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Lewd Legacies: The Challenges of Preserving Bermuda's Queen of the East Brothel

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Lewd Legacies: The Challenges of Preserving Bermuda's *Queen of the East* Brothel

By

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Bermuda and all who love her.

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This thesis research could not have been possible without the help of Richard Lowry of the Bermuda Department of Planning, the advice of Dorcas Roberts of the Bermuda National Trust, the earlier research of Margie Lloyd, and the hospitality of Marjorie, Michael, and Andrew Baylay. Innumerable thanks are due to these scholars and residents of Bermuda. The Graduate School at the University of South Carolina provided the SPARC Award for Graduate Research that made the research possible. Additional thanks go to Professor Robert R. Weyeneth for his direction and advice, and to Professor Lydia Brandt for her comments and encouragement. I owe my utmost gratitude to Dr. Brent Fortenberry, who provided the inspiration at the outset, guidance in the research process, keen insight in the editing stages, and encouragement at every step along the way.

Abstract

This thesis explores the myriad challenges to the preservation of Bermuda's *Queen of the East* brothel. Although *Queen of the East* has been widely regarded as one of the island's architectural and historical treasures, and despite Bermuda's stated commitment to the preservation of its architectural heritage, the building's fate remains uncertain. Research presented here suggests that the building's association with prostitution in public memory poses the greatest challenge to the building's preservation.

In order to understand the factors contributing to the building's present condition, this thesis probes the building's architectural fabric and history; the nature and composition of Bermuda's preservation framework; and local popular memory of the building's history. An architectural survey of the building's present conditions, review of its occupational and alteration history, description of the island's preservation policies, and review of popular opinion as printed in the local press are presented as evidence to *Queen of the East's* present condition. Architectural and archival research suggests that the building's problematical past poses the greatest threat to its survival. This thesis explores the myriad factors at play in preservation decisions at sites with problematical pasts, suggesting that public memory of problematical pasts poses a real and tangible threat with weight equal to, if not greater than, the other brick and mortar issues.

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Introduction

Queen of the East is a rare extant example of a building type once common in Bermuda: the dual residence-warehouse dating to the mid-eighteenth century. Today, its survival is threatened despite Bermuda's century-long commitment to a tourist economy based on cultural heritage in which its distinctive architectural legacy is prominently marketed. This thesis examines the reasons for its precarious status today.¹

Because it once served as a brothel, *Queen of the East* provides a revealing case study in the preservation of historic properties with problematical pasts. Bermuda's present struggle to prevent prostitution in the capital city reveals the connection between contemporary social issues and historic preservation decisions. Several questions salient to the modern practice of preservation form the crux of this investigation: what characteristics of a property contribute to its preservation? How important is a property's problematical past in determining its survival or destruction? What does *Queen of the East's* uncertain fate indicate about the nature of preservation on Bermuda?

¹ Simon Jones, "Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball," *Bermuda Sun*, April 10, 2013. Simon Jones, "Prime Sites for

In order to answer these research questions, this thesis evaluates the central problem from three angles and incorporating three veins of historiography. Chapter I assesses *Queen of the East's* architectural history, describing its current conditions, original construction, and subsequent alteration. Applications to and internal correspondence within the Bermuda Government's Department of Planning, survey documents compiled by the Bermuda National Trust, and historic and modern newspaper articles establish the building's architectural and historical significance to the island. Secondary sources on Bermuda's architectural, economic, and political history provide necessary context here. Architectural historian Edward Chappell's survey reveals the connection between physical alterations to *Queen of the East* and distinctive periods of Bermuda's history. Chappell's other studies of the island's architecture demonstrate its unique character and *Queen of the East's* relation to an island-specific style. Michael Jarvis' definitive work on Bermuda's eighteenth-century maritime history *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda and the Making of the Atlantic World* provides the narrative of the island's earliest historic periods. Jarvis' narrative of the island's early history reveals the importance of Bermuda's eighteenth-century maritime trade, illustrating the socio-economic environment that spawned the dual residence-warehouse architectural type of which *Queen of the East* is representative. Bermudian historians Henry Wilkinson and William S. Zuill's accounts of Bermuda's later history trace the shifts in the island's economic and social environment that inspired alterations to *Queen of the East* in the nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries.²

² Michael Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); William S. Zuill, *The Story of Bermuda and Her People* (London: Macmillan, 1973); Henry Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973); Chappell, *Queen of the East*;

Because *Queen of the East* alternately enjoyed official status as a building of historic and architectural significance through the Bermuda Government's listing process, and later had this status revoked, chapter II examines the formation and structure of Bermuda's preservation framework. This second section traces Bermuda preservation's legal and organizational development in relation to the island's historic tourism industry. Internal documents of the Tourism Association, Trade Development Board, Bermuda National Trust, and Bermuda Government reveal the historic centrality of the island's cultural heritage to the tourism industry. Duncan McDowall's study traces the development of Bermuda tourism provides contextual narrative linking tourism to cultural heritage, and to architectural heritage in particular. Similarly, Bermudian cultural scholar Charlotte Andrews' masters and doctorate studies of Bermudian uses of maritime heritage provide enlightening context on local perspectives on and attitudes toward the island's history. This thesis employs Andrews' broadly inclusive definition of "Bermudians" as those usually resident on the island, rather than those with strict legal citizenship status.³ Andrew's definition of "heritage" here employed draws on anthropological definitions, advancing a conceptualization of heritage as involving multiple "subprocesses but is primarily about identity and community formation."⁴ This

Chappell, Edward, "The Bermuda House," *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 93 – 143; Edward Chappell, "Interpreting Bermuda's Architecture," *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology and Maritime History* 6 (1994): 145 – 150.

³ Charlotte Andrews, "Community Uses of Maritime Heritage in Bermuda: A Heritage Ethnography with Museum Implications" (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2010), 1. Andrews' explanation for a broad definition "reflects Bermuda's multicultural, dynamic character" and allows for the myriad "ways people self-identity and connect to this place, its culture and history, and one another, all of which are not necessarily precluded – and indeed may be supported – by a lack of roots, residency, etc."

⁴ Andrews, 2010. Andrews' definition draws on the earlier work of prominent anthropologists. See Smith, L., "Heritage, Gender and Identity," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed. Graham, B. and Howard, P. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 159 – 178.

thesis offers some evaluation of Bermudian uses of architectural heritage to complement Andrews' work on the maritime counterpart. This corpus of scholarship is particularly important as Bermuda looks to wield its architectural and cultural heritage in reasserting its historic tourism image.⁵

Finally, chapter III evaluates *Queen of the East* as a threatened building, reviewing the factors that have affected its preservation. This section advances the thesis' overarching argument: that *Queen of the East*'s negative association with prostitution in recent public memory poses the greatest threat to the building's survival. Historic and modern newspaper articles exhibit public memory of the building and perceptions of its past. Historic police records and modern editorials reveal Bermudian fear of prostitution and its association with *Queen of the East* even into the present. Here, other case studies on the preservation of sites of racial violence, political violence, and prostitution across the world are germane. Robert Weyeneth's "History, He Wrote: Murder, Politics, and the Challenges of Doing Public History in a Community with a Secret" provides a case study on the pervasiveness and weight of a site's problematical past. Additional scholarship on preservation at sites of prostitution is especially salient, providing examples of how problematical pasts might be carefully preserved. Examples come primarily from sites in the American West. This thesis grows to a small but growing scholarship on the

⁵ Additional influential works on heritage tourism and preservation include Patricia Mooney-Melvin, "Harnessing the Romance of the Past: Preservation, Tourism, and History," *The Public Historian* 13, no. 2 (Spring 1991): 35 – 48; Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Theorizing Heritage," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 3 (Autumn 1995): 367 – 380; Brian Goodall, "The Future for Heritage Tourism," *The Geographical Journal* 163, no. 2 (July 1997): 243 – 244; Peter H. Brink, "Heritage Tourism in the USA: Grassroots Efforts to Combine Preservation and Tourism," *APT Bulletin* 29, no. 3/4 (1998): 59 – 63; Walter Jamieson, "Cultural Heritage Tourism Planning and Development: Defining the Field and Its Challenges," *APT Bulletin* 29, no. 3/4 (1998): 65 – 67.

preservation of sites with problematical pasts, and of sites with prostitution pasts in particular.⁶

Studying sites of this kind requires creative use of sources, and *Queen of the East* is no exception. Construction and alteration to the building's physical plant is not well documented; newspapers and magazine articles provide the most complete documentary record of the building's history. These sources are similarly useful in tracing the history of prostitution on Bermuda and public reactions thereto, rounding out an otherwise sparse narrative documented in Bermuda Government and Police records. *Queen of the East's* physical fabric serves as an important primary source in the absence of specific and numerous archival documents detailing the building's construction history. Architectural survey this author and previous scholars offers interpretation of this all-important resource.⁷

This study is particularly timely as Bermuda looks to reassert its historic tourism image, drawing largely on the same strategy of cultural heritage it has employed for over a century. Recent trends in preservation on the island also suggest this possibility. Sites with pasts conducive to the positive narrative of Bermuda's history continue to dominate the rosters of preserved places. Picturesque merchant homes, churches, and government buildings enjoy popularity among English and American tourists, and thus among local Bermudians. Popularity of recent efforts to rehabilitate the Barracks and Victualling Yard of the Royal Navy Dockyard in the West End for commercial use suggests a strong

⁶Robert R. Weyeneth, "History, He Wrote: Murder, Politics, and the Challenges of Public History in a Community with a Secret," *The Public Historian* 16, no. 2 (Spring 1994): 51 – 73. For studies on the preservation of sites with prostitution pasts in the United States, see particularly Baumann, Timothy et al., "Interpreting Uncomfortable History at the Scott Joplin House State Historic Site in St. Louis, Missouri," *The Public Historian* 33, no. 2 (2011): 37 – 66; Bluestone, Daniel M., *Buildings, Landscapes, and Memory: Case Studies in Historic Preservation* (W.W. Norton & Company, 2010).

⁷ Architectural survey of the building was conducted by the Bermuda National Trust and Edward Chappell prior to this author's own examination in 2013. Chappell, *Queen of the East*.

