it were stage sets for a play, for no real sunset could look like that; no real seawater could strike that many shades of blue at once; no real sky could be that shade of blue—another shade of blue, completely different from the shades of blue seen in the sea—and no real cloud could be that white and float just that way in that blue sky; no real day could be that sort of sunny and bright, making everything seem transparent and shallow; and no real night could be that sort of black, making everything seem thick and deep and bottomless...No real sand on any real shore is that fine or that white (in some places) or that pink (in other places); no real flowers could be these shades of red, purple, yellow, orange, blue, white; no real lily would bloom only at night and perfume the air with a sweetness so thick it makes you slightly sick.

—Jamaica Kincaid, A Small Place (1988)

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The President of the Venice Biennale invited Antigua and Barbuda to exhibit for the first time in what is widely acknowledged as the most prestigious architectural event of its kind in the world. This invitation is no doubt in recognition of Antigua and Barbuda's significance as a global tourist destination renowned for its history and natural beauty. With Barbuda a premier dark-sky destination and Antigua's new status on the World Monument Fund Watch List 2018 (Government House) and as a World Heritage Site (English Harbour), the opportunities for visitors are abundantly clear.

Our National Pavilion exhibition Environmental Justice as a Civil Right focuses on three projects linked through compassionate leadership, community empowerment, and innovative stakeholder relations:

- 1. Rebuilding the Island of Barbuda: Cultural Preservation and Establishing Sacred Spaces on and around the Island. A Collaboration with the Smithsonian's Slave Wrecks Project
- 2. Victoria Park: The Expansion of Antiqua and Barbuda's First Botanical Garden
- 3. Honouring Shared Legacies from Slavery through Confident Independence: The Government House Restoration Initiative

The first segment of our exhibition celebrates the rebuilding of the Island of Barbuda, which was devastated by Hurricane Irma on September 6, 2017. Seeking to commemorate the many cultures that have lived on the island, from the ancient Arawaks and enslaved peoples to its present-day population, we are establishing terrestrial and aquatic markers to honour these individuals. The restoration of Victoria Park and Government House present unique opportunities in the urban development of the capitol city of St. John's. Victoria Park was established in 1848 as a gift to the people of Antigua and Barbuda, and today it serves as the headquarters for the Department of Environment. A property dedicated to the "healthful enjoyment of air and exercise," this is an early example of a public space established as a civil right enjoyed by the local populace. Our other urban study examines the restoration of the more than 200-year-old

Government House. Located in central St. John's, this rambling historical building is the official seat of the Governor General of Antigua and Barbuda.

We also present Antigua and Barbuda for the first time as a people, who were among the earliest conservationists—from the ancient Arawak people and their rich legacy of artefacts to enslaved African people, who had a deep knowledge of plant life and subsisted on a diet of fresh fish and natural vegetation healthier than that of their European contemporaries. The people of this small island nation continue to be ahead of their time, exemplified by today's outspoken political leaders courageously challenging developed countries over their responsibility in causing climate change.

The City of Venice hosts over 25 million tourists each year and the Venice Biennale received over 615,000 visitors in 2017. With more than 8,000 accredited journalists covering the six-month-long event, the potential for increased awareness about vulnerable island nations and the impact of ineffectual policy making by industrialized, developed countries is staggering. Rather than featuring an architectural firm as the exhibitor, our interdisciplinary mission credits The People of Antigua and Barbuda and All Global Citizens. To further increase our reach and to be in keeping with this year's Biennale exhibition FREESPACE, we have chosen to offer free admission, so that everyone is able to visit and experience our exhibition.

Antigua and Barbuda's National Pavilion is not just an exhibition space, it is also an indoor and outdoor classroom that welcomes students from international study abroad programmes, architects, planners, individuals with disabilities from schools and adult day-care programmes, the socially disadvantaged, visitors to Venice, and members of international and local environmental organizations, including We Are Here Venice. Educational programmes include hosting round-table events, lectures, and conversations over the course of the six-month exhibition:

- 1. World Monument Sites: Environmental sustainability and interpretation of heritage
- 2. Sustainable Tourism in Antigua, Barbuda, Venice, and other small islands. Responsible approaches to hospitality and the cruise ship industry
- 3. Ways of Preserving Heritage and Culture
- 4. Food Security in Antigua, Barbuda, and Venice. A conversation about how open spaces become productive spaces among unique stakeholders for community building
- 5. Rebuilding of Barbuda as sustainable farming and abandoned open space around Arsenale as an opportunity for agriculture
- 6. Environmental Justice as a Civil Right: Climate Change and fragile island communities
- 7. Aerial mapping of the Venetian lagoon and shallow waters around the coasts of Antigua and Barbuda to establish markers for cultural and historical events
- 8. FREESPACE Open Space for the Public: Venice compared to similar in Antigua and Barbuda and how these practices can be shared with others

The twin island nation of Antigua and Barbuda features some of the Caribbean's most beautiful beaches and unspoiled tracts of land, much of which was decimated by hurricanes in 2017. Our National Pavilion exhibition, catalogue, and educational programming explore how this small, vulnerable country has emerged as an innovative leader, achieving more with less than larger, wealthier nations by working creatively



with unique stakeholders to disseminate information and educate a wide segment of the population. Further to that, our message of breaking down boundaries by working within a small society to involve the youth, economically disadvantaged, incarcerated, the elderly, and the differently abled is timely, and resonates globally. In this spirit, we are featuring video content produced by filmmaker Vanessa H. Smith, who are collaborating with activist high school students on the islands of Antigua, Barbuda, Manhattan, and Venice.

The Invigilator Programme for the National Pavilion's exhibition Environmental Justice as a Civil Right offers an invaluable opportunity for youth to benefit from the educational experience of studying abroad. Acting as more than docents or guides, they serve as environmental ambassadors, welcoming visitors to the National Pavilion and reinforcing Antigua and Barbuda's status as a significant cultural destination for ecotourism. We believe that these invigilators will gain international exposure, make lasting personal connections, and affect positive outcomes in reforming education in Antigua and Barbuda. It is our hope that this programme can encourage a focus on environmental sustainability in the curricula of all levels in national schools, colleges, and universities.

Our National Pavilion looks beyond Antigua and Barbuda's reputation as a twin island nation of beautiful beaches. Environmental Justice as a Civil Right reveals this country's thoughtful and inclusive approach to preserving its cultural heritage in the face of climate change and economic development. Our message embraces the soft power of diplomacy and encourages a forward-looking reflection on the diverse, community-based approaches to sustainability that can positively impact social stability and tourism.

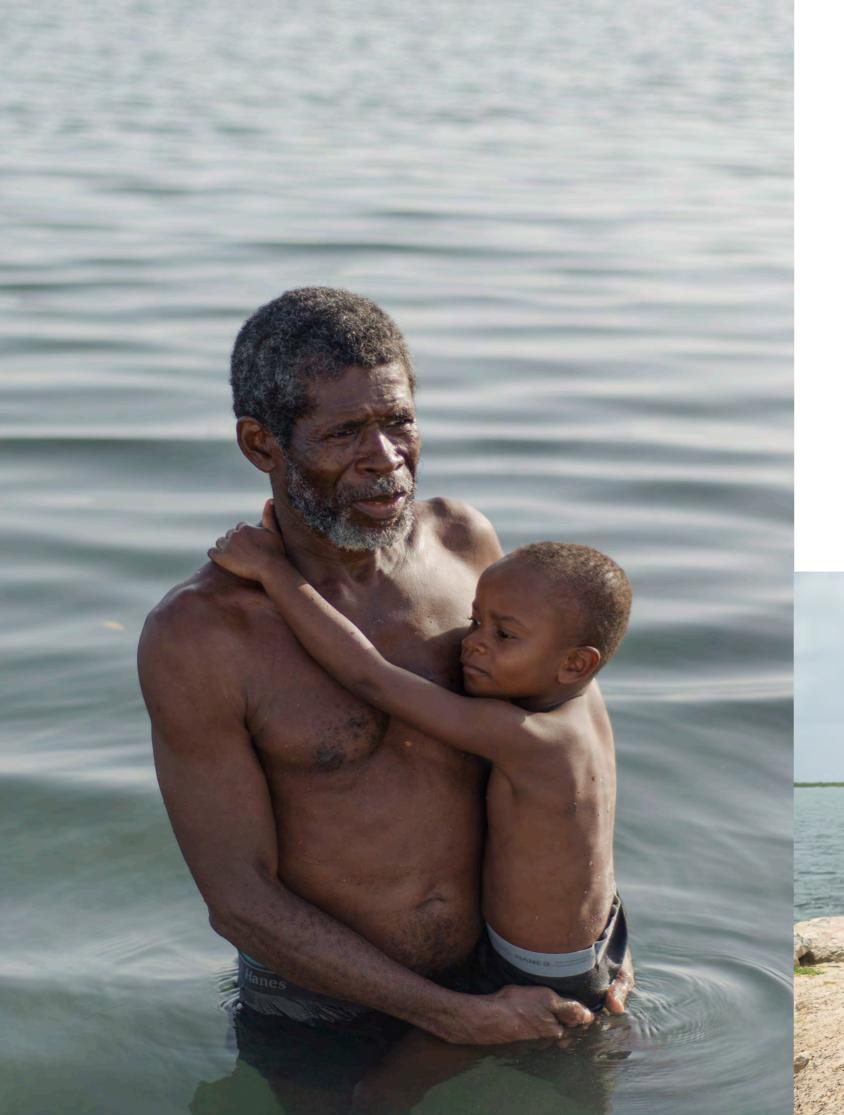
BARBARA PACA is the Curator for Antigua and Barbuda's inaugural National Pavilion at La Biennale di Venezia, and serves as Cultural Envoy to Antigua and Barbuda. She is an art historian and landscape architect, who holds a Ph.D. from Princeton University and was awarded postdoctoral fellowships as a Fulbright Scholar and at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. She is the author of Ruth Starr Rose: Revelations of African American Life in Maryland and the World and Frank Walter, The Last Universal Man, 2017.

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Mohammid Walbrook Photographer

Featured Artist of Barbuda



Life at the Water's Edge





The Highlands, Barbuda

















The Antigua and Barbuda National Pavilion: Exploration of Environmental Justice as a Civil Right

Michelle DePass

For people of color, the environment is woven into an overall framework and understanding of social, racial, and economic justice. The definitions that emerge from the environmental justice movement led by people of color are deeply rooted in culture and spirituality, and encompass all aspects of daily life—where we live, work, and play. This broad understanding of the environment is a context within which to address a variety of questions about militarism and defense, religious freedom and cultural survival, energy and sustainable development, transportation and housing, land and sovereignty rights, self-determination, and employment.

—Dana Alston, People of Color Environmental Leadership Summit, (1991).

Climate change is a shared global problem; no country, species, landmass, or ocean is immune to rising temperatures or other impacts. However, there is an immense climate gap which places unequal burdens of climate change on low-income people and people of color around the world. Institutionalized racism and a long history of undervaluing certain people and places have left a persistent legacy of environmental injustices around the world.

I relaunched the Tishman Environment and Design Centre at The New School with a new, justice-focused mission in 2015. Following a commitment from the New School's Board of Trustees to divest the university's endowment from all fossil fuel companies, the center was identified as a university-wide space to coordinate environmental and sustainability efforts on campus with priority given to supporting climate and environmental justice research and practice. The center leverages the resources of the university to support overburdened communities on the frontlines of climate change and encourages bottom-up policy, practice, and design.

The Tishman Centre's mission has a natural affinity with Antigua and Barbuda's National Pavilion exhibition Environmental Justice as a Civil Right at the Biennale Architettura 2018. The National Pavilion shares similar values of community solidarity, justice, and people-power. Its exploration of climate change facing the island nation of Antigua and Barbuda through the rebuilding of Barbuda, expansion of Victoria Park and its botanical gardens, and the Government House Restoration Initiative offer lessons for the world. The Biennale is a space for global dialogue that can influence environmental justice approaches through soft power.

The focus on Antigua and Barbuda brings attention to the onslaught of record-setting hurricanes that have hit Caribbean nations these past few years. Last year, during Hurricane Irma, upwards of 90 percent of the buildings in Barbuda were destroyed, and all residents were evacuated to Antigua. The mandatory evacuations from Barbuda were especially traumatic. Barbudan identity is inextricable from the land of Barbuda and its history; generations of this dynamic community have gathered strength in their

connection to place. An understanding of Barbudan culture should translate to a respect for their self-determination.

As climate change worsens, there is an urgent need to build climate resilience—not just physical preparation for extreme weather events, but also the social and economic infrastructure required to keep communities intact after the clouds have cleared. On top of the hardships that occur during climate related disasters, such as mandatory evacuation, we have also seen that the speed and success of recovery tends to depend on the strength of communities' collaborative networks, and their ability to advocate for themselves. Barbudans are extraordinarily resilient in this case because of the strength of their communal culture and way of life.

The impactful Antiguan restoration projects highlighted in Environmental Justice as a Civil Right can set an example for the rebuilding of its sister island Barbuda to be environmentally sustainable, structurally resilient, and powered by community participation. The Government House Restoration Initiative is a beacon of hope, preserving one of the most important heritage sites on the island of Antigua while maintaining a deliberate and inclusionary restoration process. The masterplan for Victoria Park and its botanical gardens has also emphasized inclusion, community participation, and employment, while reestablishing a variety of native plants significant to the island's history and culture.

The National Pavilion has created and strengthened unique partnerships and networks between the islands of New York City, Venice, and Antigua and Barbuda, opening a conversation on responsible tourism, cultural preservation, sustainable and resilient building, and equitable disaster recovery. There is an opportunity in moments of catastrophe and crisis to learn from the past, and to do better by the communities on the front lines of climate change. The islands of Puerto Rico, Dominica and others need our support and solidarity for what they went through during recent climate caused natural disasters. We never know which island will be next to be impacted. We can and must guide our responses to hurricanes, disaster recovery, and development through empowered collective action that bends the arc of history toward climate justice.

Michelle DePass is the former Dean of the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Policy, the New School & Tishmnan Professor of Environment and Sustainability Management and Director of the TIshman Environment and Design Center. A former member of the Obama Administration, DePass served as the Assistant Administrator for International Affairs for the US EPA. Prior to that she was a Ford Foundation Program Officer. DePass is currently the President and CEO of Meyer Memorial Trust.

Rebuilding Barbuda for Contextual Resilience

Colin John Jenkins Philip Logan

Barbuda, the sister island of Antigua, was devastated by Hurricane Irma on 7 September, 2017. During the Category 5++ storm, winds reached 185 miles per hour and lasted for over thirty-seven hours—the longest sustained winds of that intensity on record. With waves recorded at eight feet, the accompanying storm surge approached from the southwest and reshaped this island nation, opening up the protective barrier lagoon and flooding large areas. Trees left standing were stripped of foliage and ninety-five percent of structures on the island sustained major damage from winds tossing debris, cars, and storage containers hundreds of feet through the air.

All infrastructure was impacted. Electricity and telecommunication was lost. Septic and soak-aways flooded, causing surface and groundwater drinking water systems to be unusable. Roadways were rendered impassable from flooding, fallen utility poles, and strewn debris. New lagoon channels were created and filled, while sixty-nine percent of the local fishing fleet and watercrafts were destroyed. The Frigate bird population, sensing the approaching onslaught, had mysteriously vanished and have only recently shown evidence of returning. Just a few days after Hurricane Irma, the entire island was evacuated at the threat of Hurricane Maria, another powerful storm. The island still remains in a state of emergency with systems slowly coming back online while a prolonged period of clean-up continues.

With hurricanes hitting the island of Barbuda approximately every five years, the rebuilding process must change. For Barbudans and visitors to continue enjoying this island paradise, disaster recovery must take an environmental justice approach. For sustainable and resilient rebuilding on this island, standard practice and disaster recovery norms must be rethought on the urban design level as well as the individual home and structure level. Despite the severity of this storm event, there are lessons to be learned from the design of structures that survived. Structures that faced the direct hit of the winds and surge of Hurricane Irma and remained standing were well built and raised above the ground.

Despite the clear urgency to quickly rebuild and the pressure being brought on the Government by Barbudans to do so, basic resiliency building principles, guidelines, and code requirements must be followed in order to prepare for the next storm (and also be earthquake resistant).

All essential infrastructures, occupied spaces, and built structures should be raised above the projected flood zones. If Codrington and the surrounding community impacted by the storm surge is to survive another onslaught, identifiable benchmarks must be installed to indicate new recommended floor levels in relation to anticipated flood levels as recorded from past storms. Essential to this is an accurate topographic map of

Barbuda and developed areas establishing projected flood elevations based on 100-year and 500-year storms. Posts can then be installed at key intersections within the community so home owners understand how high flooding has and could occur again.

Building codes and proven construction standards for storm preparedness must be clarified, adhered to, and inspected. To better convey and share this information, a Construction Resiliency Manual for Rebuilding would be issued to all citizens to guide their home rebuilding efforts. This manual would be developed as a collaborative effort with input from builders and homeowners from Barbuda, the Antigua and Barbuda Institute of Architects, the Antigua and Barbuda Associations of Professional Engineers, the Antigua and Barbuda Contractor's Association, the National Office of Disaster Services (NODS Antigua Barbuda), and sanctioned by the Governments of Antigua and Barbuda.

Specifically, the Construction Resiliency Manual would list and describe critical measures required to safeguard a structure built within the established flood zones. If rebuilt on an elevated foundation, walls must be properly constructed and have properly sized flood vents. Wood framing must be pinned securely to footers and/or foundation slabs. The manual would describe how to build, reinforce and fill masonry concrete block walls so they are structurally sound. It would detail how existing and new roofs can be constructed with proper hurricane clips and tie downs to wall framing as well as how to properly secure metal roofs. It would prescribe and require that all window and door openings be fitted out with hurricane shutters, wood louvers, or ensure provisions are in place for emergency plywood storm covers that can be easily installed and secured.

The manual would mandate that all homes be equipped with a safe room or space with the proper emergency supplies, including plug access to power from a small exterior generator, emergency medical kit, flashlight, and non-perishable food stock and water. The room should have a solid-core door that can be easily secured and bolted shut from the inside. A bathroom or closet can function as the safe room but it must be elevated above the established flood levels and have concrete floors, walls, and flat concrete ceilings with an emergency means of escape.

