

# Brown Bay

## St. John, US Virgin Islands

Uncovering an Eighteenth Century Landscape and  
its Inhabitants through Archival and Archaeological  
Research



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## Preface

In the spring of 2009, we, Agnes Elbæk Wraae and Marie Veisegaard Olsen, history students of the Saxo Institute at the University of Copenhagen, participated in a combined internship between the Danish National Archive, the U.S. National Park Service's International Internship Program, the Virgin Islands National Park St. John and the Saxo Institute. This report is the result of our five month internship, during which time we conducted three months of research in the National Archive, Denmark and one month of archaeological field work with the National Park Service on St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands that resulted in the completion of this report.

This internship was possible with the help of others and we would first like to thank the Friends of the Virgin Islands National Park in cooperation with University of Copenhagen and the National Park Service for making this project possible.

We have received a lot of assistance and historical insight from a broad group of individuals and we are very grateful and would like to thank them. Many thanks go to our supervisor from the University of Copenhagen, Niklas Thode Jensen. Niklas continually took the time to discuss and advise us in our research; even via computer from locations in Oxford and Florence. Also, thanks to student adviser, Benedicte Fonnesbech-Wulff and Ethnology professor Signe Mellemggaard for all of their help.

Much appreciation also goes to the park archeologist and Cultural Resource Manager Kenneth Wild. He defines several park objectives from which to choose from for this research effort. He requests the funding for the International Intern projects and directs the field operations for the National Park Service (NPS) Ken made us feel welcome on St. John and instructed us on archeological field methods and guided us through our research. Many thanks should also go to the rest of the very friendly and welcoming staff members of the Virgin Islands National Park on St. John as well as employees of the Friends of the VINP.

In addition, thank you to the staff at the National Archive in Copenhagen; in particular archivist, Erik Gøbel. Thank you to local historian, Chuck Pishko for providing us with material that is no longer accessible in the Danish National Archive due to its fragile state. We must not forget Linda Bennet at the Office of International Affairs, International Internship program in Washington DC for helping us with our Visa issues. Finally, we would like to thank our fellow interns from the Saxo Institute who were with us on St. John: Galit Peleg, Andreas Bonde Hansen and Nikolaj Kristensen. It would not have been the same without you all.

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Subject and the focus of this report

Brown Bay is located in the eastern section of the northern shore of the island of St. John, Virgin Islands. In the beginning of the 1720s, three plantations were founded in the surroundings of Brown Bay, which seems to mark the beginning of the Danish colonial period in the area.

The history of Brown Bay in the eighteenth century is in many ways typical of the general history of St. John. The three plantations were inhabited by planters who cultivated the land with a workforce of enslaved Africans. The plantations produced cotton and through the century they were merged with additional land into one large sugar producing estate called Brownsbay. Even though the development of the area is in many ways typical for the island, it also contains some very different and interesting histories of its inhabitants that are presented in this report.

The aim of this report is to discuss the history of the plantations in Brown Bay and their inhabitants during the period c. 1718-1804 through information from the preserved archival material and through archaeological findings. Through several chronological and thematic case studies, this report examines some of the different circumstances and events that shaped the history of this area and the lives of its inhabitants over approximately 90 years.

By expanding the knowledge of the local history of this area, this report intends to contribute to a greater understanding of Danish West Indian society in the eighteenth century.

## 1.2. Time frame and definitions

This research begins at the earliest Danish colonization of St. John in 1718, until the year 1804. Unfortunately, the first decade of Danish rule on St. John is not sufficiently recorded by the administration compared to later periods and therefore, very little information regarding Brown Bay and its inhabitants has been recovered for these early years. The year 1804 has been chosen as the end date because William Brown, the owner of the merged Brownsbay plantation died that year, thus making it a convenient end for our research time frame.

When working with sources from the eighteenth century, one soon realizes that names and locations are often spelled differently. From the beginning of the colonization, Danish officials had difficulty convincing Danish citizens to settle on the West Indian islands and take up plantation agriculture. To solve this problem, the Danish West Indian Company, known after 1755 as the Danish Crown, led a policy of “open colonisation”.<sup>1</sup> This meant

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<sup>1</sup> Rezende, Elizabeth: “Cultural identity of the free colored in Christiansted, St. Croix, Danish West Indies 1800-1848”, St. Croix, Virgin Islands, 1997 p. 2

that the offer to settle as a planter on the islands was not given exclusively to Danes, but individuals of many different nationalities. Thus, St. John became a multinational island with inhabitants of French, Dutch, English or Danish origin.<sup>2</sup> As a result, an individual's name, and the names of places and locations on St. John were spelled differently in documents depending on the situation, the writer or the languages in use at the time. However, the meaning of the word was often constant.