Bermudian desire to not only preserve the island's military history, but also to incorporate it into modern commerce.⁸

The few preserved properties with problematical pasts on Bermuda enjoy less popularity and less funding. The home of Bermuda's first black ship pilot, Jemmy Darrell, in St. George is just a momentary pause on an unguided walking tour through the town. Attempts to interpret Bermuda's history of slavery at preserved sites have also fared poorly overall: the African Diaspora Heritage Trail survived only a few years before its inability to draw tourists could go unnoticed no longer. Bermuda Government revoked its charitable funding in 2013. Sites known to house Bermuda's enslaved persons were included in this trail, among them the cottage dependency at *Verdmont* estate.⁹

Queen of the East's uncertain fate is perhaps most salient to the preservation of other known sites of vice on the island. Like *Queen of the East*, none of the other half dozen known sites of prostitution were purpose-built, but if *Queen of the East's* situation is any indication, their problematical pasts will engender the same apathy that allows demolition by neglect.¹⁰ Unlike some sites of prostitution in the United States, *Queen of the East* and its Bermudian associates have no precedent for incorporation into the island's historical narrative.¹¹

⁸ For details of Bermuda's most successful preservation sites, see Butterfield et al., *Held in Trust: Properties of The Bermuda National Trust*. On the development of the Royal Naval Dockyard, see Finighan, "WEDCO Hoping to Bring Victualling Yard Back to Life."

⁹ Sam Strangeways, "African Diaspora Organization Loses Charitable Status," *The Royal Gazette*, July 25, 2013.

¹⁰ Dorcas Roberts, "Next Round of Research."

¹¹ Several sites in the United States – in frontier towns of the American West, in particular – have successfully preserved and incorporated their prostitution histories into larger narratives. For examples, see Baumann, Timothy et al., "Interpreting Uncomfortable History at the Scott Joplin House State Historic Site in St. Louis, Missouri"; Dubrow, Gail Lee and Goodman, Jennifer B., eds., *Restoring Women's History through Historic Preservation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

At the site level, *Queen of the East's* uncertain future threatens Bermuda's capital city with the loss of one of the island's most architecturally and historically significant buildings. More broadly, the loss of sites with problematical pasts like *Queen of the East* threatens Bermuda with an amnesiac historical landscape, one void of the physical remains of contentious economic and gender history. *Queen of the East's* uncertain future reflects both Bermudian certainties about the past and anxieties about the future.

Images at the end of every chapter provide visual evidence of the arguments made in the text. These photographs and illustrations demonstrate the historical centrality of Bermuda's architectural heritage to the island's tourism industry, and *Queen of the East's* dissonance as an element within a cultivated landscape and historical narrative. By means of initial orientation, maps of the island are provided at the end of the first chapter. See Figures 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 for maps of the Atlantic Ocean, the island of Bermuda, and the *Queen of the East* site.

Chapter I: *Queen of the East* as a Building: Current Condition and History

Bermudians have long recognized *Queen of the East* as one of the island's dearest historic and architectural treasures. As early as the 1960s, the *Bermudian* magazine and the *Bermuda Sun* newspaper dubbed the building a "gem" and a "treasure."¹² It retained these accolades in the 1980s when demolition threatened both *Queen of the East* and the island's oldest church.¹³ And at the end of 2011, the Bermuda National Trust named *Queen of the East* its "number one priority" on the Bermuda Government's Historic Buildings Advisory Committee's list of Historic Buildings at Risk.¹⁴ Journalists, Trust employees, and the interested public asserted that *Queen of the East* was both architecturally and historically significant to the capital city of Hamilton and the island of Bermuda at large. Despite frequent proclamation of its historical and architectural significance, *Queen of the East* appears much neglected today.

Queen of the East stands between two major modern thoroughfares in Bermuda's capital city of Hamilton. Known in modern planning parlance as 26 Crow Lane, *Queen of the East*'s western elevation is just barely visible to pedestrian and motor traffic on East Broadway (see Figure 1.3), vegetation largely obscuring it from the view of waterborne vessels in Hamilton Harbor (see Figure 1.4). A modern high-rise

¹² "Homes and Gardens," *Bermuda Sun*, March 20, 1965, sec. 2; "Waterfront House With a Shady Past Is Very Dignified Today," *The Royal Gazette*, April 9, 1961.

¹³ Tim Hodgson, "Are We Wrecking Our Heritage? Two More Buildings Come under Threat as the Bulldozers Move a Little Closer..." *Mid-Ocean News*, June 13, 1986.

¹⁴ Chappell, *Queen of the East*; Jones, "Prime Sites for Preservation: The Trust's Top Ten."

apartment complex overshadows the building's southern elevation, while a rehabilitated but taller historic building crouches to the north (see Figure 1.3 for a map of the site).

Queen of the East is a two-story, single-pile building with rectangular dimensions sixty feet by eighteen feet. The building's construction into a harbor-side hill further obstructs view from the west (see Figure 1.5). The foundation, walls, and roof are all composed of Bermuda limestone (See Figure 1.6). Eastern and western elevations contain eight bays; gables open over the northern and southern elevations, each with its own end chimney. A third chimney occupies a later addition to the eastern end. All chimneys fit Bermuda's traditional Flemish design: fluted caps top narrow flues. All four elevations contain double-hung sash windows with six-over-six panes and wooden muntins. The roof of the building is stepped in short increments, with levels sloping gently from the roof ridge to the eaves overhanging wall plates on all four elevations (see Figure 1.7). *Queen of the East's* entire exterior is encased in whitewashed cement. The building's interior boasts large rooms, high tray ceilings, and exposed thick cedar beams (see Figure 1.8). Several oven openings are visible in the interior of the northern elevation's first floor.¹⁵

Extensive plant growth in the eastern yard further obscures the property's other architectural features. Chief among these is a stone-roofed privy, one of only two such forms known to be extant on the island (see Figure 1.9). Like the similar edifice at Peniston's shipyard near *Magnolia Hall* in nearby Smith's Parish, *Queen of the East's* privy has square dimensions of seven feet by seven feet, its narrow doorway facing the missing seat. The shape of its historic walls is maintained by remaining plaster and one-

¹⁵ This description is derived from the author's own architectural survey of the building and the "Architectural Interest" section of the Bermuda National Trust's 2011 Listing Application to the Bermuda Department of Planning, reference number P0078/13.

inch boards on the sidewalls, each of which extend upward to corbelled stones in a pyramidal roof. Small vent windows pierce the privy's south and east walls, providing a view of the harbor over which the whole structure hangs.¹⁶

Queen of the East's architectural significance is inextricably entwined with its historical significance. Alterations to the building's original architectural form indicate its adaptive use in successive periods of Bermuda's economic history, each leaving material vestiges of the island's changing economic and cultural conditions. Review of the building's construction and alteration history demonstrate *Queen of the East's* significance as a material microcosm of Bermudian history. Alterations to the building's original construction were sympathetic to the preservation of its historic materials, and modern architectural historians note its historic integrity despite a hundred years of changing occupation.

Queen of the East's historical significance predates the current building's construction, the land parcel's association with important historical figures lending it historical significance from the earliest period of the island's history. The land on which *Queen of the East* presently resides was first owned by an elite colonial officer: Sir Nicholas Hide, then Lord Chief Justice, purchased the parcel in the mid-seventeenth century in the first decades of Bermuda's colonization by the English. His brother Sir Lawrence Hide, Attorney General to Queen Anne of Denmark, owned the adjacent property. Though unpopular locally, the Hides were an influential English family. As

¹⁶ Chappell, *Queen of the East*.

early as the 1940s, Bermudians recognized the property's association with the early system of proprietary English land practices as historically significant.¹⁷

Originally constructed as *Lane House* by George Darrell in the mid-eighteenth century, *Queen of the East* site maintained historical significance through association a later prominent Bermuda family. By 1663, Sir Nicholas Hide's real estate had passed to John Darrell of Warwick Parish. The property passed through various ownerships until it came into the Darrell family again in the mid-eighteenth century. John Darrell of Devonshire Parish left the property to his two sons in his will of 1745; his son George Darrell is credited with *Queen of the East's* original construction. Various twentieth-century newspaper and magazine articles date the building's construction to between 1736 and 1743; George Darell began constructing the house before the date of his father's will. Unlike the English Hides of Bermuda's early colonial days, the Darrell family's historical significance lay in their claim to a distinctly Bermudian heritage: multigenerational by 1745, the Darrells were among Bermuda's earliest established families.¹⁸

Queen of the East's (then known as *Lane House*) historical significance intersects with its architectural significance most obviously in the Darrell period. The Darrells constructed *Lane House* at the peak of Bermuda's dominance in Atlantic maritime trade, which had replaced agriculture as the island's primary economic strategy in the late seventeenth century. Maritime trade brought wealth to the formerly humble island

¹⁷ Musson and Darrell, "To Be Sold, By Auction, On Wednesday, The 3rd Day of June, at 11 AM, On the Premises," *The Royal Gazette*, May 16, 1857, No. 21, Vol. 30 edition; Margot Hill, "Queen of the East, Residence of Mr. and Mr. Bayfield," *The Bermudian*, June 1949, 28; Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783*.

¹⁸"Listing Application: Queen of the East, 26 Crow Lane, Pembroke"; Musson and Darrell, "To Be Sold, By Auction, On Wednesday, The 3rd Day of June, at 11 AM, On the Premises"; Darrell and Musson, "For Sale," *The Royal Gazette*, July 14, 1857.

colony. Most male Bermudians became merchant mariners in the early eighteenth century, forming mixed race crews and inspiring the design of a local architectural style. *Lane House* was constructed to serve as a dual residence and warehouse for the Darrell family's merchant shipping business. The Darrells were a representative merchant family, and *Lane House* was a representative example of the merchant family home.¹⁹

Many of the building's modern elements contribute to *Queen of the East's* renown as "the epitome of Bermudian eighteenth-century architecture," which came to define the Bermudian building tradition still in practice today.²⁰ *Queen of the East's* cedar beams recall the oldest materials of Bermudian architecture. Unoccupied by humans prior to English settlement in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Bermuda's earliest architectural methods relied on construction from the island's vast cedar population. Cedar logs formed the structural frame support lodged into holes carved in the island's universal limestone bedrock, cedar palms formed the lathing and siding, and cedar leaves created the thatched roof. But Bermudians quickly recognized the drawbacks of all-cedar construction. Not only were frame buildings easily destroyed in Bermuda's many hurricanes, but also the depletion of the natural cedar population was economically and environmentally unsound. By the end of the seventeenth century, Bermuda had placed a legal moratorium on cedar's extensive use in construction and on its export from the island.²¹

¹⁹Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783*; "Listing Application: Queen of the East, 26 Crow Lane, Pembroke"; Rowlinson, "Queen of the East": Proposed Listing"; Chappell, *Queen of the East*; Edward Chappell, "Interpreting Bermuda's Architecture"; Chappell, Edward, "The Bermuda House."

