historic resource study

ST. JOHN ISLAND
"The Quiet Place"

VIRGIN ISLANDS

NATIONAL PARK / VIRGIN ISLANDS

VIRGIN ISLANDS NATIONAL PARK

St. John Island

("the quiet place")

with

Special Reference

to

ANNABERG ESTATE

CINNAMON BAY ESTATE

BY:

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Abstract

This study is formed around a more complete narrative of the historical story of St. John of the Virgin Islands of the United States (formerly the Danish West Indies) than was heretofore available. It seeks to point out and evaluate the various phases of the long story: (1) aboriginal (Indian) use of perhaps a millennium and a half, (2) presumed abandonment and neglect of at least a century (being too small and mountainous to attract settlement while there were better agricultural areas), (3) a useful haven for freebooters, pirates, privateers and even legitmate mariners and seamen (for much of the 17th century), (4) settlement and development into an example (though certainly no prime example) of a typical sugar island (a century and a half, until a little past the mid-19th century), (5) economic collapse and basically reversion to a subsistence way of life for the small number of people who elected to remain, and (6) futile efforts at diversification to find a new economic base with a half-century of hope in the manufacture of bay oil and bay rum.

Remains and sites have been identified and analysed with particular emphasis on Cinnamon Bay Estate (noted for its long Indian occupany, its lengthy continuity in the sugar business, and its part in the manufacture of bay oil), and Annaberg Estate (famed for its outstanding sugar factory, with windmill, ruins though its role in sugar production was neither as long nor as successful as some). Then there is the Par Force - Reef Bay area, with its standing Great House and Factory ruins, which long emphasized sugar production even to the mid-19th century installation of steam cane-grinding equipment which, though rusted, is still in place.

The report's illustrations are rather varied, embracing views of estates and ruins, equipment, contemporary prints, diagrams, and drawings. One is the manuscript survey of St. John done by P. L. Oxholm in 1780. This, in a Copenhagen museum, was the basis of his better-known published chart of 1800.

Foreword

The data for the historical story of St. John, it was soon noted by the author, was very fragmentary and scattered over a wide range of materials. It had never been assembled in any kind of usable narrative admitting of a consequent separate and individual analysis of its own. Putting the pieces of the story together was an original objective of this study especially since former Resources Study Proposal VI-H-2 called for data to support an updated historical base map for Virgin Islands National Park. It is believed that this is now possible with the data here.

Other specific needs, which had been defined, related to the Cinnamon Bay Estate area and ruins (Project No. 2-35-1748-02: old RSP No. VI-H-3) and Annaberg Estate (Project No. 2-35-1748-03). These, against the background of the entire report, have been discussed and evaluated here separately in the two parts of Chapter IX. There is some additional data as well, having to do with Par Force and Reef Bay estates (old RSP No. VI-H-1), essentially covered in a previous report by the author, and in several pertinent architectural reports by Frederick C. Gjessing. This can be found in Appendix E (Reef Bay District, Sites No. 4(1) and 4(2)). As the report details, St. John sites and remains in the Park area are varied and are sufficient to illustrate, and consequently interpret, many aspects of the island's history.

The author wishes to acknowledge the special assistance of Mrs. Elizabeth C. Smith, Reference Librarian, at the Earl G. Swem Library, College of William and Mary. Her usually successful and persistent pursuit, all over the country, for needed items brought invaluable aid. There is, too, the patient and understanding Mrs. Frances McLawhorn of the Colonial National Historical Park staff, who performed miracles in converting some very bad manuscript draft into very good typed draft. Thanks too, righfully go to Mrs. Judy Sprouse of the Office of Historic Preservation Project - East, who prepared the final manuscript for duplication.

January 25, 1972 Charles E. Hatch, Jr.

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CHAPTER I

The Island of St. John

St. John Island (formerly St. Jan to its Danish owners) is the smallest of the three principal islands in the American Virgin Islands group. Its area is just a bit above 19 square miles in extent, the island being some eight to nine miles long at its extermities on its east-west axis and four to five miles north to south. From St. John its sister island, St. Thomas, can be seen a mile and three-quarters west across Pillsbury Sound and British Tortola is visible to the north across Drake's Passage some three miles away, while St. Croix (technically not one of the Virgins as Columbus identified them, but normally so considered)[1] is barely visible 32 miles west of and south of the Anegada Passage.

St. John is an island of rough and rugged terrain dominated by mountain ridges and peaks that rise above 1200 feet in the west and central portions, dropping to 500-foot hills on its eastern peninsula. The heavily indented coastline features numerous bays at the foot of steep valleys. Each bay is normally divided from the next by prominent headlands against which are the ocean. The eastern end consists of a narrow hooklike projection that curls to form the north and east shores of Coral Bay, which it gives protection from the sea.

Though geographically and geologically a part of the Greater Antilles (being an integral part of the Puerto Rican platform and the Antillean Geanticline), historically and archeologically the Virgin Islands are considered a part of the Lesser Antilles. More specially they are considered in the northward grouping of these smaller islands known as the Leewards.[2] Below, south of, the Leeward Islands are the Windwards (stretching from Martinique to Grenada).

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1. See Appendix A "Columbus Discovers and Names the Virgin Islands" and also Illustrations 3 and 4 for maps of the area.

2. "On account of the small size of the islands, they are classed with the Leeward chain of the Caribbee Islands; although they form a geographical unit with Porto Rico, which is counted with the Greater Antilles. Porto Rico, Vieques and Culebra, St. Thomas and St. John, and the British Virgin Islands to Anegada, inclusive, all rise out

Like St. Thomas (with which it has been linked throughout much of recorded history), along St. John's coast are numerous smaller indentations normally noted as bays though many are scarely more than landing places. The presence of these bays, especially the protected ones, were initially attractive to the aboriginal people who settled here as well as to European privateers and smugglers who came later. Christian Mortfeldt, a Danish economist who visited the islands about 1765, listed and described 45 such bays in St. Thomas and another 31 in St. John.[3] Again like St. Thomas, with its harbor before Charlotte Amalie, St. John too had an excellent harbor potential in its Coral Bay though this potential was never realized. There were, too, secluded beaches very suitable for careening and overhauling sailing vessels, both those operating legally as well as those of freebooters, pirates, and their kind.

Clarence L. Johnson, writing in 1950 after a visit to St. John, was close to the mark when he wrote of the Island's historical story and its contribution:

> While the island has great charm and its story is fascinating to the newcomer (such as the writer who was enthralled with its picturesque beauty and immediately wanted to retire to its splendor) when viewed calmly from a detailed viewpoint the picture is not historically unique. Here nothing was first, nor the greatest as far as culture or enduring influence are concerned. A feudal aristocracy prospered as long as slave labor was available to prop it up. When the

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of the sea from a great shelf, denominated 'Virgin Bank,' extending through 3 1/3° of longitude, the rim rising sheer from depths of hundreds of thousands of fathoms to depths of only 15 or 20 fathoms. Between the Virgin Bank and St. Croix, only 40 miles to the south, is a trough with depths of 2 or 3 miles. Exposure to the Atlantic swell and the ramifications of the tidal waves generate extraordinary phenomena, rolling billows often lashing the shore in calm weather." [James William McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the United States (Special Publication No. 103, Serial No. 269, United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Department of Commerce, Washington, 1925), p. 19.]

3. Waldemar C. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule (1671-1754): with a Supplementary Chapter 1755-1917 (New York, 1917), pp. 3-4.

> slaves were freed it collapsed, never recovered and the island largely reverted to wilderness. It is a story that has often been repeated in the West Indies.[4]

This is not to say that the history here is insignificant. Rather it is a long story, varied, colorful, and meaningful. It is a record of difficult times with trying days and some successes. It was enacted by many people of many backgrounds. In its latter and best known stages it was a smaller part of the story of Denmark's effort and contribution in the Caribbean area as well as, more recently, that of the United States.

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4. "St. John and St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States," a National Park Service report (mimeographed and illustrated, dated July, 1950), p. 50.

CHAPTER II

St. John and Its Indian Occupation

The West Indian region including the Virgin Islands was settled in prehistoric times by peoples migrating out of South America. These migrations were of a people with a "Tropical Forest" tradition base who evidently became well-versed in marine techniques and demonstrated that they were able to move northward by island hopping with some assurance and some rapidity. "Thus by the time they contacted the island of St. John, they represented an experienced island culture."[1] Probably they reached St. John and the Virgins (where some established themselves for a considerable time with others moving on north and particularly west around the Antillian arc) from neighboring islands like St. Christopher, Saint Martin, Anguilla, Saba, and Sombrero, having followed strong, prevailing ocean currents and winds.

> It can be assumed that these early settlers were seeking lands suitable for the continuance of their semi-agricultural economy. Although the islands further to the south had doubtless provided them with some measure of desired environment, the fact that they continued to move northward through the Lesser Antilles into the Greater Antilles may indicate need for larger land areas or a continued need to escape a pressure from the south [as later the Caribs came to apply to the Arawaks.]
>
> In any event, the island of St. John was reached and utilized from about the first or second century A.D. to an undetermined date in pre-Columbian times.[2]

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1. This and much that follows immediately is in the main drawn from Frederick W. Sleight, Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Island of St. John United States Virgin Islands (The William L. Bryant Foundation, American Studies Report No. 3), December 1962, pp. 30 ff.

2. Ibid., pp. 30.

> This expansion may have been the result of a natural increase in population or it may have been caused in part, by the arrival of new people from the south--people who manfactured grit-tempered pottery of the Barrancoid series.
>
> The migration of sites from agricultural land to bays and the increase in size and number of sites, as shown by the study of pottery types, not only represents an increase in population but a definite shift in the economic orientation of people. Fish and shell fish proved to be a dependable food supply in the local invironment. By living on or at the beaches, people did not entirely give up agriculture as is well documented by the numerous griddle fragments found at these sites. They undoubtedly grew manioc in the low flat land found behind most of these settlements. One wonders, however, if the people of the Coral complex may not also have cultivated cotton or maize as well as manioc.[7]

Bullen significantly noted that "we found nothing in our survey or analysis suggesting any occupation by Caribs as opposed to Arawak Indians."[8] As for the Caribs, he apparently accepted the supposition that they had reached the Virgin Islands less than a century before the arrival of Columbus. Thus the Carib record is meager, but that of the Arawaks, longtime residents here, is more abundant.[9] It is said that St. Croix is the only island north of St. Kitts where the Caribs were known to reside in large numbers and in villages.[10] Consequently it is concluded that the noted

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7. Bullen includes illustrations of pottery and other artifact types and has a table (p. 71) of "Chronological Correlations" between St. Thomas and St. John, Eastern Puerto Rico, and Trinidad with a time span after the preceramic period of from 100 A.D. to 1500 A.D.

8. He makes no reference to the "potsherds of Carib occupancy" reported to have been found at Old Oven Hill near Leinster Bay. (Proposed Virgin Islands National Park," a National Park Service brochure issued in July 1955, p. 5.)

9. See Appendix B, "Arawaks and Caribs and Others (Especially Caribs)."

10. John P. Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas, W.I. . . . and Incidental Notices of St. Croix and St. John (New York, 1852 - a 1966 reprint), p. 18.

petroglyphs at the lower falls of "Living Gut"[11] a half-mile or so just up on the west side of Reef Bay valley[12] near the center of the island, and on barren Congo Cay to the northwest of the island proper, are some record of the Arawaks and not the Caribs.[13] As Irving Rouse has observed: "There are petroglyphs [here] in Carib

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11. James W. McGuire has described this topographic feature as: "Living Gut Small, sparkling brook, over a mile long, draining ravine east of **Rustenberg and Camelberg, forming cascade and pool** at southern foot of Doubloon Hill." (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 118, 145-46.)

12. Perhaps Knox's description, published in 1852, of these carvings at "Living Gut" is among the earliest. He offered these as evidence of Indian occupation and residence.

> In confirmation of these there is upon the island of St. John, at Kip's Bay, near a waterfall, within a few minutes walk from the beach, carvings of faces and other designs upon the surface of a rock. The carvings are faint, the faces the size of life and can only be well made out by throwing water upon the surface. The surface of this carved rock lies nearly horizontal, and close to the edge of the stream, which has been formed by its washing in times of heavy rains, a small picturesque ravine. The valley or flat, into which the ravine opens, must have formed, before it was cleared, and cultivated, a beautiful grove. (Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 17-18.)

But this open scene had changed again a century later. Clarence L. Johnson wrote in 1950 that: "I had the pleasure of walking up Living Gut towards Doubloon Hill . . . to the waterfall, over which there was only a small trickle, and seeing these petroglyphs. The walk is now more than just a "few minutes," as the fields and ravine are overgrown with brush. The carvings appeared just as Knox described them." ("St. John and St. Thomas", pp. 7-8).

13. James McGuire, in his description of the petroglyphs, mistakenly calls them "Carib inscriptions"; however, he, as others have, likely was following the earlier, tentative conclusion of De Booy. (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 118.)

territory, but they were probably made by the Arawak," who preceded them.[14] **Nevertheless the answers as to why they are here and what** they mean have, **to date, eluded all seekers.**

Theodor de Booy in writing of the Reef Bay valley rock carvings, or petroglyphs,[15] pointed out that there are actually three sets of them. "The most elaborate set is found just above the edge of the pool and the Indians seem to have designed the carvings so that their reflection would show clearly in the water."[16]

De Booy also wrote of Congo Cay[17] where the fishing was excellent:

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14. From the Handbook of South American Indians (p. 56) quoted in the Johnson 1950 report cited above, p. 7.

Jay Earl Thomson wrote in 1928 that: "Some think the inscriptions meant a place of worship or feasting; many believe they contain a story of their tribe; and others maintain these inscribed boulders mark the spot where the Indians assembled to decide on war." [Our Atlantic Possessions (Chicago, 1928), p. 161.]

15. See Illustration No. 9.

16. Theodor H. N. De Booy and John T. Faris, Virgin Islands; Our New Possessions, and the British Islands (Philadelphia, 1918), pp. 160-62.

De Booy spent the winter of 1916-1917 in the islands. He was conducting archeological work for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. He took many specimens from the "kitchen-middens" of the Virgin Islands. (Ibid., pp. 4-5.)

17. Ibid., pp. 152-53.

De Booy described the petroglyphs in detail with photographs in 1917 and made these observations:

> But little has been written on the petroglyphs found thoughout the West Indies. The writer cannot accept the fact that the presence of carvings of this character indicates an ancient site of worship. He does not mean to imply that the carvings themselves are utterly meaningless, as no Indian would spend the time that it undoubtedly must have taken to chisel the carvings out of the hard surface of the boulders upon which they had been engraved. He is of the opinion that the petro-

> The visitor is reminded here also of the aborigines of St. Thomas in pre-Columbian times, who must have come here for fishing, for in the rocks there are a number of small cavities perfectly rounded, in which the Indians evidently pounded the salt used to preserve the fish they caught. There is evidence that, while not engaged in fishing they were employed in carving a series of apparently meaningless figures upon a large, flat boulder ["Carved Rocke"] on the eastern extremity of the Cay. Carvings of this character are named pictographs, or petroglyphs.[18]

Seemingly there is no record of a native population living on St. John, or on St. Thomas, at the time of their settlement or even at the time of their discovery by Europeans. Nonetheless, at this period they are generally assumed to have been the territory of the fierce and warlike Caribs, earlier people who preceded them having moved, or been pushed, on.[19]

The situation was initially different on St. Croix (called Ay-Ay by the Caribs and then Santa Cruz by the Spanish).[20] Here Columbus

> glyphs naturally had some meaning but considers it best to leave the solution of this problem until a systematic compilation has been made of all rocks carvings found in the Antilles. And after this thorough compilation has been made, it is still very doubtful if the problem can be solved.

("Archaeological Notes on the Danish West Indies, the Petroglyphs of the Island of St. John and of Congo Cay," Scientific American Supplement 84, no. 2189 (1917) 376-77.)

18. A later observer, Jay Earle Thomson, wrote of the "many quaint inscriptions found on time-worn rocks." He told of "the various signs, pictures, and characters written on the rocks" making special reference to Congo Cay. Though these boulders were essentially bare of animal and vegetable life it had been the scene of much fishing activity. (Our Atlantic Possessions, p. 161.)

19. See Appendix A ("Columbus Discovers and Names the Virgin Islands").

20. S. E. Morison and Mauricio Obregón, The Caribbean As Columbus Saw it (Boston, c. 1964), pp. 136-38.

found a settled village built near the Salt River, which empties into Sugar Bay. Here, except in drought times, the stream provided the residents with fresh water. All along the north shore of St. Croix there were evidences of cultivation, hence occupation. The eagerly watching seamen of Columbus saw it as "an elongated garden." The shore party was unsuccessful in establishing communication with the Caribs here, taking only a few of their captive slaves (Arawaks they were). On return to their boat, however, when the Spaniards sought to cut off six Caribs in a dugout, they precipitated a stout fight. Though outnumbered and with inferior weapons, these natives greatly impressed the Spaniards with their courage, spirit, and tenacity. And they would remember this. But the Caribs would abandon St. Croix. By the time of the settlement of the island a century-and-a-half later the Caribs and most of the ready evidences of their occupation would be gone.

The Virgin Islands group lay northeastward from St. Croix and were reported to Columbus as apparently uninhabited, though evidently he did not seek to prove the truth of this. Perhaps John P. Knox was not far from the mark when he wrote more than a century ago in regard to the Columbus passage:

> . . . but the Indians upon them might easily have withdrawn out of sight into the mountains and ravines, as the caravel passed. Their nearness to St. Croix, and the facility with which the Caribs could pass from them on their predatory excursions against the Arrowauks [sic] on Porto Rico, together with their abundance of fish, lead to the belief that, if they were not permanently inhabited, they were frequently resorted to as places of temporary residence for various purposes.[21]

Whatever the nature and duration of the occupation of St. John and St. Thomas, even St. Croix, by native inhabitants, it was terminated much before their settlement by European people. When the Earl of Cumberland, en route to attack Puerto Rico in 1596, passed this way he described the Virgin Islands as "a knot of little islands wholly uninhabited sandy, barren, and craggy."[22] The accounts of Du Tertre and others, telling of the settlement of St. Croix early in the 17th century, omit all reference to native inhabitants and

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21. An Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 16-17.

22. Bryan Edwards, Survey of His Majesty's Dominions in the West Indies (London, 1794), II, 458.

their works, perhaps indicating there were none, or if any, few.[23] Only scattered 17th-century references indicate that a few natives may have been on St. Thomas then, possibly returnees for fishing or other purposes. One of the provisions of the charter of the Danish West India Company in 1671 did look toward the conversion of the Carib Indians. This was "easy, as there were only two or three left. They had probably come from other islands."[24]

Knox speculates that when the Caribs saw the treatment that the Arawaks received on Puerto Rico at the hands of the Spaniards, posing a threat of captivity or extermination, they withdrew southward to the main body of their people in the Windward Islands. A German historian, Oldendorp, (who was closer in time to the event), wrote that they were driven out of the Virgin Islands by Charles V about 1550, he having ordered them to be treated as enemies and exterminated.[25]

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23. The Carib life and culture was a simple one based in large part on fish and the sea. They wrought small change in their environment. Their cultivated patches were small and often temporary and their homes (palm-thatched huts) were of short life. Their shell piles were distinctive of them, but their seaworthy canoes left small mark. Much the same could be said of their predecessors, the Arawaks. (Earl P. Shaw, "The Virgin Islands of the United States" in The American Empire: A Study of Outlying Territories of the United States, edited by William Haas (Chicago, c. 1940), pp. 94-97.)

24. Jens Larson, Virgin Islands Story (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 13.

25. Knox, An Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, p. 18.

Earl B. Shaw has written: "Whether the Virgin Island Carbis were enslaved [for work in Spanish enterprises], killed in attempted capture, or driven out by the Spaniards is a matter of conjecture, but it is probably that one or more of these methods accounted for early depopulation of the islands." ("The Virgin Islands, pp. 94-97.)

CHAPTER III

Settlements on St. John That Failed

The Virgin Islands featured only secondarily in the colonial power struggle that came in the West Indies as the Spanish hold was challenged seriously by the English, Dutch, and French at the opening of the 17th century. They were less attractive and less hospitable for settlement than the larger islands, especially where there were areas more suitable for agriculture when colonization became a principal objective. As more desirable islands and lands were occupied they did, however, become the subject of claim and counterclaim. Perhaps the evaluation given by Louis de Poincy in his account penned prior to 1666 suggests a little of this:[1]

> The Virgins, greater and less, comprehend several islands marked in the Map by that name. There are in all twelve or thirteen of them. They reach Eastward from St. John de Porto-Rico, at the altitude of 18 degrees, North of the Line. Between these Islands there are very good Anchoring places for several Fleets. The Spanish visit them often, in order to Fishing, which is there plentiful. There are also in them an infinite number of rare both Land and Seafowl. They afford so little good ground, that after tryal made thereof in several places, it was concluded, that they deserved not Inhabitants.

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1. The History of the Caribby-Island: In Two Books: The First Containing the Natural: the Second, the Moral History of Those Islands, "Rendered into English by John Davies" (London, 1666), Book I, pp. 27-28.

De Poincy, though categorically dismissing the Virgins, saw many advantages on "the Island of Sante Croix, or Holy Cross." These he detailed along with the mid-century confrontations here between English, Dutch, Spanish, and French. It in the end became a French possession--a situation in which De Poincy had a lead role. (Book I, pp. 27-28; Book II, pp. 174-76.)

The island of St. John seemingly by one account entered the recorded history picture in this period, in 1647. M. de Poincy, then at nearby St Christopher, where the French were established, felt a need to remove a number of eminent people at St. Christopher who favored the Governor-General rather than De Poincy. Notdaring to send them to France and not believing it wise to drive them out as he had done with some of the less influential, he made arrangements to sent them to the Virgin Islands under the pretext of founding a new colony. He selected 60 of the most difficult, some in prominent positions in the settlement. It was not intended that they survive.

The apparent plan was to drop them on an unoccupied, deserted, island. Soon after they had sailed (almost as they were departing) in September 1647, the property of the emigrants was confiscated. Fortunately Capt. Jean Pinart of the group had cruised the islands and knew of one recently taken by the English where various edibles, including quantities of sweet potatoes, could be found. According to Nellis M. Crouse, "Father du Tertre does not tell us which island it was, but from the hints he gives it was probably St. John."[2]

On landing, hammocks were stretched and there was rest despite the attack by hungry mosquitoes. The next morning some went out to reconnoiter but only to find a row of corpses on the sand, the remains of a band of English that had come to settle. This ~~but~~ suggested that the same fate might be theirs, ~~as truly it might~~. Puerto Rico was not far away and the Spanish did not intend to allow undesirables, or foreign exiles, to settle in the neighborhood. They knew of De Poincy's policy. Soon five armed vessels were sent to eliminate the embryonic settlement. Attack followed and on the first try the French, sailors and colonists, drove the Spaniards to the harbor's edge. But in the second charge the French broke and fled to the mountains where they remained until the Spanish departed for Puerto Rico.

For three, or four, months the refugees eked out a poor existence on what little the island afforded. The Spaniards had seized their supplies and had wrecked Pinart's ship. Conditions grew worse and five of the heartier resolved to brave the sea in a 14-foot handmade raft fashioned from logs with help of a single axe that someone found. The logs, bound with vines and moved by a sail made from a couple of shirts held together with thorns, did not make a very seaworthy craft. The hope was to reach a settled island and look for assistance. It is doubtful, after a meal of sorts, who were the most deplorable: those who remained, or the five who "set sail." The sequel of this is interesting as it is a reflection of the times.

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2. French Pioneers in the West Indies, 1624-1664 (New York, 1940), p. 131. **Some reject St. John arguing that travel directions and times do not fit.**

Toward evening the raft reached a little island near Virgin Gorda. Here the first sight was that of a grave of a former inhabitant of St. Christopher who had been driven out some time before. There was a dinner of crabs boiled in a kettle and the next day it was to sea again. The next stop was "the fertile island of St. Thomas where they remained five days refreshing themselves with the generous supply of bananas, oranges, and figs that grew here in great abundance. From St. Thomas they proceeded to the southern shore of Puerto Rico."[3]

Despite herds of wild cattle which they saw inland a little way, they remained fearful of the Spaniards and tarried only long enough to rest, repair their raft, and put to sea again. Three days later they came to a small island, where wild fowl nested in quantity. They also found a few huts and, hopeful that the inhabitants would return, settled down. Here they waited three months hoping for someone who could assist them. Unexpected aid came from the sea eventually.

They finally hailed a vessel which was passing close enough to see their frantic signals. It was a Spanish fishing boat and its captain, when he saw the wretched castaways, had compassion and gave them clothing, bread and wine. He did more. Two weeks later, with his fishing done, he returned and picked them up, lashing their raft to his bowsprit as a trophy for the governor in Puerto Rico. En route to San Juan the pilot, with his glass, spotted another raft and detoured to investigate. "On reaching it the Frenchmen saw with amazement a raft similar to their own to which clung six men, all that remained of the castaways they had left months before on St. John. . . ." The Captain answered these pleas, too, with food and clothing and all were carried into San Juan.

The story had a pleasant ending. The hardships they endured and their miraculous rescue made them objects of charitable interest. There was work for all who knew a trade. "When at last they had accumulated sufficient funds to leave the island, they took passage on a ship (all but one who had married and settled down) and sailed back to France."[4]

A 20-year interval passed in which the Danes developed a dream for their "place in the sun." The authorities were prodded by the increasing interest and activity of their sea captains and merchants as well as by the successes of other western European nations. They

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3. Ibid., p. 183.

4. Ibid., p. 185.

fixed on then-unoccupied St. Thomas as a place for their initial settlement. A group went out and on March 30, 1666, landed and took formal possession of the island. This settlement would fail but only after a desperate 19-months effort. But success would come within a few years.

The King in 1671 chartered the Danish West Indian Company and in the next year, on May 25, a second colonizing force arrived at St. Thomas. Landing the next day, they raised their flag and soon were about the business of building a fort. Though their hold was precarious the colony grew roots and within a decade it seemed relatively fixed, having weathered hardships, privations, and harassment from its neighbors. St. Thomas was a small and mountainous island with very limited resources except an excellent harbor which would prove its real salvation in the end. Consequently the Danish leaders, hoping for wealth from cotton, tobacco, and especially sugar plantations and estates as well as commerce, had eyes for other land to till. One such spot was the already-claimed St. John.[5]

Seemingly in the early 1680s there continued to be a good deal of traffic, most of it lawless traffic, around St. John as when Englishman George Stanley in August 1663 was here in his sloop **Africa**.[6] This followed his call at St. Thomas in company with the HMS Francis to investigate the matter of a New England sloop captured by pirates being seized and interned in turn by Danish Governor Esmit. As Stanley reported it in deposition summary:

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5. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 31-44; Frederick C. Gjessing, "Survey Report on Christian's Fort: Virgin Island National Park, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands," a typewritten National Park Service report (Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation) dated October 1969; Albert G. Keller, "Notes on the Danish West Indies" in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 22 no. 1 (July 1903): 99-110.

The company had charged them to take and occupy the island of St. Thomas "and also such other islands thereabouts or near the mainland of America as might be uninhabited and suitable for plantations, or if inhabited, then by such who have no knowledge concerning us [meaning Indians]." (Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 32-33.)

6. [British] Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, American and West Indies, 1681-1685 Preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office edited by J. W. Fortescue (London 1898), p. 682.

> Parted company with the Francis and sailed to St. John's, where fell in with a Spanish ship under Manuel Rodrigo, who pursued and captured deponent's ship, and shutting him and all his men into the hold till they were nearly stifled, brought them to Porto Rico. Here they were put ashore, imprisoned, and forced to work like slaves for six pence a day. Several more English were at Porto Rico.

On November 30 of the same year British Governor William Stapleton wrote home to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, from his headquarters on the island of Nevis, that the Spanish had taken a sloop and a boat. "They were taken in the precincts of the Government betwixt Tortola and St. John both of the Virgin Islands mentioned in my commission, and inhabited by a small number of English."[7]

In June of the next year, 1684, Stapleton again wrote the home authorities and there was reference to his "King's orders to assert his sovereignty" in the Virgin Islands. There was a deposition reference as well to a sloop's orders "to proceed to St. Thomas and call at St. John's on his way for news. On arrival at St. John's he anchored by Captain Hill's ship, who seized the sloop and took possession."[8] There was objection, too, on the other side. On July 7, 1684, the Danish Company governor, writing from "Christian-fort" at St. Thomas, denounced Stapleton's action and claims: "He has caused a barque to be taken under our Island of St. John on her return from Barbadoes, and has given orders to treat all Danes outside St. Thomas as enemies."[9]

Despite this activity and the proximity of St. John to St. Thomas, lasting settlement did not come about until the second decade of the 18th century. There was, however, earlier effort. The island was claimed by the Danes even before 1683 when Governor Adolph Esmit sent a group from St. Thomas to establish an occupation beachhead. But this effort, a third try, did not last long as the English, like on the other occasions, rooted them out. Esmit reported that he had sought through two merchants from Barbadoes to set up "works" on St. John and there was a start when they sent over 40 men for the project.

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7. Ibid., pp. 555-56.

8. Ibid., pp. 648-49.

9. Ibid., p. 727.

In the summer of 1683 the English sent an armed naval force into St. Thomas harbor (likely that alluded to above), the result of a hassle with the authority there over ship seizures and pirate activity. They regained satisfaction in burning the ship they sought and despoiling the livestock on several islets in the harbor. The English captain, also, went on to break up the "castle" that Esmit had built on St. John and root out the settlers there.[10]

None of this sufficiently intimidated the Danish authorities to forego their claims to St. John. It was on November 22, 1683, that Esmit wrote[11] to the governor of nearby Tortola where there had been some settled English since 1666:

> Therefore this is to let you know the King [of Denmark] has given me as great a command over St. John as over St. Thomas, they being both named in particular in my commission with the Island adjacent. Therefore I intimate this much to you that you may not intrude upon my government, for you may be [sure] I will defend my King's right as much as in me lies.

Then he ended his letter on a friendly note. "If I can serve you or any of our neighbours in the capacity that I am now in, you may be sure of the hearty friendship of your affectioniate friend and neighbour."

Despite this pronouncement, however, there was little additional activity for some time. Rights continued a matter of verbal, or written claim, as when in November 1694 the then-governor at St. Thomas, John Lorentz, asserted the company's rights to St. John as well as to Passage and Crab Islands westward of St. Thomas near Puerto Rico. Evidently Esmit had not followed up on his instructions in 1688 to place four to six men on St. John and to encourage them to begin planting.[12]

As attention would turn, in 1717, to St. John Island, so it would to "Crab island, or Bouriquen." This hilly island had good soil in the plains and valleys, good water, excellent and numerous bays, but no harbor. The Spanish years before had settled here

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10. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 55, 107, 127-28.

11. British Calendar of State Papers, 1681-1685, p. 551.

12. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 127-28; De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, pp. 123-27.

and then departed. The English had, late in the 17th century, opened some plantations but the Spanish uprooted them. "This accident did not deter the Danes from making some attempt to settle there in 1717." Success was short, however, as the English reasserted "their ancient rights" and sent planters in that forced out the Danes. In turn the Spanish dispossessed the English.[13]

13. This is as related in Abbé W. T. Raynal, A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlement and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies, translated from the French by J. Justamond (London, 1777-3rd edition), 4: 86.

CHAPTER IV

St. John Is Successfully Colonized

The Danish settlement on St. Thomas held on. In its first decade it was too busy keeping alive to become a serious competitor to any of its Dutch, English, Spanish, or French neighbors either in commerce or in agricultural production. The governor of the English Leeward islands denied their right to any of the Virgins but his home authorities failed to support him. The Spanish governor at Puerto Rico saw St. Thomas as property of Spain but did not follow up. Only the French nearby failed to protest with particular vigor and the Dutch now were not a threat. In this decade there was some progress toward stability and some spread over the land. By 1680 some 50 plantations had been surveyed on St. Thomas and all but four were occupied.

The second decade, the 1680s, was one of turmoil, poor administration, and a variety of crises. There was little financial reward and too few people, especially laborers. Indentured servants, criminals, "fallen women," and native Indians were not the answer. The answer now being partially explored was in Negro slaves brought from African stations, or secured from other islands. Unfortunately in these years St. Thomas received the reputation as a resort for pirates, a situation not to the liking of the Spanish and the English. A variety of peoples and types began to drift in, some to stay and some to move on.[1]

In the quarter-century from 1691 to 1715 the number of plantations, or estates, on St. Thomas grew from 101 to 160 as it approached its maximum in cultivation. At the same time the white population rose from 389 to 547 while that of Negroes went from 555 to 3042. This corresponded to a shift in crop emphasis away from cotton to

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1. "To show the polygot nature of the population [in 1688], it may be mentioned that of the white families, nineteen were Danish, sixty-three Dutch, thirty English, seventeen French, three Swedish, two German and one Portuguese. This mixed character of the population was maintained into the nineteenth century and was plainly evident to an observer in the forties." (Keller, Notes on the Danish West Indies, p. 102.)

sugar. In 1691 only five of the 101 estates were devoted to sugar while 87 emphasized cotton and at least one indigo.[2] Besides, nine out of ten of them at least raised some provisions (cassava, millet, maize, and such). Already tobacco had been largely superseded. After 1700 it is said most plantations had sugar works, though statistics do not support this.[3]

But the future for St. Thomas was already determined, it would seem. It would be trade and commerce. This picture is painted by Jean Baptiste Labat, who visited the area in 1701 and later, in 1724, published his observations:[4]

> Denmark being almost neutral in the wars of Europe, the port of St. Thomas is open to all nations. During peace it serves as an entrepôt for the commerce which the French, English, Spaniards and Dutch do not dare to do openly on their own islands; and, in time of war, it is the refuge of merchant ships, when pursued by privateers. On the other hand, the privateers send their prizes here to be sold when they are not disposed to send them to a greater distance. Many small vessels also proceed from St. Thomas to the coast of South America, whence they bring back much riches in specie or in bars and valuable merchandise. In a word, St. Thomas is a market of consequence.[5]

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2. For some early description of sugar production processes see Appendix C - "Sugar Cane and Sugar Manufacture (and some other products as Ginger, Indigo, and Cotton)."

3. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 123-27.

In 1691 some 80% of the plantations emphasized cotton, in 1715 about 44%, and in 1733 it was 50%. For sugar it was 5% (1691), 35% (1720), and 24% (1733).

4. Nouveau Voyage Aux Isles De l'Amerique Contenant L'Historie Naturelle de ces Pays, l'Origine, les Moeurs, La Religion & le Government des Habitans Anciens & Modernes (A La Haye, 1724).

5. As given in translation and summary in Charles Edwin Taylor, Leaflets from the Danish West Indies Descriptive of the Social, Political and Commercial Condition of These Islands (London 1888), pages 9-10, from Labat, Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique, 2: 285.

Though the wealth here was in trade and fortunes were being built, there was still the hope for more wealth from the land, especially the new dream of riches from sugar. The limited resources of small St. Thomas had been all but tapped and the island was fully in use. It was natural to look to expand elsewhere. Consequently it was not accidental that the Danish envoy to London penned a memorandum in May 1717:[6]

> The Danish West India Company has long been in possession of not only the Island of St. Thomas, but also the neighbouring little uninhabited islands, amongst which are the island of Crabs (Krabben Island) and St. John. These Islands were granted to the Company by a decree of the King of Denmark, and it has always opposed their occupation by other nations. It now hopes to settle them, or at least St. John, but the threats of the English in those parts, not to leave anyone in peaceable possession of that Island, prevent those who wish to go, from settling there. Prays that direction may be given to the English Governors not to annoy the Company in this matter conformably to the order given in 1672 to Col. Stapleton.

Even as this was written the settlement of St. John had actually begun. In November 1716 Governor Erik Bredal had reported that a number of St. Thomas inhabitants were inclined to settle on St. John. They were, however, fearful of the English, who were unwilling to let any people go there and cut down the timber. But in March 1717, the governor had readied a vessel with guns, ammunition, and provisions to take him (with 20 planters, 16 Negros, 5 soldiers, and his lieutenant) to Coral Bay. On May 8 he would report:

> I have planted there the flag of our most gracious King, and fired a salute, and then we feasted, and drank the health, first of our sovereign, and then of the Company. Later, I selected a place on which to build a fort, a convenient location which commands the inlet to the harbor as well as the harbor itself, and a level space beneath it on which a village can stand. The harbor is quite secure, and when a person is within it . . . he sees land all

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6. British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1681-85, p. 299.

about him. I have permitted the planters to indicate which pieces of land they preferred, and have selected a place for the Company's plantation just a cannon-shot distance from the fort (which is to be built there). Later the planters have returned because of their fear of the English and are simple waiting cautiously to see what the latter will attempt. . . .[7]

In the meanwhile **Bredal gave attention to having the ground** cleared for gardens, sugar fields, and the fort and a road was opened through the brush for hauling up nine four-pounders to guard the fort. The preparatory work was under the direction of Axel Dahl, a Danish officer, five soldiers, and sixteen Negroes. Seeing the obviously serious intent of the project, the governor of the English Leeward Islands now lodged formal complaint. He dispatched a ship to St. Thomas to forbid the settlement of St. John and hinted that the Danes had no right there. **Bredal refused to acknowledge the** violation of any English rights and let it be known that they were simply following instructions which had been given him. Despite local threats, the English did nothing.

Work at the infant settlement went on. The location of water on St. John obviated the need to transport it from St. Thomas. It also made it possible to proceed with work on the fort as fresh water was needed for the lime and the cistern. Corn and sweet potatoes were planted in the cleared area to provide provisions for the Negroes. An ordinance issued from St. Thomas, on March 24, 1718, sought to insure proper control and encouragement for the planters. Within three months every plantation taken up was to have one white man in residence. There was to be an exemption from taxes for eight years; sugar mills must be erected within five years; planters could take as much lime and wood as they needed. Now came success and growth, as much as the limited resources of the island would permit. By 1720-1721 some 39 planters had received deeds for plantations (estates) on St. John. The fort, when completed in 1723, was named Frederiksvaern.[8] It measured 100 feet by 100 in outside measurements, had a number of cannon, **and a garrison of 12 men.**[9]

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7. **From a Report from Bredal to the Company Directors given on** May 8, 1718 as quoted in Westergaard The Danish West Indies, p. 128.

8. See Illustrations No. 8 and Nos. 10-13.

9. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 129-30; Larsen, **Virgin Islands Story**, pp. 32-33.

St. John was a small, mountainous island but fertile. St. Thomas had already been under cultivation for some half-century. Consequently a number of St. Thomas planters sought the "new land" and secured plantations on St. John, placing their operation there in the hands of managers, or overseers. The initial planters came from St. Thomas. Of these nine were Danes, five were French Huguenots (refugees, or refugee stock), and the remainder mostly Dutch.[10] Some had fallen in debt on St. Thomas, some sought to get better plantation land, and all expected to improve their lot. Plantations generally were about 50 percent larger than on St. Thomas with an average width of some 1,556 feet.

As the settelement of St. John became established and the island was "annexed to Denmark" through the company it was joined with St. Thomas for administrative purposes. Government was extended from that direction. The two were also united in the official Lutheran Church organization. Henceforth the St. Thomas parish became known as the parish of St. Thomas and St. John. However, in the early years there was no pastor in residence on St. John. Consequently there was no large or even small active program. There were only quarterly or monthly ministerial visits in this period.[11]

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10. As Clarence Johnson, obviously using some license with names, summarized in 1950: "The Danish West India and Guinea Company took the biggest and choicest hunk (Coral Bay) of the island for its plantation. The second-best lands were taken up by the more well-to-do planters of St. Thomas. These were mostly Dutchmen, such as the van Stells, Stallants, Gottschalcks, de Coonings, Creutzens, Beverhouts, Uytendahls, Barents, etc., a few Danes, such as the Marches (present-day Marsh family), Parrots (present-day Parrot family of St. Thomas), Frolings, etc.; a few Frenchmen, such as Bordeaux (Bordeaux Mountain) and Pannet; and Englishman (John Charles) or two; an Irishman (Tim Turner - Turner's Point and Turner's Bay); etc. Also, most of the officials of the company took up land in their own names." When "the land was thrown open to one and all: many who answered the invitation "were Dutchmen from St. Eustachius and Curacao, as had been the settlers of St. Thomas, outside of the Company." ("St. John and St. Thomas", pp. 37-38.)

11. Larsen, Virgin Islands Story, pp. 31-33.

There were plans, however. When Pastor Jacob Tamdrup arrived at St. Thomas in June 1721 he did have with him a silver chalice and paten for the Lutheran Church to be established on St. John. It was reported by Larsen in 1950 (page 33) that: "These communion vessels, bearing the inscription 1721, are still in use in the Lutheran Church on that island." Also, it is reported that when Pastor Philip Adam Dierichs reached the Danish islands in April, 1724

Governor Erik Bredal recognized the precarious position of the Danes in the West Indies, they being in small number and comparatively weak in the contest of the larger powers - Spain, France, and England. He was especially concerned about the English, established close at hand on Tortola, who were a little piqued by the recent settlement of St. John. He wrote to the Company directors from St. Thomas on May 25, 1719:[12]

> The English nation is the one that does us the most good, and from which we have most to fear, for truth to say, they hold our very lives in their hands; and if they, (who dispute our right to St. Thomas, and threaten St. John) should adopt the expedient of forbidding the sending of provisions to this place for half a year, the inhabitants would be obliged to leave the island, for their livestock (now that the land is laid out in cotton and sugar works) would not suffice with food during that time, the less so, since a butchered ox cannot be preserved here more than a couple of days on account of the heat.
>
> But although the English General Hamilton [Governor General of the English Leeward Islands] might entertain such a plan because of the evil intentions he bears toward this land on account of the occupation of St. John, yet it is fortunate for us that the governors of the other English colonies from which we secure provisions are not on good terms with him, and are not prepared to carry through any such plan.

Brendal believed that a good deal of caution was necessary "to prevent the seizure or plundering of this land (especially in the cold months when sickness is general)." There was danger from the sea-robbers, particularly the numerous English in this group, as well as from the Spaniards "for our garrison amounts to nothing,

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he had with him a lay assistant, one Hofman who had been named to serve as a teacher for a Danish school on St. John as well as to serve there as clerk and assistant minister and to preach for the Danes there.

12. Quoted in translation in Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 315-16, as part of his Appendix G.

and the land is weaker than one would believe, since in the course of time, three or four plantations have come under a single owner, so that where formerly there were four whites, there is now but one. Indeed, we are not strong enough with respect to the negroes themselves." Already he had warned the people that certainly each plantation should have at least one white man even though there were several units under one ownership. The owners, however, had replied that they had been unable to find the men. They were willing to use soldiers, as heretofore, however, such could not be spared from the garrison. "It has actually been a fact," Bredal reported, "that the foreign ships and vessels lying in the [St. Thomas] harbor have sometimes had four times as many men aboard as the entire fort and island together."

The local English authorities continued to threaten and pressure the Danes about St. John though nothing of consequence would come of it. On June 17, 1722, Governor Bredal forwarded a letter to the Directors[13] "from English General Hart who was sent here with two ships of war to request St. John of me, and also to inform me that the English also claim St. Thomas as belonging to them." Bredal reported that, "I have replied to them as was my duty, and attempted to phrase my negative reply as politely as possible." Also, he "gave to Capt. Ellis Brand's proposition a similar reply, to which he replied that he would report it to his General, and that the occupation of St. John might cause the Danes to lose St. Thomas, too, since they had no right to it, either." He had had news before the arrival of these ships and the word was that "the English said that they expected to go and seize St. Thomas and St. John." Even so "these ships left here without attempting anything, after having lain anchored far outside of the harbor for several days." Bredal speculated that the two islands in themselves were hardly enough to warrant the English "getting into trouble with Denmark, yet there is reason to suspect that they would be useful" in a larger plan such as one designed to take Puerto Rico.[14]

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13. Quoted in translation in Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 316-17, as part of his Appendix G.

14. Brendal continued on this theme:

"It is known that they have long had an eye upon Porto Rico, and with St. Thomas and Crab island (which they are also talking of settling) in their possession, they would be able, on account of their sea power, so to hem Porto Rico in that they would make themselves masters of it on the first break with Spain. Likewise, they have also a short time ago seized the island of Providence in the straits of Bahama, which though not considered of any par-

St. John Island from its colonization forged ahead as a sugar and cotton island. This was even as St. Thomas was entering a decline as a plantation colony. St. Thomas reached its maximum slave population and its largest number of plantations by the company, perhaps, about 1725. St. John, on the other hand, was still growing. The 39 plantations in 1720-21 had multiplied, by 1728, to 87 with 123 whites and a slave population of 677. All the land had now been parceled out with the exception of the fort area and the Company's plantation which later became known as Carolina.

Perhaps already some of the manor houses had taken or were taking form. As Ronald A. Morrisette has so graphically written:[15]

> Sugar cane and cotton were the two principal crops, with sugar of course, by far the most valuable. By 1733 there were 106 plantations on the island, and cane covered the island to the very tops of the steepest hills. [This obviously was a bit of overstatement.] Manor houses, built of stone and brick and wood, stood on the elevations [as Par Force, Reef Bay still does] where the winds were cool and the views excellent. Also, the dangers of malarial fevers were less on the heights than in the valleys.
>
> The stones of the houses were mortared with a mixture of home-burned lime, sand, and molasses. Walls were built two to three feet thick to withstand the dreaded hurricanes.

In 1733, on the eve of the great slave insurrection on St. John, there were some 109 plantations with 208 whites and 1087 Negro slaves in residence. The ratio of whites to Negroes was falling sharply, a dangerous ingredient almost everyone admitted. In 1733 St. John averaged 10 Negroes to the plantation whereas on St. Thomas it was 25. The Company, too, was among the plantation operators on St. John but it was not, by report for 1733, as successful as had been antic-

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ticular importance in Europe, is still of more consequence than one would readily believe, for the Spaniards are absolutely obliged to pass by it with their silver fleet; and the English could from this island as well as by land from Virginia disturb the whole coast of Florida."

15. "A Short History of St. John" in A Little Guide to the Island of St. John (issued by Caneel Bay Plantation, 1967), p. 12.

ipated. That year it produced 62 hogsheads of sugar rather than the expected 150.[16]

Of course the slave revolt in 1733, with its highly destructive outcome, was a thoroughly disruptive force on St. John. It would, however, be only a temporary deterrent to operations here. Within six years the number of active plantations would again equal the number reported just prior to the rebellion. In this same interval the slave population remained constant, or in more specific terms returned to its earlier level despite substantial losses. Particularly significant in this period was the increase in cotton plantations, especially those "with works," as well as the full restoration of the sugar plantations "with works." The tables that follow here merit some close scrutiny.

Plantations on St. John:[17]

	1720-21	1728	1733	1739
Cotton Plantations	-	48	15	29
Cotton Plantations with Works	-	0	3	36
Cotton Plantations Total	-	(48)-48	(18)-18	(65)-65
Sugar Plantations	-	8	1	3
Sugar Plantations with Works	-	21	9	21
Sugar Plantations Total	-	(29)-29	(10)-10	(24)-24
Kill Devil (Rum) Works	-	1	1	0
Plantations Producing Various Products - including Provisions	-	9	80	20
TOTAL PLANTATIONS	39[18]	87	109[19]	109

16. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 130, 165-66.

17. This data is from that compiled by Westergaard and included as his Appendix I (The Danish West Indies, pp. 218-19).

18. For the 1720-21 date there is only a total figure for plantations with no breakdown as to types.

19. In another context Westergaard refers (page 8) to 103 plantations in 1733: "one hundred and three plantations surveyed or assigned and nearly three-fourths of them under cultivation at the same time."