A good example of this multinational aspect is the different names used for the area today that is officially known as Brown Bay. Throughout the eighteenth century, the bay was called Bruyn, Brun/Bruun, and Brown, which is the Dutch, Danish, and English spelling of the same word. A very different variation of the place name is found in a travel journal written 1767-1769 by the Moravian missionary Christian Oldendorp who refers to the area as Brimsbay.<sup>3</sup> The word Brim does not have an actual meaning. During his stay on St. John, he most likely heard the locals refer to the place as Bruyn or Brun, and interpreted it as Brims. The same can be said about Peter L. Oxholm who named the bay Brynd Bay on his 1780 map and on his 1800 map, the bay is named Brynes Bay.<sup>4</sup>

Individual's names are also spelled a bit differently from time to time because no official rules of spelling existed during the eighteenth century. Names can suddenly be spelled with an "e" instead of an "a" or were changed in other ways (example: Mariana, Marianne, Mariane, Maria). For this report, we have chosen one way of spelling an individual's name, but when quoting historical sources, the name will appear as the source has spelled them.

The terminology employed in this report to describe the different groups of people on St. John is as follows: The term "Euro-Caribbean" describes a person of European origin living in the West Indies. The term "African-Caribbean" describes a person of either African or mixed African and European origin living in the West Indies. During the eighteenth century, the large majority of enslaved workers were of African descent and very few were of Native American descent.<sup>5</sup> The word "planter" describes the owner

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<sup>2</sup>Simonsen, Gunvor: "En fortræffelig constitution – en konstruktion af social orden på de Dansk Vestindiske øer i sidste halvdel af 1700-tallet" Speciale, Roskilde Universitetscenter, november 2000 p. 35

<sup>3</sup>Oldendorp, Christian Georg Andreas: "Historie der Caribischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan: inbesondere der dasigen Neger under der Mission der evangelischen Brüder unter denselben." Berlin VWB, verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 2000p. 1733 [98]. The account states that in 1767 he visited Jens Rasmussen in Brimsbay and his neighbor the free African-Caribbean doctor Christian Sort. From the land tax records of the time it is known that these two people actually lived in Brown Bay

<sup>4</sup>Oxholm 1780: Rentekammeret 337, nr. 209 fra P.L. Oxholms indberetning 30. august 1780. Kort over St. Jan; Oxholm, Peter L.: "Charte over den Danske Øe St: Jan i America"/optaget I Aaret 1780 og udgivet I Aaret 1800 af P.L. Oxholm; stukket af G.N: Angelo i Kjøbenhavn. Online link: <http://images.kb.dk/present?id=dk001404>

<sup>5</sup> For example in the auction protocol of Hugh Michel, 1756, an enslaved worker of Native American decent is referred to (Source: RRVR 571:157.1)

of a plantation; usually a person of Euro-Caribbean origin, but also a few African-Caribbeans became planters after they were given their freedom.

In the historical sources from the eighteenth century, Euro-Caribbeans are often referred to as “white” or the Danish word “blank”, meaning something like “bright” in English, while the African-Caribbean population is divided into several categories. An African-Caribbean is often referred to as either a “slave” or a “Negro” if he/she was enslaved, but had the person been manumitted the sources often describes him/her as a “Free Negro” or a “Free Colored”. Some additional words are also used to describe the enslaved African-Caribbeans. A so-called “Capable” enslaved worker was a full time worker. An enslaved worker who had come from Africa was typically listed as a *buzal* the first two years. A *manqueron* was a disabled enslaved worker, and a *maron* was an escaped enslaved worker. These different terms will be used when it is deemed important for understanding the context in which they were used or in citing historical sources.

### 1.3 Sources

This report is primarily based on archival material found in the Danish National Archive in concert with archeological findings on St. John. The report also uses secondary literature to throw light on facts that exist in the margin of this report’s focus, such as some of the background knowledge, e.g. concerning the slave rebellion. In the following sections, most of the important archival sources are described.