²⁰ Jones, "Prime Sites for Preservation: The Trust's Top Ten."

²¹ Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783*; Hallett, A.C. Hollis, *Bermuda under the Sommer Islands Company, 1612 - 1684*, vol. 1 (Bermuda: Juniperhill Press, 2005).

Queen of the East's cedar fittings reveal the connection between this and the next period of Bermudian architecture. The building features the limestone building technology that usurped seventeenth-century palmetto thatch construction as the island's most common building method. Increasingly aware of cedar's scarcity and shaky reliance in hurricane conditions, Bermudians turned to their other prevalent natural resource: limestone. Whereas seventeenth-century cedar construction rested on limestone foundations, eighteenth-century construction extended the use of limestone to the construction of foundations, walls, and roofs. By the late nineteenth-century, this building technique and the form it produced had piqued international curiosity in and admiration for Bermuda architecture. North American commentators described the long but efficient process of cutting, drying, and building with Bermuda limestone. They deemed Bermudian traditional architecture both sturdy and historically significant: not only did limestone construction withstand the extreme demands of Bermudian weather, it also fomented a two-hundred-year-old tradition for an island-specific architectural style.²²

Queen of the East also possesses the stepped roofline characteristic of traditional Bermudian architecture (see Figure 1.7). Similarly designed to serve the unique requirements of the island's climate, traditional Bermuda roofs are constructed of stepped limestone levels. Stepping down from the roof ridgeline down to the eaves, this form has enabled Bermuda houses to collect its own supply of rainwater since the eighteenth century. This is a particularly important element of Bermudian architecture, as the island has no other natural source of freshwater. Eighteenth-century building technology

²² William Drysdale, "Some Bermuda Houses: How They Are Built and What They Cost," *The New York Times*, February 25, 1883; William Drysdale, "Bermuda's Stone Houses: How the Soft Rock Is Out and Hardened," *The New York Times*, March 30, 1890; Chappell, Edward, "The Bermuda House."

continues to serve the basic needs of the island's inhabitants; even modern designs for new construction incorporate the traditional Bermuda roof.²³

The Darrell edifice is also historically significant because it was constructed in the area of modern East Broadway, which was a small village known as Foot-of-the-Lane in the eighteenth century. Foot-of-the-Lane was one of Bermuda's earliest settlements, predating the founding of the City of Hamilton by over fifty years. *Lane House* was one of the key structures in this early village, and *Queen of the East* is "essentially the last surviving building of those originally built along Hamilton Harbor's foreshore as part of the early settlement, the Lane." Though modern Bermuda is covered in buildings of similar appearance, *Queen of the East* survives as one of only a very few eighteenth-century vernacular buildings present in the capital city.²⁴

Subsequent periods of the building's history saw its adaptation to uses economically viable in Bermuda's changing economy. The Darrell family's 1857 advertisement for the sale of *Lane House*, the associated wharf and land, described a floor plan that included a sitting room, dining room, three bedrooms, a scullery, cooking-room, china closet, pantry, servants' room, and "commodious storeroom." The description of its lower floor revealed the house's most recent occupation: "an extensive range of ovens, fitted up some years since under the direction of a Baker, who came here from England,

²³ Chappell, Edward, "The Bermuda House"; Edward Chappell, "Interpreting Bermuda's Architecture."

²⁴ Hamilton became the capital city in 1815, shifting Bermuda's seat of financial and legal power from St. George's in the far eastern end of the island to a more geographic center. Rowlinson, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed"; Rowlinson, "'Queen of the East': Proposed Listing"; Jones, "Prime Sites for Preservation: The Trust's Top Ten"; Jones, "Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball"; Simon Jones, "Splendid Home of Town's First Doctor Now Rotting Away," *Bermuda Sun*, April 10, 2013; Chappell, *Queen of the East*; Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783*; Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*.

for which business the situation is well adapted.”²⁵ Bermuda’s eighteenth-century dominance in maritime trade waned with the early nineteenth-century rise of the steamship. The transition from sail to steam made the former speed and maneuverability of the world-famous Bermuda sloop obsolete, inciting another shift in the Bermudian economy. Once more reliant on its meager agricultural exports, the arrival of the British Navy buoyed the Bermudian economy. They were garrisoned on the island to protect the British crown’s west Atlantic holdings from American aggression. *Lane House* was adapted to serve the needs of the soldiers recently stationed over the hill in Hamilton, serving as both bakery and laundry. The present internal oven flue and additional fireplaces likely date to this period of the house’s history, evincing the building’s significance to the British military period of Bermuda’s history.²⁶

It was during this significant period of Bermudian social history that *Lane House* earned its more infamous and durable moniker. By the time the local Wilkinson family purchased the property at the end of the nineteenth century, *Lane House* had earned a reputation as a brothel. It offered more than its advertised bakery and laundry services, becoming a popular site of entertainment for the British soldiers and earning it the new nickname *Queen of the East*. The name change at the end of the nineteenth century occurred as Bermudians were negotiating the transition from sail to steam that brought a frequently absent male population back to the island’s shores for long periods of time.²⁷

²⁵ Musson and Darrell, “To Be Sold, By Auction, On Wednesday, The 3rd Day of June, at 11 AM, On the Premises”; Darrell and Musson, “For Sale.”

²⁶ Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*; “Listing Application: Queen of the East, 26 Crow Lane, Pembroke”; Chappell, *Queen of the East*; Hill, “Queen of the East, Residence of Mr. and Mr. Bayfield”; Jones, “Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball”; Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783*.

²⁷ Rowlinson, “‘Queen of the East’: Proposed Listing”; Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*.

Queen of the East continued to adapt to fit the significant shifts in Bermuda's history in the early twentieth century as the permanent stationing of British military inspired a "re-Anglicization" of Bermuda.²⁸ British architect Bayfield Clark purchased *Queen of the East* in 1938 and rehabilitated the building fulfill its original purpose. The Clark's rehabilitation included increasing the height of the wall separating the house from the road (East Broadway), and recreating the wall's entrance into a picturesque wooden gate enclosed between white pillars. The privy was transformed into a tool shed, and a sympathetically designed gazebo was added immediately opposite the privy to balance the symmetry of the lawn.²⁹ The Clarks were careful to leave the "heavy cedarwood beams of the original plan" exposed, providing visual reminders of where earlier partitions divided the large twentieth-century living room into two spaces (see 1.8). In doing the Clarks's rehabilitation incorporated elements of restoration, returning certain aspects of the building to earlier periods of construction. To that end, the Clarks moved several existing partition walls, created a new stairway, and walled up several of the house's numerous existing entrances. Useful points of access and egress in the building's earlier incarnations as warehouse and bakery, these old warehouse doors did not serve the Clarks' residential purposes. Many were transformed into French doors opening onto the garden from the ground level dining room, and providing views of Hamilton Harbor. The arched recess under the old internal staircase was hollowed to create a niche for the dining room sideboard. The Clarks' sensitive alteration sympathetically transformed the house from the utilitarian forms necessitated by its

²⁸ Having developed a distinctive local culture divergent from the British Isles standard since its original colonization in 1609, Bermuda moved back towards mainstream British culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*; Zuill, *The Story of Bermuda and Her People*.

²⁹ "Waterfront House With a Shady Past Is Very Dignified Today."

earlier occupations. They skillfully ensured that “the house gradually assumed lines of space, comfort, and convenience” befitting Bermuda’s mid-twentieth-century reassertion of the British sensibilities that created the island’s traditional architectural style.³⁰

Queen of the East has additional historical association with Bermuda’s midcentury efforts to attract American tourists, an effort that came to define the island’s tourism identity for the next four decades. The Americans Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Taylor purchased the building in May of 1960, finally making it open to the public in 1961.³¹ Dr. Norman H. Taylor’s description of *Queen of the East* in the October 1961 issue of *The Bermudian* magazine painted a portrait of a typically verdant Bermuda estate, whose serenity offered “no necessary ‘let-down’[...] except for the blood pressure.”³² In the twenty-odd years since the end of its brothel days, *Queen of the East* had become a picture postcard-perfect image of the Bermudian ideal, complete with whitewashed stepped roof, a waterfront view, alternate privacy and visibility, and adorned in fragrant local blooms.³³

As was typical of late twentieth-century Bermuda, *Queen of the East*’s would-be inheritors abandoned the building for points north and west. The Taylor’s children pursued careers off-island, and though grandchildren raised stateside would later recall happy holidays at *Queen of the East*, the building ceased to be occupied full-time with the death of Dr. and Mrs. Norman Taylor. Local Wilkinson siblings assumed joint ownership in the late twentieth century, though neither of them occupied the building. Their

³⁰ Hill, “Queen of the East, Residence of Mr. and Mr. Bayfield,” 28; Chappell, Edward, “The Bermuda House.”

³¹ “Waterfront House With a Shady Past Is Very Dignified Today.”

³² Dr. Norman H. Taylor, “Haven at the ‘Queen,’” *The Bermudian*, October 1961.

³³ Taylor, 19.

disagreement about the building's upkeep led to its neglect, a fate that befell so many traditional Bermudian homes inherited in the late twentieth century.³⁴

Despite the building's adaptation to fit the needs of Bermuda's economic history, *Queen of the East* has not suffered significant detriment to its architectural integrity. Bermuda Government's Department of Planning's investigation of the early 2000s found that twentieth-century alterations to the building's fabric had maintained enough of the early periods' contributions to warrant an application for addition to the Historic Building Advisory Committee's List of Historical or Architectural Interest. By dint of its architectural and historical significance, *Queen of the East* became a Grade 1 Listed Building on August 30, 2002. Listing solidified *Queen of the East's* claim to special architectural or historic interest, and enabled the Department of Planning to deny proposals for significant alterations in the early 2000s. Subsequent architectural surveys by Dr. Edward Chappell of Colonial Williamsburg and the Bermuda National Trust's architectural research team reasserted *Queen of the East's* significance as the least altered of Hamilton's historic waterfront buildings.³⁵ Together with the assessment of local architectural firm Conyers & Associates, these recent surveys have underpinned the Bermuda National Trust's recent claims for the building's continued historic and architectural significance.³⁶

³⁴ "Family Dispute over Demolition of House," *The Royal Gazette*, January 24, 1980; Rowlinson, "'Queen of the East': Proposed Listing"; Judith Montgomery-Moore, "Letter from Judith C. Montgomery-Moore to Mr. Wayne Carey, Permanent Secretary to Bermuda Government Ministry of the Environment," December 13, 2006.