Plantation Owner Locations as Known:

	1720-21	1728	1733	1739
On the Plantation	-	28	67	61
In St. Thomas	-	36	4	?[20]
Abroad	-	1	1	3
		65	72	64

Population of St. John:

	1728	1733	1739
Whites			
Men	76	97	73
Women	6	53	60
Children	41	58	75
Total Whites	123	208	208
Negroes			
Capable of Full Adult Work	563[21]	731	743
"Manquerons" - Defectives (by reasons of age, injury, etc.)	84	119	280
Children	30	237	391
Total Negroes	677	1087	1414
TOTAL POPULATION	800	1295	1622

20. Several owners counted in the 1739 list resided on St. Thomas, St. Eustatius and elsewhere.

21. The women included one mulatto.

CHAPTER V

The Slave Insurrection of 1733-1734[1]

There was a nagging, constant concern about slave revolt in the slave-based society such as came, rather quickly, to dominate the West Indian colonial plantations of whatever nation, the Danes not excepted. The potential increased as the ratio of whites to Negroes declined. When it was 3 to 5 as in 1691 on St. Thomas the prospect of serious difficulty was, perhaps, slight but as the ratio changed to 1 to 8 and more in the 1720s the situation was different.

It was particularly true, perhaps, on St. John Island where absentee ownership was practiced to a greater extent than on St. Thomas, which was something of a "home" island. Often they sought to manage these new plantations on St. John through hired overseers or managers. This was true even though honest, capable overseers were hard to come by and to hold. Company regulations carefully specified it, but it was not always possible even to keep white managers on duty in constant residence.

There had been early rumbles in the Danish islands as in 1697 on St. Thomas, after a severe hurricane when a number of maroons (fugitive slaves, or runaways) congregated on the west end of the island. This scare, however, passed without consequence as had one in 1691. It came at a time when the fort garrison had been reduced to a low ebb (two officers and six men).[2]

But the situation was different in 1733, especially on St. John. There had been a rise in slave importations and numbers of them had come from more spirited African tribes like the Amina, particularly numberous on the Company plantation. Unruliness and lack of adjust-

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1. This account is particularly indebted to those written by Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 166-78; Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 68-77; Leila Amos Pendleton, "Our New Possessions - The Danish West Indies" in The Journal of Negro History 2, no. 3 (July 1917): 267-288; and Taylor, **Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, pp. 99-105.**

2. "At this period the colonists were fearful not only of depredations of pirates or those of the settlers of neighboring islands, but they dreaded the attacks of the maroons and uprising among the slaves." (Pendleton, "Our New Possessions," p. 271.)

ment to slave labor and routine called for strict supervision. Even though capable direction was necessary to keep slave labor under control, hunger and inadequate supplies likely was a more important spark to open revolt.

In the spring and summer of 1733 there had been a prolonged drought on St. John and in July there was a severe hurricane that hit the already suffering crops as well as the housing and shipping. Then came a plague of insects that brought further havoc and the Negroes were actually threatened with famine. On top of this, in early winter there was another storm that severely damaged the maize crop on which the slaves depended for food. There were disorders here and there and the governor, Philip Gardelin, at St. Thomas issued as early as September 5, 1733, a new set of regulations designed to control the slave population more effectively. These regulations intensified the already severe and cruel punishments in use and were designed to cover the full list of possible breaches of peace and security.

The Gardelin "mandate" called for a liberal use of pinching with red-hot irons, hanging, dismembering (by cutting off ears, a leg, or a hand), and heavy use of whip and branding. A runaway, for example, if caught within a week got 150 lashes, if after three months he lost a leg, and if after six months it meant his life. In case a slave raised his hand against a white man, he must be pinched three times with a hot iron and it was at the discretion of the accuser as to whether he should be hanged, or lose a hand. The mandate ran to 19 paragraphs and was to be read to the beat of a drum three times each year. Even so, though not all agree,[3] a serious student of the Danish West Indies, Waldemar Westergaard, has concluded that: "In all fairness it must be said that the treatment of the slaves was probably no worse in the Danish than in the English, French, and Dutch islands."

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3. Leila Pendleton, however, observed that it was reported that "the Danes in Africa were not particularly unkind to the slaves" but that "the West Indian Danes were very cruel especially in St. John and later in St. Croix." She quotes from Sir Harry H. Johnson's The Negro in the New World (page 345): "Besides the usual floggings, cutting off of ears, hands, and legs and final hangings (when there was nothing more to torture) the Danes - till the influence of the Moravian missionaries bettered things - were in the habit of 'pinching' recreant slaves with red-hot iron pinchers, or for heinous offenses pinching pieces of flesh out of them." ("Our New Possessions," p. 270.)

Whatever the cause, or causes,[4] on November 23, 1733, a vicious uprising came to St. John Island and the turmoil would not subside for more than six months after much bloodshed and property destruction. Early on the morning of the 23rd 12 or 14 of the Company's Negroes came up the path on the mountain side of the fort that overlooked Coral Bay. Each carried an armful of wood in which a sugar knife was concealed. Ostensibly, as was customary, their mission was to bring wood for the fires in the fort.[5] Once inside they quickly murdered the soldier who admitted them and rushed the sleeping corporal and his six soldiers. The fort's lieutenant seemingly was down on his plantation at the time. All were killed save John Gabriel who found a hiding place under a bed. He lived to escape through the brush down to a canoe by the seashore.

It was Gabriel and a few other panic-stricken refugees from the Island that took the first news to the fort at St. Thomas on that Monday afternoon to a shocked governor and council. The governor himself might have been slain had he not unexpectedly cut short his recent visit to St. John just a day or two before the uprising. The launching of the rebellion seems to have been carefully and rather well planned. The objective evidently was to murder the whites and to take and hold possession of the island.

Having eliminated the fort garrison the Negroes raised the flag and fired three cannon shots. This was the signal for a general movement on the island's plantations. The ranking magistrate on St. John was John Reimert Soedtmann (Soctman). A band of Negroes, including some of his own, made him and his stepdaughter among the first victims that day, even placing his head on a pole to note the location of a point of assembly for a rebel council. His wife, the governor's daughter, survived by virtue of the fact that she was on a visit to St. Thomas with her infant child. Company and Soedtmann Negroes were

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4. Jens Larsen has concluded that: "The St. John uprising - during which cruelty was displayed on both sides - was probably caused in part by Governor Gardelin's mandate of severe punishment for disobedient slaves and in part by European planters, but it should be emphasized that the major factor was the recent arrival on the island of a large number of Negroes from savage tribes in Africa, such as the Eliminas, whose male members hated field work as woman's task, and the warlike Akvambos, many of whom had been sold to the new plantations at Coral Bay." (Virgin Islands Story, pp. 60-61, citing Kay Larsen, Dansk Vestindien, p. 82.)

5. Though normally said to be a late Saturday chore, it seems not to have been unusual for them to do it early Sunday morning. The fort by nature was not a strong position, having only a few cannon and 25 muskets.

joined by others, some from former Governor Suhm's plantation and some from the plantations of Lorentz Hendricksen and Pieter Kröyer.

Roaming widely and wildly about the island in the light of the tropic dawn the rebels and proceded to slaughter such whites (planters, overseers, women, and children) as they encountered.[6] Others rallied to the rebels and by mid-afternoon the band numbered some 80 blacks. Some carried flintlocks, or pistols, and the rest cane-knives, cutlasses, or what they had or could find. All were bent on murder with some exception here and there. The surgeon on St. John, Cornelious F. Bödger, was spared because of his medical skill and so were his two stepsons, whom the rebels hoped to keep as their servants.[7] Someone spoke, too, for a former company overseer who quickly accepted the opportunity to leave the Island. He was Dennis Silvan, who crossed over to the English island of Tortola.

As the word spread, planters, with such Negroes as remained faithful to them, assembled at Peter Durloe's plantation. Presumably, this was near Durloe's (Little Cinnamon, present K.C.) Bay at the northwest corner of the island.[8] The approach to the estate

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6. William Knox points out that there was considerable sacrifice of life on some estates, including some entire families. Besides Soedtmann and his daughter, Knox names Mr. Kint, the children of Mr. Beker, and the overseer of Mr. Moth, the wife of Mr. Kruger and 25 other men, women, and children. (Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, p. 72.)

7. It is said that a servant of Bödger, one called Christian Sout, had the confidence of both blacks and whites and became a useful spy for the latter for which he was rewarded with his freedom. He is said to have been an intelligent man and to have been considered "skillful and successful as a botanist in the use of medicinal plants found in the island." (Taylor, Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, p. 104.)

8. Cinnamon Bay proper was eastward a ways on the north coast of the island and perhaps because of similar terminology cannot be entirely ruled out as the scene of this action. This is especially true, too, since it is of report that Peter Durloe first settled on Cinnamon Bay and later acquired a second estate on Little Cinnamon Bay which took his name to be replaced by the present K.C. designation. (McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 55; De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 137.)

seat here was easily guarded and St. Thomas, from this point, was in fairly easy reach. The number they assembled here now totaled, perhaps, fifty. By one account (on December 4) it was 17 whites and 20 Negroes and by another (on January 5) it was 40 whites and about 25 Negroes. Under the leadership of Captain of Militia John von Beverhoudt and Lt. John Charles, a small group of whites and, perhaps, a score of the better experienced and trusted Negroes began to prepare for the expected rebel onslaught. Women and children were dispatched to nearby islets. Finally slaves spread the word on the south side and on the west end of the Island for planters to join the assembly at Durloe's, or to seek safety in their canoes. By and large free Negroes and creoles did not join the rebelling slaves.

In the meanwhile the rebels met some resistance in "Caneel" Bay from a planter there, likely John Jansen who lived here with his wife on a cotton plantation belonging to his mother and where, in 1733, he had a labor force of three "capable" slaves and four children. The rebels did drive him off and then stopped to plunder his plantation. For this reason it was not until about three in the afternoon when they proceded down the mountain path to Durloe's place. The house was on an eminence and protected by two cannon. They were greeted by cannon fire and took to the bush for cover. At intervals they reappeared to fire their muskets and pistols blindly, clumsily, and without serious effect. They maintained a desultory fire that evening and resumed it more intensely in the morning but with little loss to the whites. Among those at Durloe's were John Runnels, Timothy Turner, William Zytzema, Peter Sörensen and Messrs. Badger and DeWint.

When the news reached St. Thomas, officials and planters began to increase security measures (lest the rebellion spread to this island as well) and to consider such relief as possible for St. John. But the effort would be small and not until former Governor Moth would appeal to Gardelin not to abandon those trapped on St. John. Finally 16 or 18 soldiers led by a sergeant and corporal, and supplied with food and ammunition, went to St. John's relief. Several creole slaves were in the party. Later the arrival of reinforcements, commanded by William Barens, a successful Dutch planter on St. Thomas, gave new heart to the besieged party at Durloe's Plantation. Further reinforcements enabled the planters to retake the fort at Coral Bay

and to disperse the Negroes into the woods. At Company urging, soldiers and planters now began a war of extermination. For a while the Negroes headquartered, or rendezvoused, at the Suhm plantation, but before Christmas they had been rather well scattered throughout the Island.

But all was not settled yet, even though a favorable report got through to English Governor William Mathews, who wrote to home authorities from Nevis on December 20: "The negroes in St. Johns rose upon their masters and have murdered about forty Christians, but are now, I am informed, pretty well reduced, but not without much bloodshed."[9]

Various attempts to capture the rebels in number failed. Even William Vessup, a knowledgeable planter, one said guilty of murdering a fellow neighbor, was unable to set a successful trap though he received an offer to trade ten barrels of powder for a like number of Negroes. Evidently, however, a number of rebels were killed or captured. A report on December 4 related that 32 had been executed and others were being tried.

But unapprehended rebels in number posed a serious problem. Planters on St. Thomas, still fearful of the spread of revolt, contributed some of their slaves to join the hunt on St. John. With many plantations ravaged, crops neglected or destroyed, and cattle running wild as a food source for the rebel slaves, the St. John planters appealed to the Company to shoulder a large part of the cost of putting the trouble down. On nearby Tortola the English, too, were concerned that trouble might cross over to them from St. John. Sixty men were sent over by the captain of a British man-of-war then visiting the island, but when a night ambush by the rebels wounded four of the English sailors the party quickly withdrew.[10]

On February 17, the St. John planters appealed to the English and on March 7 Captain John Maddox came over from St. Kitts (St. Christopher's) with some 50 volunteers. There was a contract with him regarding the rewards that would be given for any captured slaves he could produce. This was of small moment, however, for Captain Maddox on March 18 was surprised by the rebels, who killed three and wounded five of his men without known loss to themselves. The Maddox party left the island the next day without more ado. At this point English Governor Mathews had revised his December opinion and wrote the Council of Trade and Plantations on March 10, 1734:

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9. British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1733, p. 270.

10. De Booy and Faris, The Virgin Islands, pp. 127-33.

> On St. John the Danes at present hardly have possession. Their negroes rose upon them about six months ago. At my first arrival I heard they had quelled their slaves, but it was not so, they have in a manner drove the Danes off, at least they dare not now attempt any more to reduce these negroes, who have allways beaten them, and in a manner are masters of that Island. The Governor of St. Thomas, was even modest enough to desire I would send some of H. M. ships to reduce them.[11]

Neither the Danes nor the English (by arms, trickery, or strategems) had been able to root out or destroy the now desperate and troublesome rebels. At this juncture thought turned to the French and communication was established by the Company with the authorities on Martinique. Bookkeeper John Horn was instructed to go over and offer them four out of five of any Negroes they could take, their estimated number now being a hundred men and women. Twenty percent of the worst offenders would come to the Company for appropriate punishment. Provisions would be supplied for the one to two hundred French force. Horn returned with 220 creoles and experienced officers traveling in two barks. The planters contributed another 74 West Indian Negroes to assist, part of the 115 that had been requested.

The French, like the Danes and English, were fearful of rebels at large whether it be on their own islands or on others that were close by. There was, also, another reason that the French were so willing to assist. It was important in European affairs at this particular time for the French to seek Denmark's neutrality in an approaching war and the word had gotten to the French in the West Indies.

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11. Mathews continued: "and I now learn a rash fellow from St. Christophers, in open defiance of my positive orders to the contrary, having made a compact with the Danish Governor, went with his two sons and three or four and twenty more on this errand, that the negroes have killed one if not both his sons, and two or three more of his company, and beaten them off."

It could be added here that Mathews was unhappy with the Danes and would like to have had instruction to reduce them. The purchase of St. Croix from the French had raised his temperature in this. (British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1734-1735, p. 57.)

On April 24, the day after arrival at St. Thomas, the French expedition left for St. John under the direction of Commander Longueville. With them went lumber for soldier barracks and fresh meat for food. A force of 25 or 30 Danes under Lieutenant Fröling got together and were sent over to work in conjunction with the French. Crown attorney Fries was ordered to St. John, too, to take charge of the negroes as they were captured and to meet out "justice" in the prescribed manner. Within three or four days the French force was ready to tackle its problem. Only five days before their arrival the rebels had demonstrated that they still had punch. A party of about 40 of them had staged a fierce attack on the burghers who were encamped on Durloe's plantation. They set the supply magazine on fire but took some losses themselves - 3 killed and 6 badly wounded.

The French met their first party of rebels on April 29 and for the next month pursued them relentlessly until they returned to St. Thomas on May 27. Three weeks of pursuit, with men working in shifts, began to exhaust the energies of the rebels, who were force to keep on the move up and down hills, in the bush, and through the brambles. On May 9 word came that a number had assembled on a point, or small peninsula. They escaped, but left 11 of their number in the bush dead by their own hand. A week later eight gave themselves up hoping for clemency. Two more were shot and two more were found murdered. There was no trace of the others until May 24. Then word came that the remains of 24 rebels, dead about a fortnight, were found with muskets broken on an outjutting point of land in an unsuspected place. This likely was the group that tradition magnified to 300, a figure out of all proportion to the actual numbers involved. Westergaard concluded, after careful analysis, that: "It is clear that the story of the three hundred negroes found dead in a circle on a mountain near Brims Bay is pure fancy."[12] The number of Negroes on St. John and other casualties will not support this. For example, the 1733 census figures show only 731 slaves, male and female, capable of doing adult work out of the total of 1,087. The other blacks were defectives by reason of age, injury, or such (119) and children (237).

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12. The Danish West Indies, pp. 175-176.

Nonetheless the story persists, in repetition: "Three hundred," says a historian, "were, after a few days, from the time they were surrounded, found lying dead at Brim's Bay, now Anna Burg. In a ravine a short distance off, were discovered seven others, who appeared to have been leaders in the insurrection, who shot each other. Seven guns broken to pieces, save one, were found laying by their sides. Tradition reports that three hundred had cast themselves from a high precipice on the rocks below. The historian Host says they were shot and were found lying in a circle." (Pendleton accepts and quotes, sometimes in paraphrase, from page 105 of Taylor's Leaflets from the Danish West Indies in "Our New Possessions," pp. 274-75.)

Not having any evidence of others still at large (though an unarmed band would materialize in August),[13] the French broke off the chase and returned to St. Thomas before going on to their home island. Danish officials were highly gratified and most appreciative. There were words of praise on every hand. Longueville and his men were shown every attention and courtesy including a five day celebration.

Losses in the rebellion were heavy in life and in property, however, likely not as great as some accounts might indicate. A tabulation made in 1734 showed 146 Negroes (men and women) involved in rebellion at that time. Besides those who were killed in conflict and those who were property of the Company, it was estimated that 27 Negroes were tried and executed prior to this. When stock-taking time came, the planters were found due to receive renumeration for 30 slaves condemned to death, or to work in irons. There were another six who were killed while fighting for their owners. Losses among the white population likely did not reach 25 percent (or 50 persons).

Theodore Ottingen, an officer who participated in most of the suppression activity, seemingly, late in 1734, or early in the next year, listed 92 plantations on St. John, a number down from the 109 of the year before. Forty-eight were recorded as having suffered damage, though 44 escaped it. At the time of his report, of the 48 receiving damage, 30 were being cultivated and of the 44 not damaged 32 were being cultivated. Valuable buildings had been burned, wholly or in part, on 41 of the plantations. By one account, money loss was estimated to be 7,905 rigsdalers (rix-dollars) a sizeable amount for so small an island.

But the rebellion passed and relative prosperity returned in a few years to St. John. Its high-water mark as a sugar island had not yet been reached. In the interim the acquisition of St. Croix by the Danes proved a safety valve for some while plantations were being renovated and restocked with slaves. The memory of the rebellion, "this human hurricane," would continue, however, and fear

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13. A report came in that a group of rebels (male and female), led by one Prince (a slave of Madame Elizabeth Runnels), was at large but without firearms. A promise of pardon tricked them into returning to their former owner's plantation. On signal, on August 25, all 15 were seized and taken to St. Thomas though Prince was not among them, he having already been beheaded and his head rested, it is said, in the baggage of Theodore Ottingen. All suffered death in the end. Four died in prison, four were sentenced to be worked to death on the St. Croix fortifications, and the remainder met death in a variety of ways.

of more revolt and bloodshed would remain. Both government and colonists had had a lesson that there was no substitute for sharp vigilance. Lines had been drawn even more sharply between master and slave in the Danish islands, a sure deterrent to good human relations. The rebellion had been significant and impressive. One commentator concluded that, though not without the likelihood of challenge: "The outstanding fact in the history of this group [the Danish West Indies] in the eighteenth century is the insurrection of 1733, which took place on the island of St. John."[14]

One of the immediate results was to strengthen the forts on each of the three Danish islands. In the case of St. John the Company was severely criticized for the inadequacy of the "installation" there. The 100-foot square fort was rebuilt with bastions. Guns from the bastions could command Coral Bay. By 1736 it represented a 2,700 rix-dollar entry in the Company books.[15]

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14. Pendleton, "Our New Possession," p. 272.

15. "Insurrection among its slaves has always been considered the most terrible experience that a slave-holding society could suffer," Westergaard has concluded (The Danish West Indies, pp. 164, 246-47), and it would remain a constant possibility. There was a threatened uprising led by runaways on St. Croix in 1746, but a free negro spiked it when he caught the would-be-leaders. The next serious trouble was in 1769 but again the apprehension of the accused rebels came before overt action began. There was then liberal use of the gibbet stake, the wheel, the noose, and the glowing tongs. Fourteen were condemned to die, 10 were sold out of the island, and 50 were acquitted.

CHAPTER VI

Fifty Good Years

After a few years of adjustment, regrouping, and restocking following the slave rebellion (which saw some planters relocate in just-acquired St. Croix), St. John estates were operating well and smoothly again. As previously noted, by 1739 the production level of six years earlier had been reached and in some respects exceeded. And development was continuing. The next several decades would be reasonably successful ones for the planters on St. John. This can be measured to some extent by comparing the statistics of 1739 with those compiled when George Host became governor of St. Thomas and St. John, succeeding Governor Kragh in 1733. He asked for a count of the population and a tabulation of land use.[1]

In this period the number of plantations, or estates, had actually dropped from 109 to 69; however, this likely involved more consolation and multiple operations than it did the abandonment of acres. The labor force had risen significantly. There was now a total of 2,330 slaves compared to the 1,414 Negroes at the earlier date. At the same time the number of whites on the island had dropped to 104, half of the 1739 figure. Cotton production had declined (now 42 estates were classified as cotton producers) whereas the 27 sugar estates represented some increase in this area.[2] Cotton plantations generally were smaller and more numerous than those devoted to sugar. They also represented less capital and investment and required less labor even when there was a ginning works. But normally the heavier profits came from sugar production.

The sugar estate in the West Indies in the prosperous days of the 18th century has been succinctly described in The Making of the West Indies by F. R. Augier, S. C. Gordon, D. G. Hall, and M. Reckord[3]

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1. Among other Host achievements, in his short term, was the preparation of a civil history of St. Thomas in which he detailed the successive civil officers and various decrees issued by the government from time to time. Host was succeeded by Thomas von Malleville, colonel of infantry, as Commandant of St. Thomas and St. John. (Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 89-90.)

2. Ibid., Larsen, Virgin Islands Story, p. 42.

3. London, 1960 (1964, fifth impression with corrections), Chapter 8, pp. 79-89.

who drew heavily on Bryan Edward's earlier, contemporary, History of the West Indies.[4] It deals with estate organization, the sugar crop, the factory, the slaves, and the estate heirarchy. While it details a larger plantation operation in good sugar-cane-growing country with English orientation, it can be very useful in helping to visualize even the smaller operations that characterized the situation on St. John.

It was noted that the balanced sugar estate included three types of ground--cane land, provision grounds (for growing root crops and vegetables for food), and woodlands (for supplies of lumber, logs, and firewood). Pasture, too, was important for the maintenance of cattle and work animals. An ambitious planter liked to have two or three hundred acres of growing cane though such was rarely possible in any but the larger islands. As a rule of thumb it was thought sufficient if there were slaves to the extent of one able adult slave per acre. Edwards estimated that to keep 300 acres in sugar production there was need for 250 Negroes, 80 steers, and 60 mules.[5]

The planters on St. John were likely as pleased as those on the other islands when Danish King Frederick V terminated the Company management of the Danish islands in 1755. This was through the purchase by the crown of all forts, estates, buildings, stores, slaves, goods, and money belonging to the Company in the islands, including St. John, as well as its refinery, ship houses, and store houses in Copenhagen. Thus ended the organization which had guided

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4. This was first published in 1793. Though Edwards was a Jamaican planter his description of operations and plants is generally useful for similar things all over the islands.

5. A century earlier the situation and ratios were a little different, at least in Barbadoes in 1680. This was when "Barbadoes was at the height of its wealth and power." At this time Evidently a plantation of about two hundred acres, equipped with two or three sugar mills and one hundred slaves, was considered the optimum size for efficient production. A plantation of this size according to the calculations of the Barbadoes Assembly, required a capital investment of £8,000 and annual running expenses of £1,000. It is observed that the ratio of almost one Negro slave for every two acres "seems very high, but actually it is the standard ratio for effective sugar production throughout the Caribbean in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." (Richard S. Dunn, "The Barbadoes, Census of 1680: Profile of the Richest Colony in English America," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser. 26 (1969): 3-30.)

affairs in the Danish islands since the first permanent settlement in 1672.[6] Now the crown had the direct responsibility for management. The new direction brought some stimulation of economic affairs in St. Croix and "the prosperity of St. John's had kept pace in proportion to its size with that of St. Croix."[7] St. Thomas commerce failed to respond and there was petition that it be made a free port. Consequently on April 9, 1764, Frederick V declared "St. Thomas, and especially St. John's" to be "ports free for vessels of all nations." Two years later in 1766, when Christian VII ascended the throne on the death of his father, he confirmed the decree and also reduced the export duties on sugar and cotton. St. Thomas under these conditions gradually regained its earlier position in commerce. St. John, too, began to dream of its own town and commerce for there was the excellent harbor in the east end of the island, Coral Bay.[8]

Christian Martfeldt, a Danish economist who visited here about 1765, considered Coral Bay a better harbor than the one at Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas being, by his report, twice as deep and able to hold twice as many ships. He, in fact, viewed it as the best harbor in the West Indies. However, the St. Thomas harbor was closer to Puerto Rico, it was the first settled, and it developed to accommodate the shipping as came to it. St. John also had a little

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6. A near contemporary view of this termination of the Company's tenure was penned by Abbé W. T. Raynal. In digest he wrote that the Danish colonies had felt the heavy hand of "exclusive privileges" to the Company. "Industrious people of all sects, particularly Moravians, strove in vain to overcome this great difficulty." At length after a long tug of war between colonists and company, the government, in 1754, bought "the privileges and effects of the company." "From this time the navigation to the islands was opened to all the subjects of the Danish dominions." But demands of the treasury helped to thwart the good that could come from this with duties and taxes on exports and imports - except direct imports from Denmark in Danish vessels. (Europeans in the East and West Indies, 4, 90 ff.)

7. Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 84-89.

8. Even in 1734 British Governor Mathew had seen the potential of this harbor writing in reference to St. John as "an Island with a most excellent harbour, and nearer, even at our door." This comment was made in the context of deploring the spread of Danish control through the more recent acquisition of St. Croix. He recited that first it was St. Thomas, then St. John, and now St. Croix and he saw all three as thorns in the side of British operations in the West Indies. (British Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1734-1735, p. 53.)

more hinterland but not enough to support a second trade center. So Coral Bay was largely ignored. Of it Martfeldt wrote:

> In it 400 to 500 vessels large and small can ride at anchor. It has various suitable landing places for plantations lying round about, separated from each other by out-jutting points which form the said bays. Besides the 6 English families mentioned in the table there are 16 others [which he names] from which one may perceive its great extent. It is, besides, provided with a beautiful hurricane "hole" on the east [north?] side, where 40 to 50 vessels and more may be safe against storms and so close in to the shore that one may walk ashore on a board, not to mention those that can lie in the "stream." In this hurricane hole . . . a number of careening places could [easily] be constructed . . . where vessels could conveniently be careened.[9]

Bryan Edwards, in his chronicle of the British West Indies in 1794, was almost of like mind in regard to the value of the harbor. He wrote ". . . St. John . . . is of importance as having the best harbor of any island to the leeward of Antigua."[10] In this Edwards was but paraphrasing an earlier account, that of Thomas Jefferys.

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9. As quoted in Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, p. 4.

10. Survey of His Majesty's Dominions in the West Indies 1: 459.

His full reference was: "The Danes possess Santa Cruz, St. Thomas, with about twelve smaller islands dependent thereon, and St. John, which last is of importance as having the best harbour of any island to the leeward of Antigua."

In writing further of the Virgins, Edwards summarized: "The whole group may comprehend about forty islands, islots, and keys, and they are divided at present between the English, the Spanish, and the Danes . . . The English hold Tortola, and Virgin Gorda, Josnan, Dykes, Guana Isle, Beef and Thatch Islands, Anegada, Nichor, Prickley Pear, Camara's, Ginger, Coopers, Salt Island, Peter's Island and several others of little value . . . and the Spanish claim Crab Island, the Green or Serpent Island, the Tropic Keys, and Great and Little Passage." He commented, too, that "The Spaniards in those days [of Columbus and the decades that immediately followed], however, thought them unworthy of further notice."

Jefferys, "Geographer to the King," noted that St. John was "the best watered among the Virgin" and possessed one of the best harbors.[11]

Now St. Johnians turned their thoughts to utilizing this harbor, their spacious Coral Bay. They were pleased with the more prosperous outlook that followed the demise of the old company and now sought to have their own town with its own commerce. "Permission was granted for this purpose in 1760, and the land at Coral Bay was laid out in magnificant town lots, to remain, however, drearily vacant. A store-house at Creuse [Cruz] Bay, and a ferry to St. Thomas, were some little gratification under this disappointment."[12] St. John would never develop its harbor into a port with a trade. The fact that Coral Bay came under the cover of artillery (as cannon ranges increased) from the higher elevations of nearby Tortola seems not to have in anyway influenced this. There was little note as well that the long passage into the upper reaches of the harbor were a little difficult to maneuver when the trade winds were unfavorable. The island would remain agricultural and rural, a place of estates and plantations where terrain would permit. Perhaps some of the estates here were like the two on St. Thomas which were described in **The Royal American Gazette** issue of January 23, 1771:

> **Two Plantations, the one called Frenchman's Bay, the other Cuculus Bay, situated close by the town, and bounded by the sea they contain about 250 acres, and proper for planting either sugar, coffee, or cotton, besides lime-burning, plenty of timber growing thereon. Said plantations will be leased from 5 to 10 years, either by the whole or by the acre, as can be agreed on by the lessee with Mr. Camereer Morch in St. Thomas, or in St. Croix with the subscriber [presumably "Charisius" of Christiansted].**[13]

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11. The West Indian Atlas; or, A Compendious Description of the West-Indies: Illustrated with Forty Current Charts and Maps (London, 1775), p. 27.

In comparison with other islands, however Jefferys did not rate St. John's productivity very highly. "Nothwithstanding these advantages, there is so little good land in the island St. John's that its planting and exportations form only a trifling object." For his comparison of St. John, St. Thomas, and St. Croix see Appendix D.

12. Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 84 ff.; Taylor, Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, p. 100.

13. As reproduced in Jens Vibaek, Dansk Vestindien 1755-1848 (Denmark, c. 1966: being Book II in Johannes **Brønsted (editor)**, **Vore Gamle** Tropekolonier (Westerman, 1953), p. 155.

It is not clear when the St. John Lutheran congregation had its own place of worship. Two widely disparate dates have been advanced: 1736 and 1844.[14] The Lutherans, however, gave a limited ministry only with scant attention to the Negro people, the bulk of the population. More emphasis in this direction would come from the Moravians.

The Moravian Brethern ("Unitas Fratrum, or the Protestant Church of the United Brethern") arrived at St. Thomas to begin their ministry with its special concern for the welfare of slaves late in 1732.[15] The work on St. John had a slow start. This was due in part to the 1733 uprising. It was nonetheless fully established on the island in 1741. The Bethany Mission station was acquired in 1754. The Moravians became a permanent factor in the life of the islands, especially St. John, with their substantial contribution to the religious and educational life of the mass of the population.[16]

Near mid-century a rising concern for slaves developed in Denmark in the Lutheran Church with an end result that Lutheran missionaries were designated to go especially for the work. The first went out in 1750 and nine followed in 1757. There were six theological candidates called catechists and four university students called undercatechists. One catechist, Claus Möller, was assigned to St. John. He served for 21 months, until his death, and St. John was without another missionary of this type until 1766. Then Erik Røring Wold came for a six-year stay. In this period he distinguished himself

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14. Larsen, Virgin Island Story, pp. 34 ff.

Larsen concludes that the reference with the 1736 date may have been to the use of a Reformed Dutch Church, a structure built in the 18th century and destroyed in the hurricane of August 13, 1793. In this event the Lutherans would, in all likelihood, have continued to use this church and to have used space in the fort until 1844. It is of note, too, that in 1765 there is a record of the destruction of a church on St. John by another hurricane. Jens Larsen surmises that this likely also was a Reformed Dutch Church. (Ibid.)

15. This was the first mission of the "Renewed Church" and in 1733 others would go to Greenland. [Levin Theodore Reichel, The Early History of the Church of the United Brethern (Unitas Fratrum) Commonly Called Moravians in North America, A.D. 1734-1748 (Nazareth, Pa., 1888), pp. 3-4.]

16. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, p. 139; Larsen, Virgin Islands Story, pp. 64-70.

as an assistant to Joachum Melchoir Magens, the Danish linguist, in translating important works into creole, the general language. Despite this effort "the Lutheran mission work proved a complete failure."[17]

Concern for the Negro and deeper concern for the institution of slavery began to grow generally. This was true in Denmark as elsewhere. In 1792 Denmark became the first state to outlaw the slave trade. This would not be immediately detrimental to the planters; however, it was a step toward the abolition of the institution of slavery itself in 1848. And this would be a serious economic blow to the St. John economy.[18]

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17. Larsen, Virgin Islands Story, pp. 74-86.

18. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, p. 247.

CHAPTER VII

Twenty Years (1780-1800) and Economic Decline

The P. L. Oxholm "Charte"[1] of St. John in 1800 gives an excellent historical picture at a specific date as does his 1780 survey[2] on which it was based, though this 20-year interval evidently saw the passing of the highwater mark of its plantation development and its sugar economy. The plans are of sufficient scale to admit of good detail as to estate units, extent and location of buildings, roads, and related constructions. Both also record a rich collection of place names. Because of Oxholm's treatment and topographic delineation data can be transferred with relatively easy approximation from his plans to the U.S. Geological Survey Maps covering St. John.[3] This extends in most instances to the identity of ruins, cemeteries, etc. (as noted in 1958) and to plantation and related development as shown by Oxholm.[4]

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1. The "Map over the Danish Island of St. John in America," published in 1800 by Infantry Colonel P. L. Oxholm and printed by G. N. Angelo in Copenhagen (reproduced by the Virgin Islands Agency, Eastern National Park & Monument Association, and available at the Agency office). See Illustrations No. 5 and 6.

2. A color rendered manuscript of Oxholm's Survey of 1780 ("Topographark Kort of Eylandet St. Jan udj America") in Kortsamling 337 Vestindien (A. II 9), Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Denmark. See Illustrations No. 3 and 4.

3. Reference here is to the Western and Eastern St. John Quadrangles, 1958 edition.

4. The ruins and cemeteries shown on the 1958 survey maps can be summarized:

	Maho Bay	Reef Bay	Cruz Bay	East End	Coral Bay	Total
a. Ruins closely associated with Oxholm estates and other sites	8	4	4	1	2	19
b. Those not closely associated	3	0	0	0	0	3
c. Cemeteries	2	0	2	0	4	8

Of the eight cemeteries at least six are associated with Oxholm sites.

Judging by the number of larger developments and the more adequate road system, it appears that the western half of the Island in this period was the better equipped and the more intensely operated, although development also was rather general along most of the north coast as well. The same five general administrative subdivisions, or districts, in the island, with much the same boundaries, existed in 1958 as they did in 1780 and 1800 being Maho Bay, Reef Bay, Cruz Bay, East End and Coral Bay.

From all indications Oxholm revised and updated his survey of 1780 before publication in 1800 to the extent that he covered much of the interim change in estate development, even dealing at least to some degree with changes in vegetative cover and the amount of open land. Developed or tilled area in 1780 was particularly extensive around Carolina, Bordeaux, Lameshur, and Reef Bay (but not its upper valley, a more restricted section). There was also a good deal of open area and estate development along the north shore westward from Water Lemon Bay and in the general area where Cruz Bay and Maho administrative divisions met as well as south into the upper (western) part of the Reef Bay division. Other more intensively used areas in 1780 were around Little Cruz Bay and Durloe's (Little Caneel) Bay.

The 1780-1800 period saw some expansion and some contraction in various sections of the island. There was some new emphasis especially on the north coast eastward of Water Lemon Bay, and around Trunk and Cinnamon (Caneel) Bays. There was a push up Reef Bay valley above "Par Force" and development along the edges of Coral Bay from "Coral Bay Haven" to "Grout Bay" and around the point of the later as well as the opening of Concordia above Salt Pond Bay.

This 20-year interval continued the pronounced shift away from Coral Bay, in the east end, to Cruz Bay, on the west end. Better roads, too, if delineation is a clue (as likely it is), came to the western end of the island in this period with the first half of the later Center Line Road coming more into prominence as the "Konge Vey" (King's Way). It is helpful, too that Oxholm often penned in owners' names in 1780, though he shifted largely to estate names in 1800. This is as in the case of the Reef Bay estate: it was Anthony Zytzema at the earlier date, but "par force" in 1800.

The treatment of the island's fortifications in 1800 points up in part the shift from the east end (at Coral Bay) to the west end (at Cruz Bay), or from the earlier in use "Fortsberg" ("castle") to "Christian's Fort." The former is unlabeled on both the chart and the survey though the fort outline atop the hill is delineated and "Battery Bay" marked the location of the water battery on the lower level. On the other hand, at Cruz Bay the fort is boldly shown and broadly labeled "Christian's Fort." There is also the work on the hill and a burial ground shown nearby.

Brief description by district follow here; however, notice of individual developments has been reserved for Appendix E.

Maho Bay:

The Maho Bay area, or district, was along much of the north coast stretching from Trunk Bay to the western edge of the East End district beyond Brynes (Brown's) Bay. It included Mary Point and a wedge into the island south of it. In 1800 Oxholm carefully noted seven, or 10 (depending on definition), major estate units, seven of which were named and most of which were numbered.[5] In addition there were lesser developments, independent in their operation or more likely associated with one or more of the major developments.[6] At this time ten tread, or horse, mills were noted. In 1780 only four such mills had been shown and these were all in the western part of the district. Those added in the 20-year interval were all eastward from Cinnamon Bay suggesting perhaps that this north coast area made a swing from other crops to sugar production in this period. The estates here as elsewhere in 1780 were shown with their slave communities, villages, or quarters. Regretably, Oxholm did not show villages in 1800.[7]

Reviewing the detail of open and wooded land it would appear that there was some reversion to brush, suggesting agricultural decline, in the inland, western part of the district while more open area seems to have existed in the eastern part of the district in 1800. The latter may suggest renewed effort here. The boldly delineated north shore road in 1780 extended from Cinnamon to Brynes Bay. There were connections with other parts of the island by means of several (at least three) branch roads, winding up to, along, and over the mountainous east-west backbone of St. John.

Reef Bay:

The Reef Bay sector occupied the center portion of the south side of the island with a point projecting northward to the crest of the east-west mountain range. It bordered Coral Bay district on the east and Maho Bay and Cruz Bay on the west. Its most exten-

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5. These are treated individually in Appendix E and generally located in Illustration No. 8. The nine estate units being "Rustenburg," one on "Höyeste Bierg," "Caneel Bay" (Cinnamon Bay), No. 3, and an unnamed and unnumbered unit given here as 3b, "Windberg," "Fridrichsdal," "Water Lemon Kim" (Leinster), and that at Brynes (Brown's) Bay.

6. See 3a, 4, 10a, 10b, and 11a in Appendix E.

7. Except in the case of Adrian (No. 18) in Cruz Bay district.

sive boundary was along the island's south coast from Rendezous Bay to Great Lameshur Bay. Roads served most of the areas in the district. That beginning above Europa Bay, with a possible connection (in 1780) up the ridge to Par Force, meandered eastward to Coral Bay and then northward up the coast. Another seemingly descended from the high ridge and followed Reef Bay Valley down to the coast. Here it became a major way as it followed its circuitous route over rough terrain generally close to the coast, making a slow turn with the island, and ultimately reaching the Cruz Bay settlement.

Oxholm delineates seven major, or larger, operations, four of them given estate names in 1800 (Par Force, Hope, Paquerau, and Mollendal) and five lesser ones. There were seven, possible eight, villages associated with these and a total of seven horse mills in 1800 (at least 3 and possible 5 in 1780). This indicates some renewed interest in sugar production in this period, particularly in the Reef Bay Valley.

Cruz Bay:

This district embraced the west end of St. John Island as well as a small section on the south coast and a bit of the west end of the north coast, extending from Hart Bay on the south around to Trunk Bay. Several substantial areas of open ground were carefully drawn in 1780, the largest being in the northwestern part of the district and large enough to include a number of estates, an area that extended over into Maho and Reef Bay districts. There was another between Great and Little Cruz bays and a third in the Durloe Bay section. The situation was similar in 1800 though generally there seems to have been a little less open area at that time.

In the 1800 treatment it is clear that there were a number of well-developed roads serving this district, roads that existed in 1780 but were improved, again judging by better delineation. There was the "Konge Vey," or King's Way, that ran northeastward and then eastward out of Cruz Bay and followed down the high ridge of the island as far as Mamey Peak. This became a part of the Center Line Road which eventually was continued along the ridge into Coral Bay. A second road was that along the south coast that curved northward into the Cruz Bay settlement. A third left the King's Way just south of Jochumsdahl Estate and continued on to Mollendal and then southeastward to Reef Bay. Roads led from the Trunk and Hawksnest Bay areas directly up to the King's Way and the Durloe Bay area had two outlets, one to the high road, and one across into the Cruz Bay settlement area.

Cruz Bay district had at least a half-dozen major estates with nine developments being shown by name in 1800. Developments small and large altogether totaled 24. The district in 1780 had six (pos-

sibly seven) estate slave villages in association with various units, a minimum of ten treadmills and more than 40 structures. There were 11 mills shown in 1800 with one of them being a windmill, and altogether there were almost 50 structures, not including the fort and any other development in the Cruz Bay settlement.[8]

East End:

This was St. John's smallest district, being only that thin peninsula curving around from north to east to form the northeast bound of Coral Bay. There was little good agricultural area here. Its western boundary was an arbitrary north-south line from the open water on the north to the bay on the south. Here northward of the ridge it joined Maho Bay and southward of it the Coral Bay district. There appears to have been no road connection with the north shore; however, both in 1780 and 1800 there was a road route that generally circled around to the area of Coral Bay harbor ("Havn") behind (west of) the fort.

Development here was limited, there being no large estates. Consequently no mills, or slave villages, are noted, only buildings. Perhaps there were nine or ten of these in 1780, a few more in 1800. Though there were no large open areas, most sites seem to have had a bit more openess in 1800 than was true 20 years before. In 1958 the only ruins shown in East End were those at "Hermitage" plus a cemetery across the neck on Brown's Bay.

Coral Bay:

This district embraced (except for the East End peninsula) the eastern end of St. John. It formed an arc around the western shore of Coral Bay and dipped down to include the eastern segment of the south shore. It was bounded on the west by Reef Bay district, and on the north by Maho. "Caroline" (Carolina) was its most impressive and most extensive plantation, this being in the flat, or more level, valley west of the upper reaches of Coral Bay harbor. There were three roads that emanated from this point. One was around the north loop of Coral Bay into East End. A second followed along the west side of Coral Bay, then made a flat loop around on the south coast extending as far as Lameshur in Reef Bay district. The third followed a circuitous, twisting route up the mountains at the west end of the Carolina valley and crossed over to the north shore.

The Coral Bay district in 1800 had but four named estates or developments, though there were 13 lesser sites, some which likely

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8. In 1958 ruins were then noted that correspond quite closely to the sites of Caneel Bay, Adrian, L'Esperance, and that near Dennis Bay (No. 19b).

were related to each other. And of course there was "Fortsberg" overlooking the harbor of Coral Bay. Though most were small, except for that at Carolina, there were a half-dozen estate-associated villages. There were only three mills, two treadmills and a windmill in 1780, and all of these were at Carolina. As for structures, there were perhaps 25 in the district both in 1780 and 1800. Evidently this 20-year period saw more clearing of bush and trees particularly on the coast, facing Coral Bay, south of Carolina.

On his chart of 1800 Oxholm gave a statistical summary of people, cultivated land, products, and such. This offers the opportunity to sense the amount of total activity, especially in the economic sphere, then afoot on the island of St. John.

1. The population totaled 2,120 being composed of 113 whites (60 men and 53 women), 15 colored, and 1,992 Negroes (1,019 males 973 females).

2. Land acreage was totaled at 8,044 with a fourth of it (2,021 acres) being under cultivation.

3. In livestock the total was given at 271 horned cattle and 507 horses and mules.

4. As for crop yield Oxholm listed totals but without unit of measure. They were: (1) sugar - 829 (barrels), (2) rum - 309 (barrels), and (3) cotton - 3,500 (pounds).

5. He totaled 28 mills for grinding sugar cane (26 tread, or horse, mills and two windmills). In making a tabulation from the chart it would seem that this total could very well have been 30 instead of 28.

In further analysis of the Oxholm chart and his earlier survey, admittedly with some arbitrary interpretation, more totals, at least approximate totals, are possible.

a. In 1800 there were 24 named units, or developments, out of what appeared to be 27 major estates plus 46 lesser developments.

b. Sugar mills increased from 22 in 1780 to 30 in in 1800.

c. In 1780 at least 27 estate-associated slave villages were delineated.

d. Estate-associated buildings and structures, not including villages, numbered some 140 in 1780 and perhaps 150 20 years later.

In summary by district in 1800 (unless noted as 1780), the approximate totals were:

	Major Units	Named Units	Lesser Sites	Sugar Mills 1800	(1780)	Villages (1780)	Structures 1800	(1780)
Maho Bay	7	7	8	10	(4)	8	33	(43)
Reef Bay	7	4	5	7	(5)	7	30	(24)
Cruz Bay	9	9	13	11	(10)	6	50	(40)
East End	0	0	7	0	(0)	0	10	(9)
Coral Bay	4	4	13	2	(3)	6	25	(25)
	27	24	46	30	(22)	27	148	(141)

All in all St. John had reached its peak and entered its decline before 1800, as can be deduced in part from this comparison of the Oxholm survey and chart.

Although he does not give his sources (but Oxholm was surely one of them), there is helpful information on St. John (in fact on the Danish West Indies in general) in André-Pierre Ledru's account[9] of his voyage to the islands late in 1796 and early in 1797. He notes that its chief town ("capital") was situated in the southwest "at the entrance of a deep gulf which forms a very sure road."

He quoted figures to show that by this date St. John had entered economic decline. In 1775, by his information, there had been 69 plantations, 27 of which raised sugar cane ("serraient à la culture des cannes"). By 1795 the number of plantations had dropped to 62. As to population his data can be summarized:

	Whites	Free Negroes	Slaves	Total
1775[10]	110	-	2,324	2,434

9. Voyage aux iles de Ténériffe, La Trinité, Saint-Thomas, Sainte-Croix et Porto-Ricco . . . 30 Septembre, 1796 jusqu'au 7 Juin 1798 with notes and additions by M. Sonnini (Paris, 1810), 2: 28-29 ff.

10. A 1773 statistic for St. John was a population of 2,434 (104 whites and 2330 slaves). [Keller, "Notes on the Danish West Indies," Annals of the Am. Academy of Political and Social Science, 22 (1903): 108.]

	Whites	Free Negroes	Slaves	Total
1789	167	16	2,200	2,383
1797	103	15	1,992	2,110[11]

The decrease in cultivation and population on St. John he attributed to the emigration of several proprietors who removed with leadership, capital, and some labor to St. Thomas and St. Croix. This was despite the goodness of the soil and climate. Ledru concluded that by the late 1790s production on St. John was hardly more than 800 barrels of sugar, 300 of rum and 3,500 pounds of cotton. Little coffee was produced; however, its quality was superior.[12]

There is a little glimpse of the St. John hospitality as well as the rigors of open sailing near the end of this period in the journal of youthful Cuthbert Powell, who was out of Virginia on a trading vessel to St. Thomas and Tortola in 1797. It was two weeks, actually "fifteen days from land to land," when his ship "came to anchor in the Bay of St. Thomas's," the date being Tuesday, February 7. After a stay of several days at St. Thomas, on the 13th he left in "an Open Boat for Tortola, distant twenty-four miles."[13]

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11. The total population of the three islands (St. John, St. Thomas, and St. Croix) he gave as 31,788 (in 1775), 33,260 (1789), and 37,193 (1797). The 1797 total included 3062 whites, 1,918 men of color, 17,947 native-born Negroes ("indigènes") and 14,266 "Africains."