As the majority of the damage was caused by flying debris rather than the strong winds or even the surge, the manual would describe steps on how to secure possible projectiles before the next storm arrives. All containers, cars and large movable objects should be tied down or stored away. Long-term use containers could be secured to a concrete pad with steel cables or staked. To ensure this is effective, a law should be enacted that would render liable all owners for damage caused by their unsecured projectiles.

Resiliency requires that those in leadership roles assess important public and private infrastructures to make sure they are also hurricane and earthquake resistant. New power lines should be direct buried and not reinstalled on poles. They must be designed so they are protected from flooding and be self-contained in below ground or flood level. All sensitive electrical equipment such as generators, switching stations, and connections must be installed above flood levels. New roads should be engineered on graded, stabilized fill to resist and be above storm surges. Sources for renewable energy should be encouraged, and water supplies protected and secured from future storms and contamination. Relief organizations could be organized to provide decentralized water

desalination systems and solar/wind powered turbines that can be easily collapsed and stored locally.

In addition to improving and establishing standards of resiliency, the communities of Antigua and Barbuda must establish and issue a clear Hurricane Preparedness Plan. Besides the basic steps to prepare for the next storm, it is important to designate specific safe refuge centers, logically located above the flood zone. These shelters would be permanently equipped with all emergency measures and supplies. Dating back hundreds of years, the existing caves on the leeward side of Barbuda were always used in this way; protecting the original Arawak inhabitants and Barbudans ever since.

With every disaster and catastrophe there are lessons learned and there is hope born. Hurricane Irma was a devastating storm of tremendous power. Having survived, the opportunity exists for rebuilding a new community based upon resiliency and thoughtful reconstruction guided by the fresh memory of Nature's strength.

The inaugural pavilion at the 2018 Architectural Venice Biennale is a forum for the discussion on resiliency design as we focus on the island of Barbuda and the devastation caused by Hurricane Irma. Over the next seven months, we challenge visitors to submit conceptual designs for low-cost hurricane resiliency that are also earthquake resistant. As one of many Caribbean islands facing the onslaught of storms, the need for such attention is clear. It is also important that appropriate solutions are considered and that they remain contextual and in keeping with Barbudan culture and identity. Although lessons learned from around the world are essential, the resulting built forms cannot be blindly replicated without thoughtful consideration and adaptation to the local environment and historic heritage.

A Caribbean Island's Legacy

Amy Potter

Barbuda was thrust into the international spotlight on September 6, 2017, when the eye of Hurricane Irma passed directly overhead causing considerable damage to its infrastructure and a forced evacuation of its 1,800 residents. A relatively small place, much of the world had never heard of the island prior to the hurricane. Barbuda could easily be lost amongst a larger Caribbean narrative that relegates the region to sun, sand, and sea. However, Barbuda has a unique story to tell. For many Barbudans, particularly of an older generation, their identity, what it means to be Barbudan, is often inextricably tied to the island's communal-land tenure that has deep roots in slavery. In the aftermath of Irma and with the onset of disaster capitalism, there is immense pressure to privatize Barbudan lands for tourism development.

I first encountered Barbuda as a doctoral student in the Department of Geography and Anthropology at Louisiana State University, having stumbled across a 1989 article by Robert Coram in the New Yorker. The piece titled "A Reporter at Large: Ancient Rights" said this, "Throughout the Caribbean, the ownership of land has deep symbolic meaning for the descendants of slaves, but on no other island does that symbolism reach the intense depths that it does on Barbuda." The article went on to describe Barbudans' autonomy and resistance under slavery and the islanders' contemporary opposition to development projects that sought to destroy their land tenure. As I processed the magnitude of these words, I realized I had to go to Barbuda.

Barbuda's commons can be traced to the island's formerly enslaved African population under the Codrington family of England who leased the island for nearly 200 years (1680-1870). The family held sugar estates throughout the region, most notably in neighbouring Antigua. Enslaved Barbudans grazed livestock and raised provisions because the soil was too shallow for large-scale sugar cultivation. The historic wells dating to the 1700s (currently under threat of demolition) are a legacy of the enslaved Barbudans who built them. Barbudans used their relative mobility under the Codrington leasehold as the foundation for their communal claims on the island. They held provision grounds and utilized forest and water resources for their survival. When Codrington relinquished the lease in 1870, the islanders claimed (and still do to this day) that he willed the island to the people of Barbuda; Codrington would not have had the legal right to make such a relinquishment.

Later generations of Barbudans would also raise livestock and support themselves through a subsistence lifestyle. Since independence with Antigua from the British in 1981, the island has undergone change from a population largely engaged in subsistence agriculture with some export, livestock grazing, and charcoal production to a population employed through tourism, sand mining, lobster diving, and the Barbuda Council. Interviews suggest, however, that Barbudan agricultural heritage is perpetuated through backyard gardening with some individuals still practicing larger-scale farming.

My dissertation focused on Barbudans living abroad in the UK, Canada, and the US and their complex relationship to home. Part of my research conducted through a series of interviews and archival work uncovered a long history of activism connecting Barbuda's diasporic communities to the island that continues into the present.

One of those Barbudans was the late, US-born Russell John, who founded the Barbuda Voice (1969–1990), a newspaper connecting the diasporic community to their island home. I visited the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archive in 2007 to examine the Barbuda Voice newspaper, part of anthropologist Riva Berleant-Schiller's collection, whose research on Barbuda several decades earlier laid the groundwork for my own project. In the pages of the Barbuda Voice, the words of Barbudans writing from both on and off the island rang loud and with passion, pleading for fellow Barbudans to unite to prevent international developers and government officials in Antigua from a land grab. Barbuda's history is replete with examples of schemes aimed at the island's commons, and the Barbuda Voice is careful to document them.



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In 1969, the newspaper called out a development initiative by Canadian Robert Bradshaw, which would take a quarter of the island and sell sites to prospective hotel developers and homebuilders. Barbudans urgently called for the protection of their birthright: "The people and their heritage should never be destroyed," "Don't sell your privileges for money, keep it for your children's children."

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Long after Barbuda Voice ceased publication, I saw this same passion amongst the many Barbudans I had the opportunity to interview on the island. Sir Hilbourne Frank, whom I had first encountered amongst the pages of the New Yorker, has been a longtime advocate for the land while abroad in England and upon his return to Barbuda. In a Barbuda Channel interview in 2009 he said, "I own a piece of this rock here and nobody is going to take it and sell it while my breath is still moving in my body."

I also spent time talking with the late McArthur "Smiley" Nedd, a native Barbudan who chose to live out his life on the island while so many others migrated abroad. During my annual summer visits, I would rest on a bench in his grocery store while he sat behind the cash register. In between customers, he told me about his life and his love for his native land:

"Well, the land means everything to me. Maybe I'm a bit too much enthusiastic about that really. Because when it comes to the land, I think that as a Barbudan, I happen to know some of our history. And I know that our fore parents, sweat and suffered a lot to get us where we are with this land... That's why I can't leave it to go nowhere."

My research over the last few years has taken me away from Barbuda to the Low Country of Georgia and South Carolina in the USA. Part of this region consists of sea islands that have been home to the Gullah/Geechee people, who retain many cultural characteristics from West Africa. The Gullah/Geechee, like Barbudans, have a deep sense of place and strong connection to their ancestral land. However, over the last several decades, what were once considered remote and undesirable islands have now caught the attention of resort and housing developers, and Gullah/Geechee peoples are being priced out. What is happening to the Gullah/Geechee people is a cautionary tale for Barbuda privatization could impact the affordability of "home" for native Barbudans.

Despite the challenges ahead, I can attest through personal interviews and an archival examination spanning the Codrington Papers to the Barbuda Voice that Barbudans are strong and resilient. This is evidenced by the rebuilding efforts after Irma initiated by Barbudans at home and abroad and the March 2018 workshop Envisioning Barbuda for 2030 and Beyond, held at the Ebenezer Pilgrim Holiness Church in the Bronx, New York. Barbudans will weather the storm in their way, just as they have always done.

DR. AMY E. POTTER is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Geology and Geography at Georgia Southern University in Savannah, Georgia, USA. Most of her research connects to the larger themes of cultural justice and Black Geographies. On the island of Barbuda, she explored the complex relationship between transnational migrants to the commons, and her most recent research examines racialized heritage landscapes in the U.S. South.

The Resilience of Barbuda

Rebecca Boger

I first visited Barbuda as a tourist. My sister, Kitty, her partner Philip, and I sailed from Jolly Harbour in Antiqua in a thirty-five-foot sailboat with a deep draft. We anchored off the ocean side of the sand barrier that separates the shallow lagoon from the Caribbean Sea. We hauled our little dingy across the sand beach and then put-putted our way to the Codrington dock where we then managed to arrange for a trip to see the frigate birds. I naively asked a local resident, "Where is the village centre?" and he replied with a smile, "This is it."

I had recently started a tenure-track position in the Geology Department (now called Earth and Environmental Sciences) at Brooklyn College, part of the City University of New York (CUNY), when I first went to Barbuda as a tourist. Shortly after that, I connected with Sophia Perdikaris, who was teaching in the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology and looking for ways our departments might collaborate. She had been working in Barbuda, and I decided to join her. I was looking for research possibilities using geospatial technologies to look at human environmental interactions to help build resilient and sustainable societies and ecosystems. Sophia was doing this, and my interests and skill sets could augment her research endeavours.

If you visit Barbuda, you might see me with a GPS device or collecting air photography with my drone. I am a Geographic Information System (GIS) specialist, who looks at people in their geographic context. Over the past six years, I have been working with my students and Barbudan colleagues to study how groundwater, soil, and land cover may be changing with climate change. I have also been working with anthropologists and archaeologists to take a long-term perspective of how people have interacted with the sea and landscapes in the past. The more I learn about Barbuda and Barbudans, the more I marvel at how, until recently, Barbudans lived ecologically, sustainably, and with great resilience. I am committed to continue my work there and to document changes in the aftermath of Hurricane Irma.

Barbuda is a semi-arid, relatively flat limestone island of 161 square kilometres located midway along the island chain known as the Lesser Antilles. It forms the outer curve of the Leeward Islands about fifty kilometres northeast of its sister island, Antiqua. It is low-lying—about half of the island is less than five metres above sea level. The highest elevations reach around thirty-five meters in the Highlands, an area that runs along the eastern side of the island. Spanish Point to the south is where the North Atlantic Ocean meets the Caribbean Sea. As you stand at the point looking south, there is a striking difference between the rugged coastline and Atlantic Ocean to your left and the calmer Caribbean Sea with gentler sandy shores to your right. At the northern end of the island, a large shallow lagoon is surrounded by sand dunes, mangroves, islands, and the Village of Codrington.

The island of Barbuda abounds with diverse flora and fauna. It is home to the second largest frigate bird colony, located in the mangroves to the far north past the lagoon. Fallow deer and land tortoises roam throughout the island. Coral reefs encircle Barbuda; the largest ones can be found near the southern tip of Spanish Point along the Caribbean Sea. Several salt-water ponds dot the landscape, providing salt for cooking that can be collected during the dry season. Caves and sinkholes can be found throughout the karstic limestone bedrock, some with underground waterways; these provide habitats to many species such as bats and blind shrimp. Beautiful beaches—many pink—can be found around the coast, particularly along the milder Caribbean side. These beaches, along with the lack of night light from people, provide the perfect habitat for nesting sea turtles. On a clear night, you can sense the expanse of the universe speckled with stars and planets, and you can understand how the hatchling turtles know to crawl to the ocean as they follow the light of the moon on the water's surface.

Barbuda is a unique and wondrous island with beauty unlike any other in the Caribbean. Barbudans have limited development for modern tourism, and sugar plantations did not transform the landscape during the Colonial Period. Because of this, the island is home to many rare terrestrial and marine species, while archaeological remains spanning the past 5,000 years can be found throughout. From the colonial period to the present day, most people have lived in Codrington, which is northwest adjacent to the Codrington Lagoon. Resort ventures have occupied the Caribbean side; some have had short lifespan while others such as Coco Point have continued for longer. The rest of the island is occupied by subsistence agriculture and wilderness, except for the excavation for a 300-acre airport project to support possible tourism development.

In the Caribbean, relatively predictable trade wind and precipitation patterns are interspersed with more extreme weather events, particularly hurricanes. These storms damage both coastal and terrestrial resources, and Barbuda lies directly in the pathway of significant annual cyclone and hurricane activity. Barbudans know this well for hurricanes of different strengths pass the island every five-to-ten years on average. There has been significant increase in the magnitude and frequency of North Atlantic tropical cyclones since 1995. and climate change models predict this trend to continue. In 2018, Category 5 Hurricane Irma directly hit Barbuda over the course of September 5 and 6, and its force left a stark trail of destruction.

Sea levels are rising, and this trend will continue. Based upon the SimCLIM climate model, results for the best-case and worst-case scenarios (according to IPPC projections), the sea level will rise between 0.5-0.8 meters by 2100. The low-lying marshes around the lagoon to the northwest of Barbuda will disappear and likely move landward as the sea rises. Codrington Village will be impacted immediately and become increasingly inundated and exposed to storms as the century passes. The northern and western parts of the island will be the most impacted, while the Atlantic Ocean side that abuts the Highland rise may be the least impacted by sea level rise.

Barbuda and the people that live there are resilient and have weathered times of extended drought and hurricanes. Shortly after Hurricane Irma, the natural landscape started recovering with much of the landscape becoming green again, though external

economic and political forces are threatening Barbudan culture and its way of life. Barbuda, like many other Caribbean islands, faces many challenges: food security, coastal erosion, storm surges, water quality and quantity. Limited economic opportunities result in a brain drain of young, educated people migrating off the island. These interconnected challenges intensify and become increasingly urgent as Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are impacted by the effects of climate change and external social pressures.

REBECCA BOGER is an Associate Professor in the Department of Earth and Environmental Sciences at Brooklyn College, CUNY. She has been working on multidisciplinary research in Barbuda for the past six years. She uses geospatial technologies such as drone photography, GPS and Geographic Information Systems to examine questions around resilience and sustainability of people and environment in the past, present and looking into the future.

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Barbuda: More Than Just a Beach

Barbara Paca

My first visit to Barbuda was as a member of the entourage of Prince Harry and the governor general of Antigua and Barbuda in 2016. During the helicopter ride over, I reflected upon how it must have felt for His Royal Highness to return after twenty-five years to childhood memories of this idyllic setting, a place regarded by his mother Princess Diana as one of her favourite beaches in the world.

As we were traveling on a bumpy boat ride to the bird refuge, a friend gazed down into the water, saying, "This is identical to the lagoons of Venice." True, the shallow water was pale brown, teeming with aquatic life, and the small trees on the shore were virtually the same. When we arrived at the sanctuary, everything changed. We were transported to a completely wild, pristine environment. Prehistoric-looking frigate birds with glowing-red chests that billowed out like huge sails populated the mangroves, showing utter disinterest in our presence. Knowing Barbuda as one of the premier dark-sky destinations on earth, I longed to stay to witness the sounds at night and the beauty of a sunrise.



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We returned to the mainland and visited the village of Codrington where school children sang songs welcoming the prince as dignified teachers stood in attendance. It was at the Sir George McChesney Secondary School where I had to pause, overwhelmed by one of the finest living classrooms I have ever encountered. The range of activities was astounding. Students were quietly reading books in the classrooms, outside gardening, washing fresh eggs before carefully placing them in cartons for people in the village, and preparing freshly caught fish—all while the principal spoke about sustainability. How could such a place exist?

The natural beauty of the environment and the cooperative spirit of its gentle inhabitants seemed even more poignant when Category 5 Hurricane Irma decimated the island only nine months later. For me, the resilience of the people set a standard for everyone facing crisis, as they resolutely endured the storms before returning home to rebuild their lives.

I hope the rebuilding of Barbuda will continue to reflect the dignity of the people who have lived there since the beginning of time and through centuries of enslavement, rising above the unimaginable in the context of their pristine natural environment. In a mystical way, the people and the landscape are deeply intertwined in a world of natural beauty. It would be a great feat to preserve the difficult truth about the history of Barbuda alongside its profound present-day peace and tranquillity, for that distinctive combination is what leaves the most lasting impression.

BARBARA PACA is the Curator for Antigua and Barbuda's inaugural National Pavilion at La Biennale di Venezia, and serves as Cultural Envoy to Antigua and Barbuda. She is an art historian and landscape architect, who holds a Ph.D. from Princeton University and was awarded postdoctoral fellowships as a Fulbright Scholar and at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. She is the author of Ruth Starr Rose: Revelations of African American Life in Maryland and the World and Frank Walter, The Last Universal Man, 2017.

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Grass Roots Initiatives in Preserving Cultural Heritage

Calvin Core

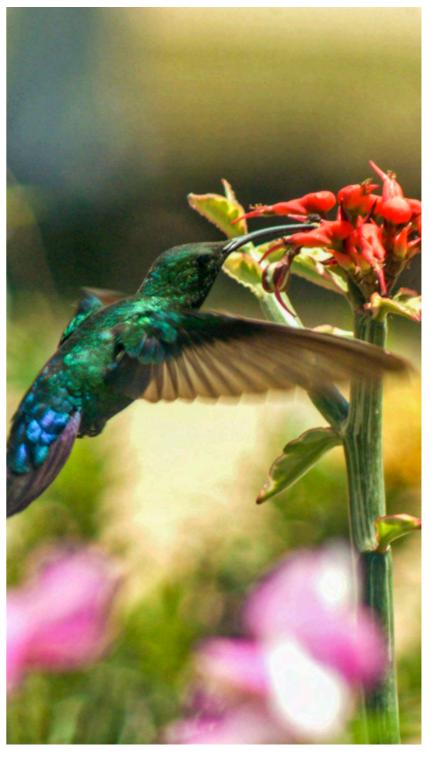
My name is Calvin Gore. I am a proud Barbudan and a firm believer in Barbudan history and culture. My journey into the history of my island began thirty-five-to-forty years ago. I grew up listening to the stories of Barbudan elders about our ancestors: how they hunted and lived on the land as well as their customs, traditions, family relations, and ties. Knowledge was passed down through coming together and participating in storytelling. It was the time for the elders to teach the future Barbudans how to recognize key markers in the land and sea; how to harvest and cook food for our traditional dishes; and how to respect nature and take nothing more than what was needed.