³⁵ Andrew Trimmingham, "Comments of the Historic Buildings Advisory Committee," October 3, 2002, P0045/02; PM 079, Bermuda Department of Planning; Chappell, *Queen of the East*.

³⁶ Dennis Lister, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed," August 30, 2002, Bermuda Department of Planning.

Figures



Figure 1.1: Bermuda is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, apart from both mainland North American and the Caribbean islands. The arrow indicates north. This map is taken from GoogleMaps.

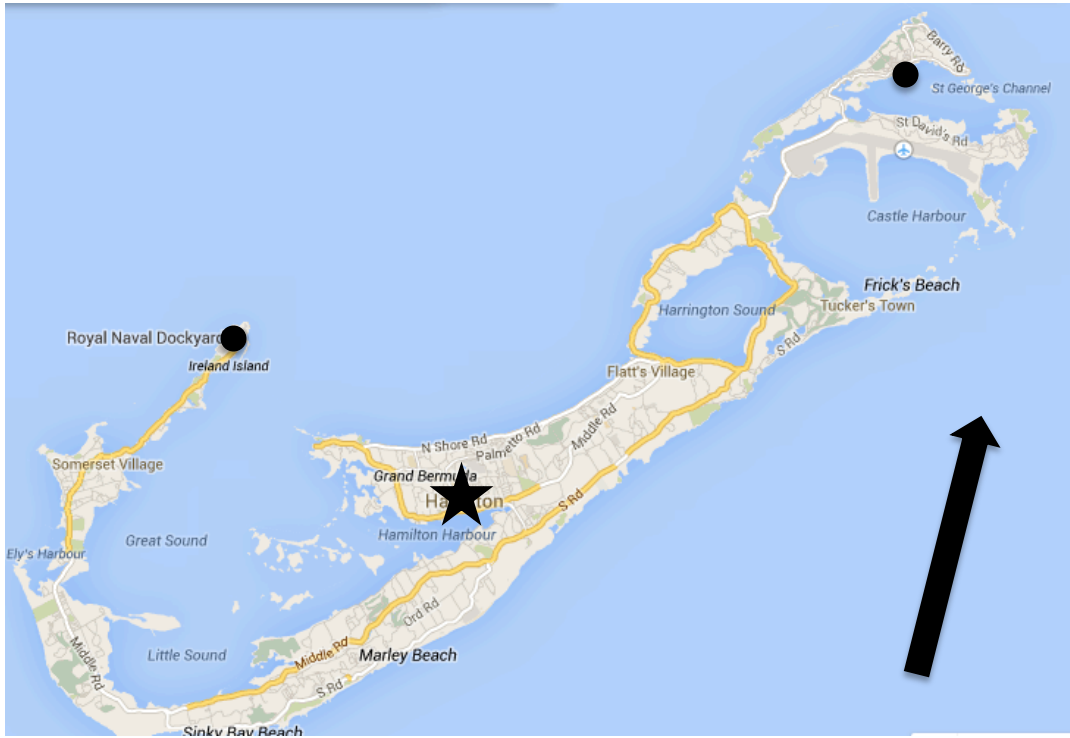


Figure 1.2: Bermuda's capital city Hamilton is centrally located between the island's westernmost and easternmost hubs of activity, located in Dockyard and of St. George, respectively. Hamilton is here indicated by a star, Dockyard and St. George by dots. The arrow points north. This map is taken from GoogleMaps.



Figure 1.3: *Queen of the East* is bordered by Hamilton Harbor to the south and by East Broadway to the north. East Broadway is a major thoroughfare for inbound and outbound traffic to Hamilton. A white square borders the site here. The arrow indicates north. This map is taken from GoogleMaps.



Figure 1.4: Full view of *Queen of the East* is now obscured by extensive vegetative growth on the southern elevation. Photo by author, 2013.



Figure 1.5: A low stone wall separates the property from East Broadway (at left) along the building's western elevation. Photo by author, 2013.



Figure 1.6: *Queen of the East's* southern elevation overlooks Hamilton Harbor. The twentieth-century addition is at far right. Courtesy Bermuda Department of Planning, 2008.



Figure 1.7: Like all traditional Bermuda roofs, *Queen of the East's* is stepped to collect fresh rainwater for use in the house. Photo by author, 2013.



Figure 1.8: *Queen of the East* retains many of its original interior fittings, including these exposed cedar beams. Courtesy Richard Lowry, 2011.



Figure 1.9: *Queen of the East's* privy is one of only two remaining on the island.
Courtesy Richard Lowry, 2011.

Chapter II: Bermuda's Preservation Framework

The Bermuda National Trust's ardent fight to have *Queen of the East* listed on the island's register of historically and architecturally significant buildings evidenced both that organization's confidence in the listing system, and widespread recognition of the need for such a system. Bermuda has been committed to the preservation of its architectural heritage since the early twentieth century. Recognizing the potential of its burgeoning tourism industry and the centrality of the island's history and culture to that industry, Bermuda has shaped its preservation framework to best fit its heritage tourism niche. *Queen of the East* is presently situated in a preservation climate borne of this long and volatile relationship, one Bermuda continues to negotiate in an effort to define its own sense of place. The Listing system marshaled by the Bermuda National Trust to protect *Queen of the East* in 2002 was born of the island's long history endeavoring to save its historic places for the benefit of its tourism industry. From its earliest forays into tourism, Bermuda recognized the market value of its unique cultural and architectural heritage, and its allure for wealthy foreign visitors. Preservation on the island began and continues as a strategy to entice a particular kind of paying visitor.³⁷

Bermuda's earliest leisure visitors were crucial in defining the island's identity as a destination for heritage tourism. Although their numbers never surpassed several thousand per annum, Bermuda's late nineteenth-century tourists were a small but

³⁷ Rowlinson, "'Queen of the East': Proposed Listing"; Trimmingham, "Comments of the Historic Buildings Advisory Committee"; Rowlinson, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed."

powerful demographic. Composed of physicians, clergymen, merchants, and others of the Anglo-American upper-middleclass, the first cohorts of Bermuda's foreign tourists possessed the economic and social clout to shape and transmit an image of the island to a wide international audience of potential new visitors.³⁸ Their descriptions touted Bermuda as a place of restful gentility and repose, a subtropical destination to suit the refined tastes of the upper classes. Florida and California were also gaining popularity as tourism locales in the late nineteenth century, and Bermuda's faithful elite visitors were careful to define Bermuda as the escape of choice for those of discerning taste and high breeding. Reports of the island's prosperity and social harmony focused on the ubiquity of its charming, traditional limestone architecture, constructed and occupied by Bermudians of all social standing and races. As early as the nineteenth century, foreign visitors placed the island's architectural heritage atop its short but compelling list of attractions.³⁹

Bermudians quickly recognized the potential of the burgeoning tourism industry as a replacement economic strategy for the island's fast-waning reliance on agriculture. Nineteenth-century steamship technology had made Bermuda's eighteenth-century superiority in maritime shipping obsolete, forcing the island to diversify its economic strategy. Agricultural and aquacultural harvesting dominated Bermuda's economic pursuits in the nineteenth century; the island's major exports were onions, lilies, and whale oil. These products brought a markedly lower profit than the eighteenth-century

³⁸ The Quebec Steamship Company's 1873 advertising campaign included the distribution of over 45,000 illustrated pamphlets to members of these targeted professions. Duncan McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism* (London: Macmillan, 1999), 20.

³⁹ In 1890, New York Times reporter William Drysdale asserted that the ubiquity of limestone construction and whitewashing kept Bermuda from looking "dirty" like the Caribbean islands to the south. Drysdale, "Bermuda's Stone Houses: How the Soft Rock Is Out and Hardened"; McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*; Stephens, Donald E., "Holiday in Bermuda: A Photo Essay," 1889, Bermuda Archives.

maritime trade, and the tourism dollars of influential elite American families were a welcome harbinger of increased economic prosperity. To that end, the Bermuda Tourism Association formed in 1906 with the specific goal of marketing those elements of Bermudian culture that the island's elite nineteenth-century visitors found so appealing. That marketing angle cast Bermuda as the best of British gentility in a subtropical setting: one could enjoy bathing, boating, fishing, cycling, driving, picnics, tennis, golf, and flowers all year-round, without the annoyance of overbearing heat. The Tourism Association's early twentieth-century tourism strategy perpetuated nineteenth-century views of Bermuda as the "Isle of Rest." Advertisements in the 1907 *New York Commercial* continued to target the United States and United Kingdom's highest earners. Bermuda's characteristic white stepped roofs and pastel walls provided the picturesque background for photographs and sketches of genteel British activities that marketed the island to an international visitor audience.⁴⁰

From the beginning, Bermuda leveraged its historic architecture – and other aspects of Bermudian culture outsiders perceived as genteel and elite – as a means of attracting a particular kind of visitor to the island (see Figure 2.1). The right kind of visitor would be wealthy, genteel, and interested in the island's culture. Aggressive early marketing campaigns proved perhaps too successful, stimulating a tourism windfall between 1908 and 1912 that brought both the right and the wrong sort of visitor to the island's shores. During this period Bermuda hosted such illustrious guests as Mark Twain

⁴⁰ Jarvis, *In the Eye of All Trade: Bermuda, Bermudians, and the Maritime Atlantic World, 1680 - 1783*; McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*, 62; Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*. McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*, 62. The Tourism Association's first effort to advertise abroad appeared in a \$1,000 special edition of the *New York Commercial* in February 1907. To supplement the 1907 spread, the Tourism Association negotiated mailers to more than 40,000 people in the United States and the United Kingdom whose incomes exceeded \$10,000.

and Woodrow Wilson, both of whom famously advocated for the passage of a law banning automobiles from the island. But the windfall also brought visitors Wilson described as “reckless tourists who would care nothing for local opinion.”⁴¹ Bermuda’s reaction to this mixed success – attaining the right number of tourists, but not the right type – was to ensure that its future tourism identity traded on the island’s ambience. To keep the Twains, Wilsons, and others of their class as repeat visitors to the island, the Bermuda Tourism Association knew it would have to keep Bermuda from becoming another West Palm Beach, devoid of its own cultural character. Bermuda instead engineered an all-encompassing tourism strategy that preserved its own cultural identity while still serving the needs of its tourism industry. As Bermuda historian Duncan McDowall described, “the goal was a reciprocity in which Bermudians groomed their island paradise to satisfy outsiders’ expectations while outsiders played their part by comporting themselves according to the colony’s aesthetics.”⁴² The island’s built heritage was a central element of this aesthetic, continuing to provide the character of British gentility in a subtropical climate of ease and relaxation.⁴³

Bermuda continued to wield the preservation of its architectural character as a tourist attraction in the colorful magazine advertisements of the 1920s. As the Bermuda Tourism Association morphed into the Bermuda Trade Development Board, their contract with James Albert Wales of Wales Advertising Agency produced the vibrant pinks of Bermuda oleander, deep turquoise waterways, coral sand beaches, and crisp

⁴¹ McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*, 64. Local opinion joked that “the new tourist arrived with a dollar and a collar and in the course of the next week changed neither.”