12. Commenting generally on the commerce of the Danish islands with their mother country, Ledru estimated that it annually involved 90 to 100 bottoms (ships) and 1,500 to 2,000 seamen and was basically concerned with cotton, sugar, and rum. Products in lesser quantities were coffee, tobacco, ginger, and fruits. He believed that commerce to Denmark would have been greater had not a number of planters been in league with the English and Dutch. The situation had improved, however, over that which pertained in 1779. As for trade and navigation in these islands, it had been open to all Danish subjects for more than a half-century. Then, too, St. Thomas was a neutral port open to all flags, and an ordinance of November 1782 extended this as well to St. John. (Ledru, Voyage aux iles, 2: 29-35.)

13. "Journal of Cuthbert Powell," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 13: 59-60.

Powell also had some choice comment on the sharp business practices of one "Mr. D. Abendanon, an English Jew" in Charlotte Amalie.

After beating to windward until 9 o'clock at night, with a strong Ea. Wind & current made the No Ea end of St. Johns, from getting a wet shower of rain, & the spray of the sea breaking across the boat found myself sick with a violent headache, got the negro boatmen to put me ashore at the sugar Estate of a Mr. William Brown[14] on St. Johns, who I found at his boiling House. I told him of my situation, and begd the liberty of staying all night with him. The old Gentn took me cordially by the hand & told me I was welcome; he prescribed me some strong Brandy & water to prevent catching cold, then sent a boy to saddle 2 mules, on which we rode to his dwelling house, pleasantly situated on a high hill above his Sugar House, where I found a handsome supper on the table. He made me acquainted with his wife a sensible, agreeable woman, a native of Anguilla. Tuesday morning after breakfast left St. Johns in a handsome Coble hired of Mr. Brown, with three hands to carry me to Tortola, where I arrived at one o'clock.

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14. Perhaps this was on Brown's Bay ("Brynes Bay" as noted by Oxholm) eastward from Leinster where Oxholm showed development, including a treadmill, in 1800.

CHAPTER VIII

The Nineteenth Century and Downward Turn

Though Denmark led the way in the abolition of the African slave trade with Christian VII's edict of March 16, 1792, it was not immediately of particular concern, or a serious economic restriction, for the island's planters.[1] Though a first step, it was not a direct attack on the institution of slavery itself.[2] Pressures toward this would increase but it would be more than a half-century before emancipation would be realized. When it came it would be a severe economic blow and nowhere more so than on St. John, still securely wedded to its agricultural (essentially a one crop) system and simple way of life. After mid-century there would be a rather rapid slippage here, for most, into a marginal subsistence economy and low population level.[3]

While in the first decades of the 19th century St. Croix continued to blossom as a sugar island and St. Thomas went on to new heights in trade and commerce (despite disastrous fires and hurricanes producing havoc in its port town), St. John enjoyed solid prosperity in neither area. It remained wholly agricultural with increasing competition for its position as a sugar island. Even so there was still some profit here for the enterprising and ven-

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1. As Jens Vibaek has noted: "The abolition of the slave trade between Guinea and the West Indies, which Denmark was the first country in the world to proclaim in 1792 was not a great misfortune to the planters at the time, as until 1803 they could replenish their labour with government loans. The law had the happy effect of improving the treatment of slaves, as they could no longer be replaced through imports." ("Three Islands" in Denmark and the West Indies, a reprint from the Danish Foreign Office Journal, 1967, p. 8.)

2. Albert Keller concluded, in commenting on the action against the slave trade that "the Danes became the forerunners of the great philanthropic movement of the early nineteenth century." (Notes on the Danish West Indies, p. 103.)

3. There is a much abbreviated, but quite lucid and helpful, discussion of these years in Westergaard, The Danish West Indies (especially his "Supplementary Chapter: 1755-1917"), pp. 247-62.

detail in a European power struggle in which Denmark became involved in opposition to the British and their ascendant navy. Locally it was chiefly St. Thomas, more particularly Charlotte Amalie and its harbor, that was involved in considered occupation.

The first seizure, after blockade and surrender, came in April 1801, and lasted until February of the next year as the French and British were preparing to come to terms, at least temporarily. European wars and alliances caught up with St. Thomas and the Danish Virgins again, however, and once more Colonel **Von Scholten surrendered** to the English, this time in December 1807. Some 1,500 men were now quartered on St. Thomas. The British would remain in occupation for eight years (until Napolean's final defeat), with the islands being returned on April 15, 1815, in exchange for the North Sea island of Heligoland which Denmark ceded.[9]

The English left little lasting mark on the islands. There was no intent to do so but rather to keep the islands out of other hands and to prevent their use as a base against their own possessions and to control sea lanes in this part of the Caribbean. They did build Fort Crowell at the entrance to St. Thomas harbor, named for the occupation commander, and other facilities also on Hassel Island.

In securing St. John they are said to have established a position, a "so-called 'English fort,'" on Lind Point overlooking Cruz Bay. The "fort" was "actually never a fort at all, but merely a half-moon gun platform."[10] When viewed about 1950 by Clarence Johnson his evaluation was: "What is left there **now** looks so recent that I wonder if perhaps the American Marines didn't do some touching-up in 1917 in case the emplacement should be needed in World War I." It was Johnson's view also that there was some refurbishing

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9. Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas . . . and St. John, pp. 90-94.

10. Johnson continues: "But the story is that when the British decided to seize St. John they landed a whole mess of men at night, so quietly that the few people then living in Cruz Bay never heard them, worked them like beavers all night, and when the morning came the people of Cruz Bay looked up in astonishment to see a newly-constructed gun emplacement with British guns mounted and pointed down their throats and toward St. Thomas to stop any Danish forces that might be disposed to come and argue the matter." If there is any truth in this "surprise story," Johnson wrote, it was likely the result of British use of "some ruins there probably the ruin of a horsemill . . . so that all the British had to do was replace a few stones and haul up the cannon." ("St. John and St. Thomas," pp. 42-43.)

of the Cruz Bay fort as well as the Coral Bay fort and battery.[11] It may be too that they reactivated some kind of position at the very tip of East End peninsula which previously had been noted on a chart of 1775. Also, a plan of St. John Island drawn about 1815 shows the position, labeled "North Fort," in this location. This is in addition to the normally delineated "Castle" overlooking Coral Bay.[12]

Following the Napoleonic wars St. Thomas remained a distinguished entrepôt for the area and for another 30 years as well held a fairly enviable position in trade, being a principal center of commerce. It was a point of goods exchange, a market, as well as a point of trans-shipment and supply that met the needs of the sailing vessels. However, as steam-powered ships began to increase after about 1835 it, with increasing frequency, came to be bypassed. Decline set in that accelerated rapidly after the midpoint of the 19th century and continuing into the 20th. As Earl B. Shaw so succinctly put it:

> Several factors contributed to the decline of shipping at Charlotte Amalie. Steamships burning coal and oil replaced sailing boats, ships traveled longer distances without refueling, and frequent stops at refueling-points like Charlotte Amalie were less necessary; refrigeration eliminated much of the food problem of ships, and sea-water condensers eliminated stops for water; wireless and radio gave vessles constant contact with the outside world, and docking at strategic islands for orders was discontinued; other islands in the Antilles became commercially important and ordered full shiploads, as did St. Thomas; and foreign countries developed ports in their own colonies, by the aid of patronage and subsides, to afford stronger competition for Charlotte Amalie.[13]

Despite all, the economy of the Danish islands faltered as the 19th century progressed, especially in the late decades. Just as in the case of the British islands, the Danish islands commanded re-

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11. See Appendix E, Cruz Bay A and B.

12. "West Indian Islands: Porto Rico and Virgin Islands," engraved by J. and G. Menzies, circa 1815.

13. "The Virgin Islands," (The American Empire, pp. 105-07).

spect earlier in the century, but as economic forces took their toll they increasingly lapsed into the position of dependencies requiring state subsides. For the mother country they became economic liabilities rather than assets.[14]

Of all the Danish islands St. John had less to fall back on. Its marked decline can be seen in its rapid population drop:[15]

1773 - 2,402 persons

1796 - 2,120

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14. A study report issued in 1902 concluded:

> Back of all of this, of course, has been the economic decline of the colonies, an evidence of which is the decrease of one-half in the value of real estate in twenty years. The cause seems to be found in the decline of the sugar industry, due to European competition [the sugar beet] and the inability of the inhabitants to readjust their agricultural industry to the new conditions. The commercial importance of St. Thomas has fallen from another cause also, in that it has ceased to be the main distributing point for the neighboring islands, a position which it so long held before the era of steamships and cables.

[O. P. Austin, Danish West India Islands: Their Commerce, Production, Area, etc. in Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance of the United States, January, 1902, issued by the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, as a Congressional Document (57th Congress, 1st Session, House of Representatives, Document No. 15, Part 7, No. 7, 1901-1902 Series), Washington, 1902, p. 2785.]

15. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 253; The St. Thomas Almanack and Commercial Advertiser for 1881 (St. Thomas, WI, 1881); Taylor, Leaflets of the Danish West Indies, p. 37.

The situation on St. John was much more critical than on St. Thomas and on St. Croix but some of the same forces were at work all over.

	St. Thomas	St. Croix		St. Thomas	St. Croix
1733	4,371	21,809	1860	31,463	23,194
1796	4,734	28,803	1870	14,007	22,760

1822 - 2,430 (180 white, 50 mulattoes, 2,200 Negroes)

1835 - 2,475

1850 - 2,228

1860 - 1,574[16] (760 males, 814 females)

1870 - 1,054 (502 males, 552 females)

1880 - 944

1890 - 984

1901 - 925

Sugar production was no longer a significant element in the St. John economy even before Baron Eggers published his entry (1879) in the study of the island's flora describing "sugar-cane" (Saccharum officinarum) in the Virgin Islands. "Sugar-growing islands are now only two, viz., St. Croix and Vieques ["the two largest and most level of the islands"], whilst the other Virgin Islands have only a few cane estates, principally for selling raw cane in the markets." He further noted that: "St. Thomas, St. Jan, Tortola, and Virgin Gorda, having, with a few exceptions, long ago abandoned the cultivation of the cane as unremumerative, the two remaining islands, Calebra and Anegada, never having been appropriated to that purpose."[17]

Eggers in 1879 noted that forest and bush had returned to much of the land--"the best wooded islands being St. Jan and Vieques, the least wooded ones St. Thomas and Virgin Gorda." As for land use, in open areas "the surface is either used for pasture or cultivated

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	St. Thomas	St. Croix		St. Thomas	St. Croix
1835	14,022	26,681	1880	14,389	18,430
1850	13,666	23,720	1890	12,019	19,783
			1901	11,012	18,590

16. In 1860 there were 147 (62 males and 85 females) in Cruz Bay and 698 in the "country districts." In 1870 it was 99 (39 males and 60 females) in Cruz Bay and 463 in the island districts.

17. Flora of St. Croix and the Virgin Islands, pp. 11, 106.

with sugar-cane or provisions, the former on a large scale in St. Croix and Vieques only, the latter everywhere on the islands where the soil seems proper."

In further comment on the islands in general, Eggers pointed out that: "Around dwellings are found planted and naturalized most of the plants now common to nearly all tropical countries--some fruit-bearing . . . others ornamental. . . . Actually gardens are now very rare, flowers being mostly cultivated in pots or boxes. Some few vegetables of colder climates are cultivated in shady places where water is abundant, such as salad, radishes, cabbage, and others." Everywhere roaming cattle "effectually prevents the re-establishment of trees or woods" and sheep and goats without doubt "have contributed largely to deteriorating even the still existing wood."[18]

It was a bleak picture of St. John that Charles E. Taylor described in 1888[19] since "it enjoys little or no prosperity" despite "great natural advantages":

> St. John is a free port, and its soil is very fertile. Coffee of a superior quality, as well as sugar and tobacco, have been cultivated there to a considerable extent in former years, and might have been to this day, had sufficient labour been forthcoming since emancipation. Its gradual decay may be attributed to this, and to the fact of many of its planters having transplanted their capital and industry to St. Croix and other places. Only a small quantity of sugar is produced on the island at the present day. . . .
>
> Now only the Judge and a couple of policemen represent the majesty of the law in this peaceable and well ordered island. Dutch-creole

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18. Flora of St. Croix and the Virgin Islands, pp. 8, 12.

In his discussion of 1,013 specific items of flora Eggers makes special reference to St. John in only 51 instances and these are not necessarily exclusive mentions. Some 16 site locations were given as for Cinnamon Bay (five mentions), the Bordeaux area (4), Baas Gut (5), Rogiers (6), Kings' Hill (4), Reef Bay (2), Macumbic (3), and one each for Cruz Bay, Joshee Gut, Bethania, Fish Bay, Rustenberg, Adrian Estate, Little Plantation, Enigheit and Klein Caneel Bay.

19. Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, pp. 99-100.

> was once the prevailing language, many of the planters being of Dutch descent. The population which now numbers about 900 speak English, and is represented in the Colonial Council of St. Thomas by three members, one appointed by Government, and the others elected by the people. There is no resident doctor; this want being supplied by occasional visits from the Lordsphysicus of St. Thomas. Society is virtually nil, probably on account of the difficult roads, and the distance of estates from each other. It is only on horseback that one can ride on the steep cliffs and mountains of the whole island, and it is not without a certain sense of fear that you traverse some of the pathways which are cut out of the hill and overlook an abyss of several hundred feet.

This situation continued, being briefly noted in a 1900 German Consular report:[20]

> St. Johns--of white people there are only a Danish official who is stationed there as local judge and chief of police, and a few missionaries, who attend to the spiritual welfare of the 900 negro inhabitants of the island. The sugar plantations have ceased operations for a number of years, a little stockraising being one of the occupations.

Also in 1902 it was noted that in the Danish islands: "The wants of the people in these quarters are increasing. This is especially true of the masses. Better homes are sought, better food eaten, and better clothes worn." And there was the comment that: "The cultivatable area of St. Thomas and St. John is even less, but the products are similar to those of St. Croix." These were listed as sugar, rum, tobacco, bay rum, and some cattle and other livestock.[21]

The "few missionaries" whom the German consul mentioned evidently were the Moravians, who had worked long and hard and successfully in St. John since the middle of the 18th century. Zabriskie writing in 1918 observed that:

> In St. John until quite recent years, the Moravian Church ministered to the entire population, a Lutheran clerk only being supplied for the few members of that denom-

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20. Austin, Danish West India Islands (House Document, 1902), p. 2780.

21. Ibid, pp. 2367, 2779.

> ination in the island, with occasional services by the minister from St. Thomas. . . . The Moravian Church has been the pioneer in the educational work of these islands.

He further noted that early in the 19th century the Moravian schools on St. John received government approval and the educational system was practically in the hands of the Moravians. "At present it is responsible only for the country schools of St. Thomas and St. John, and for its interest and activities along these lines it receives a generous subsidy from the government."[22]

Taylor, when writing in 1888, regretted the low state of conditions:[23] "Finding ourselves face to face with the disagreeable fact that the chief staple product of the West Indies and the Danish West Indies is sugar, and that the prices it obtains is hardly sufficient to cover the actual cost of its production, it may well be asked what ought to be done in order to regain something of our ancient prosperity." He suggested a return to the land and better use of it pointing out, that of the total five-and-a-half Danish square miles only about one-and-one-half were really being cultivated. "At the present this area is chiefly used by small agriculturists, who live by selling to the town, milk, grass, and beasts for slaughter, without, however, there being any proper pastures, the beasts being turned out to roam about the 'bush' and seek their food as best they can." He pointed out that there were valleys and slopes particularly suited to producing vegetables, the finer sorts, as well as "on a large scale roots, peas and beans and fruits." "We have seen the bushy 'pigeon pea' all kinds of beans, yams, sweet potatoes, taniers, cassavas, pumpkins, bananas, and a host of other tropical vegetables and fruits piled up in our markets, not one of which was a native of these islands, but which could just as well have been cultivated in them as in the land of the stranger." Taylor continued:

> Whilst it must be confessed that of the more important plant foods it would always

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22. The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 194-95.

Zabriskie did add that: "Within the last decade, however, a pretty little chapel has been erected by the Lutherans at Cruz Bay in the west end of the island and regular Sunday services are now held either by the pastor from St. Thomas or the rector of the church."

23. Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, pp. 194-203.

> be necessary to import corn meal (maize meal), wheat flour, and tea, it might be suggested with propriety, that the palatable guinea corn (Sorghum), which grows out here with astonishing luxuriance, could to a great extent, replace the now generally used corn meal. Coffee **could also be produced, in St. John especially in sufficient quantities to supply the islands for home consumption. On the other hand, by establishing enough pastures of the perennial guinea-grass, the common fodder plant in the West Indies, it would soon be possible to raise enough cattle for slaughtering. Large sums go yearly to Porto Rico, and even to North America, for purchasing them.**
>
> The large areas, particularly in the East End of St. Croix and of St. Thomas and St. John, which give no return, could, however, so far as they could not be used for the cultivation of vegetables or as pastures, be made at least as profitable as the more fertile areas, which are now used for sugar cultivation, and that without requiring so much capital to do so.

Taylor saw a future in the cultivation of, and capitalization on, fruits and berries both native and imported. He pointed out the success that planters in Montserrat were having with lime growing, a development of late years. "Everyone knows the value of lime juice in the preparation of refreshing beverages, and its uses in the navies of the world."

In the generally untillable stretches (steep hillsides, mountains, poor soil, and dry areas) where vegetation still abounded he proposed the orderly use of the plants native here but having within them a commercial potential. These he classified as (1) plants producing the highly marketable tannin, (2) those with medicinal value, (3) fibre-bearing plants, and (4) those containing useful oils as in the case of the bay tree. As for timber, this was a possible resource, too, though now "owing to its being regularly cut down for charcoal burning before it reaches any considerable size, is almost exterminated."

Though it is difficult to discuss in specifics, much of what Taylor had to say was taken, or had already been taken, seriously in some quarters throughout the Danish islands and particularly on St. John, as later accounts reveal. The scale of the activities as well as the success of them would, however, remain small indeed insofar as raising the general economic level is concerned, a possible

that they would not sell it to any other power without the consent of the French king. In the end, however, this would not be a troublesome detail.[31]

A treaty was worked out late in 1867 providing for the purchase of St. John and St. Thomas. Both houses of the Danish parliament approved the treaty and in the required plebiscite on the islands the people gave an overwhelming endorsement (1,244 to 22) in favor of annexation by the United States. Then, embarassingly, trouble developed in the United States, especially in the Senate, and there was no action. The treaty was allowed to lapse on April 14, 1870.[32]

The Danish government quietly raised the matter again late in Harrison's administration; however, it was not pressed at this time nor in Cleveland's administration when there was additional mention of it. Actually it remained for the Spanish American war to bring the matter into sharper focus for a time. In 1898 a new bill for purchase was introduced into the Senate and the Committee on Foreign Relations made an elaborate report concluding that: "From a military point of view the value of these islands to the United States can hardly be overestimated. We have always been anxious to have a good naval and coaling station in the West Indies. Important in time of peace, such a station would be essential to our safety in time of war. . . . As has been pointed out by Captain Mahan, it is one of the strategic points of the West Indies. . . . [They] are of incalculable value to the United States, not only as a part of the national defense, but as removing by possession a very probable cause of foreign complications."[33]

A new treaty with Denmark was forthcoming late in 1901. Early in 1902 France posed no objection to including St. Croix. The United States Senate this time promptly ratified the treaty; however, the measure failed to clear the lower house of the Danish parliament.

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31. Westergaard (The Danish West Indies, pp. 257 ff) has a good digest of the various negotiations.

32. Ibid.

33. It was further recognized that: "These islands, together with Porto Rico, are of great importance in a strategic way, whether the strategy be military or commercial. . . . [They] form the northeastern corner of the Caribbean Sea and are of great importance in connection with the American Isthmus, where a canal will be constructed between the Atlantic and Pacific. They are of first importance in connection with our relations to the region of the Orinoco and the Amazon and with our control of the Windward Passage." [Austin, Danish West India Islands (House Document, 1902), pp. 2768, 2792.]

When these moves failed, to help the islands, a Danish West Indies plantation company was organized (largely as a patriotic gesture) to seek some improvement in the continuing dark economic picture still prevalent in the Danish Caribbean holdings. But basically it was not successful, showing a net gain in only four of the eleven years between 1904 and 1914. The reasons offered were a series of unusually dry seasons and a number of severe storms. The effort involved the introduction of new livestock breeds and a variety of plants, the importation of steam plows, the increased rotation of crops (such as bananas and alfalfa), and the application of advice from British West Indian experts.[34]

In 1911-1912 there was another try at purchase of the islands; however, action was deferred when complications developed. It remained for World War I to provide the spark that led to success. The principal reason was the German U-boat threat and the danger of occupation of the islands by Germany.

In 1916 when the Danish ministry again disclosed plans to sell the islands to the United States a sizeable Danish opposition came to light. When the question did go to the Danish people in December of that year, however, the plan was accepted by a substantial margin (283,000 to 158,000). The matter was promptly consummated at a cost of 25 million. The transfer of sovereignty came on January 17, 1917, and the flag of the United States was hoisted on St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, the three "Virgin Islands of America," and their dependencies on March 31.

A harbor and naval base had been acquired, the Leeward gateway to the Caribbean and Panama Canal had been secured, American influence in the area was enhanced, and a real danger of the entry here of another power (like Germany) was removed. This last was, perhaps, at this date, the only continuing valid reason of them all.[35] The islands, long "economically American," now became "politically American" as well.

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34. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, p. 256.

35. This was cogently put by Admiral Dewey when he wrote:

> There is no military reason for acquiring the Danish West Indies **connected with preparations by the United States itself for a campaign in the Caribbean. The harbors and waters of Puerto Rico and the adjacent islands now under our flag afford as good facilities for an advanced base as do those of any of the Danish West Indies, and they are so near the acquisition of the Danish Islands for the mere purpose of establishing a base upon which the United States fleet could rest would not be worth while.**

The Danish Islands, however, do afford several harbors and anchorages more or less protected from prevailing winds and seas, and more or less capable of artificial defense, that would be very useful to a foreign nation conducting a campaign in the Caribbean. If that nation were an enemy of the United States, the resulting situation would be exceedingly embarrasing in the conduct of a campaign by the United States. Denmark is a small nation with limited sea power, and would not be able to prevent the seizure of the Danish islands by a strong military power desirous of using them as a base. It might not even be able to withstand an attempt by such a Power to purchase the islands.

In a military sense, that of forestalling a possible enemy rather than that of endeavoring to gain a favorable position for ourselves, it is advisable that the Danish Islands should come under our flag by peaceful reasons before war. [Quoted in C.C. Tansill, The Purchase of the Danish West Indies (Baltimore, 1932), pp. 481-82.]

CHAPTER IX

Two Estates in the Picture

Annaberg:

The Annaberg Estate Sugar Factory ruins are perched on an elevation overlooking Leinster Bay near the base of the rather steep incline that rises inland toward Ajax Peak on St. John's north side.[1] These stone remains consitute one of the finest groups of sugar factory ruins on St. John Island. Having been stablized they form an intriguing exhibit as was so well diagrammed and explained in the Annaberg Sugar Mill folder.[2] These include a windmill tower, a grinding platform, factory, slave quarters, and such. There are excellent Historic American Buildings Survey drawings with supporting photographic record.[3] These cover the Sugar Factory including the slave village's 16 cabin ruins (five sheets),[4] the Bake Oven (2 sheets),[5] and the

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1. See Illustration No. 34.

2. Issued in attractive format and design, it was published by Eastern National Park & Monument Association in cooperation with Virgin Islands National Park (undated but seemingly within the last five years.)

Writing in 1960, National Park Service Historian Herbert Olsen commented, "There are many plantation ruins scattered about the island, but only a few are in sufficiently good physical condition to warrant consideration for possible restoration." Among the most important are: "Annaberg, Reef Bay and Caneel Bay" ("Historical Features: Virgin Islands National Park," a 2-page N.P.S. typewritten report dated December, 1960).

3. See Illustrations No. 36-42.

4. Measured and drawn in August-October 1959 by Architects F. C. Gjessing and J. Michael Everett and Student Assistant Architect Frank Macioge.

The plot plan of the factory area is carried in this report as Illustration No. 35.

5. Measured and drawn in August 1967 by John D. Milner.

relatively recent Cook House (2 sheets).[6] The Annaberg Mill carries the classification BB in the Historic Structures Handbook under date of April 1963.[7] The group does not have an associated estate, or great house.[8]

The history of the **Annaberg** site likely goes back to the early days of Danish settlement on St. John though precise documentation of this seems elusive. The story or legend that in May 1734, following six months of intermittent chase and pursuit, a small group of the rebelling slaves broke their weapons and ended their lives by their own hand in the area of Annaberg makes no note of a then-existing estate or plantation here.[9] Rather it may suggest the opposite, as the implication is that the area was one having some isolation.[10]

No evidence of earlier use, such as that by aborigines, has been noted in the Annaberg area and the same is true for the area east and west of it along the coast. In evaluation, or explanation, of this Frederick W. Sleight had this to say of the site:[11]

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6. Ibid.

7. Inventory for Southeast Region, p. 13.

8. As Charles McGuire has pointed out the term estate has two meanings. One has to do with the land, or acreage, belonging to a plantation or economic unit. The other has to do with the principal dwelling or residence ("estate house," or "great house"). Actually the English term plantation was never popular; however, the initial term was often given as "plantage" when used with an original patentee, proprietor, or planter. But generally the term "estate" came to replace it. (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 6.)

9. This is concerned with the 100-foot high Annaberg Point, overlooking Brim's Bay. It curves around to the east and north and is actually across a little valley some 350 yards northeast from the ruins site. (See Chapter V of this report.)

10. In 1918 De Booy and Faris wrote: "Report has it that when the slave revolt of 1733 was being put down, three hundred of the rebels were found upon a precipitous cliff that can be seen on this estate ["Annaberg, also called Brim Bay"] and rather than suffer capture, dashed themselves on the rocks below. While an act of this kind might actually have been committed by one or two of the slaves, the story can hardly be true of such a large number as three hundred, for the entire number of rebels at large did not amount to this total." (Our New Possession, p. 168.)

11. Archeological Reconnaissance, p. 22.

> Fredrikdal Valley faces north and northeast and formed an important plantation tract during Danish times; however, no evidence here of prehistoric occupation was obtained by survey. The fact that no site was in evidence at Fredrikdal may be a reflection of a combination of features; the shallow, coral-filled Leinster Bay; the predominance of brackish swamp over much of the valley mouth; and possible lack of fresh water. The northern slopes of Ajax Peak came down hard upon the coast in the Annaberg area and may have discouraged prehistoric occupation of this sector. Waterlemon Bay, an eastern extension of Leinster Bay, faces to the northwest and affords some level valley to the southeast. However, no archaeological remains were encountered here--this may be a reflection of the lack of fresh water, a condition noted here and eastward, combined with other negative aspects in the local environment. Leinster Point, Threadneedle Point, and Leinster Hill offer little or no terrain suitable for occupation by a prehistoric island culture and no surface evidences were reported.

In any case Annaberg Estate was a going agricultural unit in 1780, as P. L. Oxholm detailed on his survey of that year.[12] It lay just south, on the inland side, of the north shore road about midway between the east-west extremities of Leinster Bay (Mary Creek and Waterlemon Bay). It was in the midst of a strip of open area that bordered the north coast and rose inland up the slopes of the hills and mountains. Neighboring estates or units were "Windberg" and "Fridrichsdal" to the west and "Water Lemon Kim" (Leinster) to the east, all of which were located in the open north shore strip.

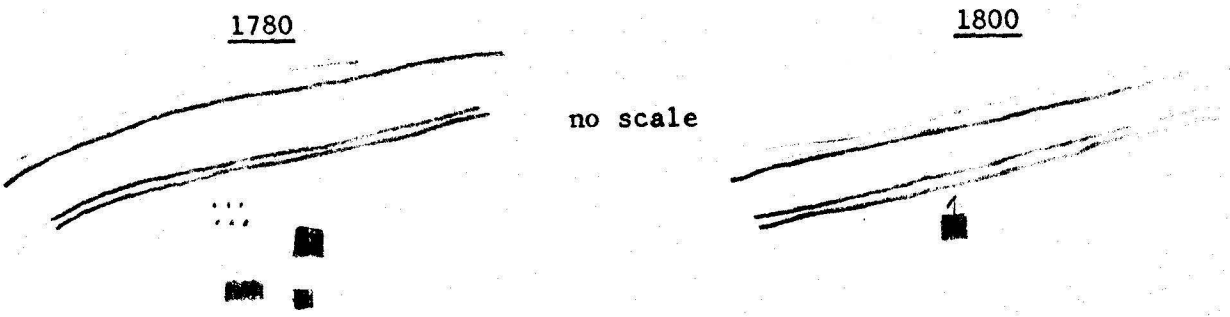
Development in 1780 consisted of a cluster of structures (three buildings, one of them large) and a slave village. At this time it was the ownership and/or operation of Benjamin Lind and one Jones according to Oxholm. It then likely was a cotton, possibly provisions--producing estate. It in any case was not a sugar oriented operation as there was no factory mill, neither horse, nor windmill.

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12. See Illustration No. 4 for Oxholm survey, also Illustration No. 8. Annaberg is shown here as number "8. 9" as Oxholm noted it.

This was true, too, of the neighboring estates here in this sector of the north shore.

There was a change before 1800 when Oxholm published his updated chart.[13] At this time the estate was noted by the name Annaberg and the only structure shown was that of a horse mill. Evidently Annaberg was now a sugar factory operation.



Actually there had been some ownership changes in this 20-year interval and perhaps this brought the operational change. In 1786 Benjamin Lind, presumably having acquired the Jones interest, sold both the Annaberg estate and that of Mary Point to the northwest (together some 518 acres) to Robert Milner. It was later that Milner transferred the property by sale to Thomas Sheen, the Danish Colonial Adjutant. Evidently the cane-grinding horse mill was the work of Lind or Milner, and it would be enlarged twice.[14]

In switching to sugar production Annaberg was setting the pace, or following the lead, of its neighbors on the north shore since by 1800 Windberg, Fredriksdal, and Leinster had horsemills as central in their development groups. Sugar production would remain the main Annaberg economic thrust until late in the 19th century.

Early in the 19th century (probably between 1810-1830) a windmill was added to the factory group. This structure, among the largest in the Danish islands, had a base diameter of 34 feet, narrowing to 20 feet at the top in its 38 feet of height. The bake oven, too, dates from this early 19th century period. In 1827 the estate was sold at auction going to Hans Henrik Berg. He was followed by a succession of owners.

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13. See Illustration No. 6 for Oxholm Chart.

14. HABS Drawings for Annaberg factory, bake oven, and cook house ruins; Annaberg Sugar Mill interpretive folder.

But in due course sugar production ran its course at Annaberg as elsewhere on St. John. Here the cultivation of cane was abandoned and cattle-raising replaced it. For most of the 19th century it was operated in conjunction with the Mary Point Estate to the northwest as well as (for a period) with Leinster Bay to the eastward. In later years a dwelling and cookhouse were erected on the old horse mill. Seemingly Annaberg in its sugar production years never had an estate, or great house, as no ground evidence or record of it has been found.15

In 1918 it was noted that Annaberg's "Francis' Castle Building, just built" had been badly damaged by the 1916 hurricane. Also, it was further noted that the houses in "Parcel Annaberg," then "owned by squatters," had been much damaged. In 1925 McGuire described Annaberg as an estate with a mill and a Moravian school.16 The mill, however, had been long quiet, as was also true of the countryside.

Its sugar past, in periods, had been brisk and its structural remains attest to a substantial operation. When the windmill was added the factory may have served adjacent estates as well. In essence, however, it was never the fully-contained estate complex and operation characteristic of a larger, better situated, and more productive estate with its well appointed manse or "great house." Nor did it have as much continuity in the business as some, perhaps a profitable 50 years and this mostly in the early part of the 19th century.

Cinnamon Bay Estate:

This estate area has a long historical continuity, having been an integral part of several facets of the St. John story. For perhaps a century and a half it was a going sugar plantation and in later decades it featured in St. John's bay tree and bay oil "boom." Besides, prior to European colonization here it was for perhaps more than 500 years a major use or settlement area of the aborigines, particularly the Arawak Indians.

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15. HABS Drawings; Interpretive folder.

"The nearest known ruins of a Great House is near Frederiksdal, half a mile away. Possibly the overseers lived there or at the Mary Point Estate. Absentee owners also operated many plantations on which no Great House was built." (Interpretive folder.)

16. Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 233-35; McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 25-26, 129.

Evidently the Cinnamon Bay section, after Coral Bay and Cruz Bay, came to be one of those areas which proved attractive to the Indians on or migrating to St. John.[17] Actually the three-quarter-mile beach and shoreline which follows the line of a flat arc from Trunk Point to American Point is almost divided into two segments. This is due to the steep slope of Peter Peak which pushes seaward. This leaves a flat, or level, area to the west along "Peter Bay" and a larger such area to the east, or along Cinnamon Bay proper. The latter, under discussion here, is a relatively "wide valley mouth providing a varied environment."

As further reported by Frederick W. Sleight, who did archeological work here in 1959 and 1960:[18]

> The valley is formed by a complex of drainages that flow during runoff from the north slopes of Camelberg Peak. Alluvial deposits have formed northwestward with a resultant triangular floor. This floor is high along the eastern half of the valley, while the western area shows evidence of frequent flooding from the mountains as well as the sea. A dune bar is typical of nearly all such bay environments, and the large coral-sand face of this valley is no exception. That this bar has moved, broken, and reformed many times is evident from its structure, although most of this action has taken place to the west. A profusion of sherds along the inner side of this bar indicated to us a relatively heavy occupation in prehistoric times, as did my test excavations. Interestingly enough, this sherd area was restricted to the eastern half of the inner side of the bar and was not found extending inland to the so-called high ground location.[19]

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17. See Illustration No. 34.

Other sites in the general area were at Durloe Bay, Turtle Point, and Francis Bay.

18. Archaeological Reconnaissance, pp. 16-20.

19. Sleight continued:

> The Cinnamon Bay Site, Site 7 [of the 20 he noted] is located in a seemingly natural location for settlement by an island

It was Sleight who excavated at Cinnamon Bay, with the ceramic and other artifacts found here being evaluated and described in some detail by Ripley P. Bullen, who listed 1,643 ceramic sherds in his "Vertical Distribution of Pottery at Cinnamon Bay." This had reference to series, types, designs, shapes, and pastes.[20] He noted: "Our test disclosed a deposit of sand and shells plus artifacts which was thicker than any we found elsewhere although it was not as rich in specimens per cubic meter." Among specimens not listed in Bullen's table were a flat, ground stone ornament, or tool (Pictured on his Plate X as j), four clam shell scrapers, and four clay spindle whorls (three of the latter shown on Plate IX as a, o, p). Also included in the findings was a molded human head handle.[21]

> culture, and its further examination is recommended. Detailed excavation may prove the occupational area to be highly disturbed, at least in spots, through storm action mentioned above; even this feature, however, would prove of interest in the general interpretation of the environment.

This site had been noted earlier by Gudmund Hatt in 1922-1923 as one of the six sites on St. John yielding a collection of sherds and stone artifacts which he made for the Danish National Museum. (Ibid., and also p. 12.)

20. Ceramic Periods, pp. 42-46.

"My paper is concerned," Bullen wrote, "with archeological evidence, items of material culture, their associations in the ground and interpretations deduced from them. It is oriented toward the development of a ceramic chronology of temporal framework into which future excavations may be placed." (Ibid., p. 2.)

21. On this Bullen commented:

> I do not feel [that this] fits the category of Botany Adorned for stylistic reasons. While made of a Botany-like paste and having a typical unpainted rough Botany-like surface, the modeling is much more naturalistic than anything of this nature I have seen illustrated by Hatt for Magen's Bay. In both instances, shoulders are present and the figure appears as if lying on its back so that the bowl proper is formed by the chest and abdominal regions. Details are not as well delineated on the Magen's

As for the time period of the settlement and occupation here, Bullen concludes:[22] "The amount and distribution of sherds of the Coral Series do not prove occupation during a Magens I period [prior to 700 A.D.] in the tested area although deposits of that period probably are present at the Cinnamon Bay site. Levels penetrated by Sleight's test pertain to Magens II B [900-1200 A.D.] and II C times [1200-1500 A.D.]."[23]

It is generally said that Cinnamon Bay Estate was first settled by a Hollander, Peter Durloe, and in due course the estate, as did the bay in front of it, took its name from a large cinnamon tree near the shore. In 1780 Oxholm labeled the bay both "Cinnamon Bay" and, in bolder hand, "Caneel Bay." The well-developed estate he did not name. However, in 1800 he did. Both the bay and the estate were now labeled "Caneel Bay." "Caneel" was Dutch for cin-

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> Bay example as on the one from **Cinnamon** Bay. With its raised eyebrows, pierced ear lobes, and backward sloping face it strongly resembles modeled human-head handles I have seen on vessels from the Lesser Antilles to the south. These specimens differ, however, in being rather flat-faced while ours has mid-facial prognathism. The specimen in question was found in the highest zone at **Cinnamon** Bay. I feel it represents extremely late influences, possibly trade, from the south.

(Ibid., p. 46.)

22. Bullen, Ceramic Periods, p. 42.

23. At the second aboriginal site, this to the west on Cinnamon Bay, Sleight gave the number 6 to the sherd area. There was only surface collecting here, no excavation, but it yielded 170 sherds. He reasoned that: "Its protected location, availability to good catchment water sources, and protected beaching for boats would have made this a good settlement area, and I would recommend further examination of the site."

Bullen viewed this site as larger than some having pottery of some variety which "emphasized sand tempering material." On the basis of the surface finds he conjectured: "Occupation started late in the Magens I period [500 A.D.] and continued undoubtedly intermittently, into Magens II B period [1000 A.D.]. (Archeological Reconnaissance, p. 16; Ceramic Periods, pp. 57-58.)

namon and the sometimes used "Caneelboom" meant cinnamon tree.[24] As time passed for this bay and estate the anglicized form, Cinnamon, came into general usage and so continues. But there was to be confusion in terminology at another location.

The story has it that Durloe went on to acquire a second estate, this not far away on the northwest salient of the island with a protected bay before it. In 1780 Oxholm duly labeled the bay as "Lille Duerloe Bay" and noted that the estate was then a Durloe place. In 1800 it was still Duerloe Bay; however, the estate was now noted as "Klein Caneel Bay" (Little Cinnamon Bay). Perhaps the Durloes liked the name Caneel and made their second place Little Cinnamon (Klein Caneel) to differentiate it from the first of the name. Or perhaps there was another cinnamon tree. As time passed Durloe Bay in regular usage became Caneel Bay, dropping "Klein" (the prefexing form of little), and the estate evolved into Caneel Bay Plantation though there was some use of the term "K.C" (after Klein Caneel) from time to time. From all indications it was this Caneel Bay (not Cinnamon Bay) that featured so prominently in the slave insurrection of 1733. And it is here that "spectacular" sugar factory ruins survived.[25]

Cinnamon Bay evidently was one of the earlier estates to be opened on St. John. This would have to have been the case if Durloe had occupied it and already moved to his second holding of Little Cinnamon prior to the slave revolt. Evidently Cinnamon Bay had no active roll in the uprising unless it was then the seat of John Jansen. Jansen was in the "Caneel Bay" area at the time. He lived here with his wife on a cotton plantation belonging to his mother. In 1733 he had a labor force of three "capable" slaves and four children. The rebels stopped here en route to the Durloe estate, drove him off, and plundered the estate.

Whatever its earlier history prior to 1780 Cinnamon Bay Estate had become a well-developed sugar-producing estate. At that time Oxholm delineated it as a three-building group with a treadmill for

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24. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 137; McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 47, 55, 68-69.

McGuire lists a number of variants of the Dutch "Caneel" (Danish "Kanel") names he had encountered, like Caneelbayen, Bahia de la Canela, Baye Cunnil, Kanelbay, Kaneel Bay, CinamonBay, Kaneelboom, and such. The Duerlo name too had variety as Duerloo, Deurloo, Dorlo, Duloo, Durlo, Duurlo, etc.

25. See Chapter V which deals with the insurrection and Appendix E, Cruz Bay District, No. 8 for some data on Caneel Bay Plantation.

CHAPTER X

Life on St. John Island About the Time of Its Transfer from Denmark to the United States

As Luther K. Zabriskie wrote in 1918:[1] "This little group of fifty or more islands in the Caribbean that were generally designated as the Danish West Indies from March 30, 1666 to March 31, 1917 have experienced varying vicissitudes of fortune during the past two hundred and fifty years. Periods of opulence and plenty and seasons of want and misery have alternately visited them." Though there were some 50 or more independent islands, or islets, only three of them were of sufficient size to be of important significance to any but topographers and local inhabitants. These Zabriskie characterized succinctly for his date:

> St. Thomas lays claim to particular attention owing to its possession of one of the best harbours in all the West Indies; St. John is noted as the home of the bay tree (Pimenta acris) from the leaves of which is produced the famous bay rum of the islands, with the reputation of being the finest in the world; and St. Croix, or as the Spanish called it, Santa Cruz, is famous as a sugar-growing country and as a producer of the well-known Santa Cruz rum.[2]

As already noted there had been marked decline on St. John, a decline of long duration, clearly reflected in its decrease in pop-

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1. The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., p. v.

This was one of several published works that appeared about this time obviously written to explore a new subject and to acquaint readers--especially Americans--with the background of, and the current situation in, these islands, with pointed treatment of economic and development potentials, real or fanciful.

2. Ibid., p. 88.

ulation. The census of 1911 enumerated only 941 (450 men and 491 women), less than a third of the total shown in the census taken in 1835.[3] By report, the two principal villages at the time of the island's transfer were small indeed. It was estimated that the chief settlement at Cruz Bay had no more than 150 souls (actually it had been officially listed at 33 in 1911) and that East End had less than 100. There was also the Moravian settlement of Emmaus on Coral Bay with perhaps a dozen families, not more than 60 persons. These three villages then had native schools. By district in 1917 it was reported that Coral Bay had a population of 345, Cruz Bay 269, Maho Bay 164, East End 107, and Reef Bay 44 to make the total of 929. The island normally had a resident "Communal Physician" but there was no hospital closer than St. Thomas. Nor were there any shops or stores (not even a "drug store") closer than St. Thomas.[4]

St. John, having been a prosperous agricultural island in days past, had been unable to compete successfully with more favored land areas. With its one-crop economy long in ruins, diversification, beyond the local islands, or even "home consumption" level, had not been achieved. Neither did it enjoy any measure of commercial prosperity. There was in truth a measure of real misery and want in the island.[5]

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3. Ibid., pp. 184-85, 144.

This total of 941 compared with 10,678 (8,247 in Charlotte Amalie) on St. Thomas Island and 15,467 (4,592 in Christiansted; 3,303 in Fredriksted) on St. Croix.

4. McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 59-66, 122, 139, 156-58; De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 146.

This was in contrast to neighboring St. Thomas: "There are excellent shops in St. Thomas, whose prices correspond favorably with those of the United States. There is also a good drug store. In fact, a visitor will be able to secure practically all he needs. This is true also of St. Croix; but on St. John nothing is obtainable. On both St. Thomas and St. Croix there are experienced physicians, and trained nurses are available."

This again is quoted from De Booy and Faris (page 255) whose 1918 volume is another of the several comprehensive treatments that appeared at this time. Actually De Booy had spent the winter of 1916-1917 on St. John doing archeological work.

5. In large part the discussion here and that which follows is drawn from the Zabriskie (The Virgin Islands of U.S.A.) and the De Booy and Faris (Our New Possessions) volumes.

There was no commerce except that carried on in small sailing boats and no harbors or ports had ever been built up, though the natural harbors were there. Only at Cruz Bay was there a wharf and this only some 12 feet wide and 30 feet long with eight feet of water. There were then but two semi-weekly sailing services between St. John and St. Thomas, on which the former island always depended. Both made trips then on Tuesdays and Fridays. One was a nine-ton mail boat and the other a 20-ton sloop, operated by A. H. Lockhart, which carried passengers and small freight. Of course there were motorboats, sloops, and sailing craft of various sizes and descriptions available for irregular trips to St. John as occasion required. Occasionally a schooner would put into Coral Bay to lead cattle for the neighboring islands. "All inhabitants of any consequence own their little sailing boats which they used, not only for fishing but also for the transportation of their humble products to the St. Thomas markets."[6]

Within the island the roads, because of topography (it being a country predominantly "a mass of rugged uneven hills, some more than a thousand feet high"), and neglect, were difficult indeed. "The island is entirely without carriage roads," it was reported, "the only means of transportation being on horseback over what are but little better than mountain trails." This rendered close communications by land difficult, even between the estates, and was sufficient to support the allegation that there was little or no social life within the island.[7]

Though statistics were not collected on a basis of a color line division, it is clear that St. John's population was basically colored and Negro, perhaps 99 percent as by one estimate.[8] The color line was not at all strictly drawn. Through the islands mixed marriages were very common, and a large proportion of the children were mulattoes of various shades. It is said that St. John had only two white landowners and only one who actually made his home there at this time. De Booy and Faris had this observation on the St. John native: "Like the St. Thomas negro, the St. John negro is noted for his politeness. Added to this virtue is friendliness toward strangers."[9]

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6. H. G. Brock, P. S. Smith, W. A. Tucker, The Danish West Indies, Their Resources and Commercial Importance (Department of Commerce, Special Agents Series, No. 129, Washington, D. C., 1917), p. 8

7. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 136.

8. This is as given by De Booy and Faris (p. 144). It was higher than in St. Thomas, then estimated at some 93 percent.

9. Our New Possessions, p. 144; also, see Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 185-86.

Thus life on St. John at the time of its purchase and transfer to the United States had declined to a simple state. Except for the harvesting of bay tree leaves and the consequent production of bay rum[10] there were economic doldrums everywhere. It was estimated that of the island's some 12,700 acres (some 20 square miles) that not more than 400 acres were then under cultivation. Even if bay tree groves were included it might reach only 1,600 acres. "At present [1917] a very small acreage is devoted to sugar cane and the entire yield is converted into rum."[11]

The natives were expert in the building of small sailing vessels and most everyone had his boat. It was necessary in obtaining seafood, a diet staple. The waters around St. John and the islands about it teemed with fish and of great variety. It was then reported that fishing in the numerous small cays around the islands was excellent--both in trolling, or with rod and line. "Perhaps no better fishing grounds can be found in the Antilles than those between St. John and the cays to the westward." There was, too, the local lobster, tree-oyster, and turtles. The waters were always fundmental in supplying local food.

Another local industry revolved around the manufacture of charcoal. This remained important in local living for cooking purposes, and the ready market at St. Thomas continued. There was some timber on the abandoned estates of St. John though the supply was limited. De Booy and Faris noted that: "The smoke arising from the charcoal pits is a familiar feature of the landscape."

Though it was a limited activity, the natives on St. John were skillful in making baskets, especially from trailing vines. Then, too, the Moravian missionaries had sought to teach basket-making using "a wiry kind of grass that grows here in abundance." The local market, however, was very limited and there was but small income except in the also limited "tourist season" when some visitors sought them as a local production.

On some estates there was a going try at raising stock, particularly cattle. Some observers saw good promise here as they viewed the generally steep and hilly slopes, "with excellent grass of all varieties," as very suitable range. They deplored the general neglect, observing that there were "but two real stock farms on the

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10. Appendix E describes this "industry." It has been included here because of its importance and expectation and its interesting aspects, both in the nature and in the history areas. It was in 1917 the main, though not a particularly strong, economic thrust of the island.