The stories from Barbuda's parents, grandparents, and great grandparents are our history. Our history was not recorded in fancy printed books, but it survives because our stories, shared through the generations, remind us of who we are, where we come from, and the beauty of our land and sea: the place that we call home, Barbuda. Walking around the island, those stories come alive, teaching us the landmarks of significance, hunting grounds, medicinal trees and bushes, what is poisonous what is not, when to pick fruits and where, how to plant and work with the rain cycles, the caves that provide shelter, camping, feasting, and celebration. Our island life can at times be difficult, but it provides for us. It has provided for thousands of years.

One day while I was going into the bush, I came across an area with pottery and a lot of West Indian top shell, a snail-like critter that is very tasty to eat. These shells looked old and so did the pottery. I wanted to know more. I wanted to preserve what was there. As an elder now myself, I have the responsibility of teaching the next generation. What better contribution but to empower them with the stories of the first Barbudans? I got in touch with the person in charge of lands in Barbuda, and they in turn introduced me to Dr. Reg Murphy, an archaeologist out of Antigua, so that he could come check out the area to see what should be done to preserve it. Dr. Murphy introduced me to Dr. Sophia Perdikaris, an archaeologist then out of Brooklyn College in New York, and now-chair of anthropology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. She spearheaded an archaeology program, introducing students and experts from New York, Nebraska, Canada, Iceland, Poland, and many other places to Barbuda's cultural heritage. And that is how the footprint of archaeology began in my time.

There was some archaeological research in Barbuda in the 1980s by Dr. David Watters, but this was followed by many years of stagnation. Now, not only do we have an archaeology program, but we also have a small museum and a research center, Barbuda Research Complex (BRC), where I am now a board member. We have been working with our youth doing tours and summer camps, teaching photography and filmmaking—showing and sharing with them the knowledge of this special island and how the Barbudans of the past have survived. Hurricane Irma has destroyed many things, but has not destroyed the spirit of Barbuda, the little island with a very big heart.

We have been able to find even more archaeological sites, and our little museum has survived. There is a lot to do, and we will do it. We are the Barbudans of today and our children will inherit the stories, the documentaries, and an island life that is unique and invaluable. Barbudans have faced storms for five-thousand years and they have always rebuilt and persevered. We now follow in their footsteps, and I am grateful.



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A Vision for Barbuda

Kendra Beazer

In any battle, the most difficult decision a soldier must make is whether he is able and willing to fight from the front or whether his talents are best deployed bringing up the rear guard and supporting the advance troops. Today, I write to you as an energetic and committed Barbudan, who is ready, willing, and able to fight on the frontlines for my beloved home.

At the age of twenty-five, I can safely say that I have seen Barbuda at its highest point and its lowest point. I have seen the dirt roads as well as the concrete roads; I have seen homes with and without electricity; I have used both indoor and outdoor toilets; I have seen Barbuda with and without three operating hotels. And I have survived a Category 5+ hurricane. Through it all I survived. Now, I am done surviving! I want to live, and I want to live while I am alive!

"My role model in life is my uncle Kendra and my grandmother Sonia," wrote my thirteenyear-old niece. I cried when I read that sentence, because in that moment I felt victory, I felt right. From the small underdeveloped village, Codrington, on the island Barbuda, I spent my childhood speaking to trees, swimming in the lagoon, exploring the island, and establishing the connections that moulded me into the young man I am today. From running chickens in my Aunt Vida's backyard to running the Department of Agriculture for Barbuda's local government, I can boldly say that I am God's creation.

When I was a child, I used to hear my mother tell stories of my Aunt Louise and Uncle Mani riding their donkey to harvest their pigeon peas and sweet potatoes from their ground. We were taught that Barbuda was traditionally known for its robust agricultural sector but, I can't say that of the Barbuda that I grew up in. I don't see Aunt Louise's and Uncle Mani's spirit in today's Barbudans. Today, I hear Barbudans defending the government's position to push huge amounts of land for an international airport as opposed to planting food for our consumption and long-term survival. I want to revive the spirit of Aunt Louise and Uncle Mani in each and every Barbudan. I want us to love, cherish, and work our land. I want us to make our ancestors proud of fighting for a Barbuda that we have unbridled rights to.

My mother used to have us iron our school clothes every Sunday evening for the entire week, because she had to go to work at six in the morning and we had to go to school. When Coco Point hotel was open things were better for my family. I enjoyed that time in Barbuda's history when K-Club, Palmetto, and Coco Point hotels were all open for business. I want that time to return. I want our shorelines to be bustling with tourism activities. I want this generation and the next to experience life in Barbuda with a vibrant tourism industry. I don't intent to live my entire life in Barbuda without having some form of impact where this is concerned.

Since I got elected to Barbuda Council in 2017, I have gained leadership experience far beyond what is typically asked of a public figure. In the face of insurmountable challenges, at the hand of a devastating disaster, and losing the leadership race for my party, I did not shy away. Instead, I rolled up my sleeves, got my hands dirty, and got to work. I did this not for my own benefit, but for the greater benefit of Barbuda.



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Although at times I may feel inadequate, lost, and hopeless, I am reminded that we never grow on the mountain top, we grow in the valley. I want to be known for something bigger than my circumstances. I want to be a part of the change. Less than two percent of elected officials worldwide are under the age of thirty. Being a member of the Barbuda Council at the age of twenty-five reassures me that I have a purpose and that I am not just old enough to vote, I am old enough to lead. There are many tasks that will come before us, some that will require us to rise to the occasion, not because we are ready, but because we have the potential to do them, to learn, and to fill the role.

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I am here to stay and I am not giving up!

The Sea Will Rise, Barbuda Will Survive

Sophia Perdikaris

A common phrase in Barbuda is "the sea will rise, Barbuda will survive." How can this be the case? How is it that a people in such a precarious position think that sea-level rise will result not only in their survival, but also the survival of their culture and way of life? These are some of the questions that challenge us as we—a group of local stakeholders, scientists, artists, researchers, documentary filmmakers, and students—seek to research environmental issues and to implement sustainable initiatives.

Before Hurricane Irma in 2017, Codrington—Barbuda's only village—had 1,800 residents, more than half of which were under the age of eighteen. Six months after Irma, the infrastructure of the island is still in flux and less than half of the residents are back permanently. Many Barbudans commute from Antiqua, working hard to rebuild their homes and lives while issues of identity, ethnicity, and land rights are debated for them in the political arena.

Barbuda houses rich heritage resources from pre-Columbian, colonial, and post-colonial periods, most of which can be found along the southern and Atlantic coasts along with the caves and caverns of the highlands. The lack of vigorous economic development over the past centuries has been advantageous to archaeologists, as several large archaeological sites have been left intact. The practice of communal land tenure also precluded the extensive development of Barbuda. Coastal erosion, increasing tropical cyclone activity, tourism, and human pressure conjointly threaten the island's heritage resources.

The first settlement of Barbuda started around 4,000 BCE, and the island has been continuously occupied until present. The first settlers were the Siboney, an Archaic Age fisher-forager people, and they utilized the coastal marine resources extensively. During the Archaic period, the near shore areas of Barbuda teamed with conch. The Siboney's food refuse shell middens spread for miles on Barbuda's southern shore, and it is known archaeologically through the excavations at the River site and Burton's Field. These massive mounds of discarded conch, tool preforms made from the conch lip, and stone tools from Long Island flint used to line the area in a linear midden formation called the Strombus Line, running from the east of the Palmetto Coconut Plantation (Burton's fields) all along the southern shore to Coco Point. Road construction, development, and hurricane activity have severely damaged these sites but there are still intact deposits in the Burton field area and in sporadic patches along the coast.

The second wave of settlement was by the various Ceramic period peoples (also known via their language group, Arawak, or by the location of their initial village, Saladoid, Osteonoid, etc.), who were migrating northwards out of the Orinoco river valley in Venezuela. They introduced new plants and animals throughout the Caribbean, and

evidence of their presence in Barbuda dates to 150 BC as can be seen in the excavations at Seaview near Two Foot Bay. This is the earliest date recorded for the presence of these Ceramic period peoples that far north in the region. The site of Seaview and the later period site of Indian Town Trail are amongst some of the very important archaeological sites marking this period in the region. They provide information on settlement, burials, food, technology, and environment. From Seaview, we have one human burial, a male, now on display at the Barbuda Museum that was surrounded by the burials of three dogs. The dogs have very specific dental patterns that genetically connect them to the hairless breeds of Mexico and Peru. A campfire near the settlement site had remnants of a racer snake meal, currently extinct from the island and a curly tail lizard that was probably not food.

The nearby inland site of Indian Town Trail is a massive site spreading over one square kilometre with middens, burials, and campsites. The analysis of animal bones from the site points to climatic shifts indicating wetter conditions and increased storminess in what would be the Little Ice Age in a European context. Some of the bones are from the now extinct Caribbean monk seal, baby manatee, and a lot of fish from near and far shore areas, including pelagic, mangrove, and lacustrine. All Ceramic period sites are filled with beautiful decorated pottery and animal figurine adornos. Tools made out of coral point to some of the technology used to create beautiful stone and shell beads for personal adornment. One of the recent excavations at Indian Town Trail has uncovered Taino-style pottery. This would be the first time Taino presence has been seen this far east in the Lesser Antilles.

Other important sites in Barbuda include a series of caves along the eastern shores and in the highlands. Caves have been extremely important to the survival of people on the island throughout its history. The range of activity in and around these caves begins with scatters of Archaic lithics through artefacts and faunal material in the Ceramic period and possibly Obeah rituals around 1850, indicated by the presence of cat bones, smoking pipes and goblets. In the present, caves are the site of contemporary celebration and feasting activities as part of living from the land cultural practices. These contemporary cave-based activities of sharing hunted and gathered wild foods and using caves as shelters are central to the Barbudan people's relationship to their land and follow in the footsteps of the many waves of peoples that have called this island home for thousands of years. The idea of living from the land is celebrated many times each year through gatherings at the caves in which food is prepared in traditional ways and shared amongst all participants. Storytelling, drinking, playing dominos and warri are all part of the celebration. This tradition has been kept alive in the face of westernization and the threat of modernization. Caves were used recently by some Barbudans to successfully weather Hurricane Irma. A notable cave drawing (or pictograph) can be seen in the Indian Cave of Two Foot Bay, while Ceramic period midden scatters are still present on the shores of the lake that lies deep within Dark Cave.

Barbuda became a British colony in 1632, and the Codrington family received the exclusive rights to the island in 1674. The island became a provisioning source for salt collection and for livestock in the form of horses, cows, sheep, and chickens as well as vegetables like Irish potatoes and cassava. The island was under the British crown until

1984 when it gained its independence and saw the formation of its own governing body, the Barbuda Council. While one country, Antigua and Barbuda, Barbuda has a representative in the parliament in Antigua and locally is governed separately from Antigua. Support for local fishing, hunting, resource, and cultural heritage preservation is necessary to combat what we understand as the pending dramatic social and ecological change of the island, and as we are further challenged by the acceleration of change and destruction that Hurricane Irma and its environmental and political aftermath are bringing about to the small, developing island state of Barbuda.

The anthropological, archaeological and environmental research on Barbuda is ongoing through the Dept. of Anthropology at the University of Nebraska Lincoln, Brooklyn College CUNY, Universite Laval in Quebec, Natural History Museum of Paris and the Barbuda Research Complex (BRC), a local NGO.

DR. SOPHIA PERDIKARIS is Professor and Chair at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and director of the board of the Barbuda Research Complex. Dr. Perdikaris is an environmental archaeologist, examining people-environment interactions from the earliest peopling to today. She has conducted multidisciplinary research in Barbuda over the last twelve years.

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Highland House Historical Site

Allison Bain

A trip to Highland House and Darby's Cave is a wonderful way to see the Highlands of Barbuda, which overlook the northern and eastern coasts of the island. The main house at this complex of fourteen buildings was built at the behest of William Codrington between 1720 and 1730, and was originally intended as his retirement residence. In a letter dated 1720-1721 he states:

"I beg yt youll have a good orrange Orchard planted at Barbuda Sappordillers, grapes of all Sorts, plantings, Bonanahs Lime hedges, Lemons, tammarins, Coccoe nuts for I design to end my days there, next the highlands where ... I designe a house one time or other -so pray pserve all y deere feasants & Partridges & suffer none to be killed on any ptence wtever, nor no gentlem' to go there shooting."

This letter tells us many interesting things about the site and about Barbuda. The Codringtons were an important planter family in the region, owning plantations in Antigua and holding the lease on Barbuda from 1685 until 1870. While Codrington never lived at Highland House, the family stocked the island with fallow deer and wild boar, which are still found and hunted on Barbuda today. Recent genetic analyses suggest that the fallow deer were shipped over from England.ii A deer park with hunting rights was available only for the elites of English society, and this site is unique as a Caribbean hunting lodge and vacation home. There is also historical mention of wooden structures that may have been in place before the construction of the masonry buildings, but there are no traces of those left on site.

Highland House is located at the northern edge of the Highland plateau, and was walled off with a formal gate at the entrance. This location was likely chosen due to its privacy and its stunning views of most of the island. Visitors arriving from the village of Codrington would have entered the complex on a road through the surrounding bush and passed several buildings before arriving at the main house. The layout and orientation of the buildings suggests different functions and construction dates. One of the buildings looks like it housed an office and a storage area, while another was the kitchen where remains of a hearth and a bread oven can still be seen today. Later in time, this same building appears to have been used to water horses. A large cistern structure ensured water at the site, and a formal pathway led to the main house with verandas on all sides. Over time, the site may have served as an administrative complex and as a place for sick enslaved people to convalesce. Historic documents also mention the presence of a stable, and suggest much of the site was in ruins by the mid-nineteenth century.

While research at the site began in the 1970s, the Barbuda Research Complex (BRC) and its collaborators have been documenting and monitoring the remains of many buildings at Highland House since 2009. Two excavations on middens or trash deposits have also generated a small collection of artefacts, including fragmented ceramics, nails, glass, and numerous shell fragments. These are important to archaeologists as they tell us about what the site's occupants ate and where this food came from. For example, many of the shell fragments are of West Indian top shell. This can be found within a few meters of the shoreline and may have been collected by enslaved peoples. The identification of window glass and nails provides information about how the buildings were constructed. Ceramics are one of the most important categories of artefacts at Highland House. The types of dishes used can often be dated to specific time periods, and reflect people's style preferences and trading networks.

Université Laval, Canada, in collaboration with BRC, led the most recent research at Highland House from 2015 to 2017. As this site is an important tourist attraction for visitors to Barbuda, it is hoped that the ongoing analyses will provide more details that can be used in interpretation.



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ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT

Expanding Empire and Local Identity: People, Plants, and Politics in Colonial Barbuda

Edith M. Gonzales

A few years ago, I was invited by a colleague to look at a collection of botanical illustrations drawn by Lydia Byam, an eighteenth-century artist on the island of Antiqua. My colleague knew I was interested in both colonial-era Antiqua and human ecodynamics. I was fascinated by Byam's illustrations, which she inscribed as having been drawn from life on the island. As we leafed through the copies of the illustrations, our eyes met over plate 12 with the same puzzled look: "Coffee? This can't be right. There is no record of coffee ever having been grown in Antigua." After months of searching through historical records to accurately identify the artist, as there were several women with that name on the island during the appropriate timeframe, I kept coming back to the question of coffee. Had the artist truly encountered coffee growing in Antiqua and drawn it from life?

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the British Empire used its colonies for wholesale biotic experimentation in the search for new commercially valuable agricultural products. The idea was once any new species was discovered and its viability as a commercial crop was established, it should be transferred to Asia for low-cost production and distribution. The empire was seeking solutions to minimize risks of famine and shortages of spices and medicines due to storms or drought. Sir Joseph Banks heavily promoted this idea in the 1780s. Banks, a naturalist and long-time president of the Royal Society, was interested in economic plants and their introduction into similar climates across the English colonies as a strategy to address these concerns.

As director of the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew and an avid collector of botanical specimens, Banks exchanged seeds and cuttings with botanists from around the world, expanding the herbarium's collection to reflect the entirety of the empire. He recommended existing productions of nature useful to mankind from Asia and Africa be introduced to the Americas to furnish British subjects with new resources against the dreadful effects of hurricanes. Diversification of production was also a means of competing with rival nations to corner the market on luxury products such as nutmeg, pepper, and cloves. This was especially important to the national history of Antigua and Barbuda whose environmental landscapes underwent dramatic transformations. While Antigua's forests and indigenous vegetation were cleared for sugar cane cultivation, Barbuda became the incubator for experimental agriculture.

The Codrington family owned multiple sugar estates in Antigua and leased the entire island of Barbuda as provisioning grounds to support those who lived and worked on the estates. We know from the Codrington Papers, a collection of estate records spanning 1681–1944, that maize, guinea corn, yams, sweet potatoes, Chinese eddoes, arrow root, cassava, legumes, pumpkins, squashes, and okra were being grown on Barbuda as provisions. Codrington brought in other stock, such as American turkeys, stallions, and

other horses for breeding, in addition to different varieties of cows, sheep, and chickens to find those best adapted to the climate. By 1780, he was trying to rid the island of deer, which had been introduced previously, because they ate "what other cattle want," and was redistributing the enslaved population from Barbuda to Antigua. In the same year, he stated "I had formed hopes that it [Barbuda] might have produced a stock of Negroes to have assisted in my Estates at Antiqua. I once flattered myself that the Negroes there [on Barbuda] having little work and good living would increase...but I have been deceived hitherto in such expectation." i Any and all botanical experimentation would ultimately need a viable renewable labour source in order to become a generator of sustainable wealth. Codrington's comments on the lack of natural increase despite better conditions reveal active resistance to slavery on the part of Barbudans.