⁴² McDowall, 66.

⁴³ McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*; Wilkinson, *Bermuda from Sail to Steam: The History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*; Walter Brownell Hayward, *Bermuda Past and Present, a Descriptive and Historical Account of the Somers Islands* (New York: Mead, 1910).

white stepped roofs that defined twentieth-century Bermuda advertising and successfully enticed members of the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant elite and middle-class. Situating the island's careful addition of golf, tennis, and idle sun worship to its list of tourism amenities within the milieu of its familiar natural and built environment helped Bermuda make the subtle transition from its marketed self-identity as the "Isle of Rest" to the "Mid-Ocean Playground." Color printing begun in the 1920s ensured that an Anglo-American tourism audiences did not miss the visual splendor of the island's whitewashed roofs against pastel backdrops.⁴⁴

Whereas Bermudian traditional architecture had provided a subliminal but powerful backdrop for genteel British activities in the color advertisements of the early 1920s, the island's early English heritage came to the forefront of its tourism strategy by the 1930s (see Figure 2.2). Established in 1928, the Somers Day Pageant was important not only because it established an annual cultural celebration created specifically for a tourist audience, but also because it precipitated the establishment of the Visitor's Service Bureau on Hamilton's Front Street. The Somers Day Pageant celebrated Bermuda's earliest English settlers, whose shipwreck aboard the *Sea Venture* brought them ashore as the island's first residents. Celebrations glorified this violent genesis, lauding events of Bermuda's early English history against the backdrop of St. George's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architecture. The pageant's success inspired the formation of the Visitor's Service Bureau, which facilitated visitor's experience of the island. Visitors were directed to simply enjoy Bermuda's scenic natural and built environments atop bicycles or aboard horse-drawn carriages. The Somers Day Pageant and the Visitor's Service Bureau brought more focused attention to the island's early English architectural

⁴⁴ McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*, 88 – 91.

heritage, its situation within the historic capital of St. George effectively associating colonial architecture with a triumphalist narrative of Bermuda history as overcoming all obstacles.⁴⁵

The earliest records of the Bermuda National Trust indicate the island's continued commitment to the preservation of its historic fabric as the colony's most important resource. In the Trust's first annual report to the British colonial government in 1939, president William Zuill cited an unnamed nineteenth-century visitor who suggested that Bermuda's lack of material tradition was a serious blemish on the otherwise charming island. The Trust's purpose, Zuill asserted, was to ensure that this false perception never again plagued Bermuda's reputation amongst both its own residents and its potential visitors in the century to come. But the Trust had been unable to achieve much to this end with only the first fifty British pounds allotted it by the Colonial Legislature for 1939: World War II had caused a considerable lag in the island's tourism economy, and it did not seem prudent to spend the Trust's paltry sum in an uncertain time. Protection of the island's historic resources could wait until a tourist audience able to refill the island's coffers could immediately appreciate it.⁴⁶

In the post-war era, the town of St. George laid the foundations for Bermuda's modern preservation system with the establishment of its Preservation Society. As the

⁴⁵ McDowall, 97; Hudson Strode, *The Story of Bermuda* (New York: Random House, 1932). The Somers Day Pageant celebrated the arrival of Captain George Somers and his crew to the island in 1609, which began English settlement. The narrative celebrates the crew's survival through the shipwreck of the *Sea Venture* on Bermuda's easternmost reefs as the result of a hurricane, and the subsequent establishment of the first settlement at St. George's. Bermudians are cast as resilient, resourceful, and triumphant in the face of insurmountable odds. This view continues to dominate local understandings of Bermudian history, as evidenced by the oral histories conducted in Charlotte Andrews, "Cultural Heritage Management and Alternative Publics: Bermudian Attitudes to Bermuda's Underwater Cultural Heritage" (Dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2005); Andrews, "Community Uses of Maritime Heritage in Bermuda: A Heritage Ethnography with Museum Implications."

⁴⁶ Zuill, William, *The Annual Report of the Bermuda National Trust* (Bermuda: The Bermuda National Trust, 1939), Bermuda National Trust documents, Bermuda Archives.

island's first settlement and colonial capital city, St. George possessed the highest concentration of historic buildings. Removal of the island capital to Hamilton in 1815 effectively halted urban development in St. George; economic stagnation proved a boon for local preservation, effectively freezing St. George in time. When the tourist-oriented Somers Day Pageant began in 1928, it found a natural and ready setting in the preserved town of St. George. Inspired by the tourism success of the previously established Somers Day Pageant to protect its historic built landscape, St. George established its own Preservation Society and associated protection orders to preserve its historic buildings in 1950. Section 5(1) established the Society's authority to create protection orders for St. George's historic buildings. Protection orders required the consent of the Preservation Society before demolition or alteration to an historic structure. The Act designated any building protected by such an order a "protected building," and declared that "character" "respects such qualities as historical or architectural interest, picturesqueness, charm or beauty."⁴⁷ Defining character thusly afforded the St. George's Preservation Society considerable latitude in designating architectural and historical importance within the town's built landscape. St. George's precedent-setting Town of St. George Act established a standardized vocabulary and structure for Bermuda's later national preservation framework (see Figure 2.3).⁴⁸

Continued efforts to attract the right kind of tourists highlighted the ever-precarious balance between tourism success and the preservation of Bermuda's culture and environment. English urban planner Thornley Dyer painted a grim portrait of the

⁴⁷ "Town of St. George (Protection of Buildings of Special Interest) Act 1950" (Bermuda Government, May 6, 1950).

⁴⁸ "Town of St. George Act 1950," 2, 4; McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*.

inherently volatile relationship between tourism and preservation in 1963, when he warned Bermudians that increased tourism necessarily meant increased danger to Bermuda's attractions, and to Bermudians' own "rightful share of land, views, beaches, and recreational opportunities."⁴⁹ Masses of North American tourists had begun to overwhelm the tiny island country in 1955, posing a dual threat to Bermuda's carefully manicured tourism landscape. Not only did cruise ship tourists exact considerable strain upon the island's small landmass and resident population, they also threatened the careful economy of Bermuda's tourism industry. "Live aboard" cruise ships brought more tourists ashore annually, but only for the day – most of the passengers' needs were met aboard the ship, discouraging them from spending money ashore. The average lower cost of cruise ship travel made it easier for "the wrong sort" of tourist to travel to Bermuda and take advantage of its amenities, but without infusing the necessary capital into local coffers. Despite its ability to maximize Bermuda's visitorship, the burgeoning cruise ship industry threatened to erode the island's carefully cultivated tourism strategy, and in turn the major incentive to preserve its cultural heritage.⁵⁰

Bermuda adopted several strategies to combat the erosion of its traditional tourism structure and to reemphasize its commitment to the preservation of its cultural heritage. One method was to enlist midcentury air travel providers to the cause. PanAm, BOAC, and Eastern airlines replaced the original steam lines as Bermuda's privileged gatekeepers, providing the island the elite visitors the tourism boards continued to crave. Because of the relatively high cost of air travel in the 1960s (relative to cruise ship travel), it was expected that affording airlines special privileges would serve as a

⁴⁹ Dyer, H. Thornley, *The Next Twenty Years: Report on the Development Plan for Bermuda* (Hamilton, Bermuda, May 1963).

⁵⁰ McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*, 189.

mechanism to vet the island's would-be visitors. In return for selective contracts, Bermuda expected PanAm, BOAC, and Eastern airlines to bring only wealthy, genteel tourists to the island, and to promote Bermuda's well-established aesthetic in their advertising. These airlines indeed delivered their end of the bargain, providing Bermuda with visitors who valued the island's "friendliness, restfulness, cleanliness, and natural beauty" over sport and excitement.⁵¹ Like the Taylors resident at *Queen of the East*, the strategy of this era effectively garnered repeat visitors to the island who valued such things as the preservation of Bermuda's architectural heritage (see Figures 2.4 and 2.5).

Bermuda developed additional legislation to protect its cultural resources to ensure that this highly desirable visitor base would find the restful charm it was promised. The Bermuda Government officially established the Bermuda National Trust as a charitable entity with the power to acquire and regulate property development in 1969. Echoing the statements the Trust made about itself in its original 1930s meeting minutes, Bermuda Government identified the Trust's national benefit in Section 3 of its Bermuda National Trust Act. In promoting "the preservation of buildings of public interest or architectural, historic, or artistic interest," the National Trust was acting "for the benefit of Bermuda."⁵² Passed in the wake of Bermuda's exploding tourism success of the 1960s, the Bermuda National Trust Act further legitimated the existing bond between the island's tourism industry and its cultural resources.

But this bond did not always ensure a harmonious relationship between tourism and preservation. Though the island's tourism industry focused on its cultural heritage, maintaining high visitor numbers required development that threatened the island's

⁵¹McDowall.