The most important archival resource was the land tax records,<sup>6</sup> which cover the years 1728-33, 1736-39, and 1755-1915.<sup>7</sup> These records contain crucial statistical data regarding the ownership, size, land use and population for each plantation on the island. In the earlier land tax records (1728-39), the bookkeeper has sometimes added valuable additional information. For example, stating if an owner had just been married. The purpose of these records was for the Danish colonial administration to be able to collect taxes based on plot size and the total amount of adults living on an estate. However, there are problems with the land tax records deriving from their somewhat imprecise and incomplete character. For example, planters did not always make statements every year. These setbacks will be explained further in the report.

The records of the Lutheran Church were also a valuable source. They contain information regarding baptisms, marriages, and burials. From this knowledge, it has been possible to reconstruct some of the planter’s families and depict patterns of marriage and other networks in the West Indian soci-

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<sup>6</sup> In Danish these were named “Landlister” until 1755 when they were replaced by the so called “Matrikler”. The purpose of the two was very much the same. In this paper they will be referred to as the land tax records, since the purpose of these records was for the Danish administration to be able to collect taxes. Their reference is VGK 446:750 & 446:751-753 (Landlister) and RRVR 571:83.1 to 751:83.16 (Matrikler)

<sup>7</sup> In this paper, only the land tax records until 1804 have been used

ety. Like the land tax records, the church records also present some limitations. First, they only record religious ceremonies involving the Lutheran priest, which means it is mostly people belonging to that congregation that appear in the church record. Also, it is not until the 1750s that African-Caribbeans really begin to appear in the church records. More so, not all years and events seem to be covered by the church records. Finally, the given information in the church records can be incorrect due to a clerk who did not know better or possibly a simple writing mistake. A few of these mistakes were discovered when completing the research for this paper. For example, Pierre Castan is called Jacob Castan one year at the christening of his son, Jacob Thoma. This clearly seems to be a writing error.<sup>8</sup>

Other documents have also been utilized such as letters and copy books sent from the West Indies to the headquarters of the Company or the Government in Denmark as well as letters between the Danish Administration and Euro-Caribbeans on St. John. However, this correspondence reflects events and relationships in the Danish West Indies seen through the eyes of the Danish West Indian administration and the Euro-Caribbean planters. In addition, as with sources in general one must always be critical to the writer's purpose of writing and also realize that erroneous information can be passed on. This is particularly important since there is very little of this information that can be checked against other sources. Without any measures of control, it can be difficult to distinguish between correct and incorrect information, but that is often the circumstances for a historian.

A few published accounts are also used in this report. One is Pierre Panet's account of the Slave Rebellion of 1733 and; another is the account of the German Moravian missionary Christian G. A. Oldendorp who visited the Danish West Indies in 1767-68, with the purpose of bringing back to Germany a story of the mission's development since 1732 and its contemporary status in the Danish West Indies. In 1777, a two volume book was published from his six thousand page manuscript, which today can be read in an abridged English version. In 2000, Oldendorp's original manuscript was for the first time published in German in its full length. This work gives a more complete picture of the many individuals connected to the mission in the Danish West Indies. For example, Jens Rasmussen who came to live in Brown Bay and whose life Oldendorp discusses several details about in his original manuscript. However, once again one must bear in mind the author's purpose of writing the given information.

The use and limitations of the different sources mentioned above will be further discussed throughout the report. However, one final important point must be discussed. The sources relating to the personal lives of the enslaved inhabitants in Brown Bay are very limited, with the effects being that this report is dominated by the stories of the planters in Brown Bay.

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<sup>8</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401 Baptisms April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1733

## 2. Brown Bay

### 2.1. The location of the Plantations in Brown Bay

Very close to the beach in Brown Bay lie the ruins of plantation buildings that are presumed to date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Through earlier research, a plantation estate by the name of Brownsbay is known to have been situated in the area around Brown Bay a. 1800.<sup>10</sup> Apart from this, very little is known of the plantations that existed in this area throughout the eighteenth century. This chapter focuses on the location of the historical area known as Brown Bay. Furthermore, it examines the number of plantations located in that area throughout the eighteenth century.

The historical maps of St. John drafted by Peter L. Oxholm in 1780/1800 and the land tax records of 1728-1804 are a good source to begin locating the position of the individual plantations that constituted the historical area of Brown Bay in the eighteenth century. Oxholm's maps of St. John are used because they are keyed to the island's land tax records that contain information about the owners, location and size of the plantations. Therefore, the maps provide a link between the historical landscape and the documentary records that a more modern and geographical map would not.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately the type of information given in the land tax records changes throughout the eighteenth century. While the earliest land tax records of 1728-1739 describe the location of the plantations and their size in length and width, the later records only state the name of the owner and the width of the plantation.<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, the early records are very important when locating plantation plots on historic maps, and the present day landscape.