11. Brock, Smith, Tucker, The Danish West Indies, p. 9.

island, with a total of about six hundred head of cattle."[12] The cows were kept for dairy purposes and fattening calves, but some cattle production went for beef export. This was shipped live to St. Thomas and St. Croix where there were butchers. Some beef found further export, chiefly to Barbadoes, Martinique, and Dominica. Only a few hides were shipped and these only "green" to St. Thomas for further treatment.[13] There were some goat herds with meat commonly being sold to the poorer people. It was noted, however, that: "Neighboring French islands were also a good market for goat meat." There were few sheep as mutton was not popular and pork was even less extensively used.[14]

There was little native game, or in fact animals of any type. The only thing to tempt the sportsman were the wild goats, a few truly wild boars (which were seldom seen), and some few deer. Of course, in another area, there were mongoose in abundance. Prior to the importation of mongoose, rats had multiplied to great numbers being a threat to canes, cornfields, and poultry. As the rat population dropped, however, the mongoose itself turned to poultry, birds, and such, itself becoming a pest.

Bird life in the islands, including St. John, approached scarcity, perhaps because of the destruction of the original forest cover and the lack of reforestation. The quail was seldom seen.

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12. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 150-51.

Zabriskie (p. 154) estimated the number of cattle as about the same for St. John and St. Thomas (several thousand each) though he attributed St. Croix with 10,000 head, all exclusive of oxen.

13. "There is no hide industry of any importance. The methods employed in taking off and handling are inefficient and hides are invariably badly scratched by briars and bushes. A few green salted hides are collected at intervals in St. John and St. Croix and are sent to St. Thomas where they are sorted. . . . An increased interest has been shown of late in the cattle raising possiblities of St. John, and several estates owners have stated that they intended to devote more attention to this business." (Brock, Smith, Tucker, The Danish West Indies, p. 28.)

14. Most imported animal stocks, it was reported, had tended to degenerate in the tropics. "The horse loses his fire; the wool of the sheep in succeeding generations becomes wiry and falls off, leaving bare spots. . . . Cattle are docile here, and a wild or mad bull is rarely heard of. The swine are black for the most part, lank and boney, and when a plump white or parti-coloured one is found it can usually be traced to a late importation." (Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 155-57.)

Only the ground dove, in some quantity, and the "green pigeon" offered sport. The pelican and various types of gulls did visit the coast and inlets in season. Of these the most famous was the "booby." In the months of March and April their eggs were often a featured breakfast-table speciality.[15]

A relatively new development on St. John was the effort of several planters to establish lime groves on the abandoned estates, though the 1916 hurricane was a heavy blow in this. The objective was to produce fruit, juice, and, in time, citrate of lime. Zabriskie reported that the "Trees bear prolifically, in many cases at only three years of age, and one orchard which is being cultivated along scientific lines is beginning to give gratifying results four years after setting out. The concentrated juice is usually sold in England where it is used by the dye houses in Manchester." Some islanders were preserving a small quantity of the fruit as "pickled limes" for eating and for export.[16] But of agriculture and industry, whatever there was actually had little scale and produced small profit. The reasons in summary were quite lucidly given in 1917:

> St. John was once a prosperous agricultural island, but owning to the mountainous character of the country, the cost of production was too high to permit competition with other sections of the world. Consequently since the abolition of slavery the development reached at that time has been allowed to deteriorate until at the present time the raising of bay leaves and lime trees is the only agricultural pursuit. The soil is fertile, but the topography of the country is such that except in a few small valleys modern implements cannot be used. The necessary labor for hand cultivation is not available.[17]

But there were other aspects. In 1917 there was a general and keen appreciation of the unique beauty and unspoiled quality of the St. John landscape and seascapes. It was fully recognized that it

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15. Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 154, 157-58, 182-83; De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, pp. 136, 145-47.

16. These were prepared by soaking in clear sea-water, which was changed at intervals, for a specified number of days. Then they were ready for shipment to market still in brine, either bottled or in bulk containers. (Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 181-82.)

17. Brock, Smith, Tucker, The Danish West Indies, p. 24.

had great potential as "a tourist resort," if properly developed and promoted. Zabriskie noted that it was "so well suited" to this.

> The lover of natural scenery will find much to reward him in his rambles over this picturesque island. Magnificant views are to be had everywhere, and whether walking, horseback riding or boating the excursionist can be assured that he will always find himself in the most delightful surroundings.[18]

Perhaps other of Zabriskie's observations are of interest here:

> Should boating be preferable a pull to St. Mary's Point or to Smith's Bay is not easily forgotten. At the former will be found lofty granite cliffs studded with mica, that glimmer in the sunshine, while at Smith's Bay there is one of the finest bathing beaches that one will find anywhere. The bottom of the bay is of beautiful white sand, spread out like a carpet and covered with all sorts of brightly coloured marine plants. These plants spring up in graceful form and owing to the peculiar transparency of the waters, seem quite near to the observer. It is a rare and pretty sight that never fails to call forth admiration.

On this, too, De Booy and Faris had opinion in discussing economic possiblities for St. John, "the Cinderella of the Virgin Islands" which "has her charms":

> Another possibility is the erection of tourist hotels on St. John. The acquisition of the island by the United States should make these popular with the tourist. St. John should be even more popular than St. Thomas, for while St. Thomas is attractive because it has a busier outlook on account of the many ships that enter its wonderful harbor, and because of its magnificant scenery, St. John excels in scenery, and scenery attracts the tourist.[19]

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18. Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 55, 86.

19. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, pp. 158-59, 171.

There were appeals other than the natural and recreational, it was observed: "The ruins of the sugar estates everywhere convince one of the former importance of the island and the riches that are lying idle in its fertile fields." De Booy and Faris also admired the picturesque:

> If one is searching for the picturesque, it may be found in abundant measure in the ruins of the old plantation buildings whose walls and quaint staircases still exist in the tropical undergrowth. What can be more interesting than the exploration of an old mill with kettles for the boiling of the syrup still intact, and the remains of a "great house" with its imposing avenue of slave quarters and kitchens nearby.

There was also, at this time, the lure of "antiqueing" (though this now has largely passed): "To the tourist who is interested in old colonial furniture, St. John offers interesting hunting grounds. In the most ramshackle negro cabins one is liable to run across the dilapidated remains of the most wonderfully carved mahogany four poster beds. . . . Not only bedsteads, but sewing tables, claw-foot serving tables and interesting looking chairs scattered over the island." These originally came from estate homes and, though full of the scars of the years, they could, it was reported, be nicely reworked by competent craftsmen in St. Thomas.[20]

Though there was promise here for a future tourism program not much had been done and the tourist numbers were low. Accommodations also were hard to come by and most were primitive. There had been some prior to the destructive hurricane of 1916 which left most of them in shambles.[21] Of the accommodations when Zabriskie wrote:

> Denis Bay, American Hill, and Leinster Bay are popular resorts among the regular visitors to St. John and at all three places good food and splendid living accommodations can be had at reasonable prices. The island has many other attractive places for the visitor in search of health and recreation.[22]

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20. Ibid., pp. 170, 146-47.

21. See Appendix G.

22. Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 55-56.

This obviously was the rosy picture for the few who sought out the quiet rest and repose of St. John; the hurricane left a different situation from which there was little will or energy to move on any extended basis. De Booy and Faris wrote that there were then "practically no accommodations for visitors" on St. John noting that the historic old estate house, for some time kept as a boarding house, at Leinster Bay was now all but destroyed "and it is doubtful it will be rebuilt." They mentioned only the limited accommodations "in a small bungalow" belonging to one of the residents of Cruz Bay. It accommodated two or three persons.[23]

The important element here, as it was seen, was still the construction of "a suitable tourist hotel." This would, it was said, lead to better transportation and communication. It would provide a stimulus for other and supporting services. One such service in particular was that, if properly managed, it would promote successful "produce farms." This plus more expertise in the management of cattle farms and more professional attention to the lime and bay tree groves would bring an improved look. De Booy and Faris viewed it hopefully: "When all this is done, it will be found that St. John, now only a small speck on the map, will become as important as its prosperous sisters to the west and south," meaning St. Thomas and St. Croix.[24]

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23. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 254.

24. Ibid., p. 171 ff.

CHAPTER XI

St. John and Its First Quarter-Century with the United States

Many of the hopes and aspirations voiced at the time of the purchase of the Danish West Indies in 1917 failed to materialize in the several decades that followed. This was particularly true of St. John where a subsistance way of life had been long well entrenched. It remained "a quiet place," not very populeus and not very prosperous. By one perhaps overly optimistic report in 1928,

> The natives find profitable and varied employment in St. John. Cattle raising, bay rum industry, boat building, fishing, caring for lime groves, making charcoal, constructing baskets, and rasing many vegetables and fruits furnish employment for the inhabitants.[1]

In 1925, seven years after acquisition, St. John was described by James W. McGuire as an island having "much fine scenery." He continued: "Views from breezy hilltops unrivaled for magnificant panoramas of vividly green isles, countless beaches of cream-white aand, glittering surf, dark blue or green sea, and bright blue sky. Nature invites riding, hunting, fishing, boating, bathing, and free wild life." He listed the "leading industries" as cattle raising, sugar, and shipping, adding that, "Prior to the destructive hurricane of 1916, the island was celebrated for the culture of the Bay-tree, Pimenta acris, and distillation of bay-oil from its leaves, for making bay-rum." By his account, evidently an optimistic and hopeful one, there was some prosperity in the area of truck farming even though there was "little arable land." He estimated that some 1,000 acres were then under cultivation. He pointed out too that the island, "the best watered of [the] group," was producing plantains, bananas, sapodillas, oranges, mangoes, limes, coconuts, and other fruits. Besides, the island was overgrown with herbage for cattle. There were also open woods of aromatic trees very attractive to birdlife.

At this time the principal school was at Emmaus and the post office as well as the government station was at Cruz Bay. Regular

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1. Thompson, Our Atlantic Possessions, pp. 1958-62.

communication with St. Thomas was maintained by several sloops. And he added, perhaps for the antiquarian: "On ruined estates, all over the island, are old cannon relics of days when buccaneers hid in the land-locked bays from French and Spanish cruisers."[2]

At the time McGuire called attention to a number of particular estates and missions that were active. There was the Moravian mission church and school just three quarters of a mile east of Cruz Bay at Bethany. A second missionary center was at Emmaus. There was a third Moravian school at the East End where small boat building continued, this area also being noted for weaving--hats, fancy baskets, and tablemats. Hermitage had its estate house and stock farm. Hammer (Herman) Farm on or near the old Catherineberg seat was then being operated successfully as a produce (vegetable) farm by Cary Bishop, as was Cannel Bay under the management of Lind Webster for the Danish West Indies Plantation. Cruz Bay continued as the "capital" of St. John and had the island's post office. "The Government station was in a white building called 'the Fort' (Old Christiansfort, or Fort Christian) on Battery Point."[3]

Lameshur had its bay oil still, its lime-juice still, a Moravian mission school and a landing. Mahobay estate could boast of its bay oil still and a banana grove. There was the American Hill estate house with its sweeping view. Leinster Bay (Waterlemon Cay) Estate had its cattle ranch and a reform school, the hurricane of 1916 having destroyed the excellent boarding house here. There was anchorage for small craft in Leinster Bay and the beaches were excellent--"Bottom [of bay] is of white sand, carpeted with brilliantly colored, gracefully formed marine plants." Carolina was described as doing well: "Prosperous; having a stock farm with hundreds of cattle, a banana patch, a 'big bay-oil manufactory,' with a bay-oil still."[4]

Though cattle raising was, in 1940, a principal emphasis it had not become a large activity and required no impressive labor force. Nor had the bay rum industry grown. Rather after the mid-1930s it began to decline, not that it had ever been a general plantation

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2. McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 167-68, also 19, 34, 69-71, 91-94, 139.

3. Ibid., pp. 62-63.

McGuire wrote further that Battery Point projected 190 yards from the south shore dividing the bay into Christian Cove on the east and Galge Cove on the south. The village extended back from the beaches on both coves.

4. Ibid., pp. 50, 195-96, and here and there.

activity requiring, or supporting, a large labor force. It was noted in an account appearing in 1940[5] that:

> Sales in a recent year amounted to approximately $5,000. Although there are four stills, only one, slightly more modern than the other primitive types, is operating, and that intermittently. There are hundreds of bay trees growing up in the brush, but new markets and better methods of production are needed to bring about significant expansion.

At this time no attempts were being made to plant the bay trees and the volume of bay oil had dropped by two-thirds. There was strong competition now from other West Indian producers and from other products. The trees were seeded by birds who ate the bay berries. As the landowner wished he could cut out the competing vegetation and let the bay trees grow. The few native families who picked the leaves and helped in the process were normally allowed to occupy little plots of ground on which to build their slight huts and raise some fruits and vegetables.[6]

The forest also yielded other commodities which helped some to eke out a living from the land. Charcoal as always was needed in daily use and was still very saleable in St. Thomas though raw materials were limited. Besides, some continued to cut fense posts, weave baskets, and gather fruits and nuts but all on a very limited basis.

All St. John families practiced subsistence farming. Some vegetables grew well and commonly there were plots of tanias, okra, casava, yams, pigeon peas, sweet potatoes, and beans. Also, there were Cavendish bananas, papayas, and a few drought-resisting tropical fruits. Other food was taken from the sea where fish normally abounded about the submarine banks surrounding the island.

As for government efforts to improve the standard of living, there were not many successes in these years. Eleanor Early in 1937 was especially critical of the program then being implemented to establish charcoal and cattle cooperatives on St. John as well as on St. Thomas. Though aware of the motives, she took a dim view of "paternal Uncle Sam." Even so, she like shopping at St. Thomas where the "Handcrafts and local products are for sale in the cooperative." She considered "Saint Thomas Bay Rum the best there is."

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5. Shaw, "The Virgin Islands" (The American Empire, pp. 110 ff).

6. Ibid., p. 107.

Some of her comments were quite pointed as in the cultural and social sphere. "I was on Saint John's when the blacks were being coached for an operatic presentation. The coaches had come from Washington, with costumes and scenery. They had taken away the Negroes' scratches and drums and presented them with pianos and violins."[7] Likely she was suffering from nostalgia as many travelers do who on later visits see changes all around with a consequent loss of the old that they had known before.

Another travel writer in 1939 repeated the description of "a quiet place" lacking any manifestation of economic improvement. "The only extra-subsistence activities are the modest business of charcoal production and bay-leaf brewing. At this time there are no towns." Cruz Bay then had some 21 cabins hidden in a palm grove. Coral Bay was a limited settlement dominated by the red-roofed buildings of the Moravian Mission. It was noted too that there was a little housing, several cottages, at Trunk Bay and at Caneel Bay. "These few places, and three churches scattered about the Island, are the only buildings except the native huts."[8] The island's population then was 722 including 4 whites. The 1940 census for St. John classified 318 acres as cropland (with 56 being cultivated and 262 laying idle). General land classifications for the island at this time were pasture land (2,813 acres), bush (6,305), woodland (2,428) and waste (300) for a total of 12,160.[9]

Shaw, in 1940, drew a rather sharp picture of a dismal economic future for St. John. "Profitable diversification is easy to suggest but hard to apply in the tropics. Even one profitable money crop is hard to find for the Virgin Islands." He pointed out that there was no future for sugar on St. John. In the case of citrus fruits there were not the proper soil conditions and normal rainfall was too limited. This latter also held true for coffee and bananas. Except for small deposits of clay that might supply a local pottery there were no mineral resources. There was no coal, or petroleum, and no potential for water power. Neither was there a substantial timber resource. If any, "the manufacturing possibilities of the Virgins seem limited to activity on a small scale in such handicraft work as textiles, furniture, toys, and basketry."[10] He could have

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7. Ports of the Sun (Boston, 1937), pp. 41-42 and also 38-49, 45.

8. Daisey Reck, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands (New York, 1939), pp. 178, 197-200.

9. Johnson, "St. John and St. Thomas," p. 5.

10. Shaw, "The Virgin Islands" (The American Empire, pp. 114-15).

added also for St. John, as was done in 1950, that: "Now there is little cultivation, the Bay Rum industry is gone and weaving almost gone although an effort is being made to revive it by teaching the craft in the schools. The land is in the hands of a few and there is much absentee ownership."[11]

The single most positive note now was tourism; "The government is attempting to attract tourist to this isolated primeval land." Though Shaw was pesimistic and without vision even on this score, insofar as the native St. Johnian was concerned,[12] he had to admit that many travelers and sightseers "would be intrigued by its primitive culture, lack of roads, rugged trails, forest cover, white sand beaches, and beautiful views." Such is now proving true, especially since the establishment of the national park embracing a sizeable part of St. John Island.

It was on August 2, 1956, that President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed Public Law 85-925 (70 Stat. 940) which authorized the establishment of the Virgin Islands National Park. This was to include "a portion of the Virgin Islands of the United States containing scenic and other features of national significance."[13]

Thus came into being on the island of St. John the 29th national park of the United States, dedicated on December 1, 1956, as a sanctuary wherein natural beauty, wildlife, and historic objects[14] will be conserved unimpaired for the enjoyment of the people and the generations yet unborn.[15]

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11. Johnson, "St. John and St. Thomas," p. 17.

12. "The Virgin Islands" (The American Empire, pp. 111-13).

"But" Shaw reasoned, "an influx of tourists would upset the present balance. There would be a change in the cultural environment, and a development of economic desires among the natives which at present they sense but little and which they would find difficult to satisfy." Seemingly he viewed the existing balance of the island's subsistence economy for its 722 people on 20 square miles as perhaps good, certainly not bad. This he concluded was a better situation than then existed on St. Thomas, or on St. Croix.

13. Copy of Public Law 85-925; Park Dedication Program dated December 1, 1956.

14. Underscoring supplied by this writer.

15. Six years later the organic act was amended with the park's boundaries being extended to include a "North Offshore Area" and a "South Offshore Area." This was necessary "in order to preserve

for the benefit of the public significant coral gardens, marine life, and seascapes in the vicinity, thereof, the boundaries of such park, subject to valid existing rights, are hereby revised to include the adjoining lands, submerged land, and waters" which the legislation described. [Public Law 87-750 (76 Stat. 746), approved on October 5, 1962.]

APPENDIX A

Columbus Discovers and Names The Virgin Islands

It was on the morning of Thursday, November 14, 1493, that Columbus sighted an island which the Indians called Ay-Ay, but which he christened Santa Cruz (St. Croix). It was his eleventh day in the islands where on Sunday, November 3, he had first sighted the land of Dominica. It was a westward sail from the island of Saba, a direction and destination indicated to him by Indian guides. Evidently the Caribs were intensively cultivating much of the ground here, for the landscape suggested a long garden to the seamen sailing along its north coast after passing St. Croix's east point. They missed, or passed up, what became Christiansted Harbor, likely due to the outer barren reef. Rather, the fleet anchored off a small estuary now known as Salt River Bay.[1]

About noon on the 14th Columbus dispatched a small shore party of 25 to the head of the harbor where there was a small village, but the inhabitants fled. Only a few of their captive slaves (Arawaks) were taken. On return to the ship, however, four men and two women in a Carib dugout let fly their arrows when the Spanish sought to cut them off from shore. Even when the dugout was rammed and sunk the natives swam to a rock and fought fiercely until overcome and taken. Caribs, in some number, now emerged on the beach painted hideously and wanting to fight, but they had no weapons that could reach the ships.

This skirmish impressed the Spaniards and gave them respect for the courage and spirit of the Caribs. Generally speaking, for many years afterwards they visited their islands only with strong armed parties and attempted few settlements among them. Of those taken in the skirmish, one was a "very beautiful Carib girl" who was likely the first Carib woman to be subdued.[2]

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1. Samual Eliot Morison, Christopher Columbus, Mariner (Boston, 1942), p. 95 ff. The route generally had been by Dominica, Mariegalante, Guadaloupe, Monserrat, Redondo, Antigua, Nevis, St. Kitts, St. Eustatius and Saba.

2. She was captured in the fight by Michele de Cuneo to whom Columbus gave her as his slave. Cuneo reports that: "Having taken her into

Not wishing to become involved with the obviously warlike and fierce Caribs on St. Croix, Columbus moved on that evening. The next day, noting the tops of a number of islands to the northward he decided to investigate them at close hand. As he approached the number of them multiplied and this likely suggested the name he gave them--"Las Once Mil Virgenes" after St. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins. One form of the legend has it that Ursula was the daughter of a fifth-century King of Cornwall. A devout Christian, she was determined to make a journey to the Holy Places before getting married. She asked other young maidens to join her and together they made the pilgrimage. On their way home, they were all killed by marauding Huns.[3]

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my cabin she being naked . . . I conceived a desire to take pleasure . . . but she did not want it and treated me with her finger nails in such fashion that I wished I had never began! But seeing that (to tell you the end of it), I took a rope and thrashed her well, for which she raised such unheard of screams that you would not have beleived your ears. Finally we came to an agreement in such a manner that I can tell you that she seemed to have been brought up in a school harlots." [Quoted in The Caribbean As Columbus Saw It by Samuel Eliot Morison and Mauricio Obrégon (Boston, 1964), p. 138.]

3. But there are other versons:

> "According to this pleasant legend, St. Ursula, daughter of King of Cornwall (maybe of King Mark of the Tristan and Isolde story), was promised in marriage to a pagan king of Brittany; but she, wishing to remain a Christian virgin, prevailed on the old man to give her a three-year cruise with her friends before coming to a firm decision. So many girl friends signed up that by the time the complement was complete there were no fewer than eleven thousand. The king, true to his word, provided his daughter with eleven vessels of the royal navy to conduct the cruise; one wonders how the seamen managed an average of a thousand girls per ship. The virgin fleet visited Rome and called on the Pope, who was so attracted by the prospect of cruising with eleven thousand pious girls that he abdicated the papal chair and came along together with a bishop, the future St. Cyriacus. Details are wanting until, after some three years at sea, they were off the chops of the English Channel when a westerly gale made up and blew them right through to the mouth of the Rhine. Ursula then decided to sail up that river to visit the famous city of Cologne. It

It was on November 17 that Columbus hove-to near one of the larger of the Virgin Islands which he named St. Ursula, but which a later Spaniard called Virgin Gorda ("the Pregnant" or "Great Virgin"). At this point he divided his fleet with the larger ships going along to the south of the islands in the open sea to avoid reefs. The smaller boats (caravels and barques) went through the outer islands to have a look at Anegada into what became known as the Francis Drake Channel, after the English explorer who navigated it on his last voyage into the Indies.[4] The view down the channel was toward the Island of St. John, which Columbus probably named at the time.[5]

The fleet of smaller vessels now seemingly navigated the narrows separating Tortola and St. John and moved through Pillsbury Sound to join the big ships waiting for them somewhere to the south of St. Thomas, perhaps off the present port of Charlotte Amalie. The rendezous came at nightfall on November 17.

Morison and Obregón commented:

> The Virgin Islands have changed little in

> happened to be a bad moment; Attila and the Huns were attacking the city, and all hands were slaughtered. Princess Ursula was honored with sainthood, and her eleven thousand shipmates as martyrs. (Morison and Obregón, The Caribbean As Columbus Saw It, pp. 138-40). Still another version would be that in Eleanor Early's Ports of the Sun (Boston, 1937), pp. 36-37.
>
> Columbus named the islands for Saint Ursula and her 11,000 virgins. Ursula was an English woman who raised an army of girls--known as Ursula's Virgins--to march from Britain to the Holy Land, some 1800 years ago. The girls reached Rome, and there they put on a great athletic meet. When it was over, they proceeded toward Egypt, where they were set upon by horde of Huns. The young women defended their virtue with their lives, and those whom the barbarians would have spared flung themselves upon their spears.

4. Jefferys, in 1775 in his The West India Atlas, on the plate "The Virgin Islands from English and Danish Surveys," details the Drake Channel also as "The Virgins Gangway of the Freebooters properly Sr. Francis Drake's Bay who first sailed through these islands in 1580 and found the depth from 10 to 25 fathom." This latter is northeast of St. John and southeast of Tortola.

5. Morison and Obregón concluded this "because the feast of St. John Chrysostom had just passed" (p. 142).

> no particular name, were remarkable mild and peaceable, and detested the practice that prevailed among the others, of feeding on human flesh.[3]

Both were brown-skinned people, the one to the north much more numerous, and the other, toward the south and toward South America from whence they had come, in fewer numbers.

Alec Waugh described the Arawaks:[4]

> There is abundant evidences that they were weak, charming, indolent, pleasure-loving. They had as far as we can gather, a spiritual resemblance to the Polynesians. They had broad faces and flat noses. They had fine dark eyes and friendly smiles. They were tall and they moved gracefully.[5]

The Caribs were a different breed and, according to Père Labat, who visited a number of the islands just after the turn into the eighteenth century, they were "fierce and hostile."[6] No race, indeed, could have been more different from the gentle Arawaks. The Caribs were tall and brown, with shining, long black hair which they dressed carefully every day. Also they set great store by independence and freedom for theselves.[7]

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3. The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America (London), 2: 2.

4. A Family of Islands: A History of the West Indies, 1492-1898 (London, 1964), pp. 2-3.

5. Though mild, peaceful and even docile, the Arawaks though somewhat numerous did not become a labor source of any consequence for the Spanish or later colonial powers. They were not adaptable to the rigors, heavy work, and confinement dictated by the slave system. Though poor and backward by European standards, as Alec Waugh has observed, they did prefer death to slavery.

6. There is a detailed account with some illustrations in Carter, Digby, and Murray, West Indian Peoples, Book III, pp. 22 ff. and 35 ff.

7. Waugh, A Family of Islands, pp. 69-73.

The number of Caribs was not great, perhaps never more than 50,000. Seemingly they dwelt in villages on less than a dozen

The Caribs preyed on their fellow natives, the Arawaks, eating, killing or enslaving large numbers of them as their need or inclination dictated. Where the Arawaks were more numerous as in larger Puerto Rico and elsewhere, they were raided with some regularity. They were Caribs that Columbus encountered soon after the landfall of his second voyage and the gruesome cannibalistic practices were evident during his stay at Guadeloupe.[8]

And now another note. Neither the Caribs nor the Arawsks were the first natives in the Antilles or in the more restricted Virgin Islands group. Late study has shown that a primitive group of preceramic peoples were established at least at one point on St. Thomas

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islands (St. Croix, St. Christopher, Guadeloupe, Mariengalante, Dominica, Martinque, St. Lucia, St. Vicent and Grenada.) As the number of Europeans increased they were taken, destroyed, or driven south until confined to Dominica and St. Vincents. These two islands were given to them by several treaties from time to time. Robust, muscular, and warlike in character, they were in strong and strange contrast to the Arawaks for whom they had a "maligant hatred." They rejected all attempts to convert them to Christianity. Even in 1850 one writer concluded they "may now be considered as almost extinct." (John P. Knox, Historical Account of Saint Thomas, . . . and St. John pp. 18-19.)

8. Shortly after reaching the West Indies early in November 1493 with a landfall at Dominica, Columbus moved on to Guadeloupe where he spent five or six days after his shore party became lost in the lush green tropical rain forest.

> The Admiral did not dare to leave them behind to be picked up later, since there would have been nothing but bones to pick--the natives here were the dreaded man-eating Caribs. Diego's men were finally located by one of four search parties, of fifty men each. In the course of their wanderings, the searching Spaniards learned a good deal about the manners and customs of the Caribs, the race from which the word cannibal is derived. In huts deserted by the natives they found human limbs and choice cuts of human flesh, partly consumed, as well as emasculated boys who were being fattened to provide the pièce de résistance for a feast, and girl captives who were used to produce babies for the hors d'oeuves. Two boys and "twelve very beautiful plump girls from fifteen to sixteen years old" were taken along by the Spaniards. The girls,

Island. This was at Krum Bay on the south side of the Island with a use date by radioactive carbon of 450-225 B.C. Ripley P. Bullen and Frederick W. Sleight have concluded that:[9]

> It would appear that the ancestors of the Indians who lived at Krum Bay, not necessarily the first Caribbeans nor the only early migrants to the islands, worked their way up the Lesser Antilles from Venezuela by boat and that eventually traces of them will be found between Trinidad and the Virgin Islands. Some of them established a work shop at Krum Bay where stone suitable for their tools was available and where, in the fairly shallow waters protected by Water Island, they found shellfish to their liking. . . .
>
> Eventually, new migrants from South America introduced white-on-red pottery, petaloid celts, and developed agriculture. Krum Bay was abandoned for other locations, such as Magens and Botany Bay [on St. Thomas], where cassava and other plants could be cultivated and fish, shellfish, and turtles also secured.[10]

> Tainos who had been captured in a raid on Hispaniola, were useful as interpreters, and doubtless in other ways too. [S. E. Morison, Christopher Columbus, Mariner (Boston, 1955), p. 96.]

9. The Krum Bay Site: A Preceramic Site on St. Thomas United States Virgin Islands. (The William L. Bryant Foundation, American Studies No. 5, Deland, Florida, 1963,) pp. 42-43.

10. Among other observations and conclusions of Bullen and Sleight (pp. 40-41) relative to the Krum Bay site are:

> That Indians were living at Krum Bay before the time of Christ, i.e., before the introduction of pottery is documented by radiocarbon dating.
>
> The Krum Bay site represents a habitation and workshop site of the Meso-Indian period. The manufacture of chipped, pecked, and ground

stone adzes, axes and celts continued here for some 200 years. The vast amount of gray, ash-like dust we found in the midden is ground up rock which gradually accumulated over the years. . . . The lack of finished and broken or worn-out tools at these sites indicates such tools were used elsewhere, probably in the processing of tree trunks for dugout canoes and in the finishing of such vessels.

In summary the . . . survey indicates that specimens similar to those from Krum Bay are found in preceramic or Archaic zones in the Greater Antilles and that such specimens are rare or non-existent in later ceramic horizons. Krum Bay represents another facet of the Caribbean Archaic which seems to be characterized by a group of sites all of which show a strong maritime affiliation and a great dependence upon hammering as a manufacturing technique. No doubt the major product of their stone industry--blades, adzes, or celts--were wood-working tools used primarily for the production of dugout canoes.

APPENDIX C

Sugar Cane and Sugar Manufacture
(and some other products like Ginger, Indigo, and Cotton)

Louis de Poincy is credited with having written the previously cited History of the Caribby-Islands which, "In Two Books," gave the "Natural" and "Moral" history of the island, being "Rendered into English" by John Davies and published in London in 1666. Poincy had been intimately connected with the French seizure of St. Croix from nearby St. Christopher ("vulgo St. Kitts") Island in 1650, and in its administration for a decade and a half--until his death. In this account of the islands, especially the French islands, he left considerable detail relative to the production of a number of commodities, especially sugar. The material which follows is quoted from Poincy's account as translated by John Davies.

SUGAR CANES[1]

The Reed which by its delicious juice supplies that substance whereof Sugar is made, hath leaves like those of other Reeds which grow in Marshes and neer Ponds but only they are a little longer and sharper; for if they be not taken with a certain care and sleight, they will cut a mans hands like a Rasour. It is call'd the Sugar-Cane, and grows up in height between five and six foot, and two inches about: it is divided by several knots, which are commonly four or five inches distant one from another; and the greater the distance is between the knots, the more Sugar are the Canes apt to yield.

The leaves of it are long, green, and grow very thick, in the midst whereof rises the Cane, which also at the top is loaden with several pointed leaves, and one kind of knot of them which contains the seed: it is as full as it can be of a white and juicy pith, out of which is drawn that liquor that makes the Sugar.

It thrives extreamly in a fat soil, so it be light and somewhat moist: it is planted in trenches made at equal distances one from another, either with a Hoe, or a Plow, about half a foot deep: Having there laid the Canes, being ripe they cover them with earth,

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1. History of the Caribby-Islands, pp. 59-60.

and a little while after out of every knot shoots forth a root, and out of that a stem which produces a new Cane. As soon as it appears above ground, it must be carefully weeded all about, that the weeds choak it not: but as soon as it hath cover'd the ground it secures it self, and keeps its footing as well as any Copse-wood might do, and it may last fifty years without being renew'd so the main root be found and not injured by the worm; for if there be any jealousie of that, the remedy is to take up the whole Plant as soon as may be, and to order it all anew.

Though the Canes be ripe at the end of nine or ten moneths, yet will they not be any way prejudic'd if continu'd in the ground two years, nay sometimes three, after which they decay: But the best and surest way is to cut them every year as neer the ground as may be, and below the last knot or joynt.

Those who cross the Fields when these Canes are come to matuity may refresh themselves with the juice of them, which is an excellent beverage, and hath the same taste with the Sugar: But if it be taken immoderately it may occasion fluxes and looseness, especially to such as are newly come into the Country; for those who by a long abode there are in a manner naturaliz'd, are not so subject to the inconvenience.[2]

Of the manner how Sugar is made; and of the preparation of Ginger, Indico, and Cotton.[3]

When the great plenty of Tobacco made at S. Christophers and the other Islands had brought down the price of it so low, that it did not turn to accompt, it pleas'd God to put it into the heart of the French General de Poincy, to find out some other ways to facilitate the subsistence of the Inhabitants, and carry on some Trade: He thereupon employ'd his Servants and Slaves about the culture of Sugar-Canes, Ginger, and Indico; and the design met with a success beyond what was expected.

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2. There was also comment (page 60) on other canes:

"There grow also in some of these Islands those neat and precious Canes which are us'd in walking, naturally marbled, and enamell'd with several figures. The sides of great Ponds, and all Fenny and Marshy places are also furnish'd with a big sort of Reeds which grow up very high and very strait, whereof the Inhabitants commonly make the partitions of their Houses, and use them instead of Lats, for the covering of them. The Indians also make use of the tops of these Canes in the making of their Arrows."

3. History of the Caribby-Islands, pp. 194-98.

Though it may be granted, that the Plant of the Sugar-Cane was known to the Ancients, yet is the invention of making the Sugar but of late years: The Ancients knew no more of it then they did of Sena, Cassia, Ambergreece, Musk, Civet, and Benjamin: They made no other use of this precious Reed, then in order to drink and Physick. And therefore we may well oppose all these things, with much advantage, as also our Clocks, the Sea-Compass, the Art of Navigation, Prospective-glasses, Printing, Artillery, and several other excellent Inventions of the last Ages, against their right way of dying Purple, their malleable Glass, the subtle Machines of their Archimedes, and some such like.

Having in the precedent Book given a description of the Sugar-Cane, our business here will only be to represent the manner how Sugar is gotten out of it.

That work is performed by a Machine or Mill, which some call an Ingenio, whereby the juice within the Canes is squeez'd out. These Mills are built of very solid and lasting wood, and are more convenient in these Islands then those used to the same purpose at Madera and Brasil: Nor is it to be fear'd in the former, as many times in the latter, that the fire should get to the boiling Coppers, and set all into a flame, to the destruction of those who are employ'd about the work; for the Coppers in these Islands are seen to boil, yet the fire that causes it is made and kept in on the outside by furnaces, which are so well cemented, that neither the flame nor the smoak does any way hinder those who are at work, which they may follow without any fear of danger or inconvenience.

The ordinary way of turning the Mills is by Horses or Oxen; but the French Governour hath one which is turn'd by water, which falling on a wheel sets the whole Machine going.

When the Sugar-Cane are ripe, they are cut somewhat neer the ground, above the first knot which is without any juice; and having cut off the tops, and taken away certain little, long, and very thin leaves, which encompass them, they are made up into bundles, and carry'd to the Mills to be there press'd and squeez'd between two rollers, turning one upon the other.

The juice which is squeez'd out of them falls into a great Cistern, whence it is convey'd through long pipes or channels into the vessels appointed for the boiling of it. In great Sugar works there are at least six Coppers, whereof three very large ones are of copper, about the bredth and depth of those us'd by Dyers, and are to clarifie the juice, which is to be boil'd with a gentle fire, putting in ever and anon a small quantity of a certain very strong Lye, made of water and ashes, commonly call'd Temper, which makes all the filth to boil up, which as it appears is taken off with a

great brass skimmer. When the juice is well purify'd in these three Coppers, into which it had been convey'd alternately one after another, it is strain'd through a cloth, and afterwards pour'd into three other Coppers of some other mettal, which are very thick, broad enough, and about a foot and a half deep. In these Coppers the Sugar receives its last boiling; for then there is a more violent fire made, and it is continually stirr'd, and when it bubbles up so as that it may be fear'd it should boil over the Coppers, it is allay'd by the casting in of a little sallet-oil and as it begins to grow thick, it is pour'd into the last of those Coppers, from whence, as it inclines to a consistency, it is dispos'd into vessels of wood or earth, and so carry'd into the Curing-house, where it is whiten'd with a kind of fat earth mixt with water, which is spred upon it; then they open the little hole in the bottom of every vessel or pot, that all the filth or dregs that is about the Sugar may fall into another channel, which conveys it into a vessel prepar'd for the purpose.

The first skimmings which had been taken off the great Coppers is laid aside only for Cattle, but the other serves well enough to make a certain drink for the Servants and Slaves. The juice which is drawn from the Cane will continue good but one day, insomuch that if within that time it be not boil'd, it grows sharp and turns to vinegar. There must also be a very great care taken, that the Reservatory into which the squeezed juice falls, and the pipes or channels whereby it is thence convey'd into other places, be often wash'd; for if they contract ever so little sharpness, the juice cannot be reduc'd to Sugar: The whole work would also miscarry, if any butter or oil chance to be cast into any of the three greater Coppers, which are to be wash'd with Lye; or in like manner, if ever so little Lye fall into the three lesser ones, where the juice is form'd into a Syrup, and curdles by the voilence of the fire, and the continual agitation and stirring of it with a skimmer. But above all things there must be a great care taken, that there fall not any juice of Citron into the Coppers; for that would absolutely hinder the coagulation of the Sugar.

Many of the Inhabitants who are not able to get so many Coppers, nor furnish themselves with those great Engines whereby the Canes are squeez'd, have little Mills made like Presses, which are wrought by two or three men, or driven about by one horse; and with one or two Coppers they purifie the juice gotten out of them, reduce it to the consistence of Syrup, and make good Sugar without any further trouble.

The greatest secret in the business of making good Sugar consists in the whitening of it: Those who have it are very loth to communicate it. From what hath been said, it may be easily inferr'd what extraordinary advantages accrue to the Inhabitants of the Island

by means of this sweet and precious Commodity, and what satisfaction it brings to their Correspondents in other parts of the world, who have it at so easie rates.

This plenty of Sugar hath put the Inhabitants upon the preserving of abundance of excellent fruits of the growth of the Island as Oranges, Lemons, Citrons, and others, especially Ginger, whereof we shall give an account anon, and the fruit call'd Ananas, and the flowers of Oranges and Citrons.

[Ginger]

As concerning the preparation of Ginger, when the root is come to maturity it is taken out of the ground; then it is dry'd in places well air'd, and it is often stirr'd to prevent corruption. Some make no more ado then to expose it to the Sun in order to the drying of it; but others think it requisite to cast lime on it, the more to facilitate the drawing away of the moisture. This root, which is one of the most considerable among Spices, is transported all over the world; but it is most sought after in cold Countries.

The French do sometimes take it out of the ground before it is fully ripe, and preserve it whole with such artifice, that it becomes red, and transparent as glass. The preserv'd Ginger which is brought over from Brazil and the Levant is commonly dry, full of filaments or little strings, and too bitting to be eaten with any delight; but that which is prepar'd at S. Christophers hath no fibres or strings at all, and it is so well order'd, that there remains nothing that is unpleasant to the tooth when it is eaten.

It hath a singular property to fortifie the breast, when it is weakned by a confluence of cold humours; as also to clear the voice, to sweeten the breath, to cause a good colour in the face, to take away the crudities of the stomach, to promote digestion, to sharpen the appetite, and to consume that waterishness and phelgm which puts the body into a languishing condition; may it is affirm'd by some, that it preserves and wonderfully fortifies the memory, by dispersing the cold humours, or the phlegm of the Brain. This root may also be reduc'd into a paste, of which there may be made a Conserve, or cordial Electuary that hath the same effects.

[Indigo]

We come now to give a short account of Indico. The Plant being cut is bound up into little bundles or fagots, and left to rot in cisterns of stone or wood full of fair water, on which there is cast a certain quantity of oil, which according to its nature covers all

the surface of it: They lay stones upon the fagots, that they may the better keep under the water; and after three or four days that the water hath been boiling, which it does by the meer virtue of the Plant, without any assistance of fire, the leaf being rotted and dissolv'd by that natural heat which is in the stalk, they take great stakes and stir the whole mass that is within the cisterns, so to get out all the substance of it; and after it is setled again, they take out of the cistern that part of the stalk which is not rotted: that done, they several times stir what is left in the cistern, and after they have left it to setle, they let out the water at a cock; and the less or dregs which remains at the bottom of the cisterm, is put into molds, or left to dry in the Sun. These dregs is that which is so much esteem'd by Dyers, and commonly known by the name of Indico.

There are some make use of Presses, whereinto having put little bundles of the rotten Plant, they by that means get out all the juice of it: But in regard they are the leaves of the Plant that the foresaid Commodity is made of, those who are desirous to have it of the highest price, think it enough to have the dregs which remains after the corruption of these leaves, and is found, after so many stirrings, at the bottom of the cistern.

The French Inhabitants of the Caribbies were there a long time ere they drove any trade in that Commodity, by reason that the Plant whereof it is made, being of it self of a very strong scent, exhales an insupportable stink when it is rotted: But since Tobacco came to so low a rate, and that in some places the ground would not bring forth that which was good, as it had done some time before, they apply'd themselves to the culture of Indico, whereof they now make a considerable advantage.

[Cotton]

Lastly, as concerning Cotton, the French make it not much their business to gather it, though they have many of the trees that bear it in the hedges of their Plantations: But all put together amounts but to little in comparison of what is said of a certain Quarter of the Province of China; for a certain Authour named Trigant, in the xvii. chap. of the fifth Book of his History, affirms, that there grows so much Cotton there as finds work enough for two hundred thousand Weavers.

The English who are the Inhabitants of the Barbouthos drive a great trade in this Commodity, as also those who liv'd formerly in the Island of Santa-cruce [St. Croix]. There is no great trouble in the making of Cotton fit for the market; for all to be done; is to get out of the half-open'd button that matter which in a manner

forces its way out it self: And whereas it is full of the seed of the tree that bears it, which are like little beans intangled within the Cotton, in the midst whereof they had their production, there are a sort of little Engines made with such artifice, that by the turning of a wheel, whereby they are put into motion, the Cotton falls on the one side, and the seed on the other: That done, the Cotton is thrust up as close as may be into bags, that so it may take up the less room.

Thus have we given a brief account of the principal Employments which keep up the Commerce of the Islands, and the Commodities wherein the Inhabitants do ordinarily trade.

APPENDIX D

The Danish Islands--1775
(a distinctly English perspective view)

This description, evaluation, and historical digest is from "Geographer to the King" Thomas Jefferys' The West Indian Atlas published in 1775.[1]

> To complete this abridgement there only remains to describe the three islands belonging to the Danes; we have already mentioned those of St. Thomas and St. John their dependencies, among the Virgin Isles; the third, which is the most considerable, is the island of Santa Cruz, to the south of the Virgins.[2]
>
> ST. THOMAS, 10 leagues to the east of Porto-Rico, is more than three leagues in length, and, on an average, one in breadth. Its soil, badly watered, is very sandy. The Danes, who have been settled here since 1670, found it quite deserted; they were, at first, disturbed by the English, under a pretense that some vagabonds of their nation had formerly begun to cultivate it; but the Court of London having stopt the course of these vexations, the Danish colony farmed successively the small number of sugar-plantations we see at present in this island. The principal advantage of St. Thomas consists in a very good harbour on the South side, where 50 ships may lie in safety; it is defended by a fort, whose batteries, at the same time, protect the small town built round the shore. This harbour, which the Buccaniers have rendered very famous, is much frequented by merchant ships; when they

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1. The West India Atlas (London), p. 27.

2. "the name of Virgin Isles distinguishes the cluster of islands and rocks which fill up that part of the sea between the Leeward Caribbees and Porto Rico" (Atlas, p. 6).

are chaced, in time of war, they find there a safe protection; and, in time of peace, a vent for their goods by the clandestine trade which the boats of St. Thomas continually carry on with the Spanish coasts.[3]

ST. JOHN's is only two leagues to the south of St. Thomas, and about the same size. The Danes did not begin to cultivate it till 1718, two years after the Spaniards had driven them from Crab Island. St. John's is the best watered among the Virgins, and its harbour has not only the reputation of being better than that of St. Thomas, but passes also for the best to the Leeward of Antiqua; the English give it the name of "Crawl Bay." Notwithstanding these advantages, there is so little good land in the island of St. John's, that its planting and exportations form only a very trifling object.[4]

SAINTE CROIX, or SANTA CRUZ, is the third and principal of the Danish islands: situated out of the group of the Virgins, five leagues to the south of St. John's, it extends from East to West in a triangular form, its length being more than eight leagues, and the greatest breadth two. It is a flat island, without mountains, and badly watered. It was occupied, in 1643, by the Dutch and English, who having soon quarrelled, the first were beaten and expelled, in 1646, after a very bloody engagement: 1200 Spaniards drove out the English in their turn;

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3. "To the Danes St. Thomas . . . The Islands of Brass, Little-Saba, Buck, Great and Little St. James with the Birds Key's belonging to the Island." (The West India Atlas, plate III).

A 1797 comment on "the Birds Key's," or Bird Island, is of interesting note, this by Jedediah Morse. Here, "The Booby birds are so tame . . . that a man, it is said, in a short time may catch sufficient in his hand to supply a fleet." (American Gazetteer (Boston), p. "Vir.")

4. "To St. John's belong Lavango and Cam Islands on the N.W. Side, and Witch Island on the S.E." (Ibid.)

and, soon after, the French came, who expelled the Spaniards. The French, remaining masters of the island, set fire to the woods, and the conflagration, upon which they gazed from their ships, lasted several months; as soon as it was extinguished, they landed to establish their settlement.

The land was found of an amazing fertility; tobacco, cotton, anatta, indigo, and sugar, succeeded equally well, and the progress of this colony was such, that, 11 years after its foundation, it contained 822 white inhabitants, with a proportional number of slaves. It then belonged to the Order of Malta, who sold it, in 1664, to the French West-India Company. The regulations of this Company were so pernicious, that Sainte Croix quickly fell to decay; and there did not remain above 300 Whites with 600 Blacks, when they were carried to St. Domingo, in 1696. The island was left without planters and uncultivated till 1733, when France sold its property to Denmark for 164,000 rixdollars.

Denmark began very imprudently with establishing a company, and an exclusive right of trade; but, in 1754 Santa Cruz and all the other islands were open to all the Danish subjects, who, at the same time, obtained the liberty of importing Negroes; they only pay four rixdollars for every Negro brought into America. The plantations of their colonies already employ above 30,000 slaves of every age and sex, who pay each a capitation of one crown. The labours of these Negroes furnish the cargo of 40 ships, whose burden is from 120 to 300 tons. The plantations, which yield annually to the treasury two Danish crowns for every 1000 square feet, afford to the nation a little coffee and ginger, some wood for inlaying work, 800 bales of cotton, most of which go to foreigners, and 12 million weight of rough sugar; four fifths of this last article are consumed in the mother-country, the rest is sold in the Baltic, or carried into Germany by way of Altena. Santa Cruz, though the most modern of the Danish settlements, furnishes five sevenths of these productions.