⁵² Bermuda Government, "Bermuda National Trust Act 1969," 1969, 2 – 3; Zuill, *The Story of Bermuda and Her People*.

historic landscape. Recognizing that the nonprofit efforts of the Bermuda National Trust could not protect Bermuda's cultural resources alone, Bermuda Government established the Advisory Architectural Panel and the Development Applications Board within the Department of Planning in 1974. The Bermuda Development and Planning Act of 1974 tasked these entities with advising the Minister of the Environment on responsible development, and established the process of listing historic buildings on a national registry. Through the Act of 1974, the Minister of the Environment gained the authority to "compile lists of buildings of special architectural or historical interest, or approve, with or without modifications, such lists compiled by other persons, and may amend any list so compiled or approved," known as the List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest⁵³ Aided in his mission by the Advisory Architectural Panel and the Development Applications Board, the Minister gained the ability to protect buildings deemed essential to the maintenance of Bermuda's architectural heritage. Preservation came within the realm of national regulation through the Act of 1974, providing Government planning power in an otherwise ad-hoc preservation structure. Preservation gained its own government muscle to counteract the side effects of tourism's.⁵⁴

Despite a government-recognized preservation structure, Bermuda's economic success through tourism proved difficult to control. International tourists – whose composition remained largely white and North American – included businessmen in search of overseas opportunities, and they saw potential in Bermuda. As international business outpaced tourism as Bermuda's major industry in the 1980s, the island's preservation ethic shifted in response to the changing locus of power. Opinions printed in

⁵³ Bermuda Government, "Bermuda Development and Planning Act 1974," 1974, 6 – 7.

⁵⁴ Bermuda Government, 1974.

Mid-Ocean News of the late 1980s expressed concern that the island's architectural future appeared to increasingly lean in favor of new development over preservation. New development intended to accommodate foreign business operations buried Bermuda's traditional allure for visitors under concrete and high-rise office buildings. Public opinion feared that the success of the international business sector came at the expense of Bermuda's traditional heritage tourism sector, and thus the loss of the island's characteristic built heritage:

Bermuda's appeal as a top tourist destination has always depended on the island's unique charm, which is rapidly being eroded by the pressure to meet the needs of international business. And the way things are going, Bermuda's allure for visitors is soon going to be buried under concrete and high-rise developments.⁵⁵

Queen of the East and its environs were of particular concern at this time, cast as uniquely Bermudian historic resources whose demolition would cost the island capital city its identity. Public opinion held that new development on East Broadway would transform eclectic Hamilton into another Miami Beach. The historic character of Bermuda's capital city would be replaced by the nondescript, bland modernist and functional business architecture that dominated so many other western cities.⁵⁶

Tourism has recently regained a marginal lead over international business as the island's major industry, forcing Bermuda to grapple again with its interest in preservation as a component of tourism. The Bermuda Environmental Sustainability Taskforce (hereafter, BEST) emphasizes the importance of historic resources to the island's tourism image, locating it at the nexus of a "whole systems' perspective and strategy" that promises Bermuda greater economic success in the future. In its 2012 Blueprint for Environmental Sustainability, BEST asserts that the island's abundance of cultural assets

⁵⁵ "Protecting Our Special Interests," *Mid-Ocean News*, June 13, 1986, sec. Opinion.

⁵⁶ *Mid-Ocean News*, June 13, 1986.

provided Bermuda a considerable advantage over other island destinations in competition for tourists and business partners. BEST advances Bermuda's historical artistic and cultural heritage attractions as the island's most important resource, arguing that Bermuda's best interest lay in safeguarding the island's "historic sites, cultural landscapes, buildings and heritage districts."⁵⁷

Preservation of its cultural heritage regained importance to the island's tourism industry as it attempted to reassert its historic high-end image. BEST's 2013 survey of perceptions about Bermuda as a tourism destination found that international visitors admired Bermuda's strong sense of culture, but found fault in the urban density and high expense. But BEST did not consider perceptions of Bermuda's high expense a necessary detriment of the island's tourism industry. Rather, the island's high cost of visiting and living reaffirmed its claim to gentility and equal status among the wealthiest (and presumably most desirable) cities in the world. BEST advised only that Bermudians ensure their visitors a trip worth their money, especially in comparison to cheaper destinations, namely the Caribbean islands. Citing local Bermudians, BEST also cautioned that the island was precariously close to redefining itself – or being redefined by others – as a low-end cruise ship destination. At stake was the island's unique identity among other tourism destinations.⁵⁸ In order to differentiate itself from the low-end, cruise ship destinations of the wider Caribbean, BEST suggested a renewed commitment

⁵⁷ Alaina Cubbon et al., *Blueprint for Environmental Sustainability* (Bermuda: Bermuda Environmental Sustainability Taskforce, 2012), 15; Bermuda Environmental and Sustainability Team, "We Can All Help to Preserve Bermuda's Rich Heritage," *Bermuda Sun*, November 28, 2012.

⁵⁸ Larry Burchall and Stuart Hayward, respectively, as quoted in Alaina Cubbon et al., *BEST Research: Sustainable Tourism Development* (Bermuda: Bermuda Environmental Sustainability Taskforce, 2013), 5 – 6.

to air travel. To ensure the preservation of the island's cultural identity, Bermuda tourism needed to return to earlier models.⁵⁹

Bermuda's most recent tourism slogan "So Much More" reasserts its historic niche as the respectable Caribbean island. Bermuda supposedly offers so much more opportunity to relax, so much more escape from the cares of everyday work, so much more respite from the woes of the outside world, but within the limits of propriety. The distinctive gleaming whitewashed roofs of Bermuda's limestone houses communicate the cleanliness of the island's culture, whose built heritage reflects the pristine image Bermuda wants to project to its international tourist audience. The neglect of the historically and architecturally significant *Queen of the East* in spite of Bermuda's demonstrated commitment to preservation suggests that something else threatens the building's survival. While BEST and others tout the redemptive potential of Bermuda's cultural heritage resources, deteriorating elements of the same suggest broader societal unease with facets of the island's past and present. *Queen of the East's* deterioration reveals deeper associations between architecture and problematical pasts, suggesting architecture is a powerful signifier of both cultural pride and societal shame on Bermuda.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Burchall et al, 6.

⁶⁰ Bermuda Environmental and Sustainability Team, "Culture Must Be a Key Element of Our Tourism Push," *Bermuda Sun*, January 9, 2013; Department of Communication and Information, "Minister Announces First Quarter Tourism Stats," *Bermuda Sun*, June 10, 2013; Larry Burchall, "We Must Re-Build Tourism and Boost Our Population," *Bermuda Sun*, March 6, 2013.

Figures



Figure 2.1: Fashionably attired women walking down Hamilton's Front Street in 1911. From Stephens, *Holiday in Bermuda: A Photo Essay*, 1889.



Figure 2.2: Advertisements in 1940s New York publications touted Bermuda as the land of pristine hotels and charming cottages, ideal environments for raising children. From Tourism Development Board files in Bermuda Archives.



Figure 2.3: Even Bermuda's advertisements for College Week of 1964 featured Bermuda's built heritage. Here, St. Peter's church (constructed 1610) in St. George provides the backdrop for collegiate fun in the Bermuda sun. From the Tourism Development Board files, Bermuda Archives.



Figure 2.4: Some advertising brochures featured only Bermuda's natural and built environments. This contest announcement featured Bermuda's architecture as motivation to win the 1964 round. From the Tourism Development Board files, Bermuda Archives.

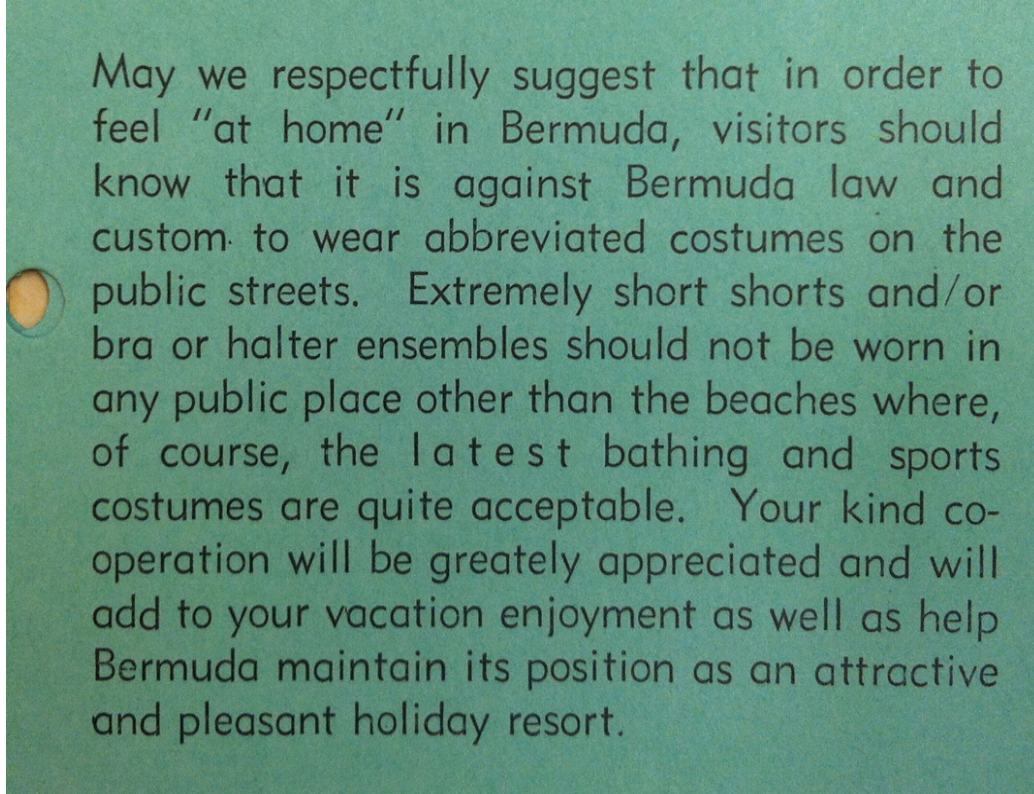


Figure 2.5: Efforts to maintain its characteristic charm as the moral and clean Caribbean island, Bermuda policed the behavior of its visitors. Tourists in violation of Bermuda's ideal 1960s dress code were presented with the legendary Green Card, like this one. Courtesy of the Bermuda Archives, *PULC/TDB/12*.