There is a set of other problems with the land tax records. First, the description of the plantations is not very precise, and location names are almost never used. Second, it is a point of debate whether the size and boundaries of the plantations were as specific as the sources describe. Third, the quarters in which the plantations are located, changes both in number, names, and boundaries through the years, which means that a certain locality

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<sup>9</sup>Ausherman, Betty (ed.): "St. John Sites Report 1981-82." Introduction by F. Gjessing. Virgin Islands Planning Office, 1982 p. 228

<sup>10</sup>Knight, David W.: "Understanding Annaberg. A Brief History of Estate Annaberg on St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. With A Closer Look at the Annaberg Factory Complex and How Sugar Was Made." Little Northside Press, 2002 pp. 13-14

<sup>11</sup>Armstrong, Douglas V., and Mark Hauser, David W. Knight and Stephen Le-nik: "Variation in Venues of Slavery and Freedom: Interpreting the Late Eighteenth-Century Cultural Landscape of St. John, Danish West Indies Using an Archaeological GIS. In: *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, Vol. 13, No. 1. (1 March 2009), p. 95

<sup>12</sup>The unit of measurement is feet. It's believed to be Danish feet due to the fact that the administration was Danish at the time, but the difference between English and Danish feet is so small that it wouldn't influence the placement of the plantations on the Oxholm map. (Source: Pedersen, Jonas Møller, and Laura Thatt: "Lameshure Estates Complex 1718-1778 – Archival and on-site research". Prepared for the Virgin Islands National Park & the University of Copenhagen, 2011 (under publication) p.17; Appendix 1)

can be placed in different quarters depending on the year.<sup>13</sup> In some years the quarters even disappear completely. Therefore, the five quarters on Oxholm’s map<sup>14</sup> cannot be used together with the description of plantations given in the land tax records of 1728-39. Despite these problems, it has been possible to find the plantation plots that constituted the area of Brown Bay in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, it has not been as easy to place them according to the landscape due to the very minimal and incoherent style of information used in the records.

The first source we have found that refers to a locality by the name of Brown Bay is an auction protocol from 1756 in which Hugh Mitchel describes his plantation as being “*situated in Bruynsbay.*”<sup>15</sup> The first time the land tax records refer to a locality by the name of Brown Bay is in 1759-1764 when three individual plantations<sup>16</sup> are recorded to be located in an area named “*Bruuns Bay*”; an old fashioned Danish spelling meaning Brown’s Bay.<sup>17</sup> Two of these plantation plots can be followed back through the land tax records from 1728, when it is stated that these plantation plots were taken into possession by planters in the years 1723-1725 as three individual plots.<sup>18</sup> The first plot is listed as being owned by Michel Hendrichsen, the second by Gabriel van Stell’s widow and the third is described as “*Jan Bruyn’s plantation, belonging to Jacob Thoma’s heirs named Elisabet and Mariane Thoma*”.<sup>19</sup>

From here on these plantation plots will be referred to as the Hendrichsen plantation, the Stell plantation and the Bruyn plantation.

<i>Plantation owned by</i>	<i>Land Letter</i> <sup>20</sup>	<i>Land Occupied</i>	<i>Description</i>	<i>Length</i>	<i>Width</i>
Michel Hendrichsen	Jan. 13 1725	1724	Situated by Stallart’s, Loison’s and Constantin’s plantations. Length runs south	3000 feet	1500 feet

<sup>13</sup> “A quarter” represents an administrative division of the island that is roughly equivalent to a county or parish

<sup>14</sup>The quarters on Oxholm’s map are Cruz Bay, Mahoo Bay, Coral Bay, Reef Bay and the East End

<sup>15</sup> RRVR 157.1 The auction protocol also states that the previous owner was the widow of Gabriel van Stell

<sup>16</sup>It should be noted that in 1760 a certain “*Inspector Hans Liime of the Majesty’s plantation*” and a Lieutenant Kaass are also listed in the land tax records under Brown Bay, but no plantation plot is mentioned. The following two years only Lieutenant Kaass is listed, and then in 1763 Baron v. Schimmelman is listed there, and now the text reads that it is a sugar plantation and that its former owner was the Majesty. In the following years it is listed under Coral Bay. There is little doubt that this is in fact the Carolina plantation bought by Baron v. Schimmelman in 1763 and which was placed in the heart of Coral Bay. The reason why it is listed under Brown Bay in 1760-63 is not known

<sup>17</sup> RRVR 571:83.2-83-4.