This island is divided into 350 plantations, by lines cutting each other at right angles, and

which form seven quarters or general divisions. Each plantation contains 150 acres of 40,000 square feet each, so that it makes up a space of 1,200 common paces in length, and 800 in breadth. Two thirds of the land are fit for sugar, and the proprietor might cultivate 80 acres at once, each would yield, one year with another, 1600 pounds of sugar, without including molasses; the remainder might be employed in productions of less value. When the whole of the island shall be cleared, which depends on time and circumstances, they may be several towns built on its shores; at present, it has only the town of Christianstaed, under the cannon of a fortress which defends the principal harbour on the North coast; and they have begun that of Friderickstaed on the West coast. The greatest part of the inhabitants of Santa Cruz consists of English from the islands of Nevis and Antiqua, of Irish Papists, German Moravians, and a small number of Danes. The English and Dutch possess the best plantations in the island, and most of its riches pass into the hands of foreigners.

APPENDIX E

St. John Estates and Sites

The material here is basically a description and comparison of data on specific developed areas on the island as shown on the Oxholm survey of 1780 and his chart of 1800. Limited other data has been added as seemed appropriate and where this is done further documentation is shown. Ground location for the various areas and sites are shown, at least generally, by number or symbol on the locator map which constitutes Illustration No. 8 of the report.

Maho Bay District

No. 1. Estate Rustenburg, north of the "Konge Vey" just to the east of the western boundary of Maho Bay District, and the estate near "Höyeste Bierge", just south of it, evidently were both parts of a single operation in 1780, that of Lucas Burchaus. The former is shown with its cluster of four structures and a horse mill and the latter, just across the highway, with three structures, a treadmill, and a sizeable slave community or village. There was a rather large sweep of open area extending northward toward the coast, westward into Cruz Bay District, and southward into the Reef Bay section. Cartographic treatment in 1800 suggests the same, but perhaps with some closing in of the brush on the periphery. Ruins locations noted in 1958 (R-3 and R-4)[2] correspond closely with these sites. The use of two names--Rustenberg (No. 1) and Höyeste Bierg (1a)[3]--may indicate separate, or divided, operations in 1800. However, the single number might argue for a single ownership.

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1. McGuire locates Rustenberg as 1,100 yards east of Adrian and indicates that the ruins were on a 930-foot hill. "Höyeste Bierge" he placed midway between Camelberg Peak (1,192 feet high) and the 1,036-foot summit some 700 yards to the north. (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 96, 161.)

2. Ruins noted in 1958 are shown on the locator map by numbered triangle and in the text as R-1, etc.

3. Where a number is accompanied by a letter, as here, it has been given arbitrarily. It indicates that Oxholm showed no number in association with it, though it is near one that he did number.

No. 1a. (See No. 1, page 127)

No. 2. This is Cinnamon Bay ("Caneel Bay") Estate, numbered 2 by Oxholm in 1800.[4]

No. 3. This clearly demarked estate, near the point where Maho Bay, Reef Bay, and Coral Bay districts join, in 1780 had its building group, slave community, and seemingly its treadmill. Though its cleared ground, particularly to the south, was limited there were terraces to the north. In 1800 its development was still there, however, it appears to be shown as having been largely closed in by vegetation much as No. 3b just to the northeast of it. It had road access to the west, to Cruz Bay, and north to the north shore both in 1780 and 1800. At the later date the King's Way seems to have terminated just to the east of it. Both this and No. 3b were in rather rugged terrain in the Mamey Peak area. It is unnamed in 1800; however, 20 years earlier seemingly it was the operation of one P. Wood, who also had a structure on the coast with which his access road down the valley east of American Hill connected. In 1800 two structures are shown in the same area on Little Maho Bay though the road down to them is less perfectly delineated. In 1958 no ruins were noted for either the No. 3, 3a, or 3b sites.

No. 3a. The structures here (one in 1780, two in 1800) on the edge of the coast are unnumbered by Oxholm in 1800 but in 1780 had been assigned to P. Wood (see 3 above). In 1925 McGuire described "Mahobay" in this vicinity "as an Estate with bayoil-still, banana-grove, etc., on the eastern shore of Maho Bay."[5]

No. 3b. In 1800 this development, well inland from Mary Point on rather high elevation, was represented by a single building symbol but with a horse mill. In 1780 it had been delineated with two structures (one seemingly a treadmill) and a small slave village. There was very limited cleared land to its east which dipped down toward the north shore. It may have had some relationship to estate No. 3 being rather close to it, essentially adjacent, on the southwest. It is true, however, that separate owner or manager names were given in 1780, though neither owner name nor estate name or number is given in 1800.

No. 4(1), 5. Estate Windberg[6] in 1780 appears to have been a rather

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4. This is treated in more detail in Chapter IX.

5. Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 122.

6. It was numbered "4, 5" by Oxholm in 1800. In this instance as in others where Oxholm used the same number for separate sites a number in parentheses, as (1), (2), or (3), has been added for differentation purposes.

well-developed plantation complex near the center of the flat throat where Mary Point joins the mainland. Though no treadmill was indicated, there were three major structures (and presumably two smaller ones) and two small slave quarter groupings, one on each side of the road. It was partly south and partly north of the well-delineated north shore road. At this time it was owned or operated by one Rosswind. Evidently there was access just to the east into the Coral Bay area over a road that wound its way up and over the mountainous backbone of the island.

Twenty years later there had been some change. It was now "Windberg." A treadmill had been added, suggesting a switch from some other crop to sugar. Less development, however, is indicated, there being only two structure symbols now.

Ruins (R-5 and R-6) noted in 1958 are obviously those on the Windberg site and were so noted on the Geological Survey map of that year.[7]

No. 4 (2). Mary Point in 1800 and possibly in 1780 may have had a working relationship or connection with Windberg Estate. At the latter date Oxholm repeated the number 4 in this area and it appears to be the name Kragh that he penned in at the earlier time. In any case, in both years three isolated and separated structure symbols are shown, one being near the midpoint of the short neck between Francis and Store Maho Bay (Mary Creek), one north of this inland on the south edge of the long blunt bulk of Mary Point, and the third on the north shore of the point just up from the east end, the latter, a customs guardhouse. The first two were connected to each other by a road that led to the north shore highway, which it joined just northeast of Fredricksdal. Mary Point, despite the buildings, was shown as fully forest or bush-covered in 1780. In 1800, however, there was a limited quantity of cleared ground in the narrow neck. Besides a road had been opened, or improved, leading around the east end of Mary Point to the structure on the north coast. Perhaps this suggests increased activity in the whole Mary Point section in the closing decades of the 18th century.

No. 6, 7.[8] "Fridrichsdal" Estate was a near neighbor of Windberg, being located to the northeast and also in the flat throat of the mainland where Mary Point joined the body of St. John. Seemingly it was a rather well-developed unit both in 1780 and 1800. At the

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7. McGuire noted in 1925 that the estate development was some 350 feet south of Windberg Hill (396 feet high) from which it took its name. At that time buildings, or ruins, were noted at two locations.

8. So numbered by Oxholm in 1800.

earlier date it was shown as a cluster of four structures (two of them smaller ones) and a slave community, all to the southeast of the north shore road. It was then assigned to one ag Kragh. In 1800 it was noted as "Fridrichsdal" still with the addition of a horsemill, suggesting a new emphasis: sugar production. There was road access, just as in the case of Windberg, east and west along the north shore and indirectly up and over the mountain ridge to Coral Bay (crossing near King Hill) and to Cruz Bay (into the "Kings Way" west of Mamey Peak).

In 1958 the "Fridrichsdal" (Fredriksdal) ruins (R-7) were duly noted on the Geodetic Survey of the Island as were other north shore remains in the vicinity.[9]

No. 8, 9. This is Estate Annaberg, numbered "8, 9" by Oxholm in 1800.[10]

No. 10. This, "Water Limon Kim" (Leinster) Estate (Oxholm's number 10 in 1800), was at the east end of Water Lemon Bay and generally in the east end of the wide area of open land that stretched along the north shore from Little Maho Bay which embraced Windberg, Fredricksdal, and Annaberg. It too was served by the north shore road which ran between it and the bay waters. Beyond it the road extended eastward to the bottom of Brynes Bay where there was other development.

In 1780 this estate, that of Fanny Smith, boasted of three building units and, north around the curve of the bay, a detached slave community. There was then no sugar mill; however, before 1800 one had been added. It appears too that the open area northward to Water Bay had been somewhat increased by the later date.

In 1958 ruins (R-10) and a cemetery (C-1) were duly noted in the estate area though they were not described.[11]

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9. As McGuire noted, the Fredriksdal Valley opened on Leinster Bay with a lagoon, or pond, behind the beach a feature also seemingly noted by Oxholm. The "Fridrichsdal Estate" itself was some 340 meters from the north coast and 970 meters from Francis Bay. (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 80.)

10. This estate is treated in more detail in Chapter IX.

11. It was noted in 1918 that "Leinster Bay, [was] where an excellent boarding house for use by occasional visitors, was once kept. The storm of 1916 blew this house down. The wonderful old mahogany furniture that was the envy of all who came to stay here was scattered in all directions."

No. 10a. Likely associated with Water Lemon Kim Estate were two simple structures here to the northeast. There was but one, a small one, in a small enclave in the bush in 1780, however, by 1800 there were two, larger, and now in open terrain. No road access was noted in either instance. Ruins (R-11) that correspond rather closely in location in this site were plotted in 1958.

No. 10b. To the southeast of Water Lemon Bay were three other small structures grouped (two in 1800) with clearly delineated road connection by spur from the north shore road. In a small clearing in the bush in 1780, the area northward of them had been cleared by 1800.

No. 11. At the bottom of Brynes (Browns)[12] Bay, where the north shore road seems to have terminated, there were two structures at the bay's edge in 1780 with little or no clearing around them. In 1800, however, the situation had changed. There was now some open ground and in addition to the two structures a treadmill had been added. A cemetery (C-2) which was noted in 1958 seems close to, perhaps a bit to the east of, the estate house site.

No. 11a. In 1780 a little way southwestward from Brynes Bay there was a small structure in a small square clearing connected by road with that along the north shore. Seemingly it was gone by 1800 as Oxholm then did not note it. Though close, it may have had no relationship to the Brynes Bay estate.

"Near by are the remains of the building occupied by the only Masonic Lodge on St. John. One can almost picture the banquets held by the Masons when they assembled here in the olden days, when feasts were of first importance in the life of the West Indian planters." (De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 168.)

In 1925 the Leinster Bay Estate was cited for its cattle ranch and "reform school." (McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 114.)

McGuire (p. 194) also commented on the half-mile-wide Waterlemon Bay on which the estate faced. He noted it as good for surf bathing and as an anchorage for small craft. "Bottom is of white sand, carpeted with brilliantly coloured, gracefully formed marine plants."

12. The name of Brynes Bay was replaced by Browns Bay evidently because William Brown had a sugar estate here for a time; at least (as previously noted) he was in residence and in operation in 1797.

In 1958 two ruins sites in Maho District are noted that seem not to relate to Oxholm sites on either his survey (1780) or chart (1800). These are R-2 and R-8.

R-2. In 1918 the late 19th century American Hill estate house was described as "a noticeable feature of the landscape, for it is built upon the very summit of a hill which has the appearance of a sugar loaf. The hill is some six hundred feet high, and the ascent to the house must have furnished needed exercise to its former owners."[13] It overlooked Cinnamon Bay as well as Maho Bay. McGuire gave the height of the hill as 526 feet and noted that "bay trees grow uncultivated" here.[14]

R-8. These ruins were located very near the coast north of Fredriksdal and conceivably could have been in some way associated with this estate, or with Annaberg, also nearby, at a later time.

Reef Bay District

No. 1. This estate seat just west of the peak of the top of the waters of Reef Bay, having separate ownership in 1780, was an estate backed and flanked with limited open area. At that date it had its village cluster in close association with its buildings (one large, one small, and one between). Evidently the road that gave access to the west and up the valley went through the complex. In 1800 this was numbered one in the Reef Bay sector; a second small building symbol had been added to the group suggesting no diminution in activity.

Nos. 2, 3. This estate seat, "Lameshur" it came to be called, was given as that of D. Nibbs in 1780. It then had more scale than most of the St. John estates. There were, in the main unit, several buildings (three along the northwest arc of Little Lameshur Bay), presumeably a treadmill near the highway leading around to Coral Bay, and a labor village just across the road. Around on the northeast arc of the same bay was a lesser development of a couple of buildings and a small community almost surely associated with it. There was a well-demarked open area above and around the head of the bay. There was still a functioning operation here in 1800 shown with a mill and three buildings, two north of the road and one south of it plus the horse mill. The fields were now clearly marked, perhaps even being fenced or stonewall-enclosed. But the open area had

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13. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, pp. 169-70.

14. Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 26.

contracted and now the lesser grouping (two structures) to the east around the bay is shown as actually in the bush.[15]

No. 4(1). "Par Force," so noted in 1800, was clearly shown in 1780 on the east side of Reef Bay Valley in the midst of a sizeable amount of open ground across the valley and north around and up the mountain slopes. The estate seat had five structures plus a treadmill and a village, all rather closely grouped. South of it evidently were terraces of some sort across the valley (and in 1800 to the north as well). At the earlier date it was the operation of Anthony Zytzema. In 1800 it was given the name Par Force and the number four. This same number was also given the seat just below on the bay, that which in 1780 was noted as the operation of C. Weyle, indicating perhaps that a joint operation of the two had already begun or was in the making. At the latter date there was still the horse mill and there were then three structures associated with it. In 1958 there were ruins (R-13 and R-14) at two closely related sites evidently being those of the village in the flat of the valley and the area around the estate house itself.

The full integration of the Par Force and Reef Bay developments did not come until later but evidently sometime prior to 1830 as one John Vetter had come into the ownership of both. The estate house would remain at the Par Force site and the old Weyle cattle raising and cotton cultivation operation would give way to sugar production. Reef Bay would be the new site of the sugar factory, at first powered by a horse mill and then some time after 1861 by steam power. The existing estate house standing remains seemingly were built in the early decades of the 19th century, being completed by 1844, at the same time that the sugar factory was expanded.[16]

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15. There was a long continuity of use here. It was described in 1925 as having a "Moravian mission school, a bay-oil still, lime-juice still, landing, well, etc., at the head of Little Lameshur Bay." It was noted then, too, that bay and lime trees both grew wild. Then the estate house and its flagstaff overlooked the bay from an elevation of 200 feet on a shoulder of a ridge or spur from the Bordeaux Mountains. (McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 110.)

16. Drawn in large measure from: Charles E. Hatch, Jr., Reef Bay ("Par Force") Estate House and Sugar Factory (Virgin Islands National Park, Historic Structures Report, History Data, Office of History and Historic Architecture, Eastern Service Center, National Park Serivce, June 1, 1970), pp. 8-13; [Frederick C. Gjessing], "Observations on the Architecture of Reef Bay Estate and Fortberg Hill, St. John, V.I.," a 16-page National Park Service report, undated, p. 1; Frederick C. Gjessing, "Historic Structures Report: Part 1: Architectural Data Section on Reef Bay Great House," (N.P.S. typewritten report, November 1968), pp. 1-4.

Continuity in the Par Force (Reef Bay) area operation would continue for a while longer. In 1855 O. J. Bergeest and Company acquired it. It was this management that installed steam-powered machinery for cane crushing. But this firm, evidently not succeeding, sold it at public auction.

It was advertised in the St. Croix Avis on January 1, 1864, as "Sugar Estate Parforce with steam mill, stock and cattle and all appurtenances." The sale was scheduled to be on the premises at noon on January 20. It would include "A set of works with fixtures & Cookers Coppers &c" as well as "1 Steam mill without clarifyers, 8 horsepower," and "1 still and worm." There was "1 Overseer house" and a "Cattle Mill" that was considered "useless." This evidently was at the factory site. Listed with this group, too, were a "Sailing boat" and a rowboat as well as livestock. The latter included 4 horses, 17 "asses," and 74 "horned cattle."

Listed separately were the "Managers House" (presumably Par Force Estate house) along with "Servants rooms," kitchen, oven, and a large cistern. There were "18 Negro rooms" on the place and "2 Cattle pens." As for house furnishings, a number of items were listed including 2 mahogany sofas, 5 mahogany tables, a "Side board," 2 "Presses for Clothes," a dozen "Straw bottom Chairs" with another 6 broken ones, 2 "Lamps," 3 "basin stand boards" and a cot and bed. There also were two other entries--"24 1st Class Labourers Domino Pastureman all included" and "9 2nd Class Labourers."[17]

The sale went to William H. Marsh, an Englishman from Tortola, who for a time had managed the estate for the Bergeest Company. He would continue the operation of the factory at least for another half-century even with the general economic decline on the island. From the Great House at Par Force, Marsh would considerably expand his land holdings with the acquisition of more acreage in Reef Bay as well as in the Lameshur, Carolina, and Maho Bay estate areas.

Reef Bay was the last area on St. John to cultivate sugar cane and to support a factory though it is not clear just when the end finally came. McGuire in 1925 wrote that it then had the "only sugar-mill now on the island." Another report, a family recollec-

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17. This detail was taken from a document, "Conditions for Auction Sale of the Sugar Plantation Parforce," National Archives, Record Group No. 55, Danish, W.I., by Frederick C. Gjessing who communicated it to the writer of this report.

tion in 1950, was that it ceased operation after damage in the hurricane of 1916.[18]

Prior to European settlement Reef Bay had seen little usage though the Valley is the largest and broadest single valley on the south coast of St. John. An archeological survey here failed "to demonstrate any appreciable historic usage by aboriginals." Actually this has been viewed as an area largely inhospitable to prehistoric Indian occupation. There was a sherd area close to the sea that yielded 13 items but no midden was detected. These only suggest Indian visits to the Reef Bay Valley area, and these likely in an early Magens II period, possibly in the span of years from 700 to 1200 A.D.[19] Of course it was up Reef Bay Valley in "Living Gut" where the fine collection of Indian petroglyphs had been recorded, but this, as already discussed, is another matter.

No. 4(2). This (on the edge of Reef Bay on its northeast side near its peak) was noted as the operation of one C. Weyle in 1780. It was then represented by a sizeable cluster of buildings (five of them) and a slave community. Both then and in 1800 there was open area about it in the mouth of Reef Bay Valley. At the latter date it was not named but given the number 4, the same as Par Force up the valley a little way, perhaps suggesting that it may have been linked already with this estate. Though there is no indication of a treadmill or sugar factory at either date, one did come later as

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18. McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 156; Johnson, "St. John and St. Thomas," pp. 16-17.

It hardly seems that another family recollection can be accepted as to date. This related that when in 1908 one Ivan Dalmida one of the factory hands, was caught in the flywheel of the cane crusher and mangled to death, the machinery was stopped and never started again. (Given in Gjessing, "Historic Structure Report . . . Reef Bay Factory and Mill" (1968), p. 3.)

De Booy and Faris wrote in 1918: ". . . the Parforce Estate [was] once the property of one of the richest planters on the island. Rather than use ordinary plaster for the finishing of his walls, this landowner had them decorated with ground rice mixed with some adhesive substance; he claimed that this gave the walls a smoother appearance. He lived to regret his extravagance, when the abolition of slavery changed his former position to one of dire poverty." (Our New Possessions, pp. 165-66.)

19. Sleight, Archaeological Reconnaissance, pp. 25-26; Bullen, Ceramic Periods p. 53.

No. 10. In 1780 and in 1800 a small development of a single building unit appeared just to the southwest of No. 8, with which it was connected by road. There was little open area associated with it. A supposition is that it was a part of the Kaas (Mollendal) complex.

Nos. 11-14. Oxholm may have become confused in his numbering in this area as these numbers do not appear in the Reef Bay district; however, these numbers do appear for sites in the Cruz Bay sequence just across the boundary from No. 15.

No. 15. There was a limited development of two structures in a tiny enclave just to the northwest from Monte Bay[25] and on the south side of the south coast road in 1780. This was essentially repeated in 1800 with perhaps the suggestion of a little more open area.

Cruz Bay District

No. A. "Christians Fort" was shown both in 1780 and in 1800 as a U-shaped structure on the little peninsula jutting into Cruz Bay and forming Galge Bay (or Cove) on its southwest side and Christian Cove on the northeast. The fort is said to have been built after the slave insurrection of 1733.[26] It was noted in 1950 as the island's principal fortification, it being known as "Christian's Fort, sometimes called a battery, which had a wooden superstructure added at some time and is now used as a residence by the Administrator of St. John. It is a small work, roughly 300 feet square and contains cells for prisoners." "The Battery . . . is a modern building constructed

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25. This was in the area of the Monte which in 1925 was described as a hamlet. (Ibid., p. 129.) It was also noted in 1925 that there was a good trail from Centerline Road south a mile along the ridge to Sessman Estate at Gift Hill where it met the Jinny-Gut Road and continued a half mile to Monte. The road was also known as the Sessman, or Sessman Hill, road as well as the Gift Hill road. (Ibid., pp. 83, 129, 176.)

26. "Built after 1734 to defend the town of Cruz Bay and to provide a refuge for the planters in the event of another slave revolt. Used also as a seat of administration for the government of St. John during both the Danish and American eras. House atop the fortifications is for use of Administrative Assistant for St. John recently rebuilt [1960] to detriment of appearance and historical value of the fort." [Herbert Olsen, "Historical Features: Virgin Islands National Park" (a brief National Park Service report, typed, December, 1960), p. 1.]

on top of the dungeons of the old Christians fort of St. Jan . . . the rest of the old fort is pretty well obliterated. . . . The dungeons of the Battery are the only ruins in the Cruz Bay section that I am sure go back to the early days." The original fort "was not primarily intended as a protection against outside attack . . . it faced inland and was aimed primarily at the population itself. Thus the emphasis was on the courthouse prison type of thing."[27]

The village of Cruz Bay[28] developed behind the fort on the mainland. "It became the seat of administration for St. John and the principal port of entry to the island."[29]

No. B. Behind the bay, the fort, and the settlement stretched the rather considerable "Christians Bye" (1780) noted simply as "Bye" in 1800. In 1780 two structures were shown within the confines of the "Bye."

No. 1. Enighed ("Enigkeit") Estate, attributed to Agail Wood in 1780, lay just behind, east of the Cruz Bay "Bye." It was located on a landlocked body of water and beside a road leading into Cruz Bay. In 1780 there was a simple structure or two and possibly a treadmill. Twenty years later there were three structures, one large,

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27. Johnson, "St. John and St. Thomas," pp. 12-14, 40-41.

Johnson also described a second work. "The other is a rough cresent-shaped stone battery on the side of Lind Point facing the harbor which it commands. It is supposed to have been built by the English during the 1801 and 1807 occupation." Johnson added that "being accessible only with difficulty it was seen only through binoculars."

28. The village was named from the bay on which it faced. This initially was known as Little Cruz Bay, Cruz Bay (Great Cruz Bay) being to the south of it on St. John's west end.

29. Olsen, "Historical Features," p. 2.

Johnson commented: "By the way, Cruz Bay--just where I'm not sure--was where St. John's supply of rum (in those days it was called 'kill-devil') was made. . . . The ruins in Cruz Bay village, behind the beach, are very recent indeed." He estimated not more than two generations. ("St. John and St. Thomas," p. 44.)

Also, see Illustration No. 21 for a quiet view of Cruz Bay made prior to 1880.

as well as quite likely the mill. No ruins were noted in 1958.[30]

No. 2. Unnamed, but bearing the number two, in 1800 there was a developed unit of three structures (two in 1780) on the southernmost part of the peninsula between Great Cruz Bay and the lake-like body of water in front of Enighed. Just north of it on the same peninsula was another group of three structures, this having road connection out to the main highway around the west end of St. John. No road connections at all were shown in 1780.

No. 3. This unit, in a small rectangular enclave in 1780, was located just inland north of Little Cruz Bay and mostly surrounded by growth--growth that had increased by 1800. It was essentially adjacent to the road running from Klein (Little) Caneel Bay (The Durloe place) to the northeast. Development at each date was made up of two structures.

No. 4. This single-structure site was eastward along the same ridge on which No. 3 was located. Road connection was westward for the tie-in with the route from the Durloe Estate (No. 8) to Cruz Bay. Though not shown in 1800, 20 years before there were two other accesses, one from just west of Klein Caneel Bay following a small valley, the other just east of this Bay up and along rising terrain. This may suggest some tie with Little Caneel Bay as may also have been the case for No. 3.

Nos. 5 and 6. Bethania (Bethany, "Bethanien")[31] was a mission station some three-quarters of a mile inland behind Little Cruz Bay. In 1800 the mission church adjacent to the main highway into Cruz Bay was shown in cross symbol and numbered five. Just a little to the south of it was another unit with two structure symbols. One had the cross shape. Also at this time there may have been a small village. All were encompassed in a very small open area. It has been the longtime locale of a church, mission, and plantation (estate).[32]

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30. According to Johnson in 1950: "The present ruins of Enighed are not old at all, probably don't go back beyond . . . seventy-five years ago, if that far." He pointed out that the estate established by the Moravians and named "Enighed" (Unity) was much older. ("St. John and St. Thomas," pp. 43-44.)

31. For an engraving of Bethania (about 1768) see Illustration No. 15.

32. It was noted in 1950 that: "There has been a church at Bethany for 150 years or more, but the present building is comparatively recent." (Johnson, "St. John and St. Thomas," p. 44.)

No. 7. Just a little to the northeast of Bethany (No. 5) across a well-delineated short spur from the King's Way, in 1800, a simple development of two structures was noted. Basically it was in a vegetation-covered area and seems not to have existed in 1780.

No. 8. "Klein Caneel Bay" (Little Cinnamon Bay or K.C. Bay) Estate in 1780 was delineated as in the open valley area formed by a ridge that extended westward out to Lind Point and another that flattened out into Hawknest Point. Near the north center of the cultivated ground there were a major structure and a horsemill. Northeastward there was a slave community and near it another structure. By 1800 another structure had been added near the mill and now there were three structures at the second site nearby. At both dates there was road connection with the high road and directly over the ridge with the Cruz Bay settlement. Though clearly a road went out to Hawksnest Point no development was shown here at either date. Noted as "Klein Caneel Bay" Estate in 1800, 20 years earlier it had been assigned to the person of one Durloe.[33]

The ruins here, including "a grinding platform and factory and the walls and foundations of several other estate buildings"[34] were described earlier, in 1918, as "the largest sugar factory ruins on the island. Here also is a coconut grove in which the damage done by the late hurricane was tremenduous."[35] Clarence Johnson had positive opinion about the date of these visible ruins.[36] "The ruins in K.C. Bay are not those of the original buildings. Mostly they appear to have been built during the . . . 19th century. . . . Some of the buildings were doubtless built on the ruins of older ones--in some cases you can actually see the line of demarcation between the old construction and the new. The earlier materials were used again and you can see pieces of the original Danish yellow brick, brought from Denmark. The detached wall alongside of which the road runs north out of the bay is probably what is left of the earliest sugar house."

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33. For a late view of the ruins here see Illustration No. 18.

34. Olsen, "Historical Features, Virgin Islands N.P.," p. 1.

35. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 170.

Also, De Booy and Faris noted: "On the hilltop, before the beginning of the descent to Cruz Bay, may be seen the almost obliterated remains of another Danish fort, whose history no one seems to know."

36. "St. John and St. Thomas," pp. 45-50.

No. 9. In a rather large area of covered, rough terrain to the southeast of Bethania there were four small developed units of a single structure, each in a very small enclave. Oxholm repeated this same delineation in 1800 but gave a number to each of them (9, 10, 12, 13, 14). All were tied by a lesser standard road network that joined the King's Way in the vicinity of Bethany (No. 5)--south of it in 1780 and west and north of it in 1800. Perhaps this suggests some connection with Bethania although all were east of the valley draining into Great Cruz Bay. It can be noted too that No. 9 just southeast of Bethania was assigned to one Smith in 1780. By road No. 9 itself was connected to the way leading from the area as well as to other roads in the vicinity.

No. 10. (See No. 9 above.) This small site was to the south of No. 9 and just north of No. 14. The roads from each of these joined and ran the little way to No. 13.

No. 11. In 1800 this was a limited development just south of the south coast road above Hart Bay. There were three structures here then, one of them large, in a well-demarked cleared zone. Though a name had been penned here in 1780 there seems to have been no development at that time and little or no open area.

No. 12. This was east of No. 9 and generally north of No. 13. Its outlet joined that coming from No. 13. (See No. 9 above.)

No. 13. This was generally east of Nos. 10 and 14 with which it had road connections and south of No. 12 to which it was joined by road. (See No. 9 above.)

No. 14. Located south of No. 10, this may not have had a structure in 1780; however, there was a spur road from that connecting Nos. 10 and 13. Also westward from it some terrace (or a zig-zag road) was indicated. (See No. 9 above.)

No. 15. Oxholm seemingly omitted this number in the Cruz Bay district sequence though that number for Reef Bay is close to the 9-10, 12-14 grouping described above.

No. 16. This, noted as "Beverhout berg" in 1800, was evidently a well-established estate surrounded by a good deal of open land both in 1780 and 20 years later. In 1780 there were a treadmill for the sugar factory and three larger and two smaller structures, the latter two being in the estate slave village itself. All were just west of the larger ravine which drained down into Fish Bay. In 1800 the development was shown as the treadmill and three structures. Major

access out, at both dates, was by road to the King's Way.[37]

No. 17. "Susanna berg" Estate[38] (so noted in 1800) was already well developed in 1780, having two treadmills to grind its sugar cane, three larger structures, and seemingly two smaller ones plus a rather large labor village. Before 1800 one of its treadmills was replaced by a windmill. At the later date Oxholm marked the development with the two mills and three structures. It was located north of "Beverhout berg" and east of Adrian. It was adjacent to and just north of the "Konge Vey." There was a good deal of open ground to the east and south as well as along the ridges northwestward to the sea.

No. 17a. A road zig-zagged its way northwestward down the ridge from Susannaberg into the area between Trunk and Hawksnest (Hogsness) Bay where there were another treadmill and a structure. This in 1780 was assigned to one Krauch as was Susannaberg itself suggesting, perhaps, a single operation. The mill and two structures were noted as here in 1800. At this time Oxholm neither numbered nor named this unit which faced the slight curve of present Denis Bay. The ruins here (R-17) shown on the 1958 Coast and Geodetic Survey were described in 1950.[39]

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37. In 1925 McGuire wrote that this estate, a quarter-mile southwest of Adrian (No. 18), took its name from a 514-foot hill named for John von Beverhout. He, as a militia captain, defended Peter Duerlo's plantation in the slave revolt of 1733. He went on to found an influential family. His name is from the Dutch "Bever" (beaver) and "Haut" (wood). (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 35.)

38. See Illustration No. 16. According to McGuire this estate on a ridge some 800 yards southeast of Hawksnest Bay took its name from 702 foot Susannaberg Hill. (Ibid., p. 186.)

39. "In Denis Bay there has been a windmill tower since the earliest[?] days, but I believe the present one, as well as the horse mill just north of it, is a rebuild--that 19th Century boom again. Also in Denis Bay is what is left of the only 'justice post' that I know of on the island. It is now near the slave quarters and is merely a somewhat elevated piece of masonry; the post was set in the masonry and has of course long since rotted away. The reason for elevating the post was that all of the spectators might get an unobstructed view of the suffering of the victim." (Johnson, "St. John and St. Thomas," p. 45.)

Likely the windmill was altogether a 19th-century development as Oxholm showed it neither in 1780 or in 1800.

No. 18. "Adrian" Estate lay just to the southeast of Susannaberg, across the "Konge Vey" from it and northeast from "Beverhoutberg" and across a spur road to the King's Way from it. There was a treadmill, a larger structure (perhaps several other smaller ones), and a well demarked village in 1780. In 1800 the mill was repeated, as were three structure symbols and the village symbol.[40] It was served by the King's Way and was in the midst of a sizeable amount of open country. Ruins (R-18) were noted in 1958.[41]

No. 19. "Jochumsdahl," so named and numbered 19 by Oxholm in 1800, lay just to the northeast of "Cathrineberg" in the northeast corner of the Cruz Bay district in relatively open but rough terrain. Both seem to have been under a single ownership in 1780, and terracing or fencing lines noted in 1780 may indicate that together they formed a single operation with "Cathrineberg" (No. 19a) the center of it. In 1780 "Jochwnsdahl" was noted simply as having a treadmill and a structure. Twenty years later there was only the mill.

No. 19a. "Cathrineberg" Estate like "Jochumsdahl" lay north of the "Konge Vey." In 1780 there was a treadmill, four structures, and a village. Oxholm seemingly detailed a lesser operation in 1800--a mill and two smaller structures. The likelihood of a joint operation with "Jochwnsdahl" has been mentioned. Also a road connection may suggest a relationship to a developed unit near the top of Trunk Bay on the coast not far away.

Though the 1958 survey does not show ruins here, in 1918 they were said to be extensive. There was a going operation here then known as "Herman [or 'Hammer'] Farm" being on or close to the old

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40. This last was the only village symbol repeated, or shown on the 1800 Oxholm chart.

41. This, "another forgotten plantation" site, was described in 1925: "Many old ruins, including once prosperous sugar factory equipped with unique steam engine and cane crusher. Just northeast a large grove of Guava trees grow uncultivated." (De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 160; McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 24.)

A later description also noted the steam-powered cane crusher--"an old wooded gate across the gut leads into the privately owned Estate Adrian. A short way within the gate are the ruins of a sugar mill that still contain some massive steam-powered machinery manufactured in Scotland about 1848." [Henry Fafalla, "St. John's Plants and Flowers" in A Little Guide to the Island of St. John (issued by Caneel Bay Plantation, 1967), p. 18.]

estate.[42] In 1950 Johnson wrote that "Mr Cary Bishop and his wife are showing what can be done on St. John with hard work, preserverance and ingenuity. At their estate (shown on the maps as Hammer Farm) known as Catherineberg they are growing beautiful vegetables for local and export trade and have recently proudly produced the first head lettuce in the tropics. Mr. Lind Weber, Manager of Caneel Bay Plantation resort is also growing vegetables."[43]

No. 19b. This development close to the inland, east side of Trunk Bay consisted of a treadmill and a structure, both in 1780 and 1800. It was in very limited open country, a little more open at the latter date it would seem. Road connection was up to the high road with one of its forks entering it directly at or through Cathrineberg, with which there may have been some association. (See No. 19a.)

No. 20. Noted as "L'Esperance" Estate and numbered 20 in 1800, it had been shown as the operation of one Petersen two decades earlier. In 1780 there were a treadmill, two larger and a smaller structure, as well as a village community. It lay in the upland area south of the "Cathrineberg-Jochwnsdahl" complex and close to the road[44] running from the King's Way to Mollendal and deeper into the Reef Bay area. Evidently it was still a major operation in 1800 with its mill and one large and three smaller structures.

East End District

No. 1. This development, not named but assigned No. 1 in 1800, was the area that came to be known as "Hermitage," It was on the bay side of the peninsula facing Borcks Bay or Creek on the north side of the East End road. In 1780 it was delineated with three structure symbols and in 1800 this had been reduced to two. At the latter date more open land (there was little 20 years before) seemed

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42. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions, p. 160.

McGuire identified Hammer Farm as "at or near the old estate called from the hill just to the north, Catherineberg. Guava trees grew in the valley head at Jochwndal." (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, pp. 91, 94.)

43. "St. John and St. Thomas," p. 19.

44. McGuire described the road in 1925 as "cool, overhung with foilage, poorly maintained, merely good trail." (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 114.)

to be indicated. Actually this site was in the Coral Bay District being just west of the boundary line. Seemingly Oxholm used this number one to begin his sequence for both the East End and the Coral Bay districts.[45] Ruins (R-20) were noted in 1958.

No. 2. This was another site simply noted with two structures both in 1780 and in 1800. At the earlier date it was closely contained by vegetation seemingly with some open area having come into being by 1800, this toward the bay area. It stood on the crest of the ridge above Princess Bay though closer to the open water northward than to the bay. No formal connection to the East End highway seems to be shown at either date. This may be the location, at least generally, of Mount Pleasant, a small estate that McGuire identified in 1925.[46]

No. 3. This numbered site on Nye (or "New Found") Bay faced the open waters. It was represented by a single building symbol both in 1780 and 1800. By the latter date a little area behind, below, and above seems to have been cleared. Again no road was shown connecting it with the main East End road.

No. 4. This again was represented by a simple structure both in 1780 and 1800. It was adjacent to the East End road and about at midpoint of the peninsula which at this location is very narrow and low in elevation (because of this and the use of it having been named "Haulover"). Though shown as brush-covered in 1780 it seems to have been opened by 1800 all the way across the short distance from the open water to Coral Bay.

No. 5. This site, apparently not shown in 1780, 20 years later was noted with one, possibly two, structures. It was located directly on the open water east of the peninsula seemingly at the base of East End Point, south of the open area associated with No. 3 site. There was road connection for it north of No. 7 on the ridge of the peninsula.

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45. In 1918 De Booy and Faris, describing the route around East End, wrote: "The pretentious farm of Hermitage, with its numerous buildings is passed. This estate like the Caroline Estate is devoted to stock raising. Finally one gets to the East End settlement, whose inhabitants live their quiet lives far removed from the hustle of the outside world." "On the extreme eastern peninsula is found Privateer Bay, named after the sea rovers who used to put in here to careen their ships. Reports are current in the East End settlement--the second of the two most important settlements on St. John--that there is pirate's gold in the sands surrounding this bay, and many a futile search has been made for this." (Our New Possessions, pp. 137, 167.)

46. Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 131.

No. 6. This location on the flatter, open area facing Hansen's Bay and Coral Bay beyond boasted of but a single structure in 1780 and in 1800, at the latter date being noted as number 6. Evidently the open area had been increased before 1800. It was immediately adjacent to the East End road. It was in that area of East End where the later small community of the same name developed.

No. 7. This site was on an elevation southeast of No. 6 and was delineated both in 1780 and 1781 as a two-structure development. Seemingly the East End road terminated here. Little open area was associated with it at either date.

Coral Bay District

A. The Coral Bay Fort ("Fredericksvaern"), built on the 423-foot cone-shaped "Fort Berg" in 1717[47] and considerably strengthened after the insurrection in 1733, continued throughout the 18th century to guard Coral Bay harbor. It occupied its prominent hill on the peninsula projecting into Coral Bay separating the Harbor area from the well-known Hurricane Hole. The fort form shown by Oxholm in 1780 resembled a cross whereas in 1800 it appeared as a square but with each of its corners projecting outward.

It had its most solid form after major improvements in 1735-1736. At this time a fort 100 feet in length with bastions was completed. Its 12-man complement, with the guns in the bastions, could command Coral Bay. It then represented a company investment of some 2,700 rix-dalers.[48]

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47. See Illustration Nos. 10-13.

The height is that given by McGuire, Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 76.

48. Westergaard, The Danish West Indies, pp. 216-17; Larsen, Virgin Islands Story, pp. 32-33.

Though he does not document it, Johnson had this to note about the earliest state of the fort: "In 1733, when the revolt took place, the fortifications up there were not much--just a breastworks of loose stone, a guardhouse, cookhouse and ammunition dump. After the revolt the Danes got busy and built a real solid fort and water battery. I believe the English, improved, or at least refurbished, them during the occupation . . ." in 1801 and 1807-1815. ("St. John and St. Thomas," pp. 47-48.)

Johnson pointed out that the fort ruins were impressive. "Outsiders have camped up there digging for treasure--some of them so recently that the sardine tins besides the hole they dug have not yet rusted away." (Ibid.)

B. The battery at the foot of the hill was also shown in 1780 and 1800 and in each instance had the shape of a U. Located on the point forming the south side of "Battery Bay," it faced directly out toward the entrance into Coral Bay. Both fort and battery were noted as sites with ruins (R-21 and R-22) in 1958.[49]

No. 1. This came to be known as "Hermitage" being numbered one in 1800. This No. 1, as previously noted, began the numbering sequence for both the East End and Coral Bay districts. (See East End district for appropriate detail.)

No. 2. Oxholm seems not to have used No. 2 in his Coral Bay sequence. See 3a below.

No. 3. Though not named in 1780, Oxholm gave it the name Emmaus ("Emaus") and the number three at the latter date. In both instances it was delineated by a single-structure symbol located on the water side of the East End road around the bay and south down the coast from "Hermitage." It was closely confined by vegetation a little of which had been cleared by 1800. This site later became the area where the Palestinia community developed.[50]

3a. Across the road from Emmaus, a little to the southwest and possibly associated with it, was a two-structure complex unnamed and unnumbered. By 1800 it was associated with a narrow open strip stretching from Emmaus into Caroline valley. A cemetery (C-5) noted in 1958 appears to have been near the site.

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49. Johnson wrote in 1950: "Immediately below the fort on a spur that runs to the sea is a battery that reportedly still has its old ordnance. . . ." ("St. John and St. Thomas," p. 12.)

In commenting on the water battery during the British occupation, Johnson wrote: "I believe the English, improved, or at least refurbished, them [fort and battery] and the cannon, which at present remain in the battery below (all but one of them are still there, rusting away with the snouts pointing toward the gun ports) I believe were put there by the English, for they seem a bit too modern to be the old Danish guns." (Ibid., pp. 47-48.)

50. De Booy and Faris noted in 1918 that "one had to admire the industry of the Moravian Brethren who, in the eighteenth century, despite opposition and poverty, were able to erect the large buildings that were found here previous to the hurricane of 1916." (Our New Possessions, p. 166.)

McGuire, in 1925, described Emmaus "as a Moravian mission compound and school established in 1783 and damaged by the hurricane of 1916." (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 71.)

3b. A little farther to the southwest from "Emaus" there was another small development near the cleared edge of Carolina in 1780. Twenty years later it was shown in the open. North of the road, at the earlier date, it appeared with a structure adjacent to a small slave village. This was the general area where the Coral Bay and Emmaus communities later developed. Another cemetery (C-6) noted in 1958 seems to have been near this location.

No. 4. This number is arbitrarily assigned to "Carolina" (sometimes Caroline), an estate on a 181-foot hill which Oxholm named but did not number in 1800. In 1780 he assigned it to Grev Schimelmann. It was originally the Danish company estate on St. John and a center of the island's business and government. It evidently was still the most extensive operation on the island in the 1780-1800 period utilizing the rather commodious valley that extended inland behind Coral Bay Harbor.[51]

In 1780 Oxholm noted two treadmills and a windmill about midway up the well-cleared valley. A large cross-shaped structure was just to the west of these. A bit to the north was another structure on a hill east of which was a rather extensive slave community. On another hill a little to the southwest two structures are shown. A number of field enclosures seem to be indicated particularly from the developed clusters to the bay; however, even then this may have had some relationship to the 1800 notation "Reservent Bye Grund" (meaning reserved "city" ground). Development in 1800 reflected that of 20 years before. Then there were a single treadmill and windmill, a structure nearby, and three others (one large and two small) on the hill to the north. By this date, too, what appears to have been an orderly planting of trees had been made across the head of Coral Bay Harbor. Behind it there was now an open strip all of which had been naturally covered with brush 20 years before.

Carolina has had long and continuous use being described as "prosperous" even in 1925. It then had "a stock farm with hundreds of cattle," a banana patch, and a "big bay-oil manufactory" with a bay oil still.[52]

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51. See Illustration No. 14.

52. In 1950 Johnson concluded: "The old estate house on the hill and the windmill tower and sugar works have all been rebuilt, perhaps several times, the last time within the memory of some living persons; but what is left of the slave quarters at the foot of the hill is all original stuff, it would seem from the masonry." ("St. John and St. Thomas," p. 48 ff.)

No. 5. "Bordeaux," located in the east end of the body of St. John, was in a sizeable area of landlocked tillable ground east of Bordeaux Mountain.[53] This was true both in 1780 and 1800 and the open area crossed westward into the Reef Bay district. The Bordeaux development cluster, however, was just across the district line in Coral Bay. In 1800 it included a horse mill and two structures. Twenty years before it had four structures and a village but seemingly no mill. To the west of it in Reef Bay, however, there was another development, numbered five in 1800, as was Bordeaux itself. There was direct road connection and the two may have been parts of a related operation.

No. 6. This numbered unit (a single structure) was noted in 1800 on the ridge just northeast of Bordeaux adjacent to the road leading to Coral Bay in the edge of cleared area. It seems not to have existed in 1780 and may have represented some Bordeaux estate expansion in the period.

No. 6a. This development adjacent to Coral Bay Harbor and immediately below, actually adjoining, the eastward extension of Carolina, was not numbered by Oxholm in 1800, but rather noted as "Brynd." Twenty years earlier two structures, one large, one small, had been shown here in the bush on the south edge of the cleared square above it.

No.7. This site, on the coast on the west side of Coral Bay Harbor above Pen Point, in 1780 had a structure, perhaps two, and a village. In 1800 there was open area above and around it, it then being numbered seven and noted plainly with two structure symbols.

No. 8. This site, on the coast just below Pen Point in 1800, was in the midst of limited open area that seems not to have existed 20 years earlier. Numbered eight, it was noted with two structures between the coast road and the water. No development was shown here in 1780.

No. 9. This, on a slight ridge about midway between Pen Point and Grout (Johnson) Bay, was shown in 1800 as number nine with a little open ground around it, much more than there was in 1780. In both instances there was only a single structure symbol. A cemetery noted in 1958 (C-7) seems to have been located near this site.

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53. McGuire wrote that "Bordeaux Mountain (1,277 feet) is the summit of St. John. It is on the ridge of the Bordeaux Mountains which extends from Mamey Peak southeast beyond the peak, then northeast to Bordeaux estate village, and again southeast toward Minna Hill. Bay trees then grew wild along the ridge as they still do." (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 29.)

No. 10. Just southeast of No. 9 on the coast road was another one-structure site shown both in 1780 and 1800. At the earlier date it was in a square enclosed enclave, and later generally in the open.

No. 11. This site, numbered eleven in 1800, likely was related in some way to No. 12, a larger development, just east and south of it. Both in 1780 and in 1800 it was noted simply with a single structure symbol on the inland side of the coast road. A 1958 noted cemetery (C-8) seems to have been near this site as well as near No. 12 not far away.

No. 12. In 1780 here at the bottom (south) of Grout (Johnson) Bay was a well-demarked estate unit with a cleared area of some size. It was the only such development of any size shown along the eastern edge of the body of St. John south of Carolina. It then had two structures and a village near the bay as well as a second village a little farther along on the coast road. In 1800 it was noted as a cluster of five structure symbols.

No. 13. This development at the base of Linens (Sabat) point was noted as a two small structure development closely surrounded by bush in 1780. By 1800, however, limited area around it had been opened as well as an area to the south along the coast road facing on Fruses (Friis) Bay. It still had its two buildings.

No. 13a. In 1780 two other structures in the bush west of the coast road and a little to the southwest of No. 12 were shown. These were not noted in 1800.

Nos. 14, 15. Oxholm seems not to have used these numbers in his Coral Bay district sequence.

No. 16. This development, numbered 16 and named Concordia in 1800, was located in the southeast corner of St. John actually facing south, inland a little from the top of "Salt Panne" (Saltpond) Bay.[54] In 1780 it was noted with a couple of structures (one large) and a small village or building group but with little open area around it. This space had increased by 1800 and there was some cleared area all around the two structures that were then shown. At both dates there was close proximity to the road that curved around the southeast corner of the island.

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54. McGuire concluded that this was sometimes known as "Saltpond Estate." The pond itself he described as one 80 by 300 yards in size constituting the "only salt-bearing pond on this end of the island." Consequently Concordia Bay, the Estate, and the Hill were locally known as Saltpond.