Chapter III: Public Memory and *Queen of the East's* Problematical Past

Though earning Listed status in 2002 ratified *Queen of the East's* architectural and historical significance, and despite Bermuda's demonstrated commitment to the preservation of its architectural heritage, *Queen of the East's* fate remains uncertain today. Neither ensured preservation through Bermuda's existing bureaucratic framework nor guaranteed destruction through new development, *Queen of the East* faces a more covert threat: demolition by neglect. Its precarious situation is the result of widespread association of the building with its problematical past, which is in direct conflict with Bermuda's historic tourism image. Recent discussion about *Queen of the East's* future has coincided with heightened fears of social degradation on the island. More than its deteriorating architectural fabric or ambiguous Listed status, *Queen of the East's* association with prostitution in recent public memory poses the greatest threat to its preservation. Widespread discomfort with the implications of preserving a legendary brothel has produced an attitude of apathy towards the deterioration of a building worthy of preservation by dint of its architectural and historical significance.⁶¹

Though *Queen of the East* has faced the possibility of demolition by more active means, apathy has proved the most serious threat. Attaining listed status for the building

⁶¹ Trimingham, "Comments of the Historic Buildings Advisory Committee"; Lister, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed"; Rowlinson, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed"; Simon Jones, "No Final Decision Yet, but Wrecking Ball Looms Large for Old Brothel," *Bermuda Sun*, May 3, 2013; Jones, "Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball."

in 2002 proved only a momentary and meager victory for the Bermuda National Trust, whose successful application was quickly met with an application by the owner to seriously alter the property. The Historic Buildings Advisory Committee, preservation watchdog of the Bermuda Government's Department of Planning, predictably denied the application to construct a driveway on the grounds that doing so would seriously damage the integrity of a listed property. The owner's return volley was an application to remove *Queen of the East* (#26 Crow Lane in Department of Planning parlance) from the List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest. Though not immediately successful, the seeds of dissidence sown in the 2002 application for removal produced a multi-year battle within the Department of Planning. The owner's primary objection to the listing of the building was the difficulty he faced in developing it for commercial gain. Listed status seriously hindered his plans to develop the property into a modern apartment complex. Decision makers then in the Department of Planning were sympathetic to this grievance, and removed *Queen of the East* from the List in 2006.⁶²

Being removed from the List did not ensure *Queen of the East's* immediate demolition, however. Instead the building remained vacant and untouched, public support for its preservation voiced periodically in local newspapers. Letters to the Department of Planning in protest against the building's demolitions cited the building's architectural and historic significance and its survival as the last extant historic structure in the capital city as reasons for its preservation.⁶³ Surveys commissioned by the Bermuda National

⁶² Lister, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed"; Rowlinson, "Notice That a Building Has Become Listed"; Martin Pettitt, "Application to Remove #26 Crow Lane from the List of Buildings of Special Architectural or Historic Interest," December 18, 2006, 9752/B6/MP/dc, PM 079; Bill DeGrace, "Queen of the East," May 25, 2007.

⁶³ Montgomery-Moore, "Letter from Judith C. Montgomery-Moore to Mr. Wayne Carey, Permanent Secretary to Bermuda Government Ministry of the Environment."

Trust made arguments for the building's preservation on the same grounds, adding the opinion of modern architects that *Queen of the East* was both structurally sound and adaptable, arguments that bolstered its 2011 application to list the building once more. *Queen of the East's* fate was uncertain not because of insurmountable deterioration or rigidity of form.⁶⁴

Although local preservationists had debunked the myth that *Queen of the East* was totally decrepit and unusable, and despite published voices of support for its preservation from interested members of the public, *Queen of the East* is not yet ensured preservation. Enthusiastic voices of support for the building's preservation have been limited to rhetoric only. Despite multiple campaigns, *Queen of the East's* champion Bermuda National Trust has been unable to either garner either financial support or find a sympathetic buyer for the property, either of which would ensure the building's preservation. Instead, resurging threats of modern moral degradation – namely, gaming and prostitution – have renewed the Bermudian public's longstanding association of *Queen of the East* with the societal ills it has historically worked to eradicate.⁶⁵

Bermudians' discomfort with *Queen of the East's* problematical past is symptomatic of the same underlying desires that produced the preservation ethic described in Chapter II. Bermudians' continued desire to cultivate and maintain a

⁶⁴ Chappell, *Queen of the East*; "Listing Application: Queen of the East, 26 Crow Lane, Pembroke."

⁶⁵ Bermuda's efforts to eradicate prostitution on the island began in the mid-twentieth century. Police records in the Bermuda Archives reveal at first lax and increasingly strict laws against prostitution and brothel keeping. See specifically Phyllis Rowley, "Letter to the Colonial Secretary, Bermuda," March 6, 1956, Records of Colonial Secretary, Bermuda Archives; RG Henderson, "Internal Correspondence between Bermuda Police Commissioner and Colonial Secretary," September 8, 1956, 2066, Bermuda Archives. Dorcas Roberts, "Next Round of Research," October 25, 2012; Dorcas Roberts, "Queen of the East," May 25, 2013; Jones, "Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball"; Mikaela Ian Pearman, "Man Denies Prostitution Procurement Charge," *Bermuda Sun*, May 9, 2013, Online edition, <http://bermudasun.bm/Content/NEWS/News/Article/Man-denies-prostitution-procurement-charge/24/270/66302>; Jones, "Prime Sites for Preservation: The Trust's Top Ten."

national image of societal morality and gentility – and to project this image to an international tourist audience – has placed *Queen of the East* outside of the socially acceptable narrative of Bermudian history since the early twentieth century. Local legend holds that the British military was responsible for the cessation of the building's entertainment services in the nineteen thirties.⁶⁶ Legend or none, *Queen of the East* sat vacant for the better part of the next decade, experiencing its first threat of demolition by neglect. It might have succumbed to this fate had the British ex-patriots Mr. and Mrs. Bayfield Clark not intervened in 1938. Theirs and the subsequent occupation by the American Dr. and Mrs. Norman H. Taylor temporarily exonerated *Queen of the East*, but the legend of the building's past lived on public memory. Periodic exposes continued to refer to the building's past, uneasily jesting about the distance between its former and current occupations (for an example of careful jest, see Figure 3.1). Public opinion recognized this undertaking as a valiant effort not only because it transformed a seemingly inadaptably layout, but also because it redeemed a building with a scarlet letter.⁶⁷

In keeping with the positive and celebratory tenor of Bermuda tourism advertising, Taylor's own description of his beloved *Queen of the East* appeared in a 1961 issue of the *Bermudian* magazine, whose primary objective was advertising Bermuda as a highly desirable place for vacation and retirement to wealthy Americans.⁶⁸ Dr. Taylor's literary efforts to expunge *Queen of the East's* shady past by couching it in

⁶⁶ Hill, "Queen of the East, Residence of Mr. and Mr. Bayfield," 19, 28.

⁶⁷ Hill, "Queen of the East, Residence of Mr. and Mr. Bayfield"; Taylor, "Haven at the 'Queen.'" For additional evaluation of Bermudians' relationship to and view of the island's history, see Andrews, "Cultural Heritage Management and Alternative Publics: Bermudian Attitudes to Bermuda's Underwater Cultural Heritage"; Andrews, "Community Uses of Maritime Heritage in Bermuda: A Heritage Ethnography with Museum Implications."

⁶⁸ Taylor, "Haven at the 'Queen.'"

terms of the Clarks' and Taylor's redemptive rehabilitations appeared at a time when Bermuda tourism was particularly keen to reassert its place as the "clean" Caribbean island. The island's preeminent post-war competitors in the tourism industry were Hawaii, Jamaica, the Bahamas, and Malta, while Cuba posed the most imminent threat. As it had done for decades, Bermuda set itself apart from these places as the respectable place to holiday; whereas Cuba offered "rum, roulette, rhumba, and romance," Bermuda offered rest and rejuvenation for the elite soul.⁶⁹ "Nice" Americans went to Bermuda; the wrong sort vacationed on its competitor islands. In Bermuda, island society *was* the tourism aesthetic, and *Queen of the East's* brothel past was strategically whitewashed with tales of her architectural and occupational rehabilitation. Notably, it was an English and an American couple that occupied *Queen of the East* in its post-brothel days; no Bermudian stepped forward to ensure its preservation.⁷⁰

Despite momentary redemption during the Clark and Taylor occupations, the problematic layer of *Queen of the East's* history has undermined efforts to preserve it in each period of heightened fear of prostitution and its attendant vices on the island. One demonstrative event occurred in 1986, when *Queen of the East's* endangerment in Hamilton coincided with the threat to St. George's *Unfinished Church*, one of the island's premier historic landmarks. One shrewd, preservation-minded reporter pulled the two battles together under the banner of saving all of Bermuda's heritage, remarking that "while they [the church and the brothel] sound like they have little in common, both are

⁶⁹ McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*, 180, 197; "About Bermuda," *The Bermudian*, October 1961; "Bermuda College Weeks '64 March 22 April 11" (Bermuda Trade Development Board, 1964), PULC/TDB/5 College Week Folder, Bermuda Archives; "Bermuda: Island of Possible Business Opportunities," *The Bermuda Recorder*, February 25, 1966, Vol. 42, no. 52 edition.

⁷⁰ McDowall, *Another World: Bermuda and the Rise of Modern Tourism*.

historic monuments from Bermuda's past and both deserve to be preserved."⁷¹ Despite the fact that the *Unfinished Church* was never finished or occupied by any congregation, and despite its serious deterioration and threat to public safety, subsequent public donations saved the crumbling and inadaptable *Unfinished Church*, while *Queen of the East* remained a neglected outcast. The Bermudian public rallied to save the ecclesiastical monument in a period when splashy newspaper exposes brought prostitution to the forefront of national consciousness.⁷² Bermudians acted quickly to preserve the edifice that bespoke their dedication to morality, which upheld the image of purity and decency they wanted to believe of themselves and to project to a tourism audience. They cast a blind and apathetic eye toward the architecturally and historically significant former brothel.⁷³

More recent resurgence in fears of prostitution and its associated vices on Bermuda have only abetted the apathy toward *Queen of the East's* preservation. *Queen of the East's* preservation reemerged as a fodder for public debate at the same time prostitution resurfaced as a serious social concern on the island. Whereas older iterations of the association made oblique reference to *Queen of the East* in discussions of prostitution by local women, more recent discussion added a xenophobic gloss to the anxiety. Islanders saw prostitution in the early twenty-first century as a vice resurrected

⁷¹ Hodgson, "Are We Wrecking Our Heritage? Two More Buildings Come under Threat as the Bulldozers Move a Little Closer..."