In furtherance of experimentation on Barbuda, Codrington hired botanist Henry de Ponthieu, a known correspondent of Joseph Banks, to consult on the agricultural practices on Barbuda. De Pontieu noted, "fruits of a great variety may be enumerated but little care is taken for their culture, such as guavas, sour sop, sweet sop, custard apples, pawpaws, plantain, banana, coconuts, breadfruits, jack apples, cashews, granadillas, watermelon, melons, prickly pear, mountain pear, avocado pear, mangos, hog plums, Java plums, Barbados cherries, Surinam cherries, rose apples, grapes, tamarinds, pomegranates, and sapodillas." The botanist also brought aloe cuttings, due to aloe's many commercial possibilities, to Barbuda to "see what could be made of them in the East India treatment."



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De Pontieu's list is mind-boggling given that it includes specimens from around the world that would have been cared for and carried across oceans and continents for months before arriving on Barbuda's shores, representing some of the most advanced scientific thought and global economic planning of the time. Botanists were seen as holding the answers to ending world hunger, curing disease, preventing epidemics, and creating wealth. They were the cutting-edge scientists of the late eighteenth century,

Byam published two botanical volumes: A Collection of Exotics from the Island of Antigua (1799), by "A Lady," and A Collection of Fruits from the West Indies (1800), dedicated to Princess Elizabeth. Many of the fruits and exotic plants listed in the Codrington Papers appear in these volumes. In fact, her illustrations are of plants with potential commercial or medicinal applications, both indigenous and non-native species. Perhaps most interesting is the appearance of Coco plum, which grows on Barbuda (not Antigua), and, in one sketchbook, the American aloe, which is pictured on the Barbuda coat of arms. We also know that the artist was the niece of William Byam who subleased Barbuda from the Codrington family in the decades preceding her publications. Therefore, Lydia Byam was, at least at times, drawing from life on Barbuda. Her work is intriguing as it gives us an additional window into the environmental science of the times and the flow information from one corner of the empire to another.

Flora and fauna were introduced throughout Barbuda's colonial history, but the island did not function as a walled herbarium or formal garden; it had no greenhouse or official royal botanist. Outside of the formal constraints of botanical experimentation, a private botanical collection was tossed into an existing ecosystem and allowed to run wild. The more than three-hundred enslaved people living on Barbuda as these species invaded the natural landscape played an active role in both contesting and incorporating them into the cultural landscape.

We know the coffee Byam documented did not survive the experiment, but many others did. The Barbudan coat of arms depicts several species that became emblematic of its national character and history: European fallow deer, Asian sugar cane, South-American pineapple, hibiscus, and American aloe. The strength of Barbudan culture is evident in its reclamation of colonial imagery to create a distinctly Barbudan identity.

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"A Landscape That Continually Recurred in Passing": The Many Worlds of a Small Place

Natasha Lightfoot

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT

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C K It is just a little island. The unreal way in which it is beautiful now is the unreal way in which it was always beautiful. The unreal way in which it was beautiful now that they are a free people is the unreal way in which it was beautiful when they were slaves.

—Jamaica Kincaid, A Small Place (1988)

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As Jamaica Kincaid's famous essay on postcolonial Antigua suggests, there is a haunting connection between the island's beauty and its long history of exploitation, from the beginning of slavery to the present moment. This island, tucked in the north-eastern corner of the Caribbean Sea, can easily bend into the narrative of Britain's centuries-long imperial ventures around the globe.

Antigua's neglected sister isle, Barbuda, developed radically different forms of enslavement and economic production over the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Yet Barbuda's history, too, demonstrates the disastrous consequences for enslaved Africans and their descendants of planters' unceasing efforts to reduce persons to private property. The links between the two islands meant they faced an equally uncertain future as the empire moved toward abolition.

Private Property and the Unusual Trajectory of Slavery in Barbuda

In 1685, the Crown leased the island of Barbuda, which lies roughly thirty miles north of Antigua, as a private fief to the Codrington family. These famed sugar barons owned some of Antigua's largest and most lucrative plantations in the parishes of St. John and St. Peter. The Antiguan Codringtons were a branch of the prominent planting family that played a central role in the "sugar revolution" in Barbados during the mid-1600s and founded Codrington College, an Anglican seminary, in 1710. At least two Codringtons served as governor of the Leeward Islands in the late 1600s; another served in Parliament from 1797 to 1812; and the family was twice granted a peerage. Barbuda constituted a negligible part of social, material, and political capital that this family enjoyed throughout the British Atlantic World, but it reveals much about the stark variations in slaves' work experiences on the Caribbean's small islands.

Barbuda received a steady stream of African captives beginning in the 1680s, but slave importations ebbed during the mid-1700s, and the population grew naturally thereafter. A century into British settlement, the island could count no more than five resident whites at any given time, usually the Codrington agent and his family. In 1715, its total population was just ninety-three. Over the next century, this number steadily increased, but not by much, and never exceeded five hundred during the entire period of slavery. The thin and unfertile topsoil of Barbuda, coupled with its exceptionally dry climate, prohibited the development of large-scale plantations, so its economy was developed

to complement that of the neighbouring sugar islands. Slaves raised livestock and crops, fished, and harvested lumber to supply the Codringtons' plantations and the local markets in Antigua. Slaves who did not pursue pastoral, hunting, or maritime occupations became skilled in crafts such as woodworking and leather tanning. These small-scale operations became Barbuda's primary source of revenue, which peaked at a modest level in the early 1800s and was reduced to a trickle by the mid-1820s. Because of this state of affairs, many elite observers viewed Barbuda as an agrarian idyll. Charles Day, who visited in the 1850s, commented: "Altogether the negro population of Barbuda have nothing like real cares." Some historians have uncritically repeated this claim; for example, Douglas Hall describes Barbuda as "a relatively happy place." But slavery was still slavery, and African-descended Barbudans' bodies were the property of the Codringtons.

The labour required of Barbudan slaves, as on other isles without plantations, like the smaller islets of the Bahamas or the Grenadines, fostered longer life spans than territories with sugar regimes. This allowed for a natural increase of the slave population, a rarity in the history of Caribbean slavery. In Barbuda, this natural increase was especially marked in the three decades prior to 1834, when the island's population almost doubled. During that time, the Codringtons considered supplying their Antiguan plantations with slaves from the increasingly populous Barbuda. The idea of Barbuda as a slave-breeding ground derives from this period of unprecedented demographic growth. Belief that Barbuda was a "stud farm" during slavery has a strong oral tradition among past and current Barbudas, but the historical geographers David Lowenthal and Colin Clarke have declared it a myth. These scholars argue that natural increase was a by-product of Barbuda's female majority and its less strenuous work routine, but that well-documented difficulty of making enslaved Barbudans leave their home meant that Codringtons could not generate a profit by selling them. In fact, their managers often complained to the absentee Codringtons about slaves' obstinate refusal to be transferred to Antigua. By 1830, the heir apparent, Christopher Bethell Codrington, privately admitted that he had too little sway among his own slaves to enforce their removal. This would have rendered slave breeding unprofitable. But when the British government offered compensation to slave owners, he tried to convince the Colonial Office that the particular profitability of Barbudan slaves, specifically from breeding and reselling them, should merit his receipt of extra funds. His claim was denied.

Yet since having more enslaved labourers on their Antiguan plantations would have been profitable, it seems likely that the Codringtons used Barbudan slaves' procreation to enrich themselves. According to Lowenthal and Clarke, a total of fifty-two slaves were forcibly removed from Barbuda to Antigua between 1817 and 1832, ether to increase the supply of labour there or as a "punishment." For an enslaved Barbudan, simply working on a sugar plantation was a form of punishment. But their separation from kin was no doubt worse. Relative to the island's total population of roughly five hundred, the removal of fifty-two people is significant. This evidence suggests that the Codringtons siphoned off their surplus Barbudans not only to maintain order but also to satisfy their Antiguan estates' voracious appetite for labour. That so many transported Barbudans requested to return home, and that some died while subjected to Antigua's strenuous plantation routine, tells us much about the history of both places. These findings are suggestive, but they do not solve the debate over slave breeding.

The anthropologist Mindie Lazarus-Black attributes Barbudans' continued maintenance of the oral transition about breeding to their present sense of virility, the legend's usefulness in explaining the prevalence of informal intimate partnerships rather than legal marriages, and the protection of an identity distinct from that of Antiguans. While the "virility" that Lazarus-Black identifies in the legend connotes masculine strength, a connotation that its popular circulation among Antiguans and Barbudans also reinforces, the legend also implicitly attests to Barbudan women's fertility and skilled mothering. Barbudans' insistence on the veracity of the stud-farm narrative should encourage students of history to develop a more critical view of the island's past. That the enslaved were able to survive, form families, and reproduce successfully to create and perpetuate their own culture was a feat. Yet, read another way, the stud-farm narrative suggests that despite the island's reputation for a "milder," less fatal form of slavery, enslavement still involved coercion and the control of women's and men's bodies in the interests of slaveholders.

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Power and the Official Story: Deconstructing Barbudan Histories

Anjana Mebane-Cruz Edith M. Gonzalez

With its dry climate and accessible fresh water, Barbuda was historically used by the British to supply its ships and plantations in Antiqua. Unlike other Caribbean holdings, Barbuda was not suited for the most dangerous and backbreaking plantation crops like sugar cane. Instead there were hopes that a gentler workload would encourage slaves to reproduce, eliminating the costs of replenishing imported labourers and providing in-house training. Although the Barbudans were reputed to have more relative freedom that their Antiguan relatives, it is important to note that these were still enslaved people, subject to the abuses and whims of any white person who might pass, even if not the legal owners. So, while an enslaved person sent to work on the sugar cane plantations could expect to be dead within eight years and the Barbudans enjoyed a greater lifespan, there are enough well documented cases of abuse and murder to dissuade even the casual reader from thinking that theirs was an easy life.

An aura of particular controversy surrounds the local histories that assert that the island was developed by Christopher Codrington not only to supply stores to his many holdings in the Caribbean, but to develop a breeding program to produce strong and docile workers for his seven sugar estates on Antiqua. This had been accepted history until David Lowenthal and Colin G. Clarke declared it a myth in their 1977 paper, "Slave-Breeding in Barbuda: The Past of a Negro Myth." Not merely ignoring the local histories and family stories, the article also dismisses the expertise of the direct descendants of the enslaved people. While this short paper doesn't allow for a full discussion of the article, we would like to deconstruct the relationship of power to the production of knowledge and bring into question the framework for dismissing informal histories.

Lowenthal and Clarke present population figures for Barbuda in the following years: 1715 (93), 1756 (190), 1774 (287), 1783 (250), 1790 (246), 1804 (314), 1817 (392), 1821 (411), 1824 (423), 1828 (466), and 1832 (492). The figures prior to 1804 are estimates from estate agent censuses—after 1804 they are from slave registration records. In the period between 1774 and 1790 we see a sharp decline in populationiwhich the authors use to negate the informal history of a planned breeding program on Barbuda.

An alternative explanation for this decrease comes from the letter book of Sir William 1779–1782. In these letters, ii writes on several topics, the first being the dismissal of his overseer at Barbuda—one Mr. Redhead—who he has extradited to England to face charges of theft and embezzlement. It seems Mr. Redhead, and his mistress Sally, were caught selling small stock and produce from Barbuda and pocketing the profits. Mr. Redhead was also accused of unspecified cruelty towards the enslaved inhabitants and evil wrongdoing. It's important to note Mr. Redhead was the overseer during the first period of dropping population on Barbuda.

A subsequent manager of Barbuda in 1786 quoted laborers as saying they work very hard, which is why they do not breed, and certainly, mistreatment could be a contributing factor in the limited population growth However, we need to look further and see this from another angle. However, we need to look further and see this from another angle.

Another letter from the 1779–1782 collection is often cited because in it Sir William Codrington claims that he has been misled. He clearly states the intention for Barbuda is to serve as a "nursery for Negroes" from which he can "replenish the stock"iii on his Antiguan sugar estates and yet the population on Barbuda was dropping during this time. This quote is frequently taken out of context, but it is part of a larger set of instructions to the manager at Barbuda in which all agricultural plans for Barbuda are outlined. It lists plants to be cultivated and introduced, and others to be discontinued. It instructs turtle ponds to be dug and turkeys to be brought to the island. It speaks of breeding cattle and horses. Some (including Lowenthal and Clarke) argue that this intention for breeding slaves on Barbuda was only that—a plan never put into practice. The argument being that because the slave population did not increase, the plan was never implemented. However, all of the other agricultural practices described in William Codrington's letters were implemented. What Lowenthal and Clarke fail to take into account is, during the period of falling population, Mr. Redhead and Sally were actively plundering the stock on Barbuda. Make no mistake, the enslaved people were considered to be and were listed as stock. The reference to the disappointing increase is directly tied to the assessment of various stock and holdings.

While further research might produce more definitive answers, it seems to us that it must be considered that Mr. Redhead may well have been selling the children of the enslaved people, along with the other pilfered stock and produce. For while we do know that traditional ecological knowledge of herbs and plants that could be used as abortifacients was not uncommon throughout the Caribbean, exhaustive work, cruelties and abortions notwithstanding, it seems improbable that there would have been no births, or so few as to raise the ire of Codrington.

It should also be noted that the dramatic rise in population in the years between 1790 and 1804 coincided with the rise of the Quaker-led abolitionist movement in British Parliament and the legislative process leading up to The Slave Trade Act, which forbade the importation and selling of slaves across the transatlantic (but not slavery itself). During this period, Bethel Codrington petitioned Parliament for an exemption that would allow him to move slaves between Barbuda and Antigua, and it was granted. It expanded previous legislation that only allowed for the transfer of domestic servants to include the entire labour force of Barbuda plus it extended through 1825. Again, this supports the idea of Barbuda being a provisioning ground, storehouse, and producer of a captive labour force for use on Antigua. It also supports the local experts in asserting their own histories and understanding of the workings of their island.

With newer technologies like DNA research, the stories of local experts are being verified, from the relationship of Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson to the recent discovery of a ship lost in 1846 and found exactly where local Inuit stories said it was. The inherent unwillingness to look beyond our own institutional structures, racism,

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and colonialist mentality, along with the presumption of superiority, has sometimes led us away from the very best attributes of the scientific approach. Good science requires openness to what is outside of that yet considered. As researchers, we examine, analyse, and share the results of our research, so that they can be subject to examination from our peers. While we all hope for work that will stand the test of time, it is important that we remain humble in the face of new information that expands or otherwise alters our original interpretations of the data. The oft-quoted works from decades past may need to be challenged by consideration from a diversity of viewpoints. In rethinking these stories, it is important that we respect local knowledge and include, compare, and contrast non-standard epistemologies as we re-examine power relations and the processes that construct official stories and colour our perspectives on societies and cultures.

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Antigua and Barbuda: Slavery, Ships, A Site of Conscience?

Nigel Pocock

Love, justice, mercy, humility–and shipwrecks? An ancient Hebrew prophet stressed these very values more than 2,500 years ago, which, today, perfectly apply to facing the reality of historic slave shipwrecks.i Adding to this is modern author Everett Worthington's point that humility looks outwards towards others and includes a sense of justice. It is with this foundation that the stories of the victims of slave shipwreck atrocities must be approached, so that we 'never forget.'

Reaching back generations, indeed hundreds of years, a shipwreck functions as an historic site of conscience, reminding people and cultures of their guilt. Today, guilt tends to have negative connotations due to certain *de rigeur* therapeutic approaches. But one has only to look at how people and cultures would behave if without a social conscience to realise how constructive guilt and shame can be. A sense of guilt and shame prompts people to act pro-socially, and to consider others' needs. It is an important prompt to behave with love, justice, mercy, and humility, and not to prioritise ourselves, as 'Generation Me' does so recklessly.

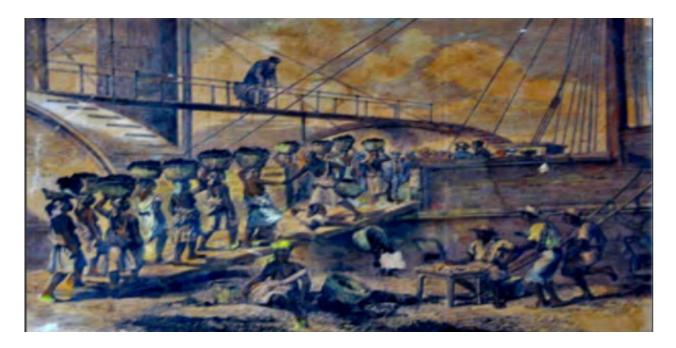
Sites of conscience are a means of facing reality-often an uncomfortable reality that people resist confronting. Yet, as Scott Peck observes, good mental health lies in precisely this: an unflinching facing of reality. The converse is denial, fantasy, and poor psychosocial functioning. In this research, there are two aspects of reality that need facing: the impact on the victims and the impact on the environment. As we will see, these two are inseparable, and are the physical expression of the slave ship.

The impact of slavery was and is devastating. It has destroyed families, threatened self-esteem, created alienation, and marginalised identity. The product of these pathologies has been crime, teen pregnancy, absent fathers, homicides, violence, poor mental health, and more. Every demographic at the epicentre of slavery and cotton production in the former confederate states shows a positive correlation between proximity to the Mississippi Delta and higher rates of these pathologies. In northern states like New Hampshire and Vermont these pathologies are relatively non-existent. In Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, they are overwhelming.

The key variable is slavery. To take one example, the more marginalised a person's identity, the greater the occurrences of schizophrenia, bipolar disorder, and depression. Indeed, in some research, this is up to twelve times higher for people of Caribbean origin (than whites), than people in the Caribbean (itself up to four times higher than a comparative white population). Where a person's identity is 'assimilated' or 'integrated' the risks are less; the key to good mental health is having a close, loving, and supportive community, not a dysfunctional one.