APPENDIX F

The Bay Tree and the Production of Bay Rum on St. John

Though it was a relatively late business, or industry, the production, sale and distribution of bay rum was well established in St. Thomas much prior to 1888 as is attested by advertising support for Charles E. Taylor's volume, Leaflets from the Danish West Indies. The A. H. Riise firm[1] then boasted that it was a "Distiller of Bay Oil" as well as a manufacturer of "Florida Water, Bay Spirit Soap, Eau de Cologue, Perfumery, etc. etc." This firm posed as the "sole distiller of the 'Double Distilled Bay Spirit' or Bay Rum" which had been "awarded the Highest Medals at Philadelphia, New Orleans & Antwerp" expositions. H. Michelsen, also of St. Thomas, cited nine awards for his product (four gold medals, four silver medals, and a diploma of honor) in competitions between 1883 and 1887. His advertisement pointed out that "the use of the clear Bay Rum, of the colour of Renish Wine, has been recommended by eminent physicians" for health, cosmetics, and toilet use. As the published sales promotion gave it:[2]

As a Healing Medium

1. For tender feet, by rubbing with a few tablespoonfull on going to bed.

2. For the hair, when thin and inclined to fall, by rubbing the scalp in the morning with a tablespoonful, whereby the roots will be stimulated and strenghtened.

3. After long and fatiguing rides, or walks, by rubbing the entire body with the article mixed with water (principally the feet after walking) whereby after a half-hour's time, not only will the application refreshen, but also produce renewed strength generally.

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1. This establishment was founded by A. H. Riise in 1838 and at his death carried on by his sons, Messrs. K and V. Riise. (Taylor, Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, p. 200.)

2. Ibid., advertisements at front and end of volume.

As a Cosmetic and Toilet Article

> For washing the face, a few tablespoonful added to water will suffice, and by a continued use, the skin of the face obtains a more brilliant and animated appearance.
>
> For the bath, ½-bottle in an ordinary bathing pan.
>
> For headaches and other pains, caused by cold or over-exertion, Bay Rum is often applied by rubbing, as stated above, and in case of a headache, by bandages saturated with the article.
>
> Bay Rum, the product of the leaves and berries of the Bay tree (Pimenta acris) and pure Rum invigorates and strengthens the nerves, and possesses a refreshing odour.

Seemingly Taylor agreed with all of these claims, especially that it was "an admirable adjunct to the toilet." "Used as a wash, it is refreshing and invigorating, and when diluted with water is a soothing application after shaving. Added to the bath, it gives suppleness and strength to the tired limbs. As an antiseptic it is invaluable; in the sick room especially. In hot climates, or in the summer in the North, its uses are numberless, and while other perfumes pall on the senses, one never gets tired of this."

Taylor in 1888 noted in his brief description[3] of the industry that "the bay rum manufacture (which treatened to be nearly extinguished [in St. Thomas] in 1883 owing to scarcity of the leaves of the pimento tree, from which it is made) is now in full activity, and several of our enterprising merchants are turning out thousands of bottles annually, and in the world's exhibitions are establishing the fame of St. Thomas." He added that "This invaluable preparation, of which so little is actually known in Europe or America of its origin, production, or manufacture, is made by distilling the leaves of the bay berry tree with rum," However, there was a cautionary note:

> In view of the increasing importance of this manufacture, and that houses in America are dispatching agents to these islands in order to buy up or secure the bay leaves in advance for their own purpose, would it not be wise

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3. Ibid., pp. 199-202.

> if proprietors on whose estates the bay berry tree is to be found were to devote a little more of their attention to it and adopt means for its further planting and preservation? It is a well-known fact that it has been almost exterminated in St. Thomas by indiscriminate gathering in the absence of proper protection. Who knows but a like fate is not waiting it elsewhere. There will then be an end to this promising industry.

From all indications it was the shortage of raw material (bay leaves) that turned the attention of the producers to St. John. The island was not mentioned in any context with the manufacture of bay rum by Taylor. Though Pimenta acris, which produces the desired leaf, has been generally assumed to have been indigenous to the island and no record of its introduction by import has been noted, it does seem significant, at least highly interesting, that Baron H. F. A. Eggers made no reference in 1879 to the bay tree (his "P. acris") on St. John in his comprehensive coverage of flora in the Virgin Islands. His entry simply noted that it was "in forests near the coast, not common--St. Croix, Vieques." This followed his comment that "it flowered in July and August and that from the leaves the well-known bay rum is distilled."[4]

In any case it was noted of St. John in 1907 that "The 'bay leaf' (Pimenta acris) the leaves of which are used in the manufacture of that most agreeable toilet requisite known as bay-rum, of which there are several manufactories in St. Thomas, and which has become so popular throughout America, is a growth of this island."[5] Certainly it was an established business at the time of World War I and a particular promise for economic betterment at the time when the United States acquired the Danish Virgins in 1917, though damage to the bay tree groves here had been extensive in the destructive hurricane in 1916.

By one report some of the success of the bay rum industry can be measured by volume. Earl B. Shaw placed the volume of production

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4. Flora of St. Croix and the Virgin Islands, West Indies, Bulletin of the Department of the Interior, United States National Museum, No. 13, published under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C., 1879), p. 310 and elsewhere.

5. Algernon E. Aspinall, The Pocket Guide to the West Indies (London), p. 268.

for the islands in 1910 at 10,000 gallons, which rose to 140,000 gallons in the early 1930s, much of it based on St. John trees.[6] Writing in 1919 A. H. Verill[7] stated that:

> To-day St. John is famous only as the source of more than half the bay rum of the world, a statement that may surprise many, for bay rum and St. Thomas are almost synonymous and the name of St. John is never heard. But the most extensive bay-tree groves in the Antilles are here, and the bulk of the St. Thomas product is made from leaves grown in this forgotten, out-of-the-way isle.

Theodore H. N. De Booy and John T. Faris observed in 1918[8] that the bay tree thrived at various points on St. John even through it was "most particular to its habit." They also commented that "The inhabitants [of St. John] make their living principally by the collecting and selling of the bay leaves to the owners of the stills which manufacture the essential oil of bay rum." Perhaps Luther K. Zabriskie has one of the better descriptions of the elements of the "bay rum industry" as it was seen just prior to 1918.[9]

"The cultivation of the bay tree, and the extraction of the oil from its leaves," he related, "provides for the island of St. John its most important industry, and the distillation of this oil and its subsequent manufacture into bay rum furnishes the sister island of St. Thomas its only article of local manufacture and the

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6. "The Virgin Islands" (The American Empire, p. 107).

Shaw noted further in 1940: "The forest industry of St. John is slightly different from that found in St. Croix or St. Thomas. The tree crop for which the island is most widely known is bay leaves. Through some unknown cause the indigenous Pimenta acris has developed naturally without intermixture with other but closely related species, which yield an inferior and almost worthless bay oil; and it is largely because the bay leaves are obtained from this desirable species that the oil of St. John has long had an enviable reputation in the worlds' trade in perfumes and cosmetics." (Ibid., p. 110.)

7. The Book of the West Indies (New York, 1919), p. 36.

8. Our New Possessions, pp. 145-49.

9. "The Virgin Islands of the U.S.A.," pp. 127, 169-71, 179-81.

most important of all its exports." Approximately 4,000 quarts of oil were produced on St. John annually and from this came an estimated 60,000 cases (twelve quart bottles to the case) of bay rum manufactured for export. The retail price of bay rum in St. Thomas was then about 25 cents per quart. A quart of the oil in St. John brought $4.50. The St. Thomas bay rum was considered the best on the market and went to all parts of the world. The greater part of it, however, went to Jamaica and Panama whence it was transhipped to the countries on the west coast of South America.

Zabriskie reported that the principal operators in the bay leaf and oil industry in St. John were:

E. W. Marsh
A. White
Danish Plantation Company
G. Bornn
A. Lindquist

For the manufacture of the bay rum the leading people and firms in St. Thomas were then:

H. Michelsen
A. Riise
David Bornn
A. Vance
Valdemar Müller
St. Thomas Bay Rum Co., Ltd. (J. Paiewonsky, managing director)

In addition to the larger producers there were a number of smaller leaf growers. These normally sold their leaves by the pound to processors without thought of process and distilling. Normally these brought one, one and one-half, or two cents a pound depending on the times.

Though it was believed that almost any part of St. John would grow bay trees excepting the eastern and southwestern areas, it was noted that they grew better in an altitude several hundred feet above the sea and in rich soil. At the time only some 50 acres were devoted to the careful cultivation of the tree though leaves were picked from a much wider acreage than this.

Where cultivated, the trees were planted some eight feet apart. They were normally ready for leaf picking to begin, without injury to the trees, in about three years. In the first few years each tree would yield about 25 pounds of leaves and this would rise to about 180 pounds of leaves at maturity. The bay tree reached maturity in about ten years though it would continue to bear leaves for 50, or 60, even 70 years. The trees, if left to grow freely, would reach some size; however, for ease in leaf picking a diameter of 15 feet across the branches was considered the best size.

In St. John the bay trees begin to blossom early in July and drop their seeds in August and September. It was immediately after this that the finest quality and best yielding leaves were taken. Actually the experienced growers had concluded that three leaf pickings a year brought in the best yield, created a condition that formed a superior quality leaf, and promoted the health of the tree. But opinions on this varied and some maintained that trees should be left alone for a full year as the leaves would then yield more oil.

Most leaves were picked by children who climbed the trees and threw them down to women waiting below who packed them into bags holding about seventy pounds. Rather than pick them one by one, twigs with a dozen, or more, leaves were broken off. Breaking was considered a superior practice to cutting as it caused more shoots to develop.

The bags were then delivered to the still where normally leaves and twigs were put into a retort for distilling, copper stills of the conventional sort being used.[10] This broke the oil from the cells of the leaf. The resulting product, bay oil, was not suitable for direct use as a toilet article being harsh and acrid. This was mixed with rum, or with alcohol and water, and then distilled again to get bay rum itself. Most of this last was done by St. Thomas firms using oil procured from St. John and alcohol or rum from St. Croix, Puerto Rico, or Cuba. The standard ratio was about one quart of oil to 500 of rum.

Cheaper grades of rum when mixed with the oil and distilled normally adversely affected the delicate odor of the bay rum and made it inferior.[11] There was another way of "direct" manufacture,

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10. See Illustrations No. 23 and 24 for photographs of a still such as was used on St. John. The Zabriskie volume also has a view of islanders picking the bay leave. (The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., opposite page 162.)

11. Charles E. Taylor emphasized this point when he wrote in 1888:

> As there are many varieties of this tree throughout the West Indies which are scarcely to be distinguished botanically, great caution has to be exercised in the choice of its leaves, as the admixture of the smallest quantity of a wrong variety might entirely spoil the product of distillation. Equal care has to be displayed in the selection of the rum. It must be of the very best quality, perfectly pure and free from any foreign

and some small amount of bay rumm was produced in this manner on St. John. This involved distilling the leaves directly in the alcohol instead of converting them first into bay oil. This was said to yield a product superior in strength and aroma to that resulting from the mechanical mixture of ingredients.[12]

When Zabriskie wrote, it being a wartime period, even the bay leaf industry and bay rum manufacture were depressed. There was a slack market in St. Thomas and there had been failure to find or keep sufficient buyers abroad. Not all of the leaves on St. John were being put to use. There was need too for some modernization in processing. Better stills would increase the amount and quality of the oil distilled from the leaves. Improvements, too, could lead to the automatic separation of the bay oil from its water content.[13]

McGuire in his Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, writing in 1925 after World War I had passed and some stablization had come, noted that bay oil stills were operating at several estates.[14] He enumerated Mahobay, on the eastern shore of Maho Bay, Lameshur, Cinnamon Bay, and Carolina. The latter he credited with a "big bay-oil manufactory" including a bay oil still. The needed volume of leaves came in large measure from the high elevations of the Bordeaux Mountains Ridge and the American Hill section overlooking Cinnamon and Maho bays where the bay trees grew "uncultivated."

> odour. In the manufacture of the best kind of bay spirit, only the true leaves and berries are used. These should be fresh, experience has shown their great superiority over those which have become dry and old.

(Leaflets from the Danish West Indies, p. 200.)

12. In 1917 it was reported that: "Arrangements can be made with at least one plantation to manufacture bay rum by the direct distillation process from alcohol furnished by the purchaser. If alcohol is laid down at the still without charge to the company, it will turn the alcohol into bay rum for approximately 30 cents per gallon of finished product, the purchaser also to furnish all necessary containers and pay all freights. Owing to the addition of water and the bay oil, which distills out in the process, each gallon of alcohol may be converted into nearly two of bay rum." [H. G. Brock, P. S. Smith, and W. A. Tucker, The Danish West Indies, Their Resources and Commercial Importance, United States Department of Commerce, Special Agents Series, No. 129 (Washington, D.C., 1917), pp. 30-31.]

13. De Booy and Faris also described the bay tree groves and the manufacture of bay rum but in less detail than did Zabriskie (Virgin Islands of the U.S.A., pp. 145-49).

14. Pages, 26, 50, 110, 122.

APPENDIX G

The 1916 Hurricane

The year 1916 was a memorable one for the Danish West Indies. A natural catastrophe struck in the form of a vicious hurricane with little warning, and this very late. In the afternoon and evening of Monday, October 9, the barometer plummented to near 28.00 inches of mercury and devastating winds hit the islands by various estimates much exceeding the speed of 100 miles per hour, some said even as much as 140. The winds came first from the east and then, as the eye of the storm passed over, from the west. The loss of life was small (four on St. Thomas and five each on St. John and St. Croix); however, property damage (business, public, and private) was everywhere heavy, in many instances total. The harbor and town of Charlotte Amalie were especially hard-hit.[1]

This hurricane was said to have been more vicious than that of 1876, or 1898, or even that of 1867. Besides, it came in war and depressed times when money was scarce, work at a low ebb, and materials and equipment very dear. Damage was especially heavy on St. John as was reported in the St. Thomas Tidende[2] on October 14:

> Some hurried notes sent us from there ["St. Jan"] give a partial but awful sketch of conditions, while an eyewitness who experienced the hurricane there gives a deplorable account of its ravages. The state of things is appalling, he says, no homes, no food, no fruit trees, no provisions grounds left, almost every-

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1. Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 221-37.

Hurricanes through the years had been part of the way of life in the Danish Virgins and McGuire, in 1925, related that some 130 destructive hurricanes were of record and wind velocities in some had reached 150 miles per hour. (Geographical Dictionary of the Virgin Islands, p. 20.) A report of 1902 cited especially those of 1713, 1738, 1742, 1772, 1793, 1819, 1837, 1867, and 1898. (Austin, Danish West India Islands (House Document (1902) pp. 2770, 2781.)

2. A newspaper then published on St. Thomas.

thing flat, boats, fishpots, all gone. Desolation reigns.[3]

A more complete statement came later:[4]

> On the evening of Monday, October 9, the islands were swept by the most destructive hurricane that has occured since 1867--one which, in fact, was in some respect more destructive than the highwinds and the tidal wave that accompanied the former disaster. St. Thomas probably suffered more damage to property than either St. Croix or St. John, but there were more casualties reported from the latter island, the wounded numbering more than 50, with five or six deaths due to injuries from falling walls or trees. . . .
>
> Fatalities and casualties were more numerous on St. John than on both the other islands, probably due in part to lack of communication, which made it impossible to give warning of the approaching hurricane and allow the inhabitants to take the necessary precautions. Certain portions of the island were denuded of trees, and several of the communities were completely wiped out. At Denis Bay, K.C. Bay, and Marys Point every house in the villages was destroyed with the exception of one room at K.C. Bay. At Miland there was no damage, but every other community heard from up to Saturday, October 21, reported few houses not seriously damaged and many of the people homeless. At Emmaus the Moravain Church, Mission House, and all other buildings are totally destroyed. . . .
>
> The injured on St. John were without medical attention for a few days, as the doctor formerly stationed there had been removed to St. Croix some time before to replace one of the practitioners of that municipality. As soon as possible several

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3. Quoted from Zabriskie, Virgin Islands of the U.S.A., p. 237.

4. Brock, Smith, Tucker, The Danish West Indies, pp. 59-60, 62.

of the wounded were removed to the hospital in St. Thomas, and the junior surgeon of the Valkyrien was sent to the stricken island to render such assistance as was required. Material aid from outside will be necessary to rehabilitate the island.[5]

On October 12, there was some itemization of individual damages on St. John. This appeared in the St. Thomas Lightbourn's Mail Notes.[6]

St. Jan News

Cruz Bay - Police Assistant house gallery destroyed; some other little damages. Not much to other houses.

K.C. Bay (Abraham Smith's place) - Every house level to theground except one room. All cocoanut trees destroyed.

Denis Bay (Lindquist's place) - Gallery gone, and some other parts damaged. The village houses all destroyed. The entire banana field, lime trees, cocoanut trees, and bay leaf destroyed.

American Hill (Plantation Coy) - Dwelling house much damaged, also Bay Rum Factory, etc. Lime cultivation seriously damaged.

Miland - No damage.

Mahoe Bay - Marsh's house destroyed.

Annaberg - Francis' Castle Building, just built, much damaged.

Mary's Point (Stakemann's property) - Labourer's village destroyed, also cocoanut grove.

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5. "It is especially unfortunate that in many instances those who could least afford it have suffered most. The poorly paid laborers have not only lost their homes and their few household utensils but also the means of gaining a livelihood."

6. Quoted from Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A., pp. 233-35.

Parcel Annaberg (owned by squatters) - Houses damaged.

Leinster Bay - The private boarding house of Mrs. Clen, owned by Lawyer Jorgensen, entirely destroyed.

Hermitage (Lockhart's) - Some damage to buildings, etc.

East End - Many small properties suffered very much damage. Some persons crushed to death in their houses.

Palestine - Nearly all the houses destroyed. Many homeless.

Coral Bay, Emmaus - Moravian Church and Mission house and outer buildings all gone. Parson Rev. Penn had to take refuge at Carolina, Mr. E. W. Marsh's estate. Not much damage to Carolina.

Other parts of Coral Bay very much damaged. Many homeless.

South Side - Many places much damaged and poor people much in need.

Mollendahl - Scarcely a house not seriously damaged.

Cessman Hill - Scarcely a house not ruined. Many homeless and nothing to eat.

These are among the worse; still there are other parts that we have not been able to get news from.

The Moravian Minister Revd. Penn lost everything, especially his valuable books.

The inhabitants are in a deplorable condition.

Of all the beautiful cocoanut palms there are scarcely a dozen trees left in the whole Island. The beautiful cocoanut grove of Estate Trunk Bay is entirely destroyed.

By later summary there was more detail in some instances:[7]

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7. De Booy and Faris, Our New Possession, pp. 138, 142, 254.

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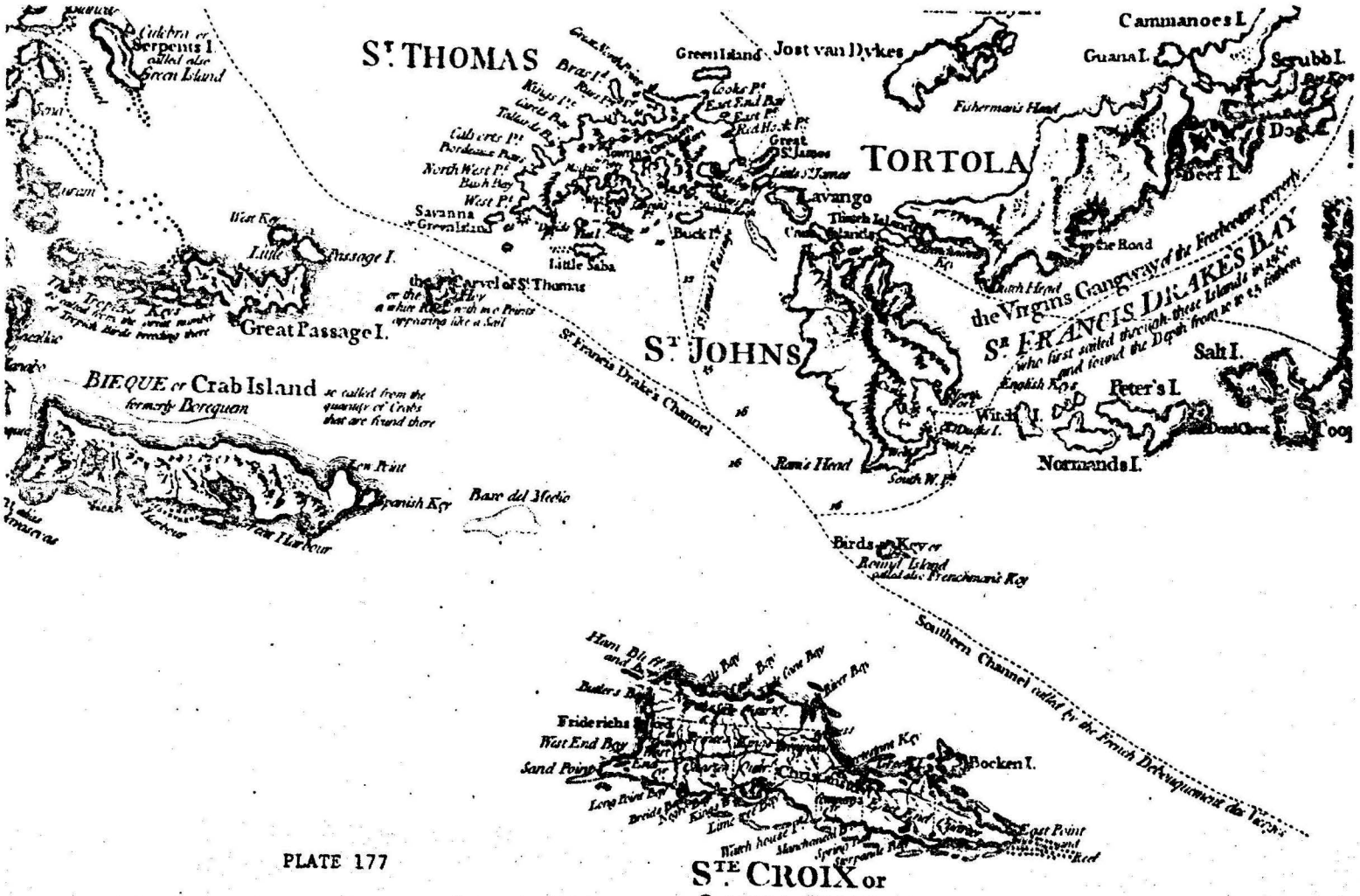


PLATE 177

The Virgin Islands showing St. John and "the Virgins Gangway of the Freebooters properly Sr Francis Drake's Bay." Note the Coral Bay Fort "castle" and "North Fort." [A section of Plate 3 in Thomas Jefferys, The West Indian Atlas (1775).]

Courtesy of The Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

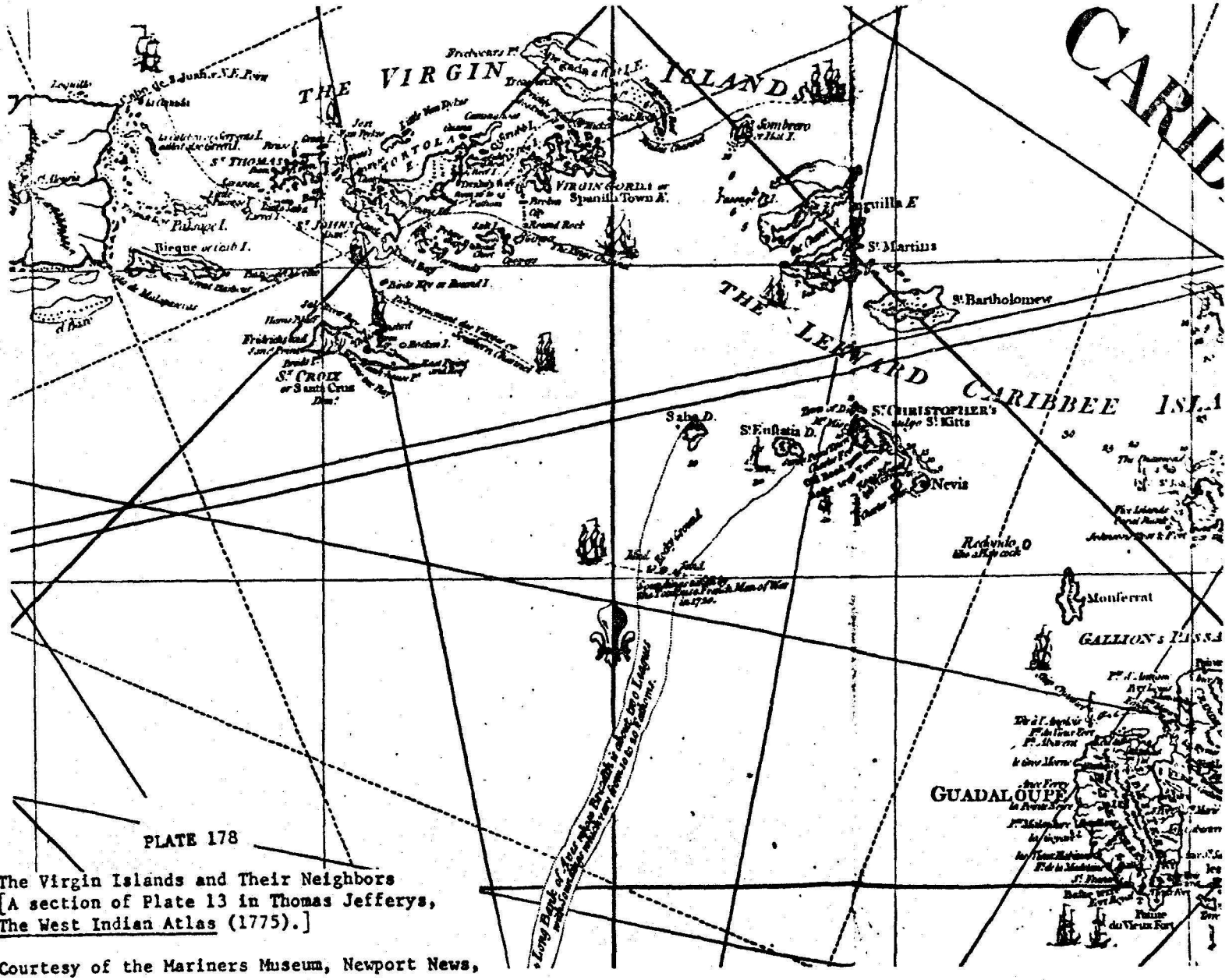


PLATE 178

The Virgin Islands and Their Neighbors
[A section of Plate 13 in Thomas Jefferys, The West Indian Atlas (1775).]

Courtesy of the Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

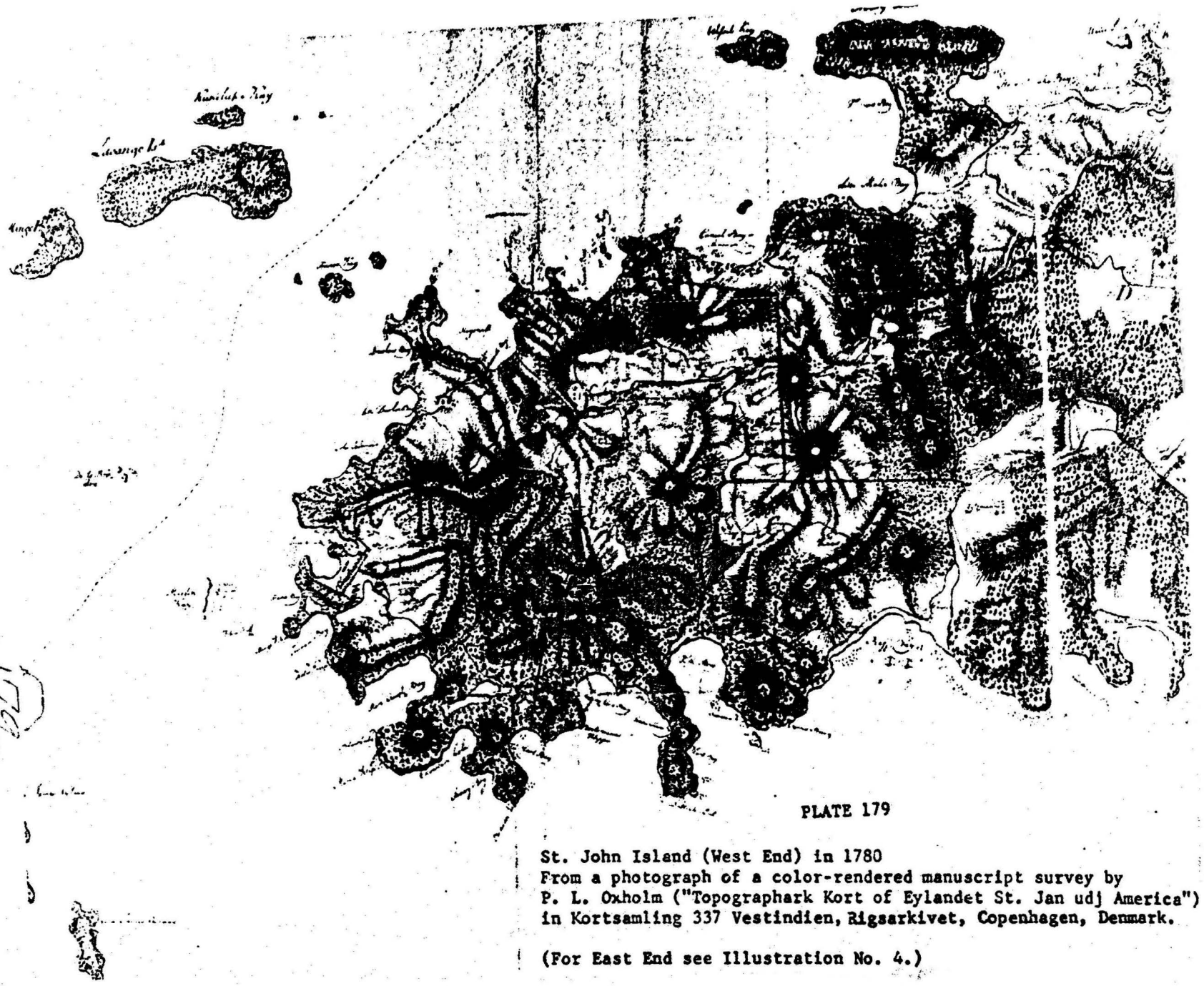


PLATE 179

St. John Island (West End) in 1780
From a photograph of a color-rendered manuscript survey by
P. L. Oxholm ("Topographark Kort of Eylandet St. Jan udj America")
in Kortsamling 337 Vestindien, Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Denmark.

(For East End see Illustration No. 4.)

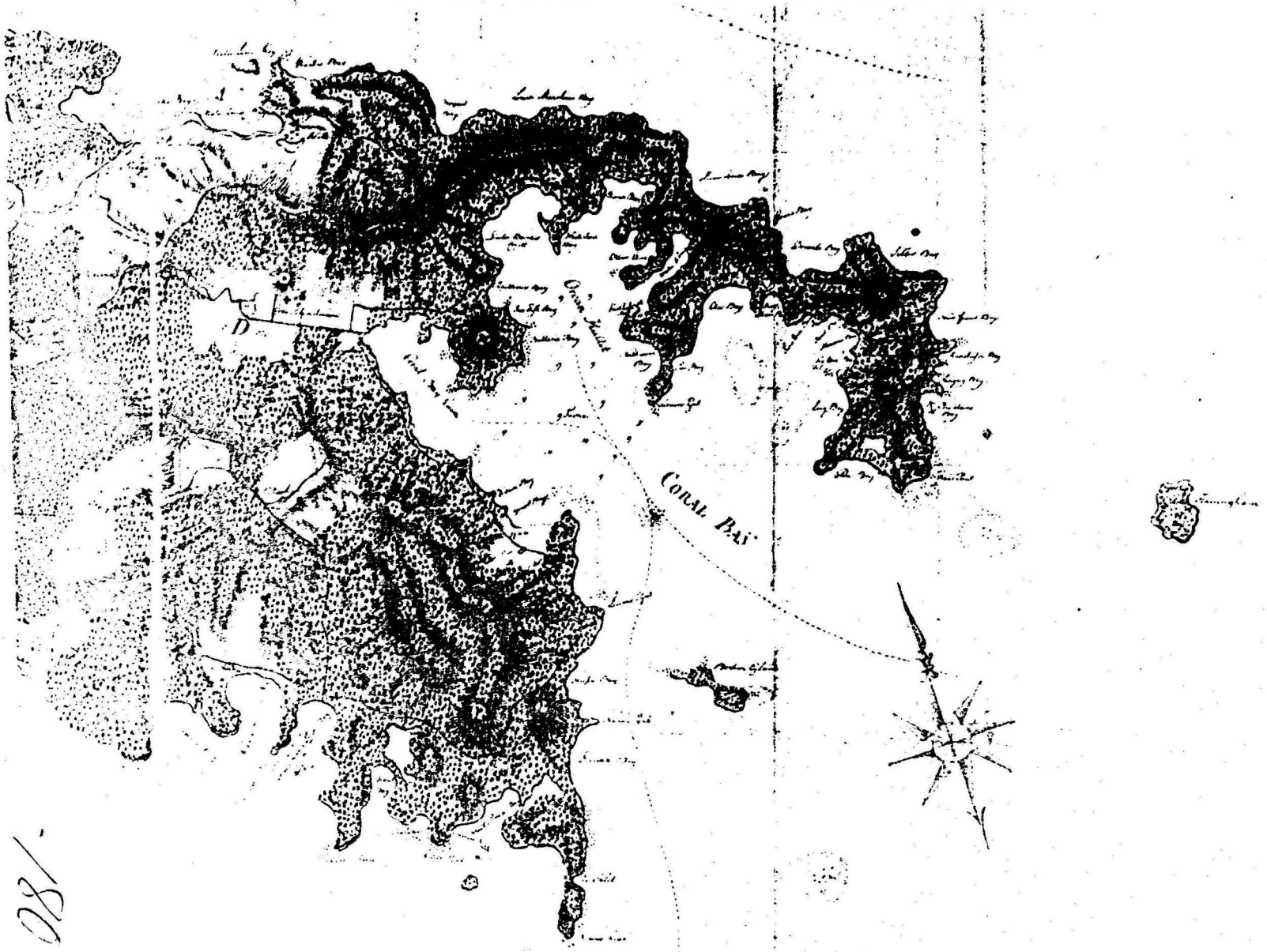


PLATE 180

St. John Island (East End) in 1780
(For West End see Illustration No. 3.)

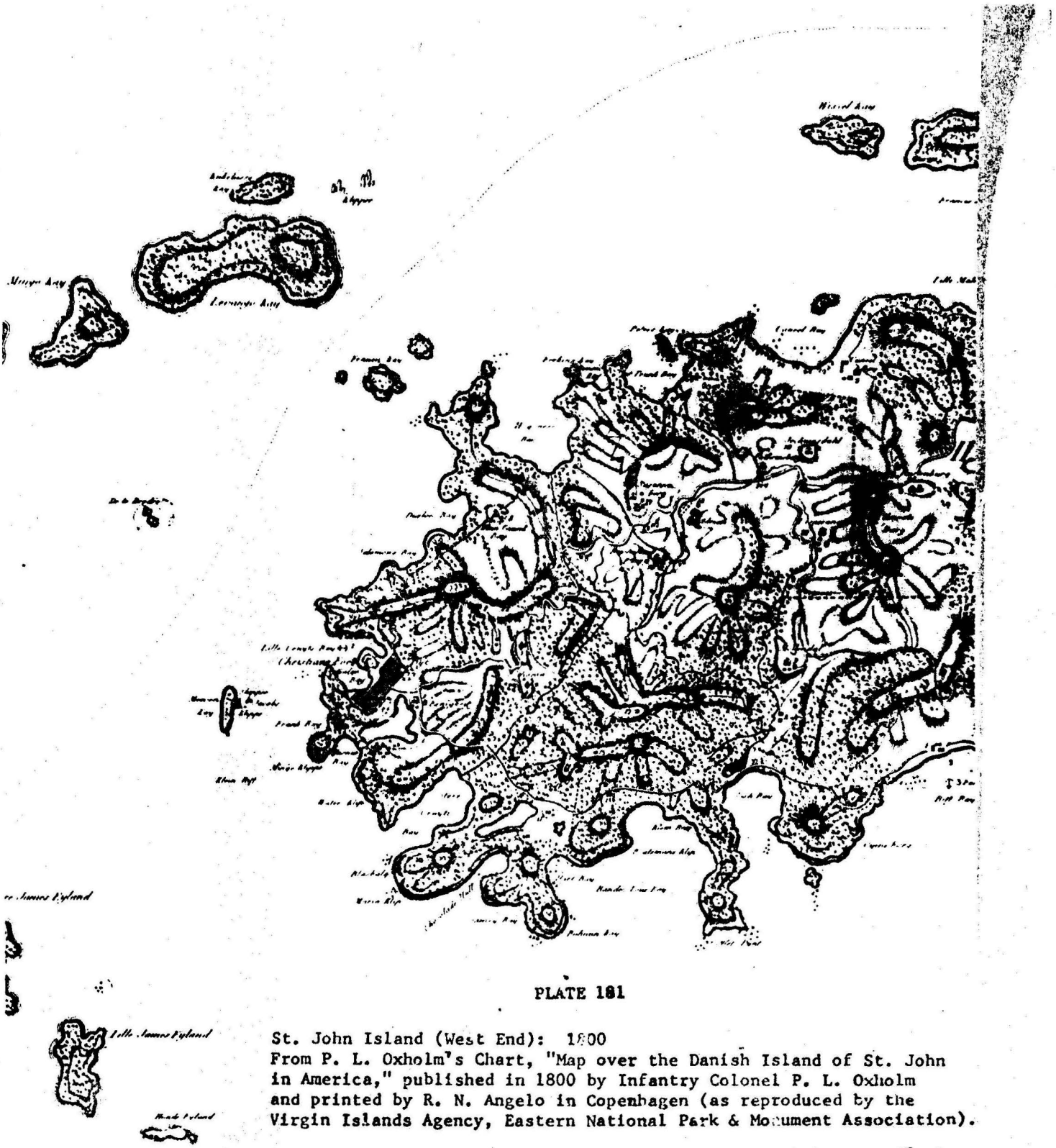


PLATE 181

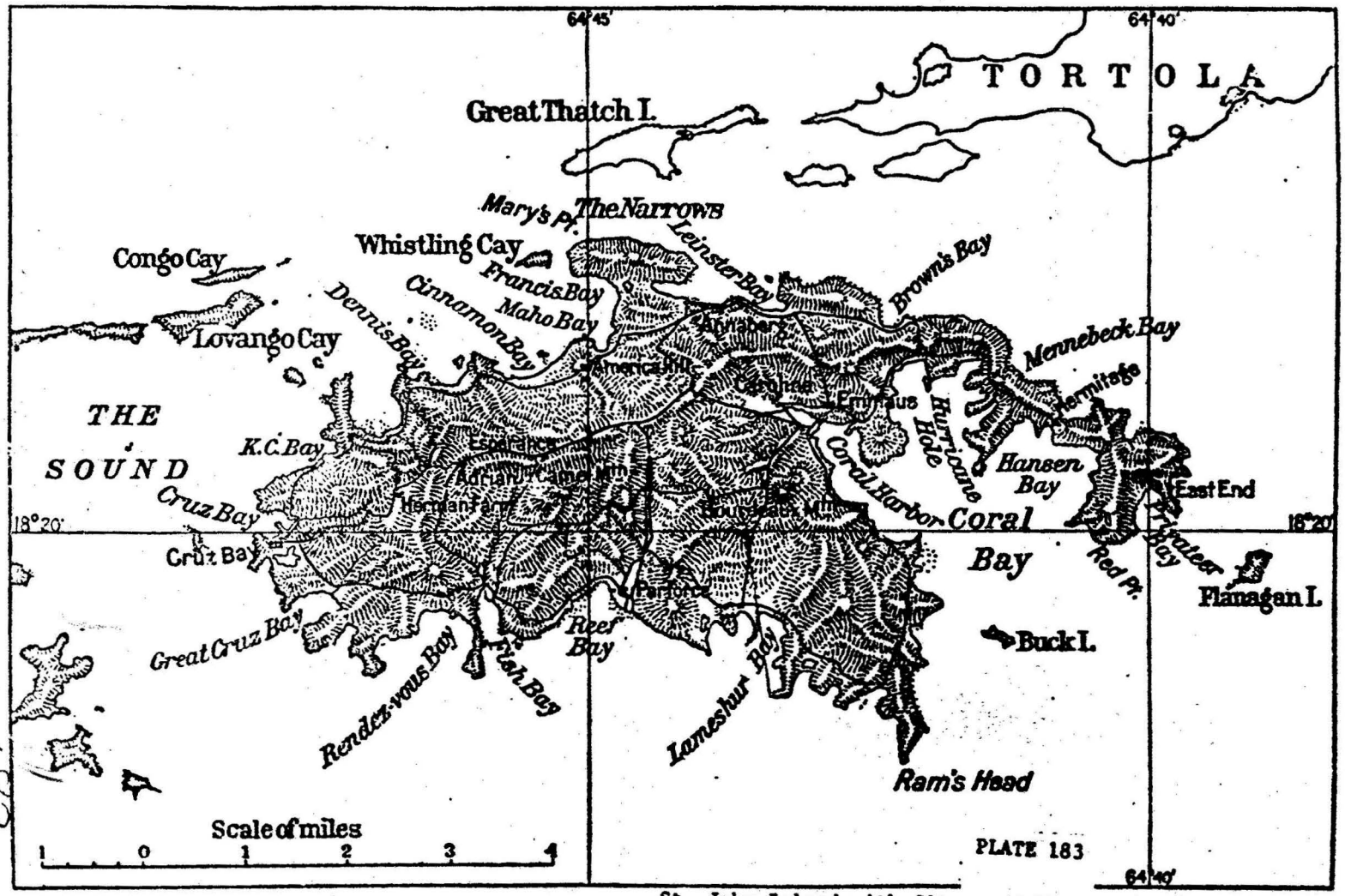
St. John Island (West End): 1800
From P. L. Oxholm's Chart, "Map over the Danish Island of St. John in America," published in 1800 by Infantry Colonel P. L. Oxholm and printed by R. N. Angelo in Copenhagen (as reproduced by the Virgin Islands Agency, Eastern National Park & Monument Association).

(For East End of same chart see Illustration No. 6.)



PLATE 182

St. John Island (East End) in 1800
(For West End of same chart see Illustration No. 5.)



ST. St. John Island with Sites and Places of Note in 1918 [From De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions (1918), between pages 138-39.]

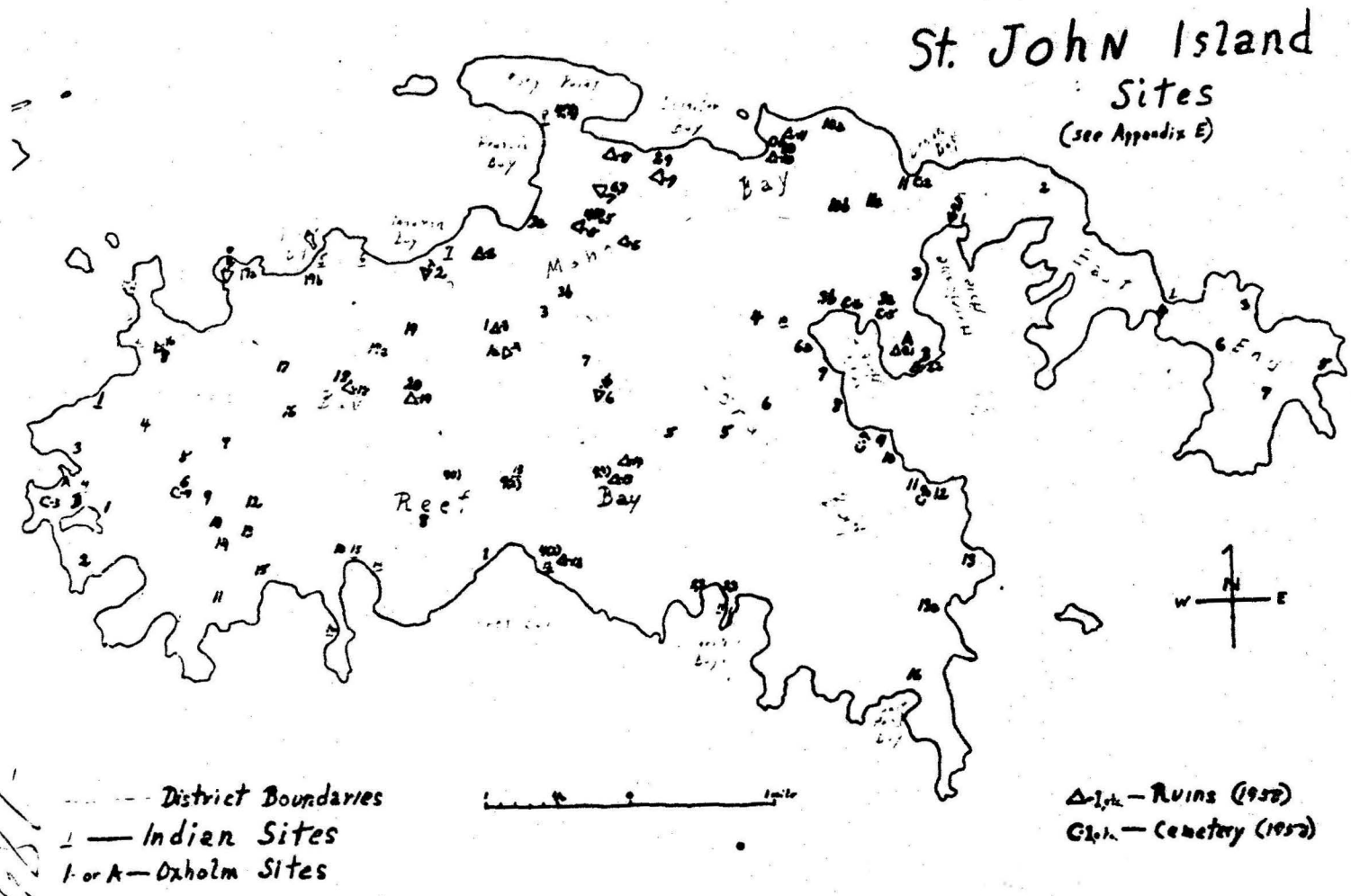


PLATE 184

St. John Island Historic Sites (with approximate locations given on outline map traced from United States Geological Survey maps dated 1958.)