⁷² Deborah St. George Butterfield et al., *Held in Trust: Properties of The Bermuda National Trust* (Bermuda: The Bermuda National Trust, 1989); "Prostitute, 16, Earned over \$5,000 in Bermuda," *The Royal Gazette*, September 9, 1977; James Ziral, "The Hidden World of Prostitution," *Bermuda Sun*, February 15, 1985; "Prostitutes Claim They Used Hotel, Cottage Colony Facilities," *The Royal Gazette*, September 10, 1977; "Three Visitors Operated Houses of Prostitution," *The Bermuda Recorder*, August 25, 1977; "Act against Vice Girl, Says Pastor," *The Royal Gazette*, August 7, 1985; "Mr. Austin Thomas MP Says Prostitution Flourishing Here," *The Royal Gazette*, March 5, 1983; Ziral, "The Hidden World of Prostitution"; Rev. Arthur Durnan, "Letters to the Editor," *The Royal Gazette*, October 12, 1985.

⁷³ John Adams, "This Queen Rose from a Brothel," *The Royal Gazette*, August 9, 1986; John Adams, *East Broadway Report* (Hamilton, Bermuda: Bermuda National Trust, 1987).

by outsiders moving to the island, namely Filipino, Colombian, and Dominican women. News of *Queen of the East's* delisting and debates about its preservation took place within the context of heightened anxiety about the erosion of Bermudian society as outsiders resurrected a long-vanquished island vice.⁷⁴ Recent editorials and public comments reveal widespread fear that prostitution and its associated vices threaten Bermudian society and its carefully (and historically) cultivated international image. Some commenters frequently link the potential prostitution problem with the ongoing debate about legalizing gambling, while others rebut that the two are unrelated, and still others rebuke their naïve compatriots for implying that prostitution is not already occurring on Bermuda. Nearly all commenters decry prostitution as a serious blemish on Bermuda's otherwise pristine image. Their laments are myriad variations of the mantra that prostitution and gambling will "change the nature of Bermuda forever."⁷⁵ Passions are fervent for the preservation of Bermuda's traditional moral culture and reputation as the clean Caribbean island; anything not actively cultivating this image is met with apathy, if not outright hostility.

Segments of the Bermuda Government actively work to combat apathy toward the preservation of the island's historic and natural resources, asserting the power of preservation as a means of supporting the desirable kind of tourism. BEST underscored the connection between preservation and Bermuda's tourism identity. Though it insisted that Bermuda's protection of its built heritage would preserve a proud and marvelous

⁷⁴ Karen Smith, "Men Selling Sex for Drugs," *The Royal Gazette*, May 25, 2000; Alvin Williams, "Opinion: Bermuda and the Clash of Cultures," *Bernews*, May 27, 2010, sec. Opinion, <http://bernews.com/2010/05/opinion-bermuda-and-the-clash-of-cultures/>; "Visas: Reports of Prostitution & Sham Marriages," *Bernews*, March 30, 2010, sec. News, <http://bernews.com/2010/03/new-visas-reports-of-prostitution-sham-marriages/>; "Dominicans: Not Happy with Prostitution Remark," *Bernews*, April 3, 2010, sec. Opinion, <http://bernews.com/2010/04/dominicans-not-happy-with-prostitution-remarks/>.

⁷⁵ Editorial comments made on recent newspaper explorations are particularly telling here. For example, see Pearman, "Man Denies Prostitution Procurement Charge."

historical culture, BEST's Blueprint for Environmental Sustainability also made an implicit argument about unseemly elements of the island's past and the merits of selective protection. While some facets of Bermuda's heritage were worth preserving, others were not, BEST argued – Bermudians' careful attention to the difference will enable it to regain the prosperity of its tourism heyday. As BEST stated so adeptly in its 2012 report:

Bermuda's cultural heritage has facets worth preserving and some stereotypes worth not much more than purging. Knowing the difference between the two will free us from the shackles of the past[.]⁷⁶

As Bermuda looks to strengthen its tourism industry through the reassertion of its traditional tourism image, the island focuses its attention away from all elements not conducive to this goal. Preserving the historic *Queen of the East*, and by association shameful elements of the island's past, falls in this category.⁷⁷

Queen of the East faces an uncertain future in this climate of anxiety about the future of Bermudian society and economic viability. Neither physical deterioration nor delisting strong enough reasons for certain destruction, *Queen of the East* has instead been denied the promise of preservation because of its problematical past. The Bermuda National Trust's Director of Preservation summarized *Queen of the East's* situation most adroitly when she described Bermuda as a "prudish" and "pious" place where derelict structures with benign pasts could earn thousands of dollars of preservation support,

⁷⁶ Alaina Cubbon et al., *Blueprint for Environmental Sustainability* (Bermuda: Bermuda Environmental Sustainability Taskforce, 2012), 15.

⁷⁷ Burchall, "We Must Re-Build Tourism and Boost Our Population"; Cubbon et al., *BEST Research: Sustainable Tourism Development*; Department of Communication and Information, "Minister Announces First Quarter Tourism Stats"; Cubbon et al., *BEST Research: Sustainable Tourism Development*; Jones, "Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball"; Anonymous, "Don't Forget Sodom and Gomorrah," *The Royal Gazette*, May 12, 2013, Opinion edition, sec. Opinion, <http://www.royalgazette.com/article/20130530/COMMENT03/705309993>.

while adaptable and historically significant eighteenth-century homes with shady pasts would not receive a penny. Public memory of the building's legendary sins is at odds with Bermuda's renewed dedication to the island's international tourism image, leaving *Queen of the East* an unpopular monarch of cultural heritage.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Dorcas Roberts, "Next Round of Research"; Jones, "Prime Sites for Preservation: The Trust's Top Ten"; Jones, "No Final Decision Yet, but Wrecking Ball Looms Large for Old Brothel"; Jones, "Exclusive: Last Gasp Fight to Save Old Brothel; Rescue Bid Launched as Historic Queen of the East Building Faces Wrecking Ball."

Figures

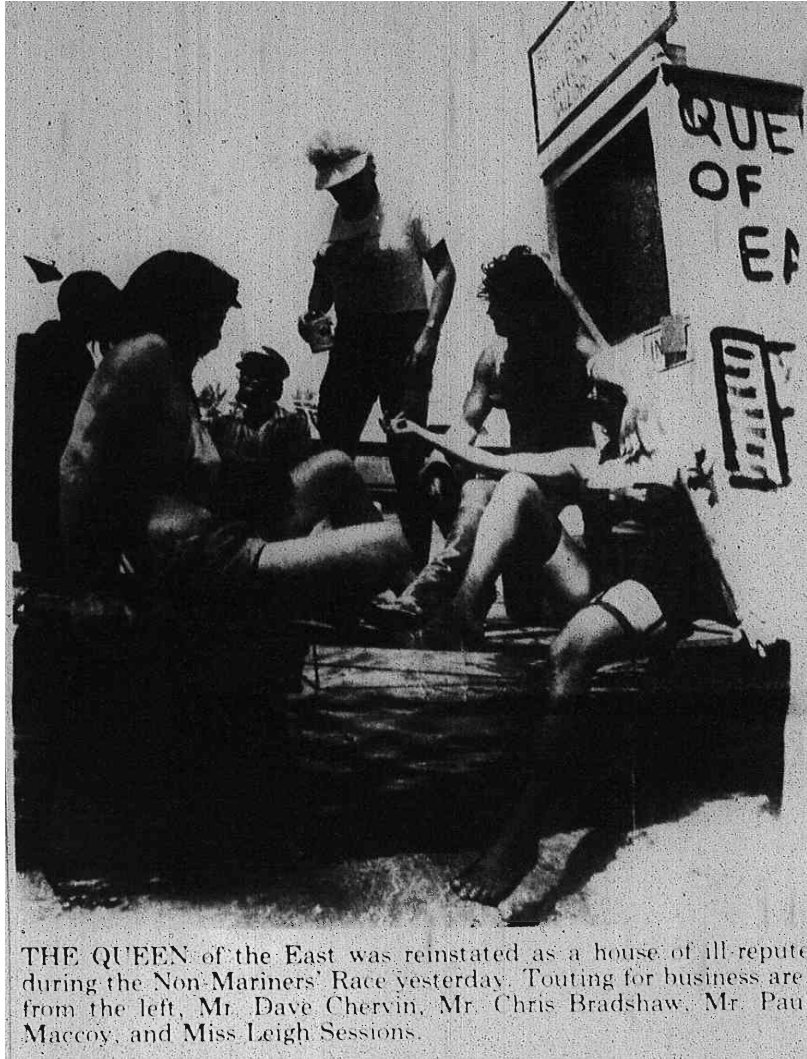


Figure 3.1: *Queen of the East's* sordid past became an uneasy public spectacle at the satirical Non-mariner's Race of 1986, which brought competitors racing in Hamilton Harbor right past the building. *The Royal Gazette*, August 1, 1986.

Conclusion

Queen of the East provides a significant case study in potential futures for preservation on Bermuda. *Queen of the East's* uncertain fate in spite of its recognized architectural and historical significance, and Bermuda's historic commitment to preservation as a tourism strategy, does not bode well for the survival of sites with problematical pasts. As the island redoubles its historic efforts to capitalize on heritage tourism as its major industry, Bermuda's commitment to preservation continues to rely on its utility to the cultivation of the island's historic identity as the "clean" Caribbean island. The apathy of the Bermudian people towards *Queen of the East's* demolition by neglect suggests that problematical pasts are enough to condemn an otherwise desirable and significant building.

Queen of the East's predicament portends additional challenges to the preservation of Bermudian sites with problematical sites in the future. The building's uncertain fate despite its established historical and architectural significance suggests Bermuda will continue to neglect sites with problematical pasts in favor of preserving sites that contribute to the island's sanctioned historical tourism image. *Queen of the East* provides an indicative case study in the continued challenges to sites with problematical pasts in places reliant on cultural heritage tourism. *Queen of the East* is a local study with global implications.

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