How does this link to the physical world and slavery? The answer lies in the typical 'slash and burn' approach to land development, ix combined with the radical expropriation of property operated under what Sven Beckert calls 'war capitalism.' Slash and burn was a relatively easy way of removing the tropical rainforest that was endemic to the Caribbean, almost all of which were destroyed, except for a small area in Antigua. Neat rows of sugar were then planted, or, in the southern states, cotton. This model of war capitalism was followed by an environmental destruction that was exported worldwide, wherever sugar and cotton monoculture was practised. Industrial capitalism (where land was purchased rather than seized) simply added to the problem, providing more capital for funding war capitalism. Globally this carries on today, especially in Brazil, the so-called 'lungs of the world,' which was founded upon slavery.

None of this would have been possible, without the ubiquitous slave ship. Vessels of any and every description were pressed into this nefarious service, even whalers. Big, small, square-riggers (mostly for ocean crossing) to the smallest of lateen sailed vessels (the better to negotiate the small rivers into the African interior). Only in the deepest and most remote areas of Central Africa were Africans free from becoming a profitable export cargo.



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What should our responsibility be? By 'our' I refer to all people of goodwill, who want to close the injustice gap or the distance between what people hold to be an 'ideal solution' and their 'current status'.xii We should also narrow, if not close, the 'magnitude gap'—the difference between the importance of an act to the perpetrator and the victim. Research shows that both victims and perpetrators tend to be self-serving in their recall of atrocities. To gain a truer understanding, moral outrage should be quieted and a less loaded scientific approach adopted. Having conducted research, a moral stance, which takes account of the victim's perspective must be adopted. Only when this has been

done can judgement be made. For, it is the descendants of perpetrators, who tend to say "let bygones be bygones," and the crime is quietly put away. As G. W. F. Hegel put it "We learn from history that we do not learn from history."

How then, is this task to be achieved? Only with great difficulty, vision, and perseverance. There will be many naysayers, who are in historical and moral denial or who are swayed by financial and technical concerns. As a site of conscience, an excavated slave ship needs to be researched thoroughly, taking in to account both the perspective of the perpetrators as well as those of the victims. Detachment is essential for the sake of hearing the explanation of the perpetrators and hearing the moral cry of the victims.

Desmond Nicholson, the founder of the Antigua and Barbuda Museum, laid a very important historical foundation. Nicholson listed various vessels that were wrecked off Antigua and Barbuda with an invaluable set of references and sources. One or two of these have subsequently been revealed as slavers (such as the Britannia, 1802), thanks to the massive Cambridge University Press' Trans-Atlantic Slave Database. However, it is likely that virtually all such vessels will have been salvaged at the time they were wrecked. Almost all wooden vessels of this time were wrecked off shore in less than thirty feet of water, enabling local divers and diving bells (if available) to appropriate whatever may be left. Most such vessels were wrecked in storms, and the greatest collections of such vessels went down in or near to St. John's Harbour. If these vessels were rapidly covered by sand, then the hull and its contents may yet be retrievable, and this would offer the best chance of recovery.

Two slavers have famously been recovered in the last forty years. These are the Fredensborg (1768) and the Henrietta Marie (1700). Both have yielded huge numbers of artefacts, but no slaver has ever been excavated in terms of finding and raising the hull. This would be a major accomplishment, and a world first, if this could be achieved off Antigua or Barbuda. As a primary step, I would suggest that a ground-penetrating survey initially be made around St. John's Harbour and its upper reaches. It would be of huge advantage if any of the telltale signs of a slaver could be located, such as huge feeding tubs, a copper bottom, shackles, evidence of barricades, swivel guns, blunderbusses, and trading goods such as ivory or cowries.

In Care of Persons, Care of Worlds (1992), Larry Kent Graham argues that there is a constant dynamic impact of individual actions within the larger ecology.xvii Nothing stands still. This can be seen in the complex life story of Antiguan artist Frank Walter (1926–2009). He struggled his entire life with issues of personal identity that grew out of the destructive legacy of slavery, and its impact on the social and environmental ecology of Antigua. Walter struggled to resolve the contradiction between his real self and his ideal self, and so constructed the concept of Europoid to explained his black appearance and his white European identity. Such a view is not complete fantasy. Walter's genealogy did indeed have white European antecedents, and it is quite possible biologically to have a largely white DNA profile, while being physically of black appearance (and vice-versa). While Walter's construct helped him cope in one sense, it was also socially alienating and marginalising.

There is also an established cause and effect relationship between mental illness and this kind of marginalised identity, especially within the Caribbean community that is very marked. People of colour are up to twelve times more likely to have mental illness in some research papers (compared to whites), with the risk increasing the further a person is away from their peer group community. The paradox is that his very illness was part and parcel of what made Walter a 'divergent thinker,' and able to see the destructive effects of the historical past. Plantation ecology had leached the land, leaving tourism the only industry. Walter wanted to return to an eco-friendly, self-sustaining ecology and economy, far ahead of his time, and totally against the status quo.



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Walter was a product of the slave ship. Without the slave ship, he would not have existed. His self-esteem was high, but badly punctured. Like a life jacket on a man thrown overboard, he strove to swim and to fix the puncture. Some people would have used violence to repair this damage, but this was not Walter's way.

The wrecked and destroyed slave ship is a site that serves as a catalyst for memories and responses. We started with the call to justice, mercy, love, and humility. These all impact one another–justice implies mercy (or forgiveness); love implies the merciful application of justice; and humility indicates a willingness to hear both the perpetrators' stories, and to be prepared to modify one's own 'victim' story. The slave ship has the potential to unlock all these stories, and become a place of healing–if we will let it.

Paul Gardullo Steve Lubkemann

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ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT

Rebuilding Barbuda Through Climate Change and its Aftermath

Barbara Paca

Barbuda was settled originally by a family from England named Codrington; this family specialized in breeding special groups of black people, whom they then sold into slavery.

—Jamaica Kincaid, A Small Place (1988)

The total devastation of Barbuda's landscape and built structures in 2017 due to a climate change–induced hurricane is a testament to the unique strength and adaptability of its people. Antigua and Barbuda's National Pavilion exhibition Environmental Justice as a Civil Right at the Venice Biennale celebrates this resilience. It also initiates an international environmental campaign to elevate awareness, create environmental advocates, and establish a new approach to leadership for frustrated residents and compassionate global citizens of all ages and backgrounds. Through video, photography, large-scale models, drawings, and a garden installation, we explore Antigua and Barbuda as a foremost country in the preservation of habitat, cutting-edge agricultural policy for food security, and environmentally sustainable practices.

In the process of rebuilding the island of Barbuda, we are introducing a marker system to document the locations of important maritime and terrestrial cultural and historic events. The initial stage of this mapping effort is a comprehensive research project in the UK, the US, and the Caribbean, carried out in collaboration with the Slave Wrecks Project launched by George Washington University and the Smithsonian Museum of African American History and Culture. The results of this work will be presented in the Antigua and Barbuda National Pavilion, acknowledging responsibility in recording vanishing landscapes to establish best environmental practices for the future.

By consulting archives and conducting oral histories, this project will shed light on the many slave shipwrecks off the coast of Antigua and Barbuda, which have been largely publicly ignored or repressed owing to the immense difficultly of this history. As owners of some of the largest plantations on Antigua, the Codrington family were a significant part of this past. In 1685, Christopher Codrington established a slave-breeding colony on Barbuda, leasing the entire island from the British Crown (until Barbuda and Antigua were united in 1870). Selling human beings as chattel on the international slave trade created significant traffic among slave traders, and led to many souls perishing in shipwrecks. Our work seeks to establish these locations as sacred spaces off the reefs, documenting where the ships and people were lost to the sea.

Our National Pavilion embraces the sea as an integral component of Antigua and Barbuda's environment and culture and a continuous link between its past, present, and future.

BARBARA PACA is the Curator for Antigua and Barbuda's inaugural National Pavilion at La Biennale di Venezia, and serves as Cultural Envoy to Antigua and Barbuda. She is an art historian and landscape architect, who holds a Ph.D. from Princeton University and was awarded postdoctoral fellowships as a Fulbright Scholar and at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. She is the author of Ruth Starr Rose: Revelations of African American Life in Maryland and the World and Frank Walter, The Last Universal Man, 2017.

A Master Plan for Victoria Park and Its Botanical Garden

Philip Logan

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT

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Conceived in the mid-nineteenth century, Victoria Park and its Botanical Gardens were envisioned as a quiet escape from the crowds of St. John's, the capital city of Antigua and Barbuda. A quick, present-day review from Trip Advisor reveals that, although ill-defined and neglected over time, the central open greenway within this bustling urban environment still provides a sense of place and tranquillity. The recent renewed interest by the Ministers of Health, Heritage and the Environment has reaffirmed the Antiguan Government's commitment to restoring the park and its identity.

Antigua and Barbuda's National Pavilion at the 2018 Venice Architectural Biennale includes the development of Victoria Park's master plan as it examines environmental justice as a civil right. Epitomizing the principles of the FREESPACE manifesto, the new proposal builds on the recent efforts by the Department of the Environment to establish visible sustainability projects while redefining its perimeter to include the entire block for a clear identity within the community. Adjacent to the St. John's Recreation Centre and Stadium, it is also only two blocks away from Government House where a building and landscape restoration is underway. Together, the three landscapes can re-establish the original greenway concept within the heart of St. John's.

The larger Victoria Park will expand and restore the adjacent well-loved cricket fields. Smaller playing fields will be added, along with viewing stands and picnic areas for family gatherings. Adjacent roads will be improved and sidewalks added for pedestrian safety and to control off-road parking. The existing parking garage will be completed and at-grade parking added throughout the park for easy and safe accessibility. The park will include the existing bus transport center with planned improvements for local concessions. Several community resources will be absorbed into Victoria Park, including the Ministry of Agriculture and local restaurants. A wetlands feature fed from an underground stream and storm water runoff will be diverted to the adjacent reservoir known as the Country Pond, habitually used by locals for washing cars. The stone retaining walls are in dire need of restoration, and, as part of this master plan, water pumping stations and biodegradable soap dispensers will be incorporated.

Victoria Park's highlight feature, the original Botanical Gardens, is receiving a long-awaited restoration and replanting effort by Antigua's experienced horticulturalists and gardeners. Nursery stock from around the island of native plants and trees will be propagated, catalogued, and identified as the Gardens are expanded and formalized. The existing paths will be renovated and reconfigured. New paths will be added for maintenance vehicles, golf carts and ensured to be accessible by all. To provide safety for its visitors and community, and to secure the new nursery and expanding plant inventory, a new perimeter fence with entrance gates will be extended around the Botanical Gardens. This area will include the National Archives Rappaport Centre and

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The renovated Botanical Gardens will include many public and new sustainable amenities. In addition to developing the first solar-powered water reducing public toilet facilities in Antigua, the garden will include a wind turbine farm, improvements in rainwater harvesting for its nursery and landscape irrigation, and a carefully engineered storm water management plan to control runoff and erosion for the entire site. Special new features within the garden will be introduced to increase the visitors' environmental experience. This will include a series of cable walkways and platforms suspended within the canopy of tropical trees populated with bromeliads, an accessible tower with views of the St. John's harbour and visiting cruise ships, an accessible playground, a running path with training stations, and an open-air amphitheatre for special events and concerts.

Working collaboratively with the enterprising Department of Environment, the Chief Architect of the Ministry of Public Works, and other Antigua horticulturalists, engineers, and designers, the Antigua and Barbuda National Pavilion at the Biennale Architettura 2018 has clarified the mission and goals for the St. John's Victoria Park master plan. Over the seven-month duration of Environmental Justice as a Civil Right, the National Pavilion will seek continued engagement with the public on an international level in this discussion. We hope to work together in search of new ways to educate ourselves as we redefine the mission of public parks and the meaning of free space.

Sam Sanders

ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT

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Local Bush and Remedies

Kathleen, Lady Richardson-Walter

As a child growing up, technology was not as advanced as it is today. Because of this, the older folks depended upon the local plants as medicine and remedies to cure different types of diseases. The days seemed fuller as we lived close to the Earth and spent time with our families. Our homes were our hospitals, and our gardens were our pharmacies.

As an educator, it is important to me that some of these traditions continue, albeit, in a different world. I believe that the outdoor classrooms at the Botanical Gardens and Government House will serve as ideal places for modern-day teaching on the subject of bush remedies.

I was fortunate to have had two grandmothers, who knew the plants' local names and uses. They went about helping the people in their villages and beyond in finding the cure for many ailments and replacing parts of the body that would slip out of joint, e.g., knees, ribs, shoulders, etc. In some cases, the whole plant would be used—roots, stems, leaves, fruits, flowers, and seeds. These parts of the plant were used as teas, baths, poultices, drinks, dyes, laxatives, and shampoo.

I will name a few plants, leaves, and barks as taught to me by my grandmothers. Some of these local names that I will mention might only be known by Antiguans.



After Birth

Cat mint

Vervain

Baths

Man better man

Cudjo leaves

Sea vine

Stinking weed

Blood Cleansing and Cooling Teas for Women

Vervain

Stinging nettle (male)

Cat mint

Thyme

Blood Pressure

Ginger root

Garlic root

Neem leaves

Lime leaves and fruits

Bread fruit leaves

Maiden blush

Golden seal

Coughs and Colds

Jumbie bead bush

No you bush

Lord Lavington leaves

White head bush

Mirtle lime leaves and seeds

Love bush

Cattle tongue leaves

Sour sop leaves

Calabash leaves

Bamboo leaves

Love bush

Eyes

Eye bright

Cruffy eye bright

Gripe and Stomach Problems

Cinnamon bark cure

<u>Inflammation</u>

Inflammation bush

Prickly pear

Aloe vera

Eucalyptus leaves

Laxatives

Aloe vera

White head

Lord Lavington

Guinea grass Golden seal

<u>Memory</u>

Thistle leaves and seeds

Dandelion leaves

Spinach

Eye bright leaves and seeds

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Rosemary leaves

Castor leaves

Noni leaves or wild sour sop

Cloves

Aloe vera

Garlic Onion

Resetting Parts of the Body (Knees, Ribs, Hips, and Shoulders)

Castor leaves cure

Skin Boils

Pomegranate fruit cure (instead of antibiotic tablets)

Teas

Sage

Mints

Nunu bossom

No you

Lemon grass

Pepper mint

Dandelion

<u>Urination</u>

Male stinging nettle

Dandelion

<u>Worms</u>

Worm grass bush

Urban Environmentalism at Victoria Park: A Living Classroom

Barbara Paca

Perhaps the highest goal of Antigua and Barbuda's National Pavilion at the Venice Biennale is to continue the important dialogue about the role of environment, landscape, and architecture in urban areas of developing countries. Through increased awareness on a global scale, more can become actively involved in improving their local environments. Victoria Park is an important part of this conversation, serving as an ideal living classroom for citizens and visitors alike. Situated in the centre of the city of St. John's, the capital of Antigua and Barbuda, as headquarters to the many inspiring people working for the Department of Environment, the property has the potential to set a new standard for environmental conservation and gardening in the Caribbean.

Victoria Park, listed in the Antigua Almanac and Registry (1843), was established as a place where people could find solace in recreation and the enjoyment of a clean environment. Queen Victoria granted the lands to the people of Antigua and Barbuda in 1848 to provide a much-needed "public comfort" with careful park planning to preserve "the health of the City." Referred to alternately as the Botanical Gardens, Botanic Garden, Victoria Park, and Botanical Station, the purpose was always clear—the site was an early symbol of the basic civil right for the provision of an uncontaminated fresh air environment available to all. This grew out of a desire in the early days of post slavery to provide "unrestricted use of the open space for the healthful enjoyment of air and exercise."

The current expansion and redesign of Victoria Park establishes large collections of native plants and cultivars of desirable specimens from around the globe, all carefully curated to add another dimension to the gardens to educate, inspire, and help cool the earth. The Honourable Molwyn Joseph, Minister of Health and the Environment, and Minister Max Fernandez, Minister of Tourism, responsible for Heritage and Botanical Gardens, have expanded the boundaries of the botanical garden with a network of paths leading to discreet outdoor public spaces. By utilizing cricket fields Rising Sun and Dredgers, a wide perimeter path winds its way around the open fields with large specimen trees planted to create shade and to cool the earth and provide habitat for desirable forms of wildlife and much needed solace for urban dwellers.

Circulation is encouraged throughout the enlarged property, through preservation of all existing paths and the addition of a jogging trail that finds its way around the boundary of the property within and beyond the fenced-in enclosure. Exercise stations will be placed along the jogging trail in the enclosed portion of Victoria Park, as well as large grassy expanses for outdoor theatre, social gatherings, music, yoga, and dance. Winding paths lead to outdoor classrooms, which are organised throughout the property to create a wide array of experiences for the general public and students.

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Victoria Park emerges as a model of environmental stewardship and a meeting place for community building, exercise, and contemplation. Visitors find solace in this public landscape and invigorated by time spent in the natural world that is so uniquely expressed on the Leeward Islands of Antigua and Barbuda.

BARBARA PACA is the Curator for Antigua and Barbuda's inaugural National Pavilion at La Biennale di Venezia, and serves as Cultural Envoy to Antigua and Barbuda. She is an art historian and landscape architect, who holds a Ph.D. from Princeton University and was awarded postdoctoral fellowships as a Fulbright Scholar and at Princeton's Institute for Advanced Study. She is the author of Ruth Starr Rose: Revelations of African American Life in Maryland and the World and Frank Walter, The Last Universal Man, 2017.

The Best of Both Worlds: Bringing Relevance to the Past

His Excellency Sir Rodney Williams

When I became a physician, I vowed to do my best to help people in need, not because I was required to, but because of my love for the profession and the deep sense of satisfaction and purpose I derived from helping others restore their health. This profession of service is a seamless foundation for in my present role as governor general where I have the honour of representing Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in the role of Head of State. As a doctor in a developing country, I have learned that insufficient resources, while an obvious limitation, can also demand an increased level of resourcefulness and creativity by all involved. The result has been the development of many unique, meaningful solutions outside of the mainstream, which have brought and continue to bring relief to ailing patients.