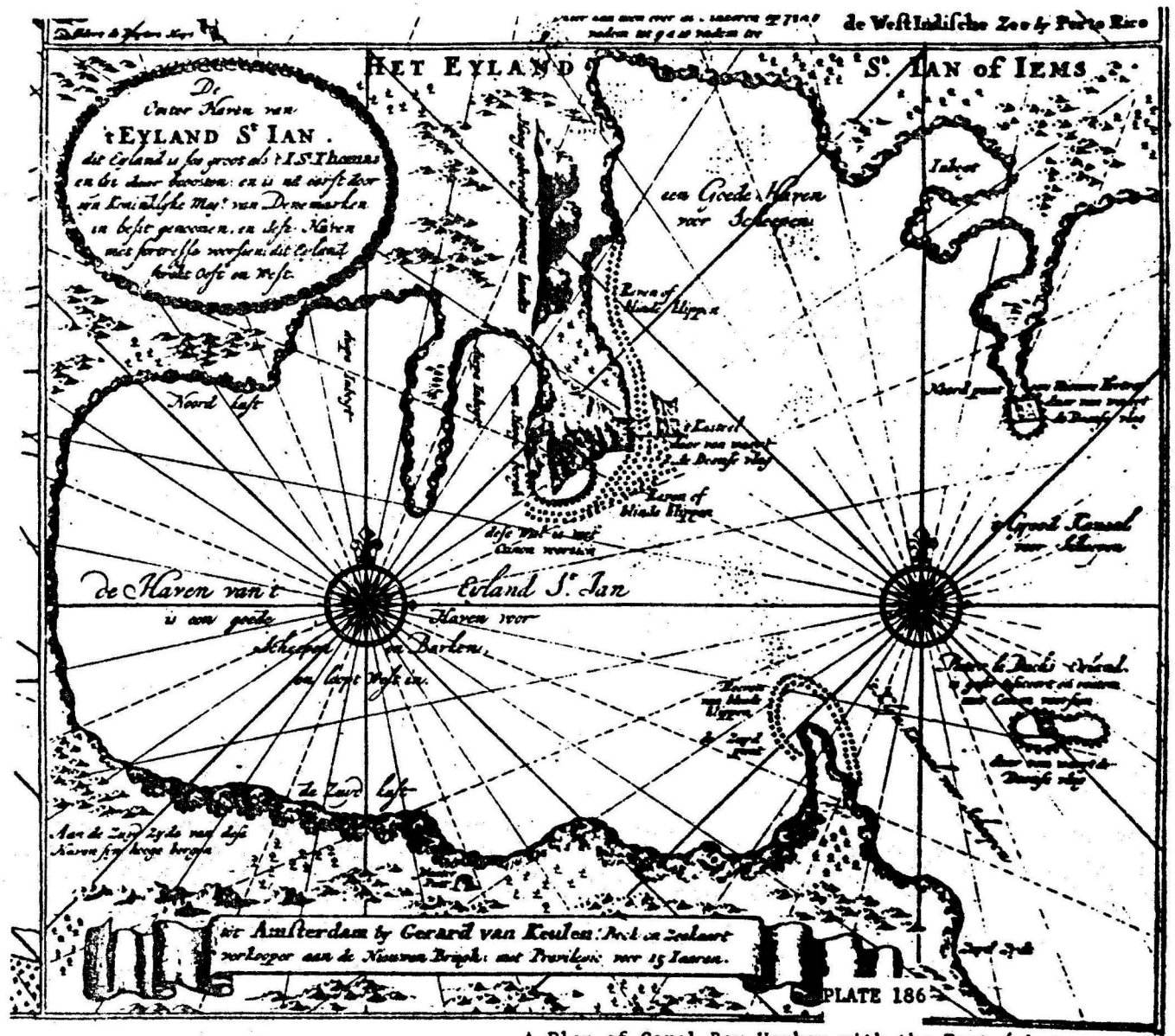


THE CROSS THAT IS NOT A CROSS, REEF BAY, ST. JOHN



PLATE 185

INDIAN PETROGLYPHS, REEF BAY, ST. JOHN
Petroglyphs at Falls on "Living Gut" [From De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions (1918), opposite page 165.]



A Plan of Coral Bay Harbor with the Fort (photocopy of an insert on a 1719 engraved, published map of St. Thomas) "Bikort til van Keulens kort over St. Thomas, 1719 (Kgl. Bibls kortsamling)."

Højen eller bjerget ved Coralbay, tegnet af styrmand Anders Sørensen Duus 1720. Befæstnings-anlæget tager sig her mindre imponerende ud end på van Keulens kort s. 221. Vignet på »Afteigning på Eylandet St. Jans Havn«. (Rigsarkivets kort-samling 337, X).



PLATE 187

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Coral Bay Fort in Its Early Days [From J. O. Bro-Jørgensen, Dansk Vestindien Indtil 1755, Denmark, 1966 (Book I in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), p. 223.]

PLATE 188

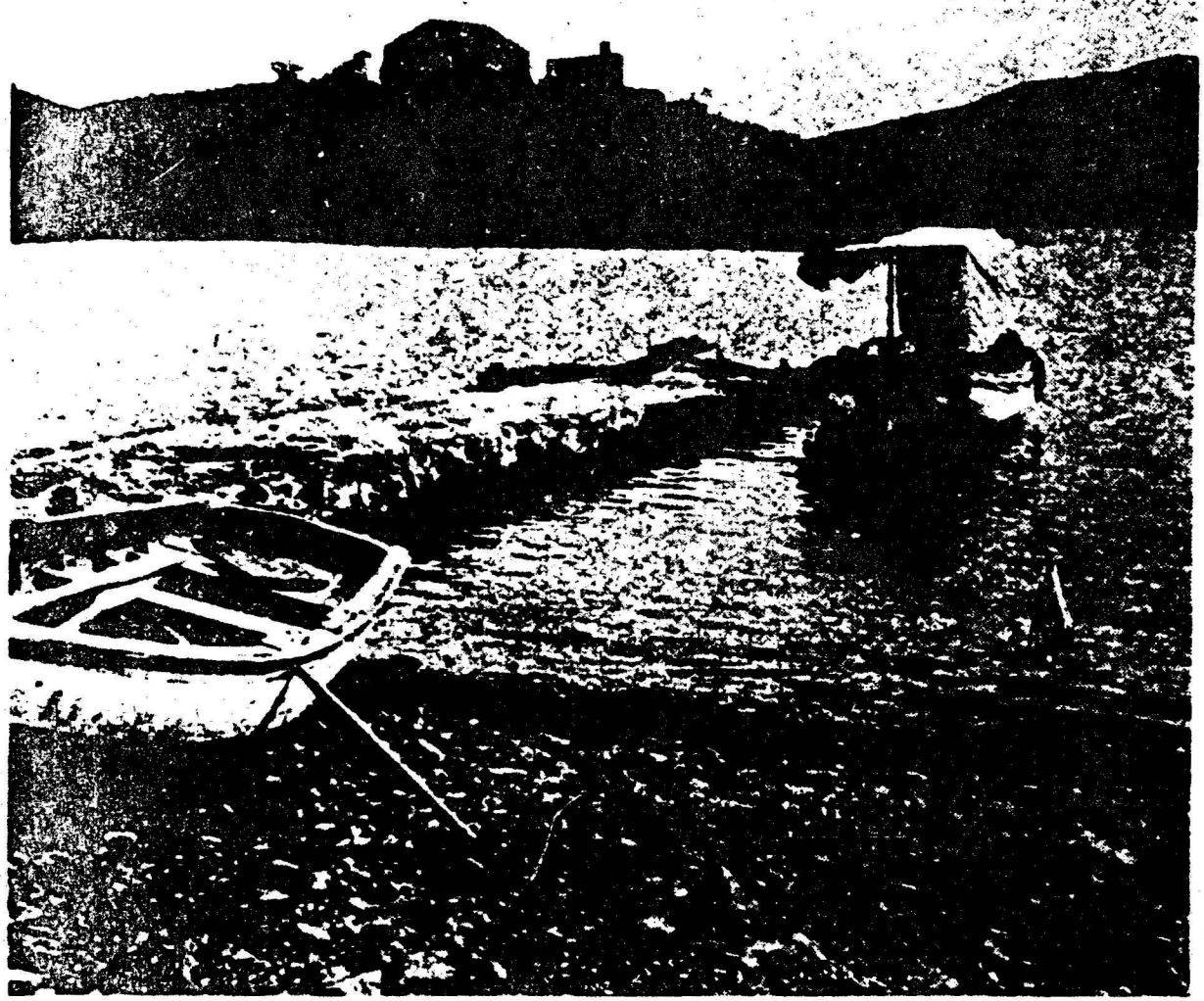
Coral Bay on St. John, 1875 (From George Nørregaard, Dans Vestindien, 1880-1917, Denmark, 1967 (Book IV in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), p. 33.]



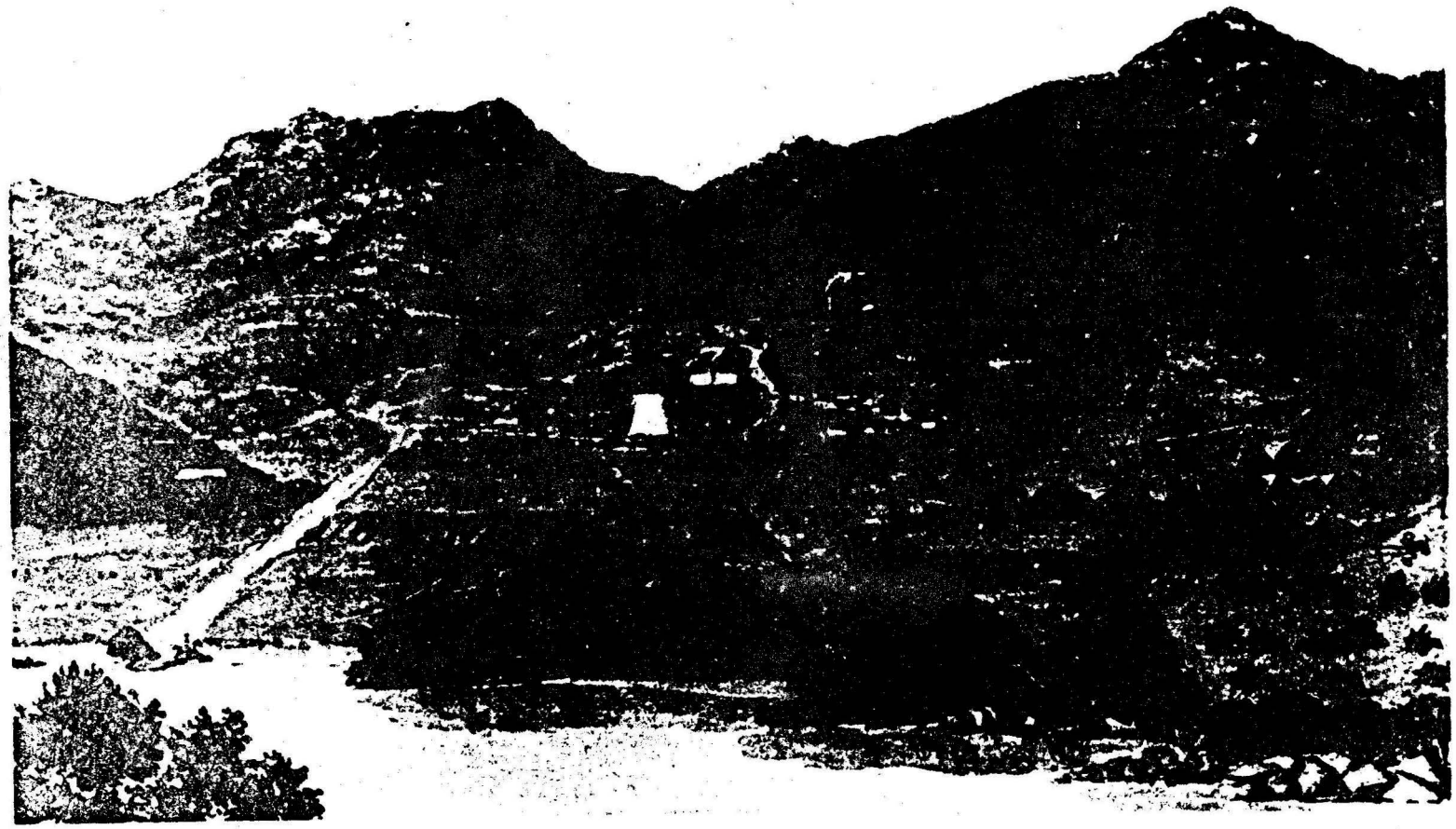
-881-

Coral Bay, St. Jan. (Ill. Tidende nr. 801, januar 1875).

Wharf and Old Fort, Coral Bay [From De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions (1918), opposite page 170.]



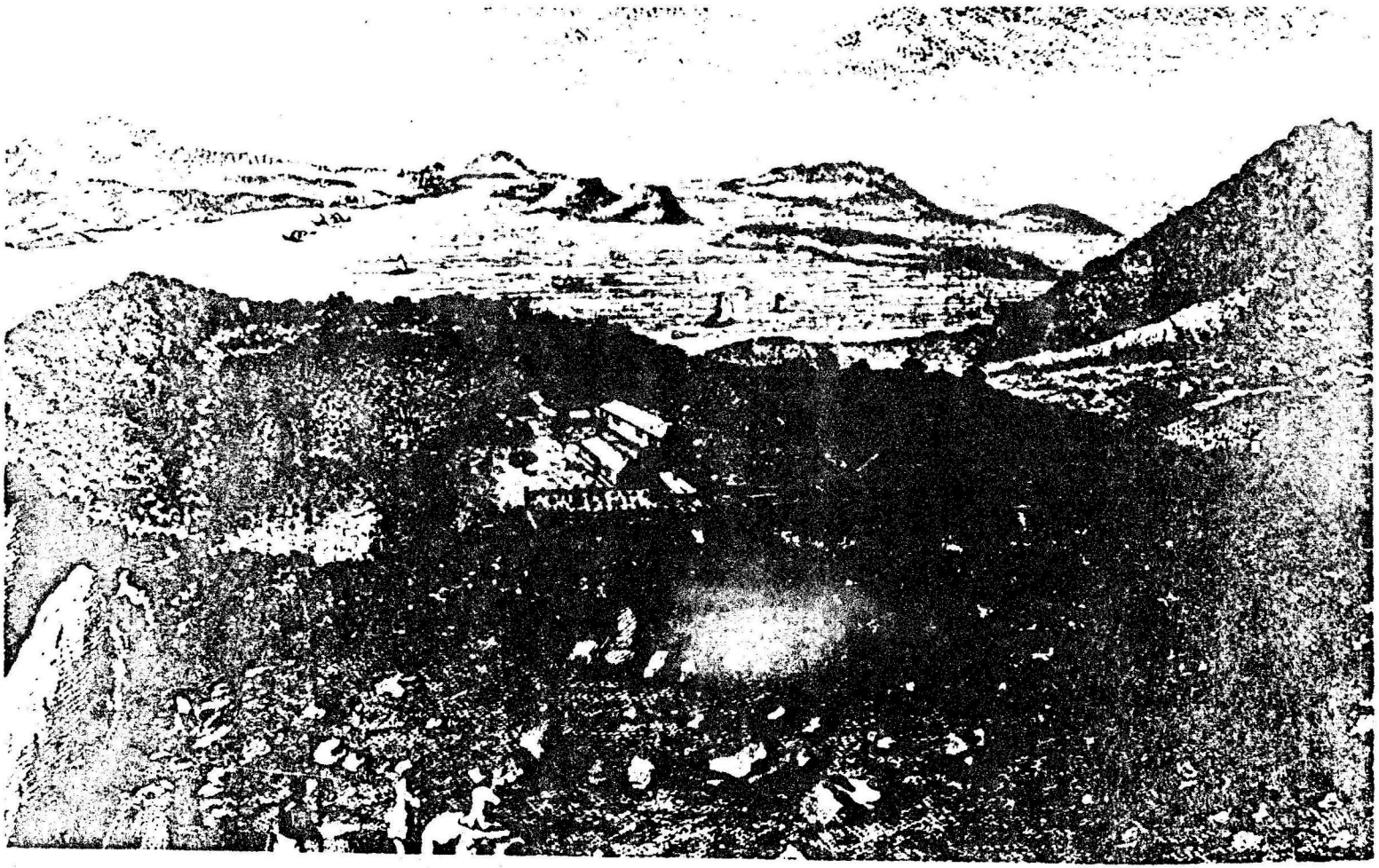
WHARF AND OLD FORT, CORAL BAY, ST. JOHN



-190-

PLATE 190

Carolina in Coral Bay Area in the Company Period [From color plate in J. O. Bro-Jørgenser, Dansk Vestindien Indtil 1775, Denmark, 1966 (Book I from Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), opposite page 128.]



-161-

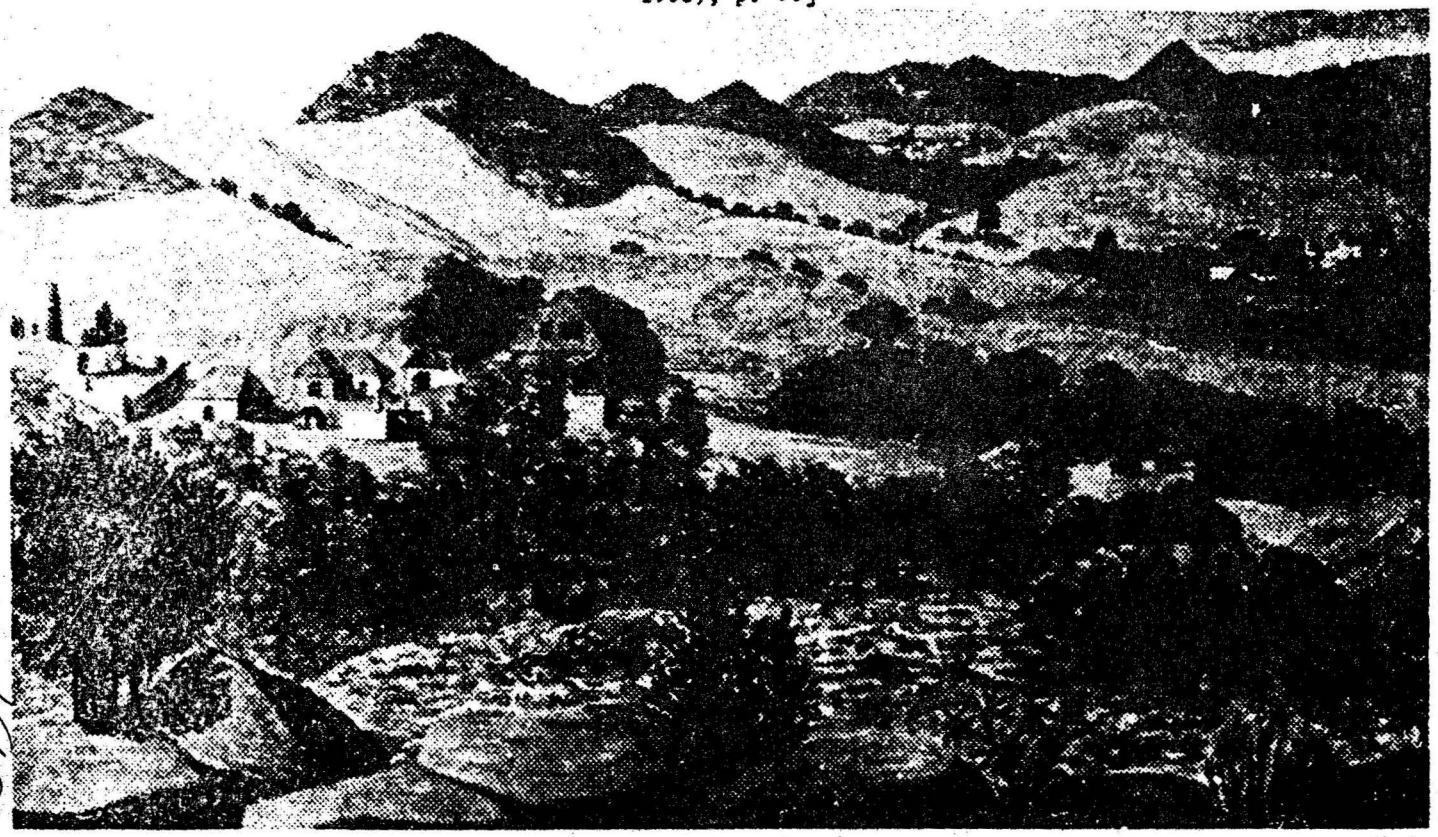
PLATE 191

Bethania ("Bethanien in St. Jan") circa 1768 [From C. G. A. Oldendorp, Moravian Missions (1777) as given in Bro-Jørgensen, Dansk Vestindien Indtil 1775, Denmark, 1966 (Book I in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier 1953), p. 235.]

PLATE 192

Susannaberg Estate (left) and Adrian (right) with the possibility of Cathrineberg (in the upper center right background)--mid-19th century.

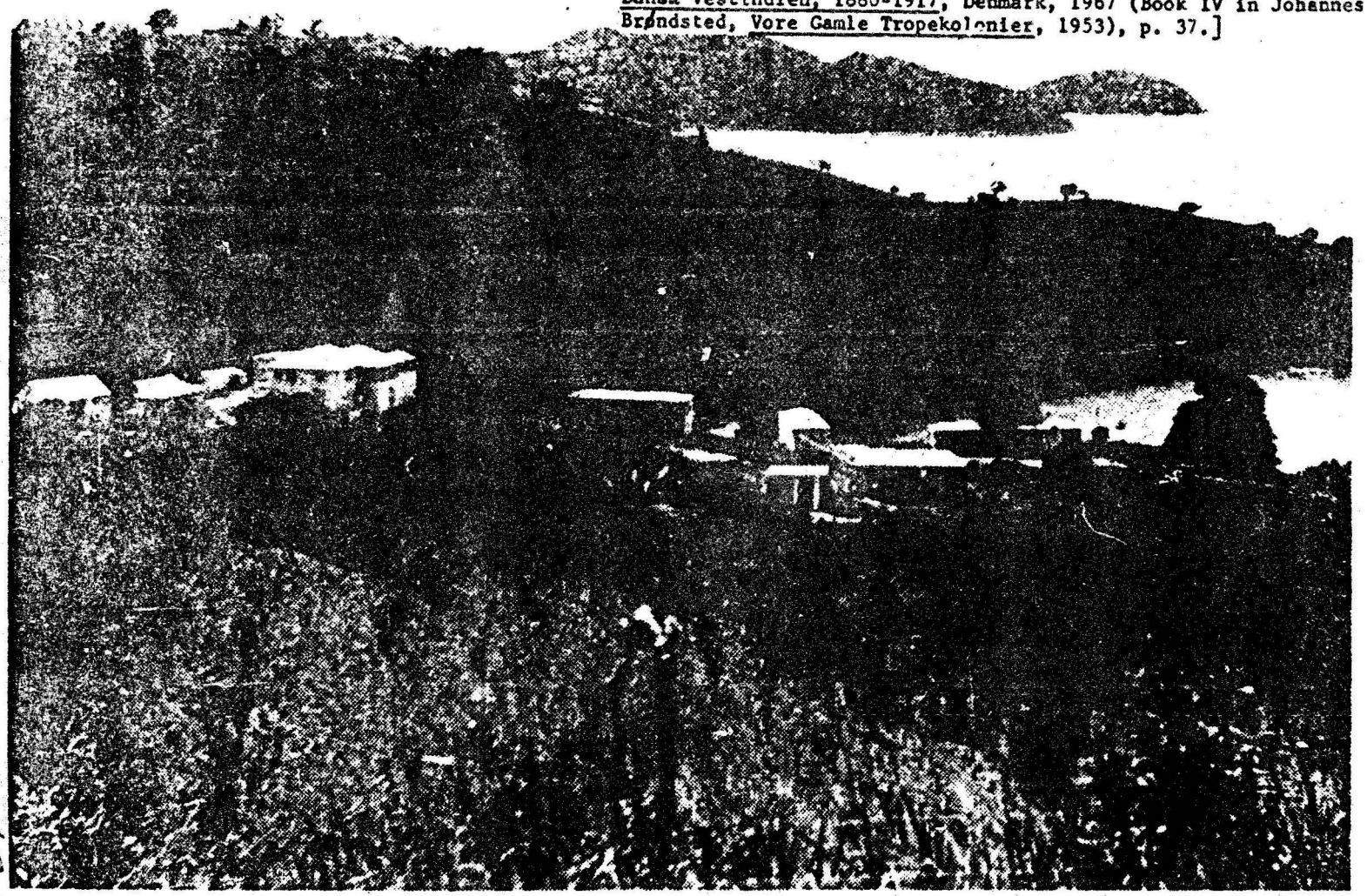
[from Fridler Skrubbeltrany, Dansk Vestindien, 1848-1880, Denmark 1967 (Book III of Johannes Brøndsted's Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), p. 9.]



Plantagerne »Susannaberg« og »Adrian« på St. Jan. Fra Frederik v. Scholtens skitsebog II. (Handels- og Søfartsmuseet).

PLATE 193

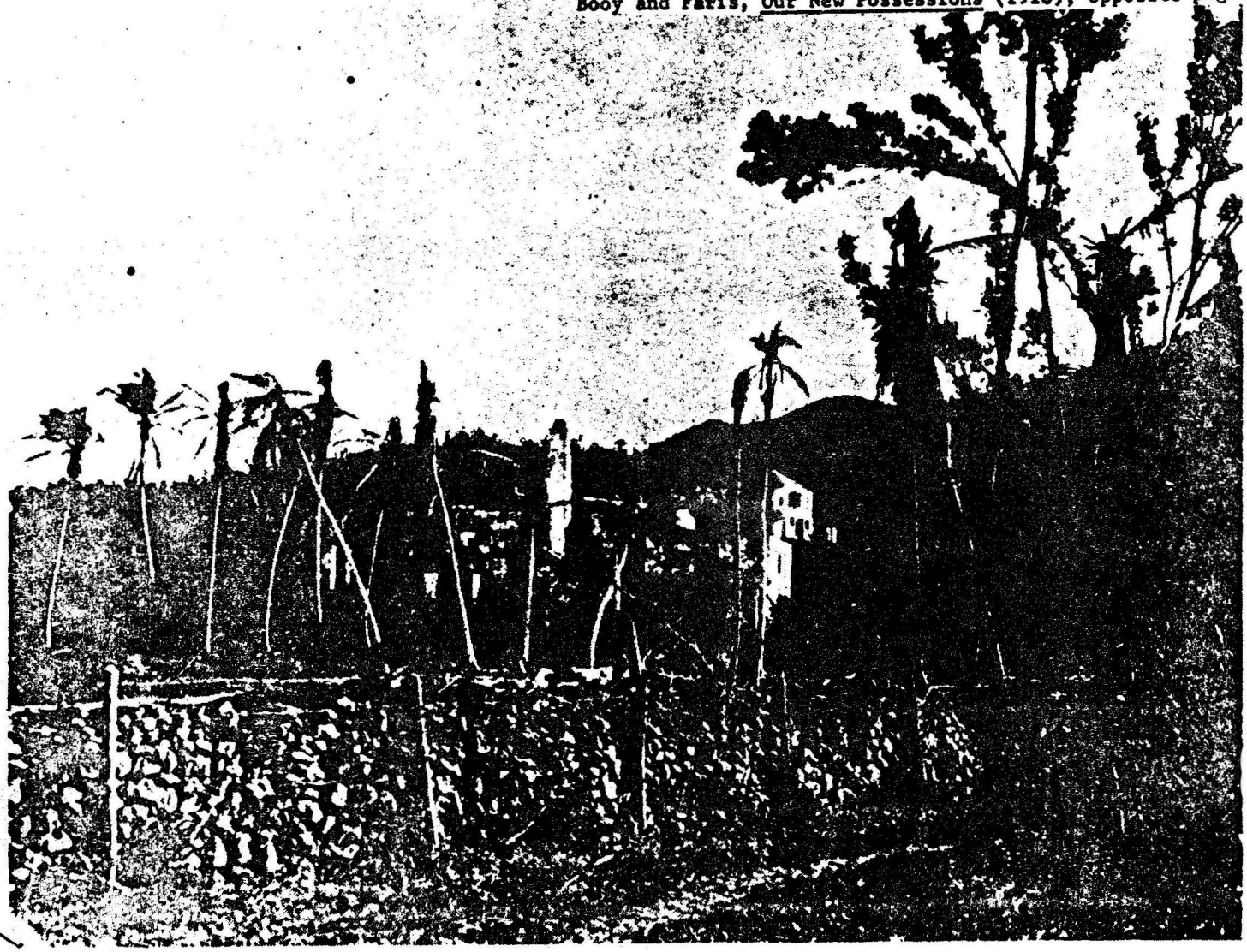
Hermitage Plantation in the Later Period (From George Nørregaard, Dansk Vestindien, 1880-1917, Denmark, 1967 (Book IV in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), p. 37.]



Plantagen »Hermitage« ved Coral Bay, St. Jan. (Fotografi i Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg).

PLATE 194

K.C. (Little Cinnamon, Caneel) Bay Sugar Estate Ruins [From De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions (1918), opposite page 136.]



RUINS OF K. C. BAY SUGAR ESTATE, ST. JOHN

PLATE 195

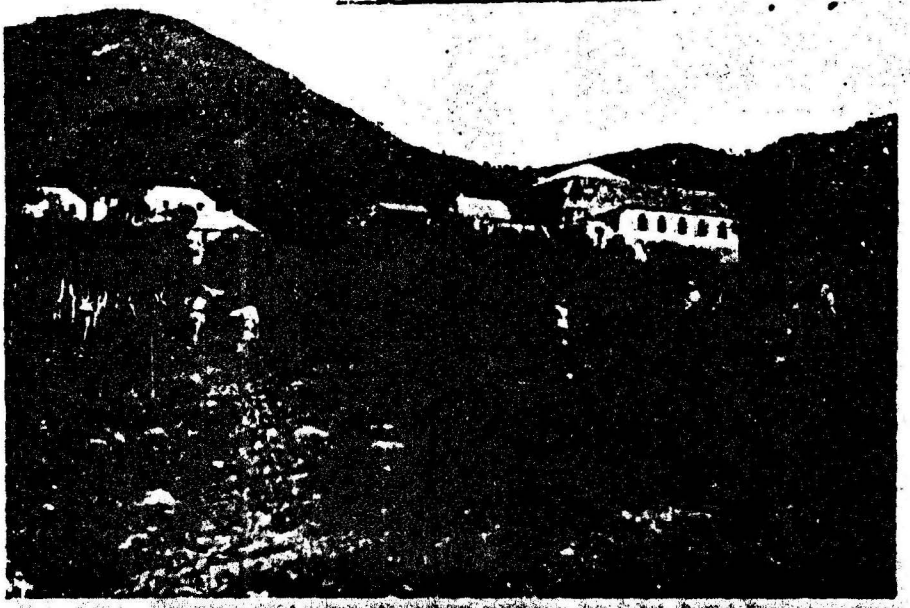
Moravian Settlement of Emmaus [From De Booy and Faris, Our New Possessions (1918), opposite page 125.]



MORAVIAN SETTLEMENT OF EMMAUS, ST. JOHN
Destroyed by Hurricane of October 9–10, 1916

PLATE 196

"Emmaus Mission" and East End Settlement [From Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of U.S.A. (1918), opposite page 54.]



Emmaus, Moravian Mission, St. John

Photo by Clare E. Taylor



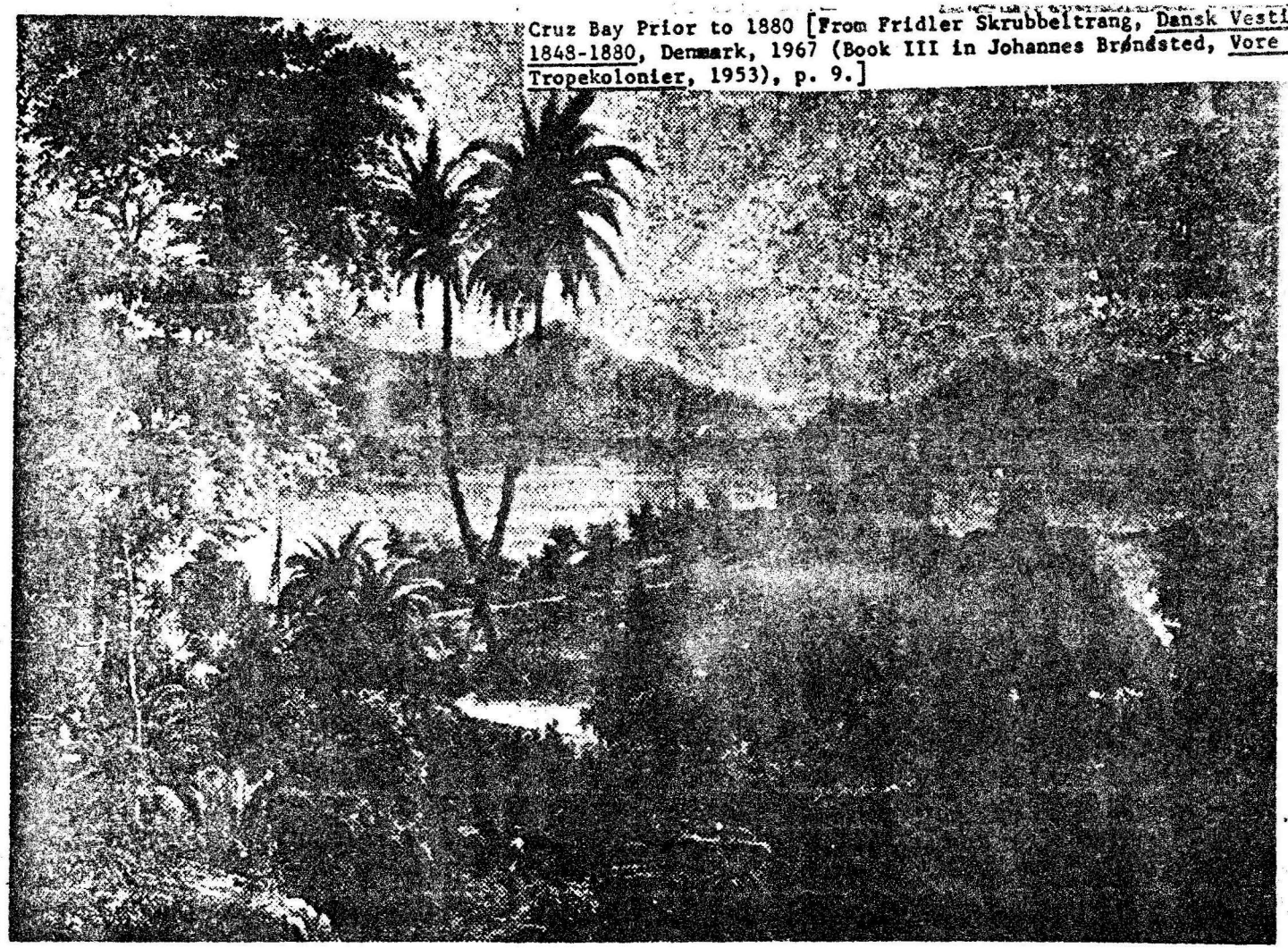
East End Settlement, St. John

Photo by Clare E. Taylor

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PLATE 197

Cruz Bay Prior to 1880 [From Fridler Skrubbeltrang, Dansk Vestindien 1848-1880, Denmark, 1967 (Book III in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), p. 9.]



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Cruxbay på St. Jan. Bag det smalle sund ses St. Thomas. Litografi. (Kgl. Bibliotcks billedsamling).

PLATE 103

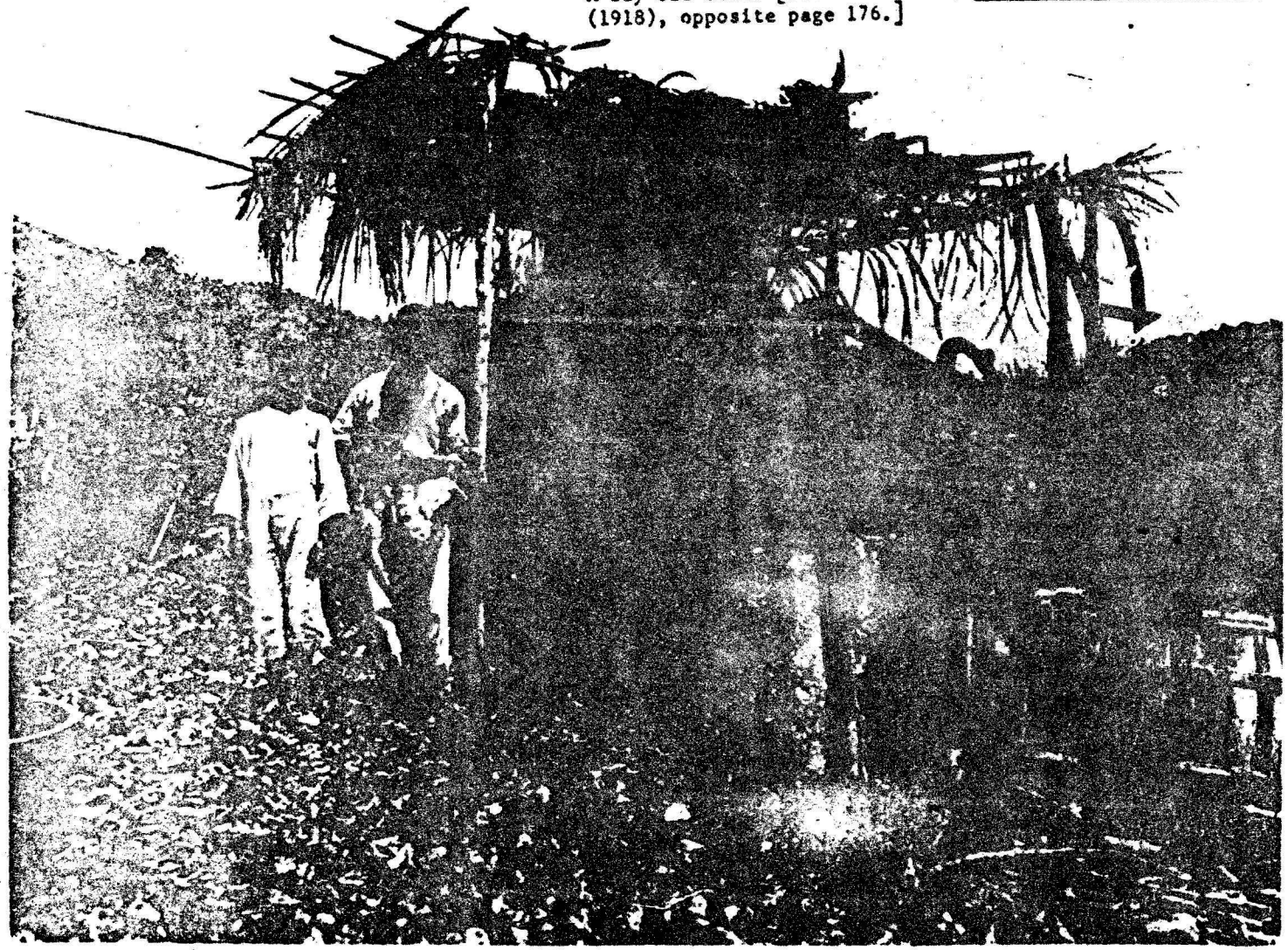
Another View on St. John about 1875 [From George Nørregaard, Dansk Vestindien, 1880-1914, Denmark, 1967 (Book IV in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), p. 33.]



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Bjergparti på St. Jan. (Ill. Tidende nr. 801, januar 1875).

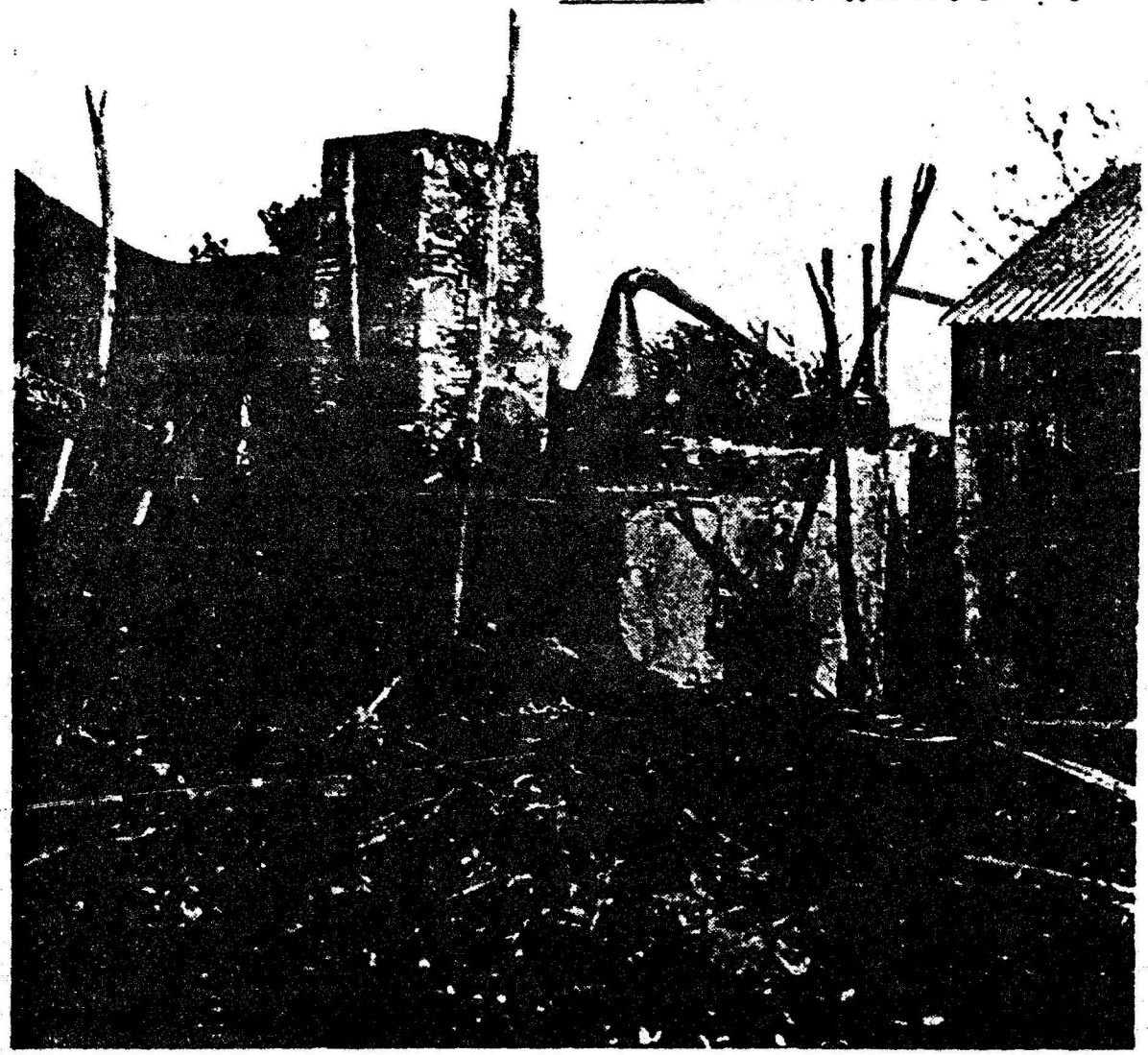
A Bay Oil Still [From Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of the U.S.A. (1918), opposite page 176.]



Bay Oil Still, St. John

-1996-

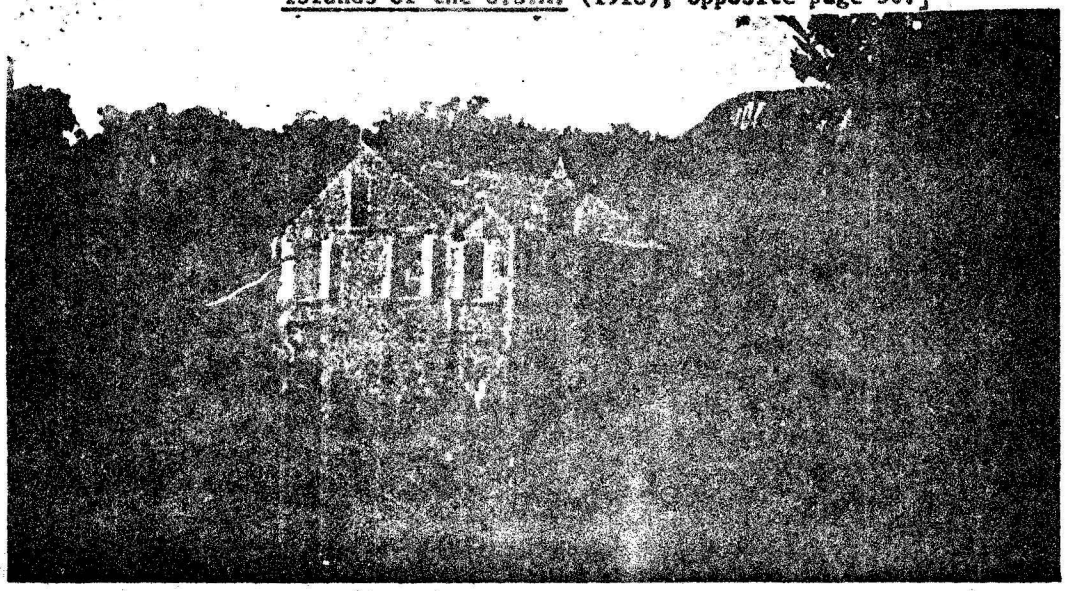
Bay Oil Still - Another View [from [illegible]
Possessions, (1918), opposite page 149.]



BAY-OIL STILL, ST. JOHN

PLATE 201

A Chapel and a Shepherd and his Sheep [From Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of the U.S.A. (1918), opposite page 56.]



A Chapel in St. John

Photo by W. J. Ryan



A Shepherd and his Sheep

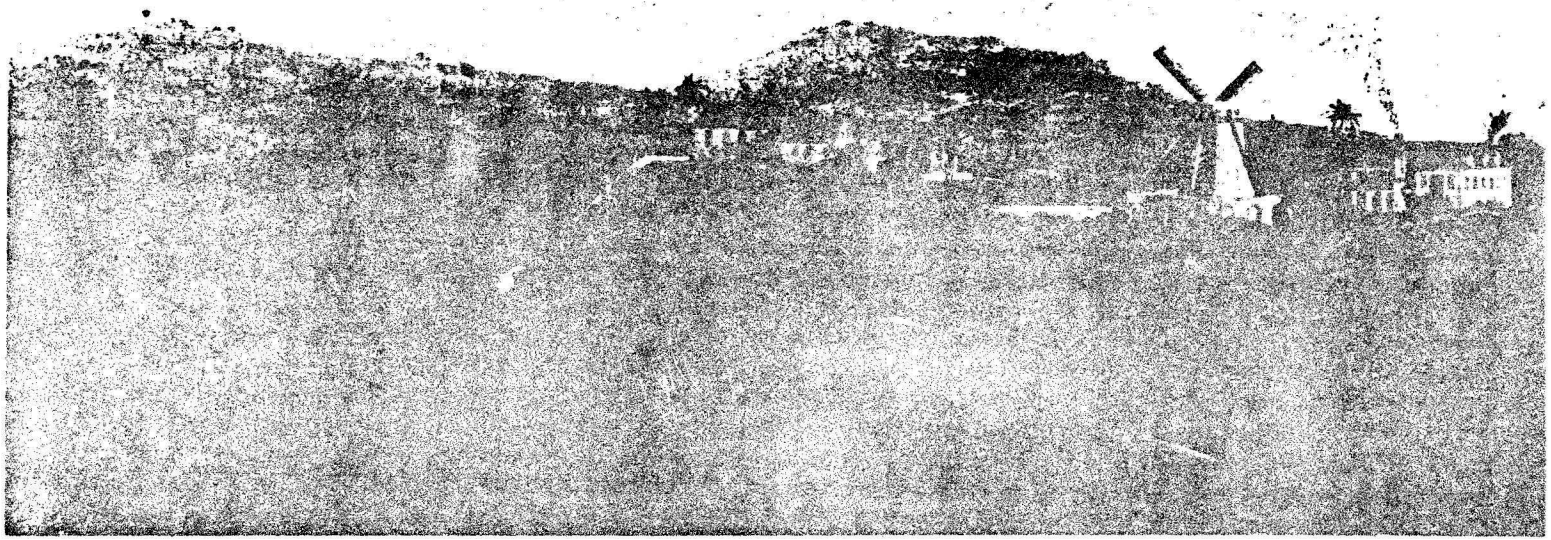
Photo by W. J. Ryan

-201-

The Simple Life on St. John - A Native Hut [From Zabriskie, The Virgin Islands of the U.S.A. (1918), opposite page 180.]



Native Hut in St. John



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PLATE 203

Estate Mary's Fancy on St. Croix, Likely a Typical One - Prior to 1880 [From Fridler Skrubbeltrang, Dansk Vestindien 1848-1880, Denmark, 1967 (Book III in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier 1953), opposite page 176.]