Similarly, small island developing states are required to acknowledge their limited resources, but to actively resist analysis paralysis by engaging a united and creative approach to problem solving. Experience has taught us that limited resources should not limit our vision or our will to strive to be the best that we can be. As governor general, my responsibility to encourage stronger community ties between all groups of stakeholders has been translated by many in medical terms as being able to keep my fingers on the pulse of the nation to monitor its state of health. As in medicine, my experience as governor general has taught me that powerful results can be achieved when the vital signs of the community are understood and administration enables strong social cohesion and promotes the growth of sustainable programmes with positive outcomes.



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One such programme was inaugurated last year when we were fortunate enough to receive an invitation to stage our first National Pavilion at the celebrated Venice Biennale, the most prestigious art exhibition in the world. Antigua and Barbuda's six-monthlong exhibition Frank Walter: The Last Universal Man 1926-2009 marked the country's entrance onto the international stage of artistic and cultural excellence.

We opted to present the internationally acclaimed artist Frank Walter, a man of high intellect and artistic genius as well as perceived mental challenges. In collaborating with a range of international writers, historians, thinkers, and a New York-based neurosurgeon, we created a sensation at the Biennale. Antigua and Barbuda became known as the kind of place capable of accepting and nurturing a person, who would have likely been ignored in a developed country. In electing to work with Frank Walter, it is interesting to reflect upon the fact that he was the first person of colour to hold a managerial job in the island nation of Antigua and Barbuda in the role of sugar plantation manager. He has opened the door for young artists, which means a great deal to Lady Williams and myself.



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Environmental Justice as a Civil Right—our inaugural National Pavilion at the Biennale Architettura 2018—builds upon the success of last year. One of the three properties examined involves the restoration of the more than 200-year-old Government House, my official seat as the governor general of Antigua and Barbuda, the place where I fulfill my role as the representative of the Head of State, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

The property has served as the official residence of the Head of State as well as a parsonage since the late eighteenth century. In 1834, Antigua became the only British Caribbean colony to progress from slavery to full emancipation, which, thankfully, was a relatively stable transition. Not withstanding the St. John's fire of 1841 and the great earthquake of 1843, a description from 1844 reveals a peaceful society from the helm of Government House: "Situated in a pleasant and open place in the suburbs, the property embraces a wide extent of prospect. It is a genteel West Indian residence, possessing some good apartments and having its stabling and outbuildings upon a respectable scale."

Government House and its historic two-acre garden are located in the urban centre of Antigua and Barbuda's early seventeenth-century capital, St. John's. The main residence is surrounded by historic outbuildings that formerly served as carriage houses, stables, laundry, kitchens, servant's quarters, early cisterns, limestone filters, and a masonry perimeter wall—all of which, like Government House, are in dire need of thoughtful restoration.

Due to the resiliency and ingenuity of my excellent staff, we have been able to properly represent the dignity of the Office of the Governor General and entertain dignitaries with grace under distressed conditions. Government House has miraculously survived the ravages of hurricanes, fires, earthquakes, and deferred maintenance due to insufficient funding. Whilst there are significant signs of decay, the Government House building is structurally in reasonable order—a testament to the quality of the workmanship of the people who built it, many of whom were enslaved. The wooden doors and windows are made of dense, old growth mahogany. And the grounds, which have been neglected for decades, feature exquisite mature-specimen trees such as West Indian mahogany, red cedar, and lignum vitae.

My team has undertaken the restoration of Government House as part of our mission to reach out to a broader cross section of the public and strengthen the bonds of social cohesion. I hope to provide a legacy to the people of Antigua and Barbuda that fosters a greater appreciation for history and heritage as well as sustainable building and design outcomes. The project will enhance the welfare of generations to come through education, training, and apprenticeships, in collaboration with local artisans and businesses.

Of special interest to my wife Lady Williams and myself is mentoring the younger generation, which we see as society's most valuable resource. The Government House Restoration Initiative provides school children and the public the opportunity to study the Antiguan and Barbudan traditions of gardening, crafts, art, industry, and medicinal remedies. Several schools, including those with the lowest income families on the island, have already received private funding from the United States to support this effort. We are also fully committed to actively engaging school children and college students as young ambassadors to interpret Government House to visitors, thereby generating a new aesthetic that honours history, diversity, heritage, community, accessibility, and sustainability.

The Government House Restoration Initiative provides the opportunity for training programmes for youth, people with disabilities, older people who are unable to find jobs, professionals with an interest in sharing their expertise, teachers, and the incarcerated. Populations from developing countries such as ours possess a willingness to work with others to bring about positive change, and do so in an innovative fashion. This project not only mentors Antiguans and Barbudans, but also serves as a model of lower cost empowerment preservation for Caribbean nationals and conservation groups throughout the world.

The positive impact on tourism is obvious, particularly for sophisticated travelers, who now gravitate toward destinations with inclusive approaches to embracing complex histories and cultures. Along with tourism and public events, the property serves as a venue for charities to conduct meetings, as well as a space for workshops, mentoring, and social gatherings. As the most treasured architectural symbol of the nation, Government House offers the opportunity to bring community together, while remaining financially resourceful and sustainable.

Government House and its grounds will be open to school children, tourists, workers, the incarcerated, people with disabilities, and citizens wishing to understand their heritage and engage in their country's future. The focus on education will insure that the shared legacies of the country's complex history are kept alive for future generations.

Special features of the Government House Restoration Initiative include:

- 1. Honouring the Antiguan and Barbudan men and women that created the buildings and grounds
- 2. Museum space to exhibit Antigua and Barbuda's rich cultural heritage and to support local artists, crafts, and industries
- 3. Kitchen gardens to tell the story of food production, both locally and globally, while catering for Government House events and dignitary visits
- 4. Landscape gardens to provide an accessible green space in the centre of St. John's for exercise, mental health, and tranquility for all who work there as well as visitors
- 5. Natural environment to preserve native species and plants of historical significance in nutrition, medicine, and trade; providing an outdoor educational classroom environment for learning by people of varied abilities

Government House's restoration will be carried out according to international preservation standards by working across the broadest possible cross section of technical expertise. Diverse collaborations, including working with Her Majesty's Prison Reform Programme in the building trades has proven successful. This new programme allows for the trade and technical skills of the incarcerated to be used and developed for a stipend accessible upon release and serves as a bridge to ease their reintegration into society following the end of their sentence. The character-building benefits of the programme add to the governor general's theme of inclusivity.



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These innovative partnerships also apply to landscaping projects, and shall commence in improving sections of the property beyond the proposed construction envelope. Educational programmes are being established for college students to collaborate with the Ministries of Agriculture, Environment, and Education to cultivate all plants intended for the property on the island.

We are also partnering with NewYork-Presbyterian Weill Cornell pediatric neurosurgeon Caitlin Hoffman and landscape designer Barbara Paca to develop a therapeutic gardening programme employing the healing methods of gardening for the incarcerated, mentally challenged, and those with chronic stress disorders.

With careful coordination, the community can remain engaged through all phases of the design process into construction and implementation. This collaboration is in itself a healing process as the community grows together toward the common goal of restoration with a purpose.

A tremendous amount has been achieved already at Government House despite a modest budget and limited funding, and our vision remains ambitious. I am happy to serve with others on our international Board of Trustees, which is comprised of people whose character is of the first polish, including London High Commissioner Karen Mae Hill, noted as the first Rhodes Scholar from Antigua and Barbuda; Antiguan-born

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His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Wales officially launched The Government House Restoration Initiative on 21 November 2016, and was welcomed by many happy children during the exciting and momentous occasion. As governor general, I look forward to continuing the work begun that day, engaging new partners to join our community of committed stakeholders as we work together to not only restore our Government House, but also to build our nation as we continue on the road of confident independence.



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HIS EXCELLENCY SIR RODNEY WILLIAMS is the Governor General of Antigua and Barbuda. Educated at the Antigua Grammar School and the University of the West Indies in Jamaica, he is a medical doctor by profession. Known for providing free medical clinics and never refusing medical attention to any patient, Sir Williams is widely recognized for his great compassion for humanity and the people of his island nation.

Therapeutic Gardening at Government House

Caitlin Hoffman, M.D.

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ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE AS A CIVIL RIGHT

Government House is over two centuries old and is situated in the centre of the 17th Century capital St. John's, Antigua. Hidden behind a tall rustic wall, the grounds are overgrown and romantic, and feature exquisite mature specimen trees. With its enfilade of stately rooms, massive porches, and tall mahogany shutters, the building is majestic.

It was in the earthly paradise of the Government House gardens that I met Sir Rodney and his landscape architect Barbara Paca to create a working paradise that would enrich the lives of those who need it most. Our therapeutic gardening program was conceived in the garden as the ideal way to address the needs of the differently abled, underserved youth, older people who are unable to find jobs, and the incarcerated, all of whom would like to give back to society.

Over two acres in size, the tranquil setting feels removed from its urban context, and serves as an appropriate landscape frame to anchor the tall imposing structure. The property features a perimeter path around the boundaries to offer much needed exercise and relaxation for all who work there. There is an outdoor classroom dedicated to plants that are important to Antigua and Barbuda's history as well as a large kitchen garden that provides fresh fruit and vegetables as well as cut flowers to the many official functions held there on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen.

Until the tenure of Sir Rodney Williams, the public was generally excluded from Government House. As an experienced physician and the governor general of Antigua and Barbuda, Sir Rodney is a unique leader with his finger quite literally on the pulse and well-being of his community. In this capacity, he recognized the unique opportunities for citizens to become involved in what is now a celebrated restoration project, with inclusion on the World Monuments Fund Watch of 2018.

Our therapeutic garden experts extend far beyond the halls of New York City's Weill Cornell Brain and Spine Centre and NY-Presbyterian Hospital, as we engage with organic farmers, professional and amateur gardeners, teachers, and medical students in the United States and Antigua and Barbuda. One late afternoon Barbara Paca and I went out into the countryside where we met a spectacular Rastafarian organic farmer by the name of Delrie Cole. His humanity and baseline dignity made it clear to me that a small place like Antigua would be ideal for high-level implementation and follow through of such a project.

The benefits of horticultural therapy are well known, a concept that began during colonial times with Benjamin Rush. The use of gardens to enrich and centre communities, stabilize mental illness, speed physical recovery and rehabilitation, and provide purpose to the elderly is widespread and exemplified in Sweden and many centres in the United States.





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Few places, however, possess the raw, natural beauty and healing power of Antigua and Barbuda. When healing gardens are created with a focus on the relationship between the visitor and the garden, as outlined by U. Stigsdotter and P. Grahn in their article What Makes a Garden a Healing Gardeni, the potential power to engage all senses to draw upon the garden for therapy is realised. With the combination of the splendour of this island nation, the passion and dedication to community health of the current government, and the vision of people like Dr. Paca, realisation of this essential initiative is possible.

As part of his objective to reach out to the public and bolster social bonds, the governor general and his team have taken on the restoration of Government House. In addition to honouring history and heritage, Government House fosters an acknowledgement of the importance of community mental health.

It is His Excellency's hope that through the implementation of the sustainable landscape plan and therapeutic gardening program for Government House, he will create a template for the preservation of shared cultural legacies. It is an honour to be involved in this project and I greatly look forward to witnessing its positive impact on the people of Antigua and Barbuda.

CAITLIN HOFFMAN is a paediatric neurosurgeon at New York-Presbyterian Hospital Weill Cornell. She earned her medical degree and completed her residency in neurosurgery at Cornell University, with fellowship training in paediatric neurosurgery at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto. She has performed extensive research on brain tumours and has received numerous awards for community service and academic achievements as a neurosurgeon.

"Restoration with a Purpose"

Sharon Stevens

It is with tremendous pleasure that I take this opportunity to write briefly about the work being done as part of the Government House Restoration Initiative (GHRI) and the contributions made by inmates of Her Majesty's Prison in Antigua and Barbuda.

Initially conceptualized in 2014, under the patronage of His Excellency Sir Rodney Williams Governor General of Antigua and Barbuda, the GHRI is a project which aims to restore the Government House of Antigua and Barbuda to its original condition. Government House formerly housed sitting governors and governor's general during the periods pre and post-independence.

With this restoration, it is hoped that the Government House can be used as a historical site, an educational facility, and a tourist attraction, due to its rich history and enduring legacy. In addition to refurbishing the main residence quarters, upgrades to the offices, and an official Government House Museum, enhancements to the landscaping and a royal café are all envisioned as part of the project. As a tourist attraction, revenue will be utilized for the maintenance and the upkeep of the Government House to ensure its self-sustainability.

The Government House we know today was built in the 1700s; the precise date is unknown. However, according to eminent Antiguan historian Dr. Reginald Murphy, this property was selected to be the site for the governor's residence in 1800 because it was felt that the seat of the governor should be in St. John's. By then, the country's current capital, had become the main trading and business town of Antigua surpassing older villages namely Parham and Falmouth. The property which was selected was the 'Parsonage," a large 17th Century colonial style house with Georgian architecture and extensive gardens. It is the building still being used today. The first governor to reside in Government House was Sir Ralph Payne, Lord Lavington.

While there have been significant modifications to the building since it was first built, much of the old colonial architecture remains intact, though worn. Indeed, the oldest portions of the property—the brick buildings on Cross Street, between Newgate and Church Street remain largely untouched. However, it is the intension of the GHRI to engage with contractors to start the renovation to that portion of the building as soon as funds become available. These structures were the Carriage Houses, servants or domestic quarters, kitchen, and other support rooms that formed a courtyard area on the property. Newer modifications have seen an office being added for the governor general to conduct his work, while the large dining and spacious living rooms are among the oldest and most beautiful parts of the house.

Former Governor General Sir James Carlisle (1993-2007) was the first governor general to start a major restoration of the building. Sadly, this work was never finished when he demitted office in 2007. The current Governor General Sir Rodney Williams, has made restoring the building a key focus of his tenure.

Though the building is no longer used as a residence for the governor general and his family, the present governor general still uses the building as his work office where he engages in official matters of state, such as receiving ambassadors and other foreign dignitaries, performing ceremonial duties, meeting with the prime minister and other parliamentarians to discuss important constitutional and legislative issues. In addition, many non-ceremonial duties, such as hosting charitable events, are performed there.



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The building itself has a rich history that should be told to locals and visitors alike and the painstaking attention to detail of the original design of the building will entice lovers of both history and architecture. This story must be kept alive and not be allowed to whither on the vine—this is the aim of the restoration project. Over the last three years, with the support of generous donors, significant work has been done to the perimeter fence,

the garage portion and to the property which was destroyed in an earlier fire. Work is being done to upgrade the landscaping and house fixtures by inmates from Her Majesty's Prison. Generous technical assistance has been provided through the volunteer work of Dr. Barbara Paca and Philip Logan of the landscaping and architecture firm, Preservation Green LLC. The goal is to transform the building into one of Antigua and Barbuda's most well-known and beloved historical sites and botanical gardens. The landscape will offer a soothing atmosphere for flora lovers and the building itself will house a museum dedicated to teaching the history of Antigua and Barbuda's past colonial administrators.

One of the special aspects of this project is the involvement of the inmates at Her Majesty's Prison. His Excellency's vision was to create a Rehabilitation Programme for inmates at Her Majesty's Prison that would give some the opportunity to redeem themselves and have the ability to make a positive contribution to society. With the approval of the superintendent of Her Majesty's Prison, the Prison Rehabilitation Programme became a reality. Inmates are now given the opportunity to work on the Government House Rehabilitation Programme as part of a rehabilitation and reintegration programme. The results and rewards of this programme have exceeded expectations.

For many prisoners, the chance to be part of an historic restoration programme, the scale of which has not been done to any past historical site, has been truly a motivating and purposeful activity. Many take pride in being able to utilize their skill and artisan toward a positive goal. It has given them a tremendous sense of meaning and self-worth in addition to tangible skills that can be used for later work upon release from prison. Many have expressed a desire to communicate to their children and grandchildren that they were part of the legacy that restored the Government House to its former glory, while others have suggested that the project has given them something constructive and productive to do that will keep them out of potential trouble.

Whatever the purpose, the programme has been able to make a positive impact on their lives and it follows from the vision of an inclusive society requires that we must care for and assist those whom have made mistakes but are willing to both correct them in order to build a new future for themselves and their families. We are proud of the work they have been doing and hope that their success will be an inspiration to many others.

Environmental Justice as a Civil Right: Notes on Antigua and Barbuda's National Pavilion at the Biennale Architettura 2018

Anne Jonas

2017 was an important year for Antigua and Barbuda in many ways. Two significant events that took place four months apart—the Venice Biennale and Hurricane Irma—had positive and negative impacts on the environment and human development respectively. Both events will be listed in the annals of our twin island nation's history. Both taught important lessons, on artistic talent, mental health, small island susceptibility, and human resilience.

Little did we know that as we rejoiced in having made history with our first national appearance in the Venice Biennale in May 2017, that September would bring some of the strongest storms our region had ever seen, resulting in the need to completely evacuate the residents of Barbuda for their safety. The Venice Biennale revealed the inherent creativity of our people, and our environmental challenge revealed our ability to quickly rise to the occasion to help our brothers and sisters recover from the horrid hurricane which wreaked havoc on our fragile ecosystem. Such highs and lows brought blame and questions—some with answers, some without. Nonetheless, recovery has commenced, and we continue to build for the future.

From May to November 2017, Antigua and Barbuda beamed with pride when the astounding talent of Frank Walter was presented to the artistic world. A man who most labelled as a vagrant and for whom no drum was heard when he passed was finally given his due. National Pavilion curator Dr. Barbara Paca OBE researched the work of this phenomenal, multi-gifted personality for a dozen years, and is to be highly commended for her insight and tenacity in bringing to reality the wishes of this unsung hero to one day display his work in an exhibition. She labours on behalf of a nation for which she and her family have a strong passion and love. Through her persistence and with the support of the Governor General His Excellency Sir Rodney Williams KGN, GCMG, KStJ, MBBS and the government and people of Antigua and Barbuda, Dr. Paca made our island presence felt in Venice and in the global art world. It is this same insightful curator who must be credited for recognizing the need to tell the important stories that make our heritage unique.

This year, at the 2018 Architecture Biennale, Dr. Paca and stakeholders from three projects, the Barbuda Rebuilding Programme, Government House Restoration Initiative, and the Botanical Gardens Development, will showcase the creativity of our people and our desire to not only rebuild communities for comfortable habitation, but to also retain physical memories of our heritage. Through these efforts, we also demonstrate our respect for the forces of nature by utilising eco-friendly practices and embracing the colourful canvas of flora, which makes our islands uniquely Caribbean.



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How are these three initiatives connected?

This year's exhibition in Venice at the Antigua and Barbuda National Pavilion, Environmental Justice as a Civil Right, will showcase our nation's efforts to engage in projects where each person regardless of gender, ability, or social and economic status is called upon to contribute to developing spaces. It will also highlight our nation's respect and regard for the environment as well as each person's right to health and wellness as they live in, work in, and enjoy the spaces that will be ultimately transformed. The three projects will engage the input from a cross section of the community to include the abled and differently abled; the first-time achievers and those in need of a second opportunity to excel; the young and the old; as well as men and women, providing developmental models for others to study and adapt to their circumstances. The presentation will showcase the call for the responsible management of our environment while we preserve our heritage and our green spaces to build communities that will last for generations to come.

The debate on whether each person has the civil right to live, work, and play in an environment which will enable them to lead healthy and happy lives will continue, as will the question of responsibility in ensuring that this right is protected. However, with the high level of susceptibility of small island developing states like Antigua and Barbuda, we do not have a choice, we MUST act now to ensure our own survival and that of generations to come.

Heartiest commendations to the team leading the charge and fulfilling the mission of the 2018 Architecture Biennale in Venice!

The Complexity of the Government House Restoration Initiative

Philip Logan

Conserving and restoring historic structures is painstaking and difficult under any circumstances. What has made the Government House Restoration Initiative (GHRI) especially challenging are the extra parameters established from its inception to ensure the project meets new standards in preservation. From program development through design, detailing, and implementation, special care was made to define specific goals and mission statements that set a high benchmark, both on the island nation of Antigua and Barbuda and internationally.

The Government House Restoration Initiative represents a collaborative effort with both Antiguan and international design professionals. Each position from the United Kingdom or United States was paired with a local Antiguan expert from the same field of expertise. Committed to conserving one of the most important heritage sites of the island nation, the inclusive GHRI project team represents a range of experience and skills to address the difficulties of working with historic buildings while also considering long-term operations, sustainability, and affordability. With limited funds, all stepped forward and offered concessions, time, and pro-bono services to develop a well-conceived and thoughtful project.

Under the special leadership of Their Excellencies, Sir Rodney Williams and Lady Williams, Government House was redefined on many programmatic levels as a monument for and of the people of Antigua and Barbuda. Not only would it continue to serve as the official seat of government, where the governor general performs his duties on behalf of his country and the Commonwealth through formal events and ceremonies, but its expanded services would include controlled public access by adding a "living museum," art gallery, museum store, and café. The grounds would be developed to include outdoor classrooms, medicinal and kitchen gardens, and a perimeter walkway for stress release and exercise.

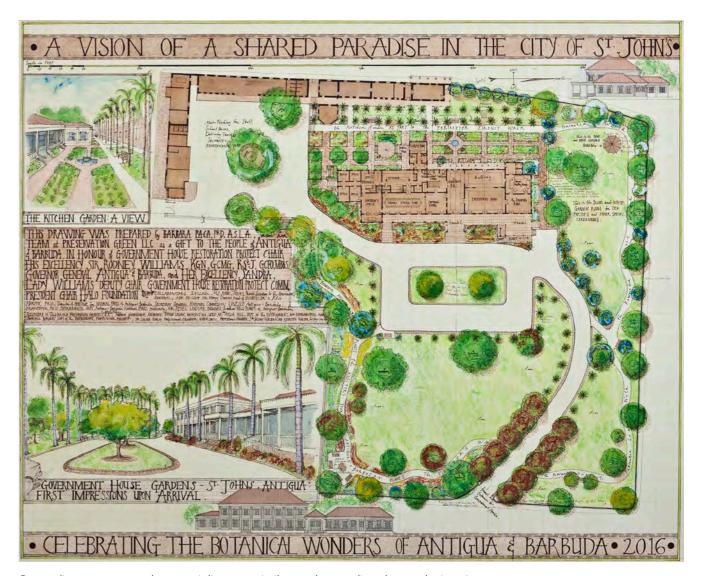
Honoured on the respected World Monument Watch List for 2018, the GHRI's primary goal was to ensure the survival of its historic legacy and conserve the historic fabric of the building and interior spaces. In addition to this honour, the GHRI registered the site for Earth LEED certification, thereby demonstrating Antigua's commitment to environmental justice. To meet the requirements of this accreditation process, sustainable practices, designs, and materials were established. The project team balanced these goals with the realities of limited funding, improving long-term sustainability, and reducing maintenance concerns. Other important components of the restoration and rebuilding effort included additional cisterns for harvesting rainwater, storm water management, hurricane resiliency, and a hybrid passive and mechanical cooling system to meet the needs of its staff, visitors, and honoured guests. These measures created a balanced solution that is historic, sustainable, and committed to long-term maintenance standards.

The GHRI project also includes a community-based legacy training and continuing education program through a series of coordinated workshops and lectures. This program works in sync with the construction process to inform, continue, and bolster the legacy of old-world craftsmanship that already exists locally. Through special programs with the incarcerated, the Department of Education, and local continuing education departments (Antigua and Barbuda Institute of Continuing Education, special skills and techniques in masonry restoration, carpentry, millwork, ironmongery, historic cabinetmaking, landscaping, and planting, are cultivated and preserved for future generations.

The GHRI project team remains committed to these parallel mission goals while concurrently conducting detailed surveys of existing conditions and discovery, archaeological explorations, architectural and landscape designs, and preparation of construction drawings for bid. Historic rooms, structure, and detailing have been recorded through rectified photography and drawings, defining the scope of interior millwork and refinishing work. Where required, floors have been removed to expose the original framing suffering from moisture damage, termite infestation and/or rot. These areas receive new framing secured through traditional methods and flooring from old reclaimed wood. The existing metal corrugated roof is to be removed and replaced with composite slate-like shingle, a recommendation to work with limited funding, long-term maintenance, hurricane resiliency, and structural implications. In addition, and where possible, sustainable products and those requiring less long-term maintenance were recommended and are now part of the restoration details and material choices.

Special architectural design features have been added to support the expansion of the building's programmatic, administrative, and ceremonial operations. This included a completely new commercial kitchen and catering stations, water reducing plumbing fixtures, LED lighting, and life safety measures such as fire alarm systems and fire protection. As the formal Investiture Rooms and Dining Hall are frequently used for government and international formal occasions, special care was given to the design of a combined mechanical passive system with a mechanically cooled system as backup during large group events. This involved redesigning the roof framing and layout to include naturally ventilated cupola structures that doubled as cooling towers when air conditioning control dampers are activated to redirect air distribution.

The GHRI process and implementation is the first of its kind in Antigua and Barbuda. It represents a new collaborative approach that is based on environmental justice as a civil right and the transformation of a secure government facility to one with free space for the local, national, and international community. The GHRI Board expects this standard to serve as an example for future historic preservation projects.



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THE HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT HOUSES OF ANTIGUA

Reg Murphy

Antigua was officially colonized in 1632 by Sir Thomas Warner, who was tasked by the Earl of Carlisle with the duty of establishing British colonies on the islands of the Eastern Caribbean. Warner, who was appointed as the governor general of the new colonies, sent his son Edward to establish the settlement on Antigua and appointed him as the resident lieutenant governor.

These were difficult years for the new colonists who were kept busy clearing the virgin forests, preparing the land for cultivation, building an economic base and the necessary infrastructure for governance, whilst under constant attack from the Caribs and hostile European military forces. Despite the odds, they succeeded and soon a thriving economy developed that would eventually become a key contributor in the development of Great Britain as an empire.

In the first 150 years, there was no official place of residence for the governor of Antigua. Priority was placed on economic gain and appointed governors, many of whom owned estates on the island, used their own homes. Governors sent out from England, or other colonies, rented properties suitable to their needs and financial capabilities. Parish churches often doubled as the council chambers for the island's Assembly until the courthouse in St. John's was built in 1749. The grand stone structure by architect Peter Harrison marked a major change in administration, and the legislature at last had a permanent seat of justice and governance.

The first governor's residence was the home of Edward Warner at Savannah Estate. Warner owned property from Savannah/Piccadilly to Rendezvous Bay. His home consisted of a walled enclosure built on a low hill overlooking Mamora Bay. It had a cistern, and a cluster of buildings set near a small cemetery. The "town" of Falmouth was his seat of government whilst St. Paul's Church, a rough and earthy building, doubled as the council chamber and administration centre for the official affairs of the new colony. In the 1660s, the era of Governor Colonel Carden, the government house was located at his residence close to Five Islands and Deep Bay. The precise location of the Carden's residence is currently unknown. With the appointment of Lord William Willoughby in 1668, his subsequent selection of Samuel Winthorpe as his lieutenant governor of Antigua, the seat of government would have shifted to Parham or Winthorpe's estate at the site of V.C Bird airport today. With the appointment of Col. Christopher Codrington, the seat of government moved to Betty's Hope Estate.

This was a pivotal time in Antigua's history. Following the invasion and devastation of the island by the French in 1666, and its return to Britain with the 1667 Treaty of Breda, new legislation and regulations, as well as major reforms in land ownership were introduced. This was to a large part stimulated by the new crop, sugarcane, that promised enormous



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financial returns, but required large tracts of land. Sugar production immediately became the economic base and the island was placed on a new course of history.

The first attempt to create a regional government of the Eastern Caribbean islands was in 1672 under King Charles II, and Sir William Stapleton was appointed captain-general and commander in chief of Antigua and the Leeward Islands. Stapleton preferred to reside on Nevis and appoint Colonel Philip Warner Governor of Antigua. Phillip Warner would gain notoriety by attacking and killing the Caribs of Dominica, including his own half-brother by a Carib woman. He was sent to the Tower of London to be tried for this killing but was exonerated and returned to his position as governor of Antigua.

In 1675, Colonel Rowland Williams was appointed deputy or lieutenant governor of Antigua. He was reportedly the first white male to be born on Antigua, and his estate and government house was Claremont Estate in Carlisle Bay.

This was a period of intense warfare between England and France and the islands and their governors were caught up in the quest for conquest and spoils of war. They were military men; Williams, Stapleton, Codrington, and Byam, who successfully raided Guadeloupe and Marie Galante, drove the French off St. Kitts, attacked St. Martin, and

profited immensely from privateering. Christopher Codrington in particular had a close association with the famous pirate Captain Kidd and sponsored him with ships and weapons; one of which was interestingly named "The Antigua."

The governors of Antigua and the Leeward Islands were mostly military men. This was because throughout the 18th Century, Britain was almost constantly at war with her European neighbours. These wars were also fought in the Caribbean and many islands changed hands frequently. In addition to the constant threat of attacked by French privateers, the planters lived in fear of a revolt by their enslaved Africans who were subjugated through force and brutality and outnumbered them by almost ten to one. It was therefore necessary to have strong military presence and capable and respected senior officer in control.

In the earliest days of colonization, there was no official house for the governors of Antigua. A variety of residences were used over time. Governors who were from Antigua often used their own homes, but visiting governors found rented accommodation that suited their needs.

From 1635, the earliest governors, including Edward Warner, Robert Carden, Christopher Codrington, Roland Williams, Daniel Parke, and others, most certainly used their own homes, and government houses changed from Claremont Estates to Betty's Hope, Savannah, and St. John's.

By the 18th Century, several governors chose to rent a grand residence that was formerly owned by the family of Thomas Warner at Clarkes Hill. Among these were Governors Mathew, Payne, and Shirley. This was likely the house that the famous African rebel hero, Prince Klass intended to blow up during the coronation ball of King George, to begin the slave revolt in 1736.

The First reference to a "Governor's House" is in Frances Llanaghan's "Antigua and the Antiguans" and the description points to the current location:

It is situated in a pleasant and open space in the suburbs, and embraces a wide extent of prospect, while from its open windows as pure a breeze may be inhaled as attainable from any dwelling in the capital. Although possessing nothing very grand in its exterior or internal arrangements, no marble pillars or lofty arches, yet it is a pleasant, genteel West Indian residence, possessing some good apartments, and having its stabling and other out-buildings upon a respectable scale.

During the period his Excellency is residing in the capital, the 'Union Jack' floats from the top of the flag-staff, opposite government house; and then all loyal subjects pay their respects to their young and beautiful gueen's representative.

In 1908, Lord Londonderry, the Viscount Robert Stewart, was the first to petition for the building of a formal residence for the governors of the Leeward Islands that was to be built on Antigua, the administrative island. This was done when a building, originally constructed in the 18th Century, known as the "Parsonage" was extensively modified in

the 1800s, after the recommendations of Lord Londonderry for the use of the governors. At first the Parsonage was rented to the government by its owner Thomas Kirby for use by Lord Lavington (Sir Ralph Payne) during his second term as governor in 1800, but it was soon sold for use as a permanent Government House. The house would be continuously modified over the years to its current plan. The grounds were expanded and Newgate Street that traversed through to the current round-a-bout was blocked. The current road system around the property was then established and the expansion of the main house was begun.

During the hot summer months, the governors and their families retreated to the cool countryside. Governor Fitzroy, for example, used the residence of the military commander at Dow's Hill until its destruction in the great earthquake. In 1856, Governor Kerr Baillie Hamilton leased Clarence House from the British Navy for use as the governor's country residence. One of the major addition to Government House was done in 1860 in preparation for the royal visit of Prince Alfred in 1861.

From the 1970s, with the increasing development in the city of St. John's and the expansion of businesses out of the city, along with the increase in automotive traffic and large evening events at venues nearby, the governor generals no longer reside in Government House and have returned to using other accommodation. The old property that dates to the Georgian period has fallen into major disrepair but continues to serve as an administrative office and a place for receptions and formal gatherings.

Government House is best described as a Georgian period formal residence. The property with its unique Caribbean vernacular set amongst large trees, with its brick courtyard and green lawns littered with artefacts and features from bygone eras, still retains a style, charm, power, spirit, and feeling that is steeped in the history and development of Antigua and the Eastern Caribbean.

Government House and the 2018 World Monuments Watch

John Darlington

Every two years, World Monuments Fund issues a global call to action for treasured sites, buildings, and landscapes, putting a spotlight on extraordinary heritages in need of help. The World Monuments Watch has run as a successful campaign since 1996 and has recognised nearly 824 sites in over 100 countries and territories. These historic sites face a range of threats and therefore present compelling conservation opportunities. The programme has helped corral over \$240 million of investment in protection, conservation, and engagement.

In October 2017, WMF announced twenty-five sites from across the globe for the 2018 World Monuments Watch. Some themes emerged, representing issues where international heritages, and the people that live in, work at, and visit such places, are in greatest need of help. Among the places that WMF and its partners wish to highlight are Sites of Conflict – the Al Hadba' minaret in Mosul, Iraq and the ancient souk of Aleppo in Syria, and Sites of Social Movement – the Alabama Civil Rights Sites. Other themes include Climate Change, represented by Blackpool's historic piers in the UK, Modernism by the post-independence architecture of Delhi and the Kagawa Prefectural Gymnasium in Japan, and places impacted by Natural Disaster, notably Amatrice in Italy and heritage in the Caribbean, Mexico, and Gulf of Mexico devastated by hurricanes and earthquakes in autumn 2017. And, amongst the twenty-five is Government House, in St. John's, Antigua.

What makes Government House such a compelling candidate for the Watch?

Firstly, it is about architecture. Here is a precious survival from the 1700s, which has withstood hurricanes, extreme heat, fires, drought and earthquakes. This is a harsh and unforgiving climate and early historic buildings in Antigua are few and far between. The Museum of Antigua and Barbuda lists 349 historic sites across the islands—so Government House's very survival is significant and worthy of preservation.

In 1803, a substantial 18th Century parsonage was selected as the permanent residence of the island's governor in the rapidly growing town of St. John's. Until then, the preceding governors tended to use their own estates and homes to conduct the official business of the crown—some more successfully than others. An early governor, Col Colonel Daniel Parke, was killed in his Government House in 1710 and the building burned to the ground. Extension and alterations to the parsonage and its grounds began almost immediately under Sir Ralph Payne, Lord Lavington, the first governor to reside in Government House—and the first to die there, in 1807.



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Over the decades, the buildings withstood a serious fire that destroyed part of St. John's in 1841 and the great earthquake of 1843. An early history of Antigua published in 1844, describes the property:

It is situated in a pleasant and open place in the suburbs, and embraces a wide extent of prospect, while from its open windows as pure a breeze may be inhaled as attainable from any dwelling in the capital. During the period his excellency is residing in the capital, the 'Union Jack' floats from the top of the flag-staff, opposite government house; and then all loyal subjects pay their respects to their young and beautiful queen's representative."

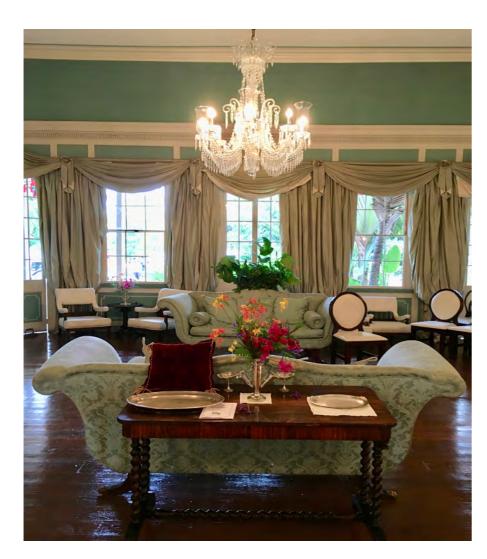
—Mrs. Lanaghan, Antigua and the Antiguans (1844)

The building is surrounded by historic outbuildings formerly serving as carriage houses, stables, laundry, kitchens, servant's quarters, early cisterns, limestone filters and sits within a wider garden landscape that includes mature specimen trees such as West Indian mahogany, red cedar, and lignum vitae. It is an important historic survival.