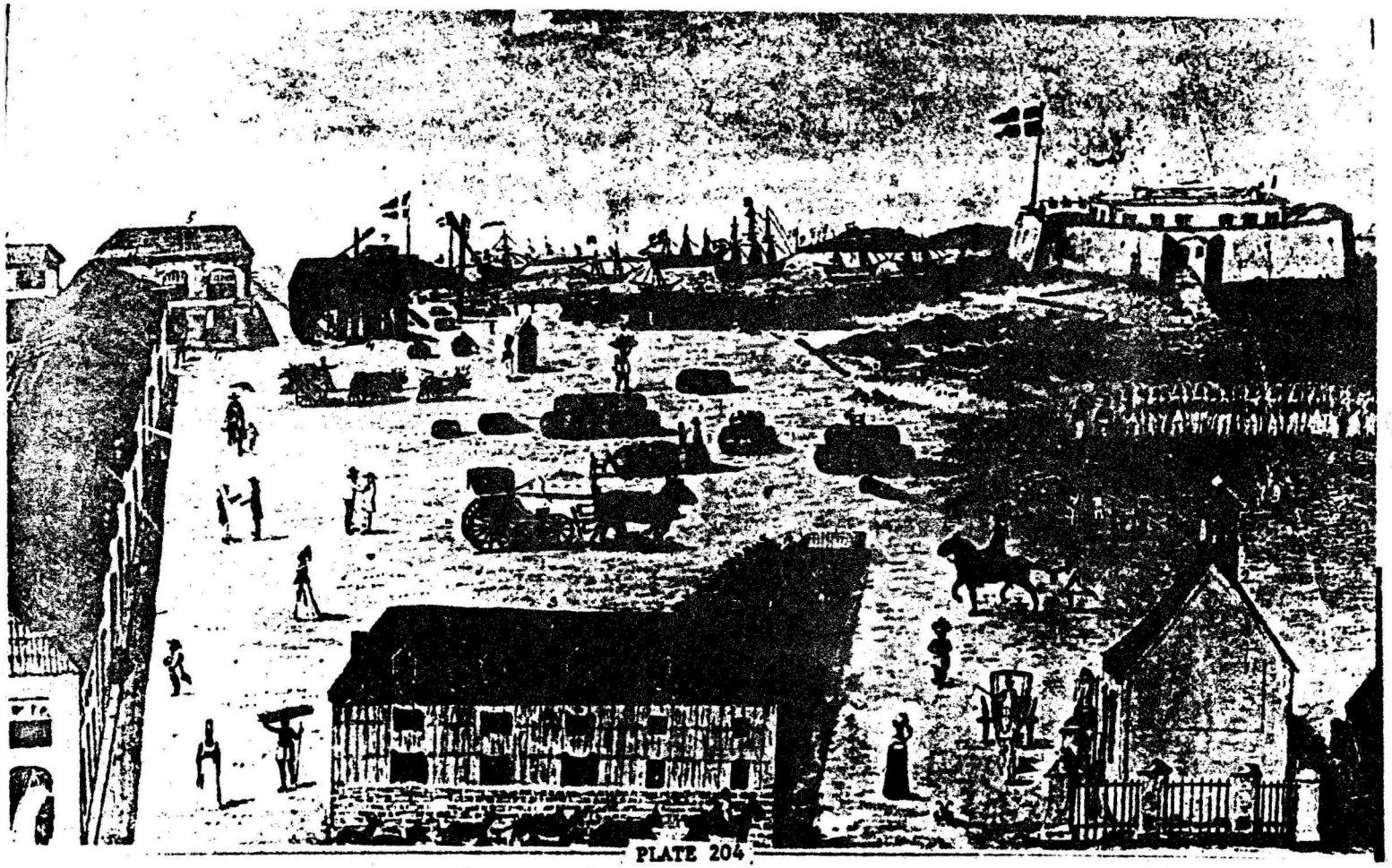


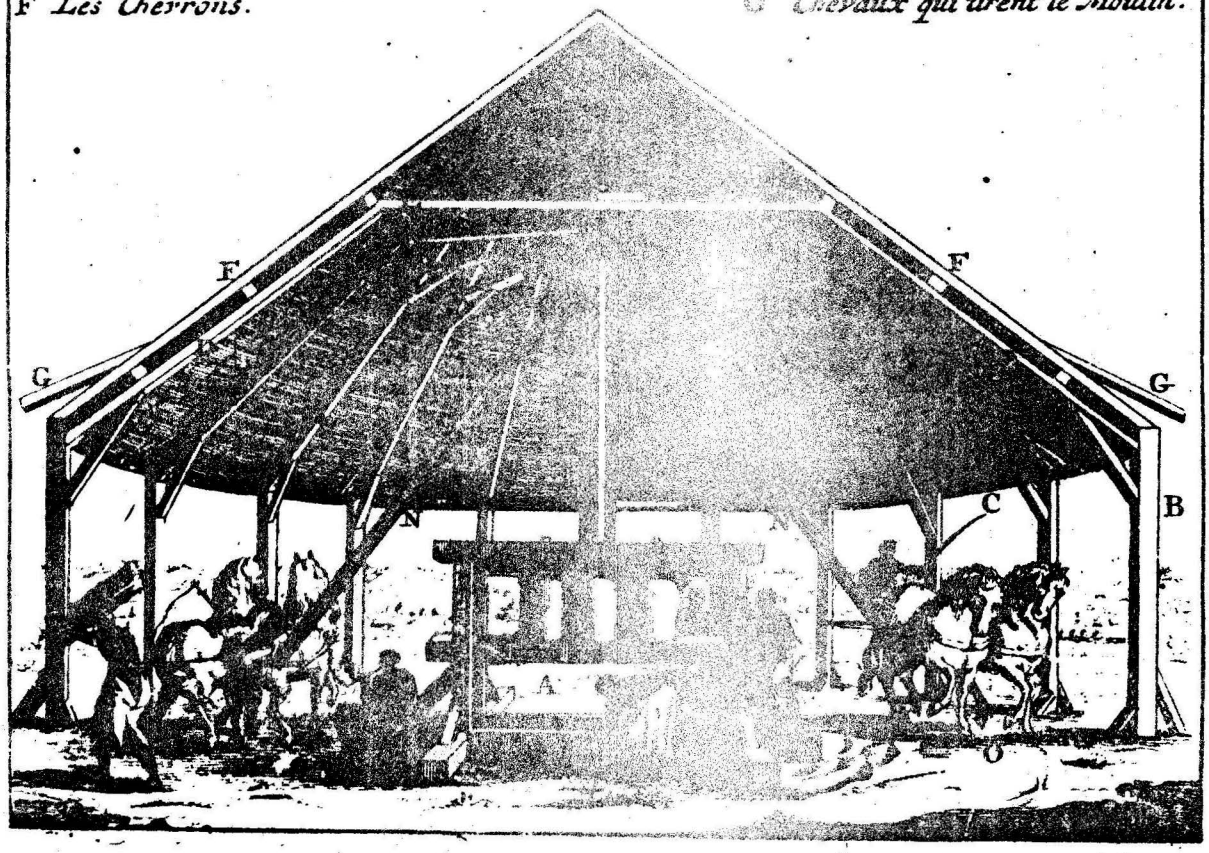
PLATE 204

Though this is a view of Christiansted, St. Croix, in 1815, some of its detail of transportation, dress, architecture, and such are applicable to St. John. The identifications which follow are from Westergaard (The Danish West Indies, frontispiece). 1. Fort Christianswaern; 2. Danish Church; 3. Provision House; 4. Weighing House; 5. English Tavern; 6. Great King Street; 7. the Quay; 8. Sophia Frederikke Battery; 9. Louisa Augusta Battery; 10. Custom house; 11. Dwelling House; 12. the Harmony; 13. Baron Britton's House; 14. Blodwel's House; 15. Church Street. [From Jens Vibraek, Dansk Vestindien, 1755-1848, Denmark 1966 (Book II in Johannes Brøndsted, Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, 1953), color plate opposite page 64.]

Tom. I. pag. 258.

COMBLE DE MOULIN

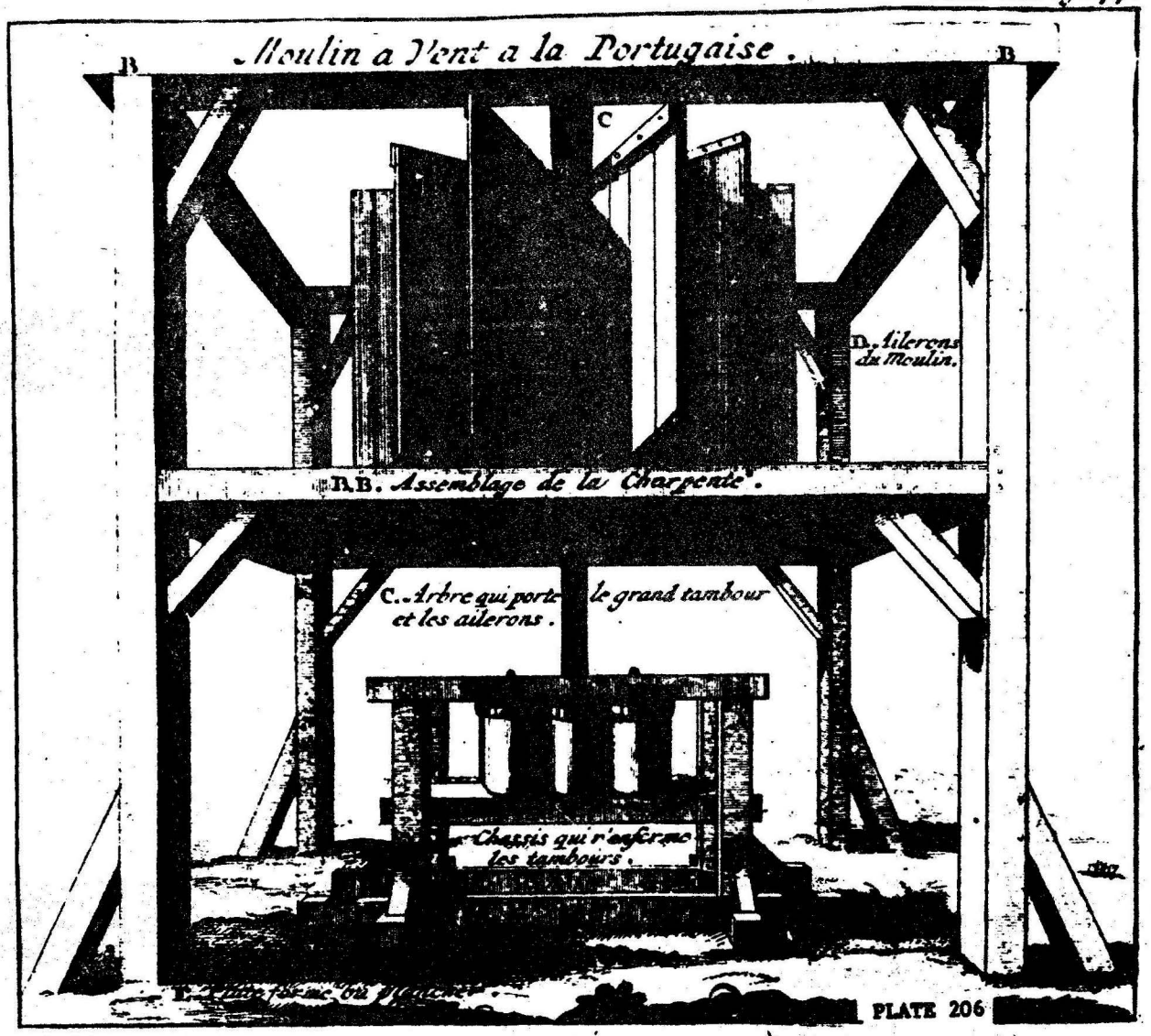
A *Chassis avec les Tambours*
B *Poteaux*
C *Sabliere*
D *Les Forces*
E *L'Entrait*
F *Les Chevrons.*
G *Les Coyaux*
H *L'Enrayeure*
I *Le Poincon*
K *La Damoiselle*
M *Bras de Moulin.*
O *Chevaux qui tirent le Moulin.*



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PLATE 205

A Type of Horse Mill for Grinding Sugar Cane [From Labat, Nouveau Voyage Aux Isles (1742), I, after page 258.]



A Type of Windmill for Grinding Sugar Cane [From Labat, Nouveau Voyage Aux Isles (1724), 1, opposite page 244.]

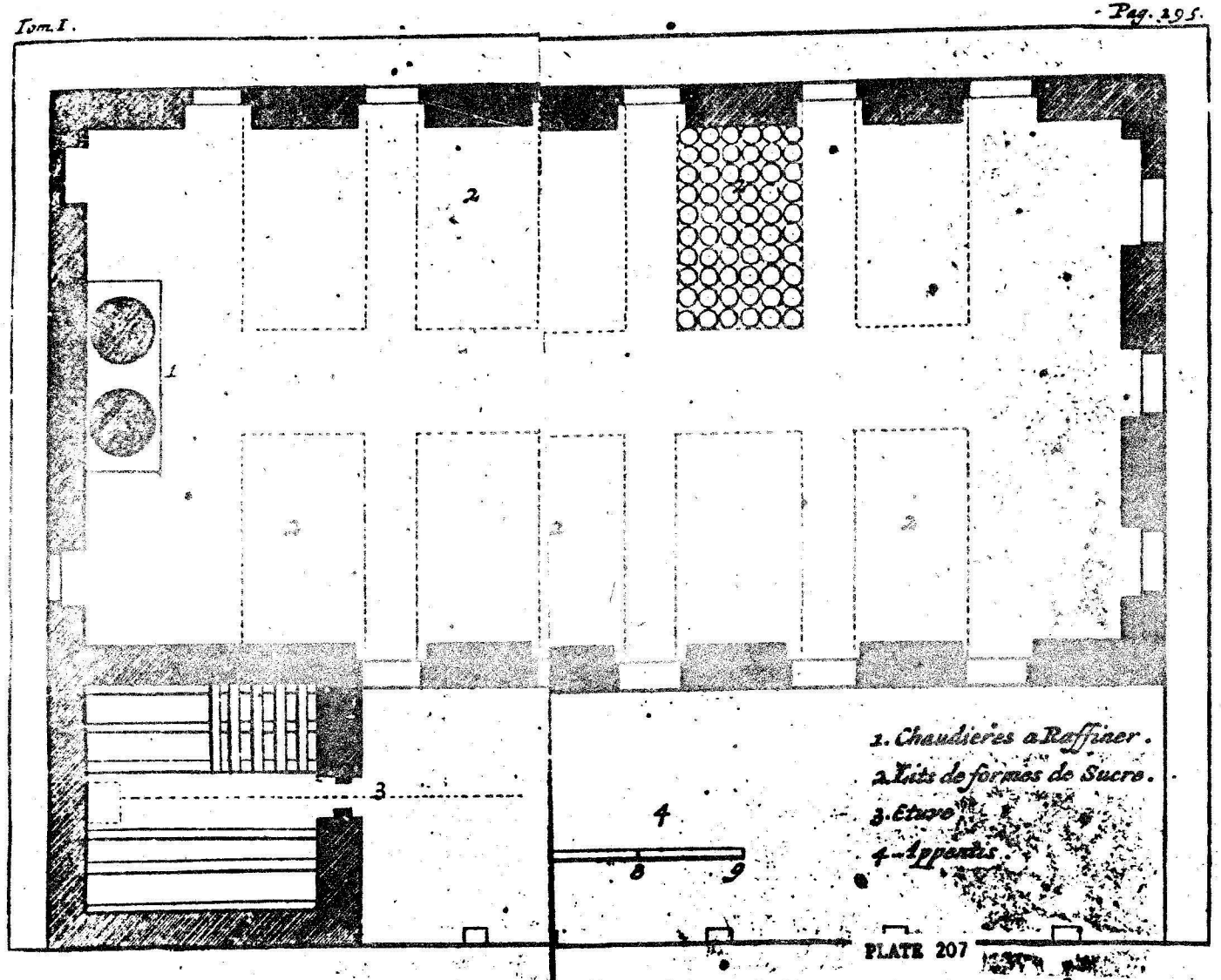


PLATE 207

A Type of Sugar Refinery and Drying House [From Labat, Nouveau Voyage Aux Isles (1724), 1, opposite page 297.]

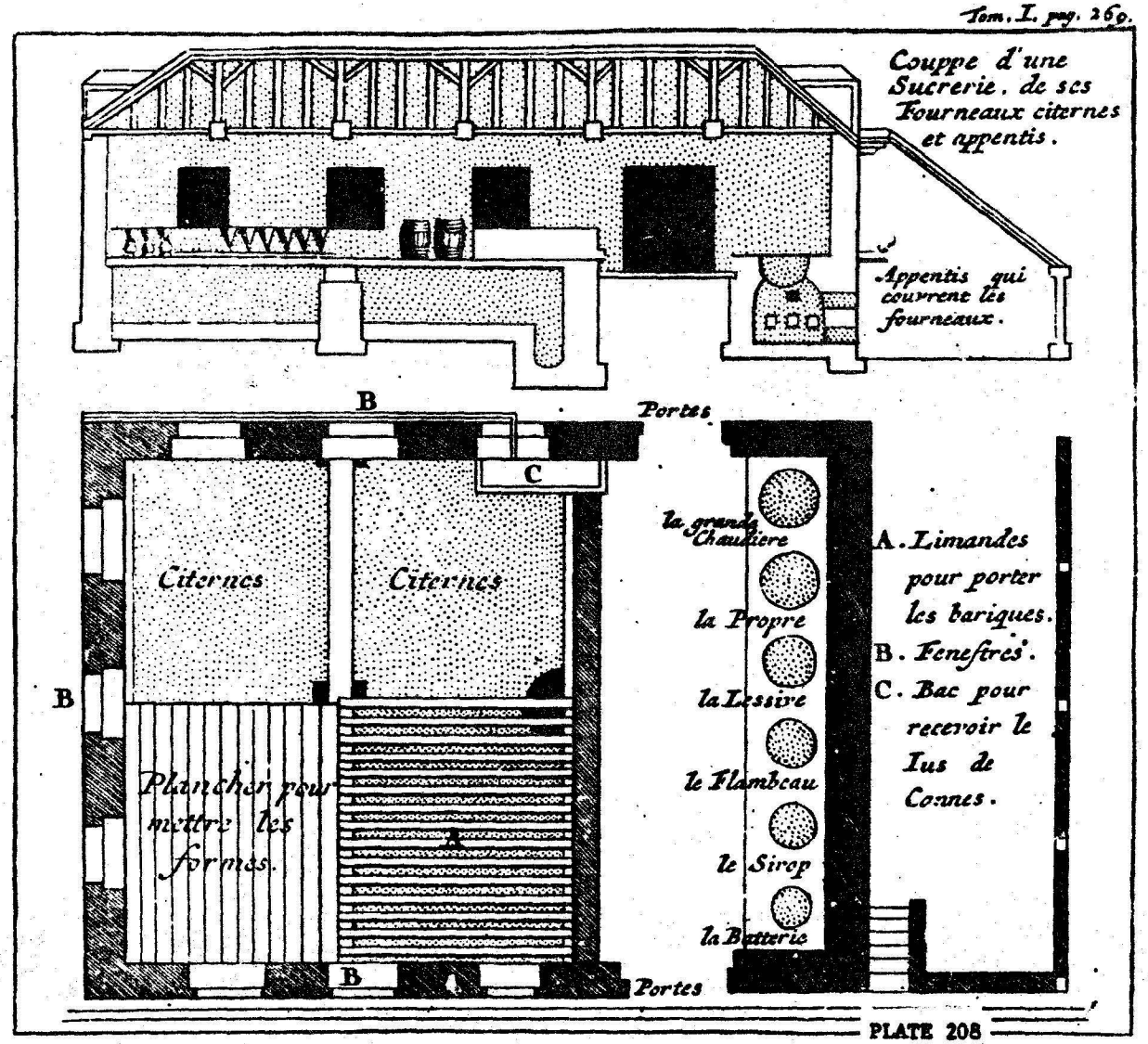
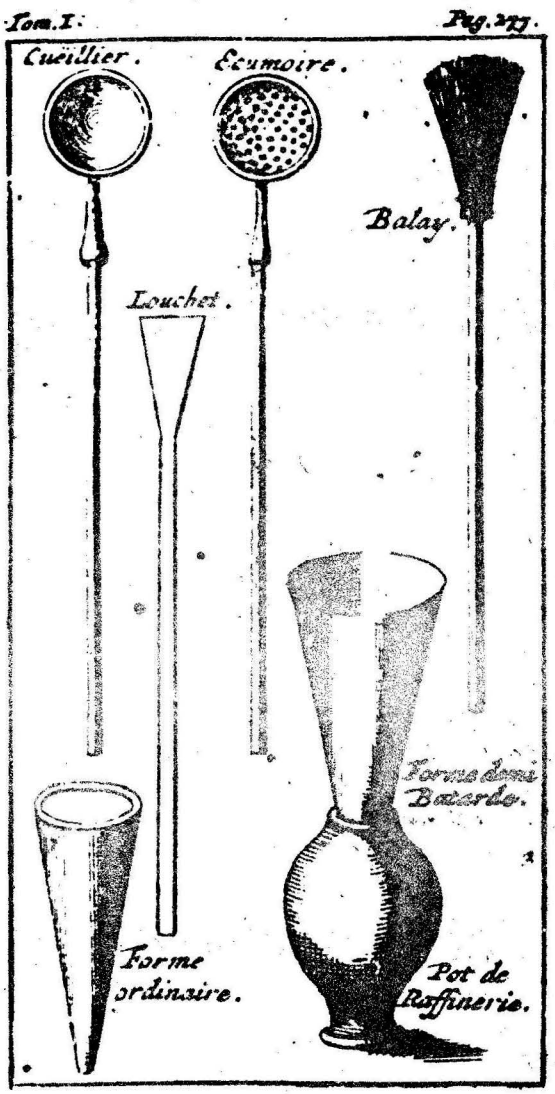
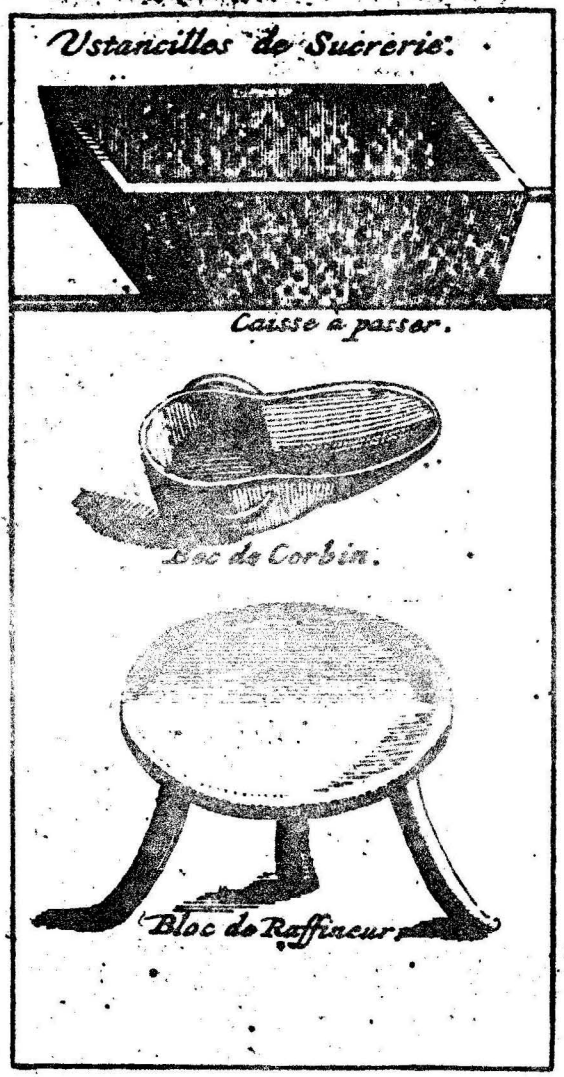


PLATE 208

Sugar Factory - Floor Plan and Elevation [From Labat, Nouveau Voyage Aux Isles (1724), 1, opposite page 269.]





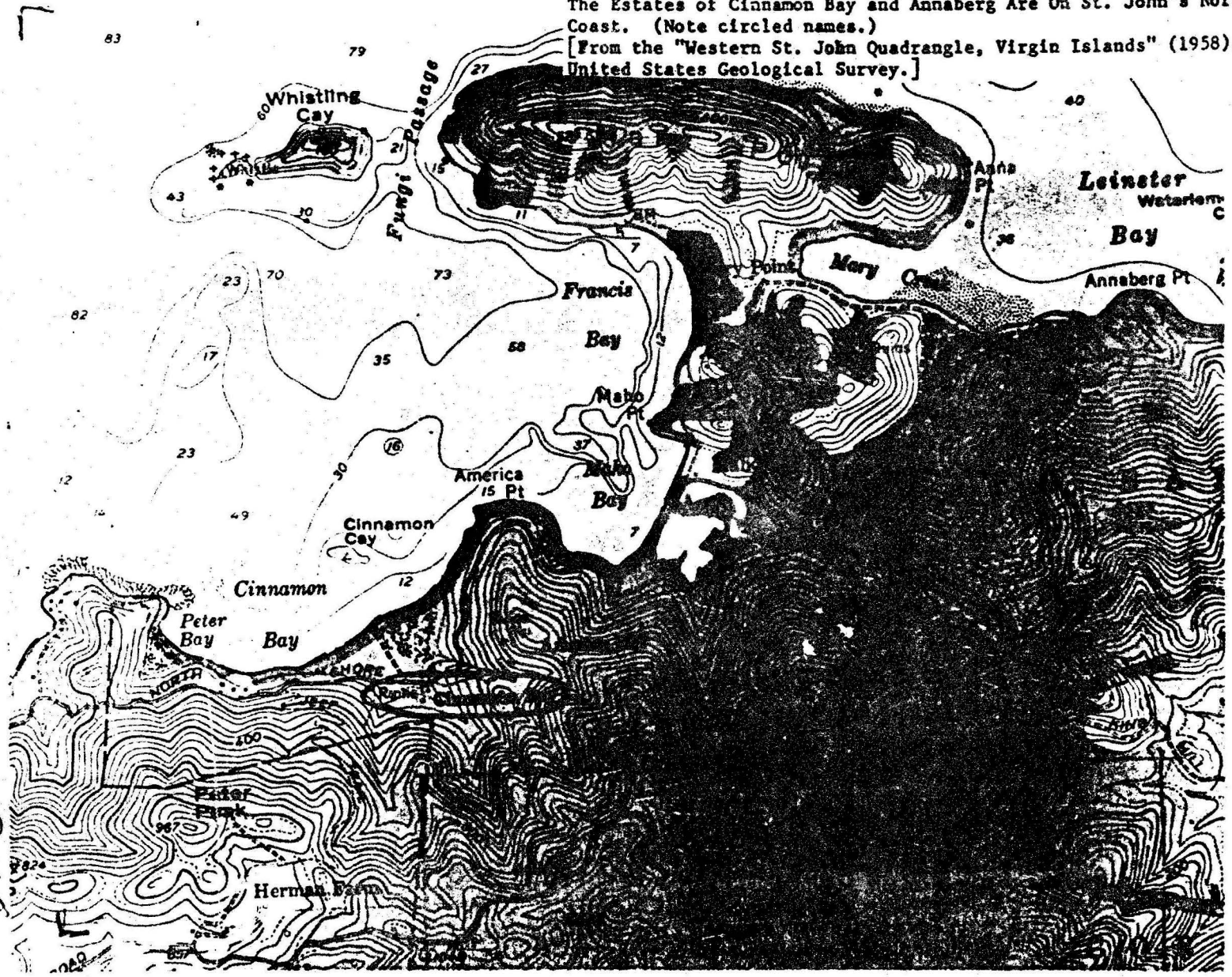
-209-

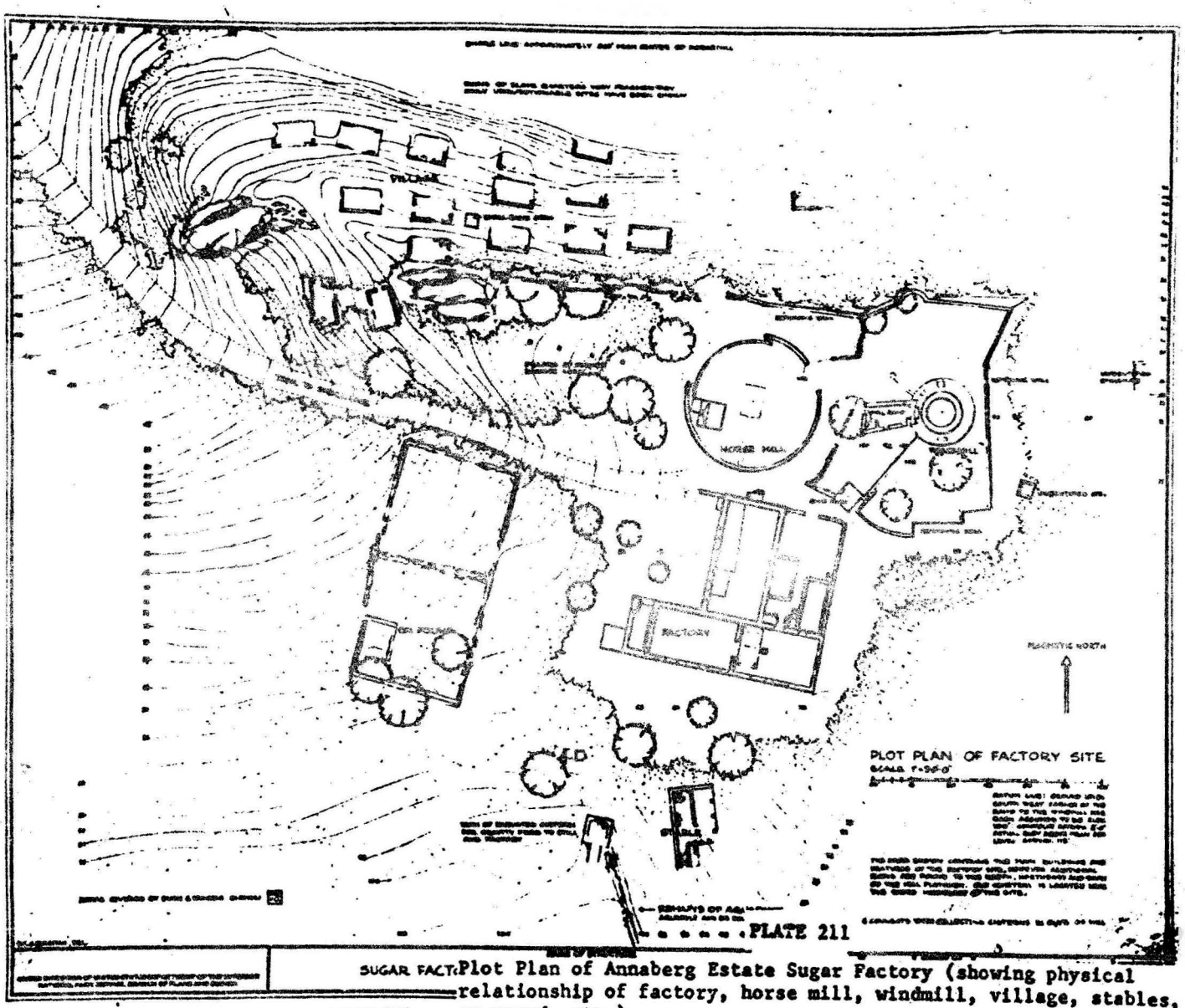
PLATE 209

Sugar Working Tools and Utensils [From Labat, Nouveau Voyage Aux Isles (1724), 1, opposite page 277.]

PLATE 210

The Estates of Cinnamon Bay and Annaberg Are On St. John's North Coast. (Note circled names.)
[From the "Western St. John Quadrangle, Virgin Islands" (1958), United States Geological Survey.]





Plot Plan of Annaberg Estate Sugar Factory (showing physical relationship of factory, horse mill, windmill, village, stables, ox pound, etc.)
Historic American Buildings Survey: drawing by Frederick C. Gjessing.

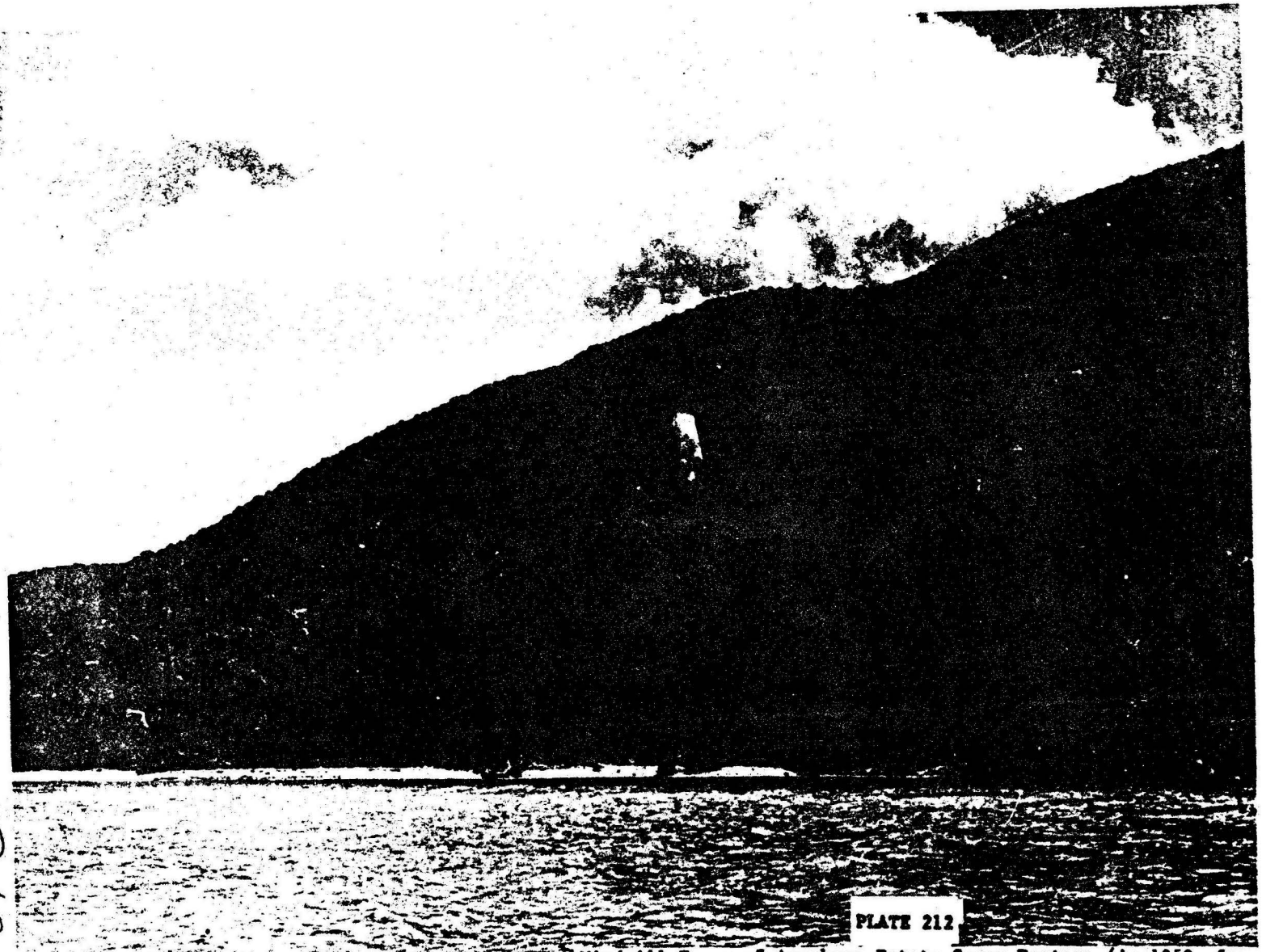


PLATE 212

Windmill Tower of Annaberg Estate Sugar Factory (in 1959, from the northwest)
Historic American Buildings Survey file: photograph by Frederick C. Giessing.

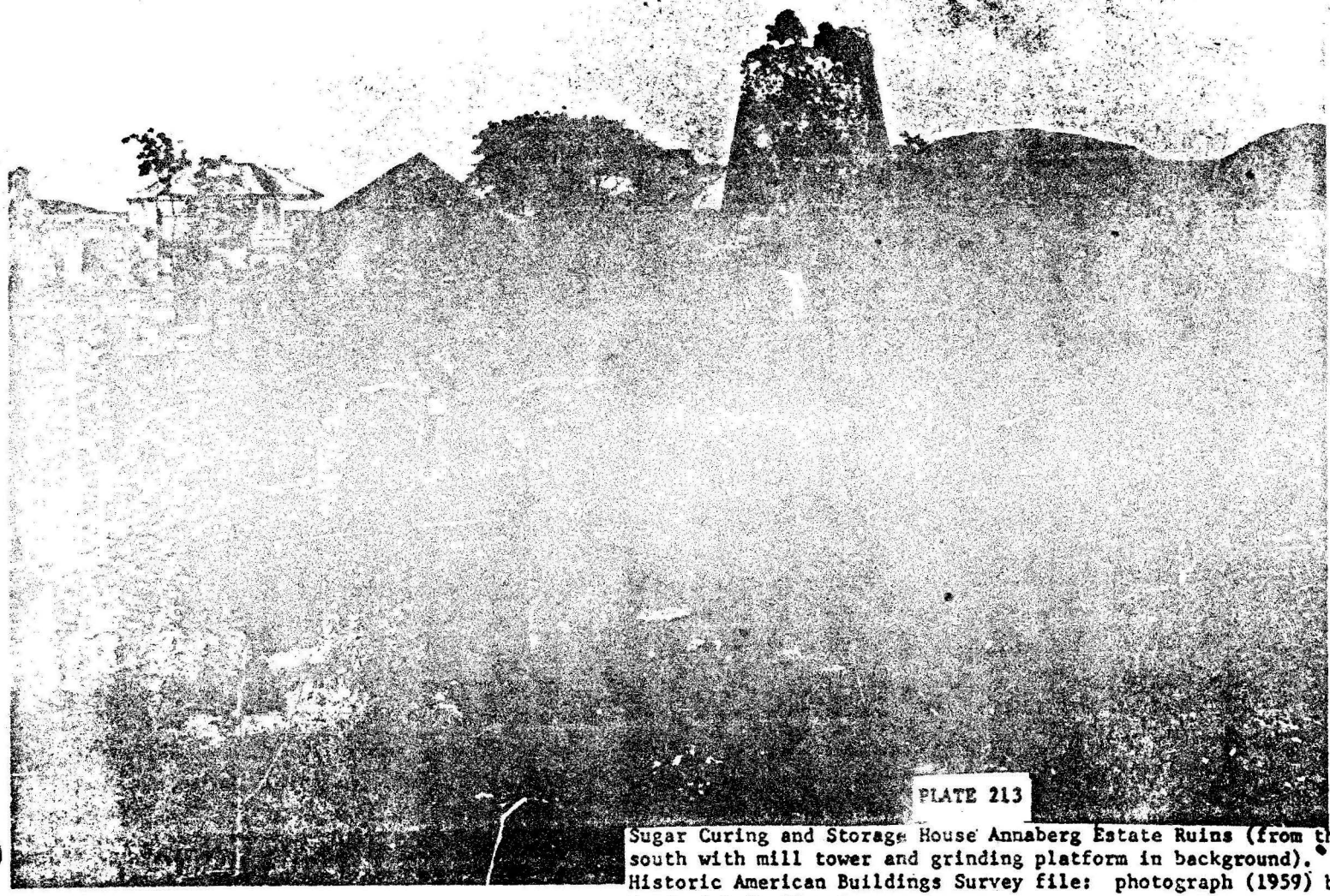


PLATE 213

Sugar Curing and Storage House Annaberg Estate Ruins (from the south with mill tower and grinding platform in background). Historic American Buildings Survey file: photograph (1959) by Frederick C. Gjessing.

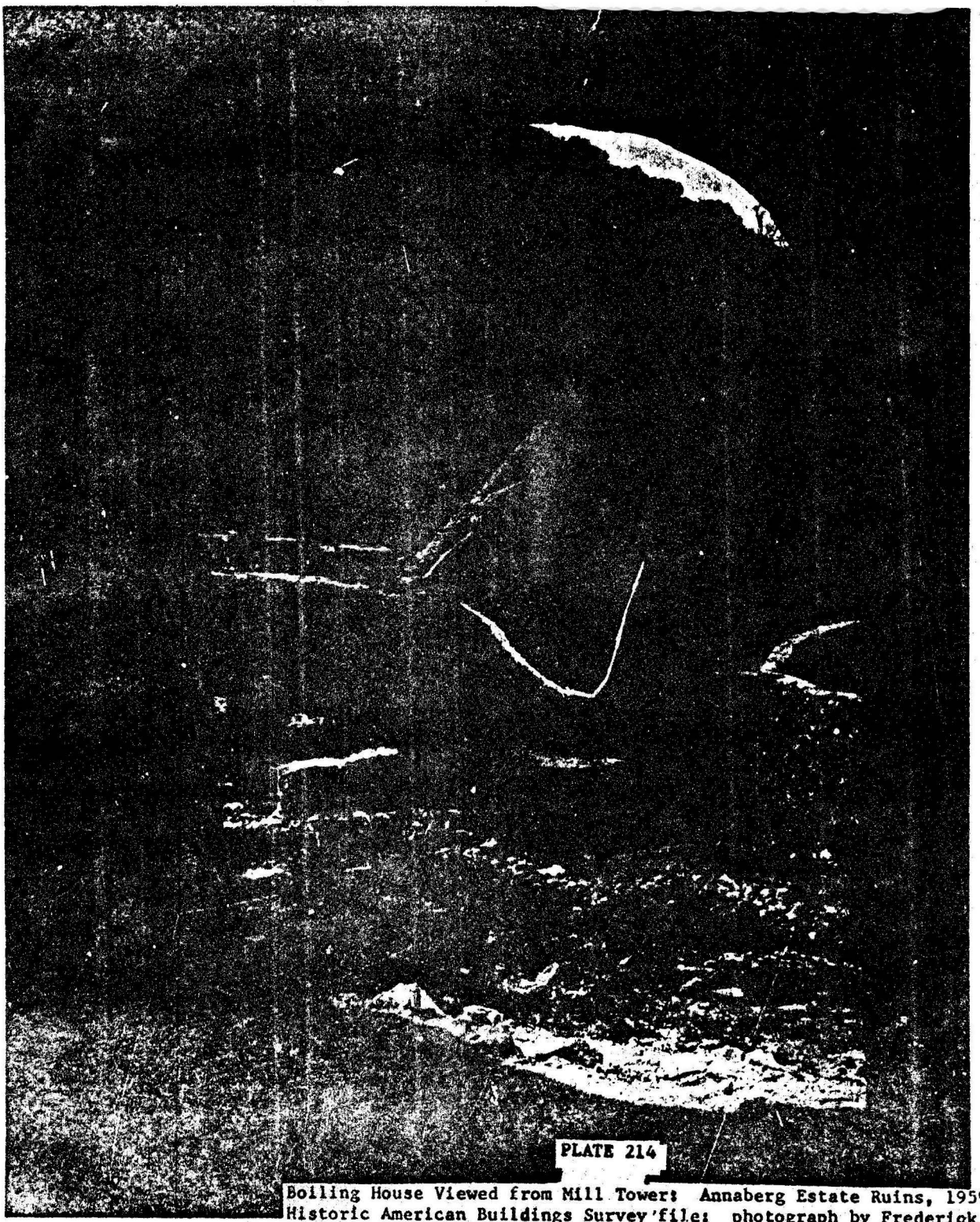
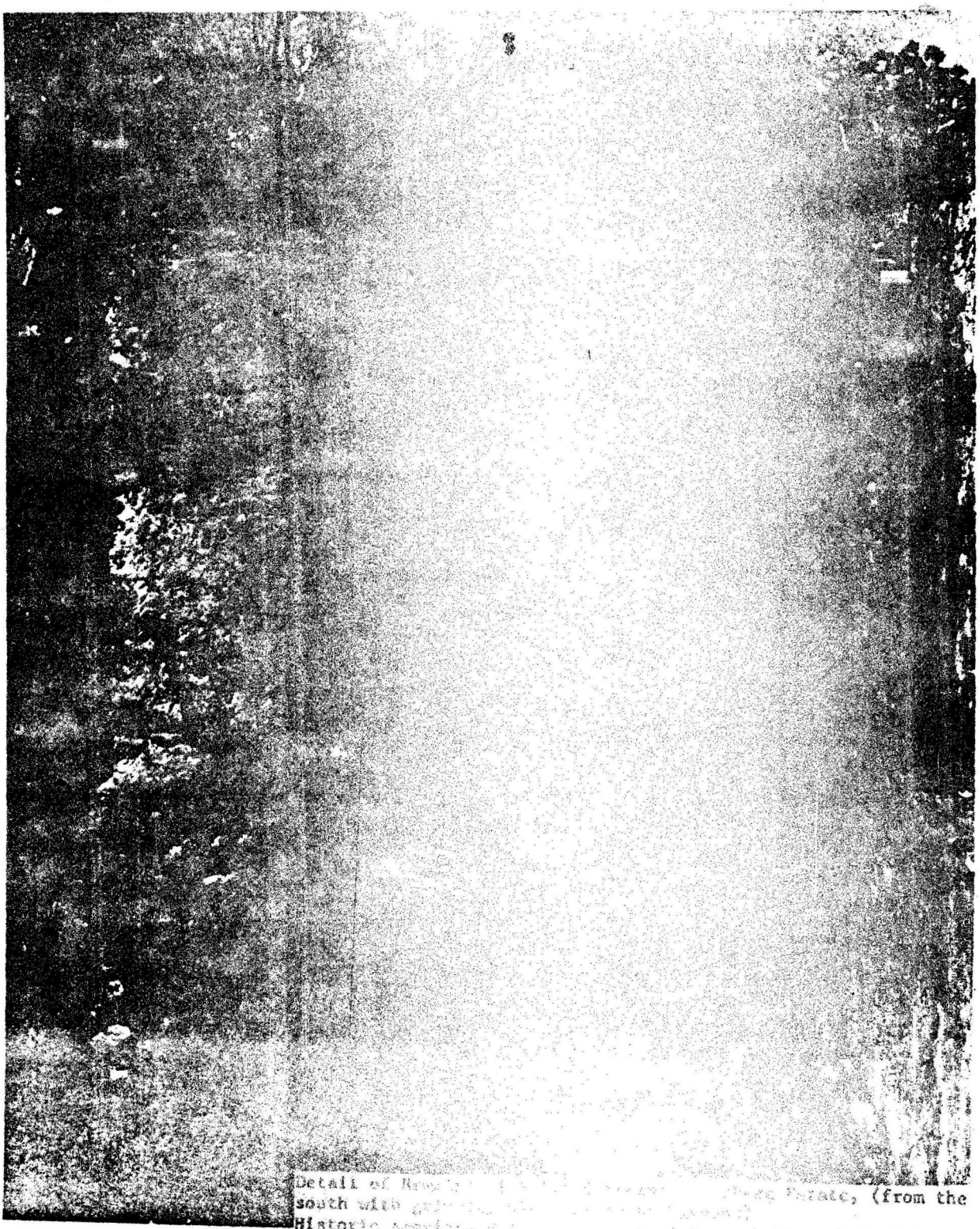


PLATE 214

Boiling House Viewed from Mill Tower: Annaberg Estate Ruins, 1959. Historic American Buildings Survey file: photograph by Frederick C. Gjessing.



Detail of R
south with
Historic
C.

Palace, (from the

photograph by Frederick



PLATE 216

Bake Oven Viewed from the West: Annaberg Estate Ruins
Historic American Buildings Survey file: photograph by
Frederick C. Gjessing.