But, Government House is more than a historic building and grounds, it is a place of significant association and meaning. In 1834, the building witnessed Antigua's transition from slavery to full emancipation, the first British colony to do so without instituting a four-year waiting period as happened elsewhere in the Caribbean.

In 1981, Antigua and Barbuda achieved full independence, but remains a member of the British Commonwealth. Government House represents that confident transition to independence, a symbol of democracy and freedom. Through such stories it also has a resonance with other Watch sites—part of an important narrative that stretches from a slave trading station at Bunce Island in Sierra Leone (2016 Watch), through to the Alabama Civil rights sites (2018 Watch).

So, Government House is important architecturally, and for its associations. It is also in need. Minimal investment in the buildings and garden have left the site in a parlous state. Urgent work is required: the roofs leak and timber decay stalks the building, the electrical and plumbing systems are in desperate need of updating; the natural water supply is contaminated; there is rainwater pouring through numerous rooms; and many of the sash windows no longer function. This is a building that requires help. Furthermore, the environs of Government House include some of the country's most deprived areas, where unemployment and poor housing is rife.



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The fourth and final reason why Government House is on the 2018 Watch is to do with the future. The past is important—without it we have no memory. And with no memory we reinvent the wheel, make the same mistakes, or miss opportunities to acknowledge, understand or celebrate. The past gives us a sense of place and local distinctiveness, it distinguishes one place from another, and can add to quality of life. So, the past is not just a backwards look over the shoulder at history, it's about the present and future too. Restoration should begin and end with spirit of place—identifying the special qualities, the tangible and intangible characteristics which define a building or place. Excellence in conservation is then all about conserving and enhancing that spirit of place—enriching it and retaining the magic for the future.

In this important context, the Governor General, Sir Rodney Williams, and his team have an aspiration not merely to conserve the wonderful rooms, spaces and gardens of Government House, but to do so in such a way that heritage benefits a far wider community of stakeholders.

One approach to the conservation of historic buildings is leave it to the professionals. To bring in qualified experts, agree a strategy, put the hoardings up and let them get on with the work. Once completed the hoardings can come down and the freshly conserved building, garden or landscape, may be revealed with a fanfare in all its completed glory. This is a perfectly valid approach. It's not the approach that the team are taking at Government House. Instead of putting up the hoardings, the process of conservation, of bringing the building and grounds back to a new life, is being done in the public eye. Championed by Sir Rodney, led by professionals, but engaging the people of St. John's. It's their heritage.

What does this mean?

It means that the conservation of Government House and its grounds will include provision for skills training throughout. Research and repairs will be developed with the goal of providing training, apprenticeship, and employment opportunities to underserved youth, people with disabilities, older people who are unable to find jobs, professionals with an interest in sharing their expertise, and teachers. Local artisans and businesses will be engaged, with a view to inputting their knowledge into the scheme as well as benefiting from it. The gardens will be used as the focus for a therapeutic gardening programme developed for the incarcerated, mentally challenged, and those with chronic stress disorders, employing healing methods of gardening. Learning about food, by linking growing in the garden to the offer in the house, is also planned. Enhancing the neighbourhood will improve the island's tourism offer, embedding ownership with the people of St. John's, with Government House being a catalytic, integrating focus.

The restoration of Government House is not just about bricks and mortar, but about the people who will undertake the work and an entire range of benefits that are nothing to do with heritage. It's about employment and health, about food and poverty, about skills and education. Ultimately, it's about confident, positive nationhood. And, that's why Government House is on the 2018 World Monuments Watch.

The Court of Lord Baldwin of Bewdley, Government House

Jules Walter

Here lie the ashes of Oliver Ridsdale Second Earl Baldwin of Bewdley, Born March 1899 Died August 1958. Governor, Commander in Chief in and over the Leeward Islands and Vice Admiral of the same 1948–1950. He loved the people of these islands. RIP.

—Epitaph

When I recall Government House, it is based on my early recollections of visits there between 1948 and 1950, during the tenure of Lord Baldwin. Looking back as a man of ninety, this was a special time in my own life and perhaps the most idyllic period I ever knew in Antigua.

Lord Oliver Baldwin of Bewdley was born in England in 1899 into great privilege as the son of Conservative Party leader and three-time Prime Minister, Stanley Baldwin. Oliver Baldwin was perhaps more influenced by the adventure stories of his relation Rudyard Kipling than his own father, whose life centred around the royal family and protocol. After serving during WWI with the Royal Irish Guards in France in 1917, Baldwin travelled to Armenia in 1920 to assist with the nascent democratic government there. When the country collapsed, he was incarcerated by Bolshevik militants. Shortly after being freed, he was again arrested and imprisoned for nearly six months—this time by the Turkish military, which believed he was a double agent working for the Russians.

As the author of many books covering a wide range of topics, it is clear Lord Baldwin had an insatiable appetite for the curious. This is evident in Six Prisons and Two Revolutions (1924), his memoirs about his lengthy period of incarceration; his autobiography titled The Questing Beast (1932); and his book Unborn Son: A Political Commentary (1933). Although I possess a manuscript for his first book, my favourite is Unborn Son, which begins as a lengthy letter to his son, outlining lessons to follow in life. The last few pages are surprising, as Lord Baldwin apologises to the young boy's mother, stating that in fact she never existed. But then, neither did his son. As a gay man, he was writing about how he was unable to live a lie in order to conform and produce an heir.

Another rebellion against his father's world was the fact that Lord Baldwin and his partner John Boyle chose to live an openly gay life, devoted to one another. Lord Baldwin ended up in Antigua even though his father was the Prime Minister and he should have had his own seat in the House of Lords, because he was openly homosexual and therefore considered an embarrassment. The story of Baldwin and Boyle's shared accommodation made the front-page news of the Daily Mail in 1931, when it was suggested that, despite his powerful father, a criminal prosecution should follow an investigation into Baldwin and Boyle's suspected criminal acts of homosexuality.



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Baldwin was sent to Antigua to serve as Governor of the Leeward Islands in 1948. This was shortly after the Duke of Windsor's tenure as Governor of the Bahamas in Nassau from 1940 until his resignation in 1945—an insulting post for the man who would have been king and all because he abdicated from the throne to marry divorcée Wallis Simpson. In truth, the Caribbean then served as a picturesque dumping-off place for problematic people banished from English society. A part of this exodus, Baldwin and Boyle travelled to Antigua as a couple, and, there, finally enjoyed freedom.

Baldwin's biographer Christopher J. Walker described their relationship as "gentle, amicable, animal-loving, primitive, homosexual socialism." i To most Antiguans, their style, class, and way of embracing all people overpowered the details of their private lives. But Lord Baldwin's presence was overwhelming to the so-called Antiguan Society. The plantocracy and Antigua's higher echelons were, in fact, rather provincial and felt threatened, openingly branding a lot of people in Baldwin's avant-garde circle "auntie"

men" or gay men. Baldwin and Boyle held parties at Government House that were noteworthy as there was an equal mix of people of European descent and people of colour. Together, they hosted anyone and everyone, embracing those that moved in the high art circles in Britain, Europe, and the United States. Visitors included the grandson of artist John Constable; artist Count Chichimauro, an Austrian Count; Miss Butterfield of the Bermuda-based family bank, who eccentrically rode around on a bicycle collecting butterflies; Conliffe Owen, who wrote about the maroons and was one of the directors of Babes in the Woods; and the eccentric Austrian butterfly collector Count Overhoff.

Lord Baldwin was very English. Known as the arty young man with arresting blue eyes, he was interested in all sorts of cults, including the influence of ancient societies. At the Antiguan Grammar School, I was among the students, who curated a museum exhibition of Arawak and Carib artefacts, a source of great fascination for Lord Baldwin and his cultured friends. He empowered Senator Bertha Higgins, our drawing teacher, who became Antigua's first woman Senator under Lord Baldwin. Lord Baldwin brought respectability to the steel band, and supported the first groups including Oscar Mason of Brute Force and Hell's Gate.



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The interesting thing is that going to Government House was a normal thing for me. Before Baldwin's tenure, I had been many times with my grandmother, a dressmaker, who made gowns for the previous governor generals' wives. Everything in Government House was grand. I remember the colours in the main rooms were pale blue with white detailing, and there was a life-size statue of King George peering down on us. The grounds were well kept as at that time, thanks to a wonderful horticulturist Frankie Wanford, who was working there and at Victoria Park.

Things changed with Lord Baldwin and his partner John Boyle, who, as two childless gay men opened their doors to Antiguan youth and brought a certain Englishness at Christmastime. I remember that, along with his partner and friends, Baldwin turned Government House into a theatre for my friends and me; and it was there we produced the pantomime Babes in the Woods. Lord Baldwin was so loved that people named their children after him—a famous example being Prime Minister Baldwin Spencer. One of my favourite memories is the day that he arrived at the jetty, exhausted after a long journey, and climbed into his large Oldsmobile car. A calypso was sung by everyone surrounding his car with the chorus "Baldwin must come back" as he stood majestically in the back while people pushed him all the way to Government House.

Shortly after arriving in Antigua, Baldwin mentioned to his friends in the UK that he and John Boyle had found paradise. He held many romantic notions of the antiquity of the place, and he had wonderful ideas that his final resting place, Greencastle Hill, was some sort of prehistoric shrine. He believed that deep in the cliffs was etched an old civilization. However, his love of Antigua and special connection to the people created more friction for him back in England, as he continued to threaten the status quo with he and his partner's unconventional manner of bringing different classes of people together. He became so popular that he became a social threat. In the eyes of many, Government House was to be reserved for the elite, and Lord Baldwin broke down the class and social structure. In truth, the reason he was asked to return after only two years was due to his racial inclusion, socialist politics, and sexual orientation. For me, he lives on at Government House in the understated elegance of the place and the patina of time that permeates the grand building.

Engineering and Historic Conservation at Government House

Everon Zachariah

Some thirty years ago when I started studying engineering as a very excited young university student, I asked my professor, "What exactly is engineering?" The definition that I was given was very broad, covering not only the field's many branches, but also its philosophical essence. I was told that engineering is the application of scientific principles to the design of structures and systems for the enhancement of mankind. Most importantly, engineering is about doing all of this at an economical cost.

Today, this definition remains more or less the same. However, there is now the added consideration of environmental sustainability and renewable energy, which impacts the application of physics, science, and economics in engineering design. These issues are important in the context of Small Island States (SIS) and, particularly, in the ongoing Government House Restoration Initiative, which is a 2018 World Monuments Watch site and is the first LEED-certified project of its kind in Antiqua.

Government House was constructed around 1800 as the official residence for the governor general, and was the result of the extensive renovation and refurbishment of an existing structure. Precise details have not survived, and most of the information on the history of this structure is based on information assembled by esteemed archaeologist Dr. Reginald Murphy and local historian Paddy "the Greo" Simon. The current structure is a partial two-story, predominantly timber superstructure with a combination of brick and reinforced-concrete foundations. The property is completely fenced in with a historic thick-walled brick barrack on the western and part-southern side and a part stone, brick, and timber upper section on the other two-and-a-half sides. The eastern side of the property once had a clear view of the historical Antiqua Recreation Grounds.

Government House has undergone significant deterioration over the years as a result of age and use. Repair works have been conducted in a piecemeal manner, with various areas of the property having been repaired and refurbished separately to address specific deficiencies or defects. Consequently, there had been an inefficient and constant need for frequent repairs and maintenance resulting in significant expenditure and continuous fundraising. There were two apparent options: reconstruction and restoration. The argument to demolish and reconstruct an identical replica of Government House held that it would be expedient, require less maintenance, and had a well-defined cost. On the other hand, restoration would preserve an important part of Antigua's history while generating revenue as a museum, tourist attraction, and public facility.

His Excellency Sir Rodney Williams commissioned a proper assessment of the condition of the Government House structure in order to make an informed decision, which was ultimately for restoration, not reconstruction. Engineering design is based upon information, and our significant initial investigation into the condition of the underlying

structure guides our approach to the restoration work. Effective engineering design requires knowledge about local soil type and the foundation, including details regarding the use of the structure and likely loads relating to occupants and self-weight. Extreme weather events in the region also influence the materials and design, impacting structural loads. For a virgin structure the process is relatively straightforward, but with restoration there is the additional issue of trying to use materials similar to those used in the original construction. Determining the engineering nature and properties of the existing members, for which information is not readily available, is also a formidable challenge.

In the restoration works at Government House, we must be mindful that although an initial detailed investigation and analysis can result in a more accurate cost assessment, there are often unavoidable and unexpected costs. Our integrated approach considering factors such as environmental sustainability and historic significance means that a conventional cost-benefit or alternative economic analysis is not adequate. Therefore, we must find a way of including these additional factors in the economic analysis to simplify the decision-making process and make it less subjective—staying true to the essence of engineering by enhancing Antiqua at an economical cost.

Reducing, Recycling, and Restoring Water at Government House

Laurence Claggett

A primary Government House Restoration Initiative (GHRI) project objective is to achieve and promote wise use of natural resources. One of the most important resources is water. Wise use of water decreases dependency and closes the loop by reducing use, recycling greywater, and restoring upon discharge. GHRI is registered with LEED and the sustainable building certification program provides direction and guidance on water use reduction. The project team envisions several strategies to achieve water reduction, recycling, and restoration, including domestic water use and storm water management. The most significant are the introduction of water-conserving fixtures and collection and reuse of rainwater. Incorporation of native plant species also ensures less dependence on irrigation water, and rainwater collection and a robust plant landscape minimize erosion.

The US Environmental Protection Agency has established base usage standards for water usage for most common indoor plumbing fixtures. For the West Wing, water-conserving fixtures have been selected that meet or exceed the base standard. These fixtures meet the prerequisite water reduction parameters established by LEED. These are:

Fixture	Base Usage Standard	Design Usage	Reduction
Water Closet	1.6 gallons per flush	1.28 gallons per flush	20%
Urinals	1.0 gallons per flush	0.5 gallons per flush	50%
Lavatory	0.5 gallons per minute	0.5 gallons per minute	_
Kitchen Faucet	2.2 gallons per minute	1.5 gallons per minute	30%

We expect to achieve further reduction in water usage by considering metering faucets and ultra-low water usage fixtures. For example, the urinal flush valve can be adjusted to reduce usage down to 0.125 gallons per flush. Users will feel little to no change, but critical savings for Government House will be realized and will decrease pressure on the already fragile waste system.

Antigua and Government House have a long history of recycling water, primarily rainwater. Active capture of rainwater at the West Wing is integrated into the architectural design. The architectural elements include roof gutters, a large holding tank, and pumped connection to the Government House. From the Government House, the collected rainwater will be reused in the irrigation system for the grounds and new gardens.



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Lastly is restoration. After the building water is used, it becomes what is known as wastewater. This water needs to be treated on-site because of a lack of a central sewer system. One innovative treatment is the capture of waste from waterless urinals and ultra-low water closets and composting. Reductions to an already strained and fragile municipal water supply, and private water treatment and removal systems will promote responsible care for precious resources for a more resilient future.

The Transcendent Merits of Government House: Architecture, History, and Community

Laura Perez Sanburn

Government House is a patchwork of building, rebuilding, and abandonment; it reveals snippets of its past while obscuring others. What elements are original? To what extent has it been restored? To what extent has it been demolished? Throughout its long and storied history, beginning before the nineteenth century, people have found value in building, maintaining, restoring, and adding to Government House. Saving a building is about saving its physical structure as well as its physical connection to history. More importantly, saving a building breathes continuity into a community. In the face of potential demolition, people have once again found value in Government House as it enters another stage of its history. At its most basic, the existing building holds higher value than a newly constructed government house, yet, what makes the existing Government House so precious?

Architectural quality adds value to an old building, determined by its architect, style, craftsmanship, structure, technology, and materials. Exemplified in the saying, "they don't build them like they used to," some older buildings have superior craftsmanship, vernacular typology, or materiality. Saving a building by reusing it for new or similar purposes also supports a more sustainable approach to development on our planet.

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Government House stands out in the development of British colonial architecture in the Caribbean, and its quality construction has resulted in extended serviceability. The challenge to build for the British colonial population required maintaining a British aesthetic combined with permeable, shade-bearing typological solutions for the hot and humid climate, such as louvers, broad porches, and the copious use of double French doors. The current restoration effort capitalizes on these unique physical and inherently climate-adapted qualities.

The passage of time at Government House makes it an intrinsic and relevant part of Antigua's history, inspiring generations to maintain it. Through this building, one can observe transformations in construction techniques and technology, social structures, building functions, public and private space, stylistic movements, and political positions. Contemporary forces may also influence a building's tangible and intangible historical significance as people and organizations recognize the importance of its preservation and create regulations that reflect its value.

Government House's physical qualities directly reflect its historical context. The evolution of Government House is connected to the evolution of Antigua and Barbuda as a British colony and, later, as an independent country visited by Queen Elizabeth in the 1950s. World Monument Fund recognized Government House for its rich physical and historical qualities when it was listed on their 2018 World Monuments Watch. Accreted layers of history visible at Government House offer an opportunity to capitalize on the unique history of Antigua and Barbuda, something a new building would not. Saving the building preserves this physical manifestation of Antigua and Barbuda's story, providing continuity between the nation's past, present, and future.

A building and its community can exist in a mutually beneficial relationship with the building as a symbol, resource, and shared space, and the community as benefactor, protector, and steward. A building can also contain a community's shared values, memories, and hopes. Hope brings strength and endurance, bolstering the community's desire to maintain, restore, and protect their symbol.

Community for Government House has developed along with the building's changing role over time and the evolution of Antiguan and Barbudan society. Once a residence, it was a private space used by its occupants and their visitors; at this point the community was small and exclusive. Later, as the residence and office of the governor general, the building's community expanded to a selected segment of the public. Currently, as a shared ceremonial space as well as offices for the governor general, it has further expanded into the public realm. It is a symbol of a long and established history tying Antigua and Barbuda to the United Kingdom, but also a symbol of local perseverance and continuity. As a resource, the layers of history and societies that build, maintain, and restore can be peeled back and analysed to give context, grounding, and a sense of purpose. Government House and the people of Antigua and Barbuda share an interconnected relationship, and the Government House Restoration Initiative plans to prepare Government House to meet the evolving needs of this relationship.