<sup>18</sup>VGK 446:750

<sup>19</sup>VGK 446:750

<sup>20</sup> “Land Letter” was the final deed of the plot

			and north and width east and west 700 feet and yet another piece of land to make out the width, running to the length of Gabriel van Stell.		
Gabriel Van Stell's widow	Nov. 26 1723	1723	Situated by Cornelius Stallardt heir's plantation. Length runs by the north side of the country from the seashore north and south 3000 feet and the width east and west 1500 feet.	3000 feet	1500 feet
Jan Bruyn, now belonging to Jacob Thoma's heirs	Jan. 20 1725	Measured Jan. 11 1725	Situated east from Gabriel van Stell's length. The length east and west 2600 feet, and the width south and north 1500 feet with 2 points to fulfill the length.	a. 3000 feet	1500 feet

Figure 1. The Land tax record's description of the plantations known to have been situated in Brown Bay, 1728.<sup>21</sup>

The last plantation listed in the records of 1759-1764 proved difficult to follow back in time due to the 1740 to 1754 gap in the land tax records. The records from 1755 to 1769 state the plot was owned by James Horan, measuring 3,000 feet in length and 700 feet in width.<sup>22</sup> Further description is not provided, and no plantation of this size or owner can be found in any of the earlier land tax records.

The plantations mentioned in 1759-1764 were merged into larger estates owned by the same planters. Unfortunately, as the plantations merged into larger estates, only the width of its size is given. By 1784, the plantations in Brown Bay had merged into one large estate.<sup>23</sup> In the year 1800, this estate is numbered as the eleventh estate in the Mahoo Bay Quarter, which is consistent with the property, enumerated eleven near the bay of Brown Bay on

<sup>21</sup> VGK 446:750. The descriptions of the locations of the plantations in Brown Bay are very much the same in all the land tax records 1728-39, but some years are more detailed in their description than others. The land tax list 1728 is one of the more detailed

<sup>22</sup>RRVR 571:83.1, 83.2 & 83.3

<sup>23</sup>RRVR 571:83.3

Oxholm's map of 1800.<sup>24</sup> Finally, in the record of 1801, this large estate is referred to as "*the Brownsbay plantation*".<sup>25</sup> However, there is one exception. The plantation of James Horan was split in two halves in 1770 and eventually only the one half (1500 x 350 feet) came to be regarded as situated in Brown Bay.<sup>26</sup> The other half was bought by Thomas Smith in 1774 who, at this time, owned all the land immediately west of Brown Bay. By adding half of Horan's plantation plot, he became the owner of a large plantation estate (4000 feet in width), which on Oxholm map of 1800 and the land tax records of 1801, is referred to as "*Smith Bay Plantation*".<sup>27</sup> A few years later it also became known as "*Leinster Bay Plantation*".<sup>28</sup> This strongly indicates that the plantation plot of Horan was situated in the area where the estates Smith Bay and Brownsbay met. This assumption is supported in a probate from March 26, 1784 that describes how the one half of Horan's plot that was sold in 1770, is situated between the land of Mr. Thomas Smith and Dr. Grainger.<sup>29</sup> At this time, the latter (Mr. Smith and Dr. Grainger or just Dr. Grainger?) owned all the other plantation plots making up Brown Bay.

The vague description of the plantations in Brown Bay given in the land tax records makes it difficult to place the plantation plots on a map and thereby get the exact location of what constituted Brown Bay in the eighteenth century. However, through different tactics, it is believed that a fairly accurate placement of the plantation plots that constituted Brown Bay has been attained. By using the description given in the land tax record of 1728-39, we attempted to place all plantations in the Mahoo Bay Quarter lying west of the plantations in Browns Bay and all plantations in the French Quarter<sup>30</sup> east of Brown Bay on the Oxholm map using the simple principle that the puzzle had to add up (See Appendix 2 and 3 for a description of the 1728 and 1739 land tax record of Mahoo Bay Quarter and the French Quarter). Unfortunately, it turned out to be impossible to establish the exact location of all the plantations west of Brown Bay because of an incoherent description of several of the estates. According to the records, the plantations were generally shaped as rectangles (e.g. 3000 x 1500) but unfortunately not all of them were. For example, a plantation west of Brown bay owned by Mr. Frøling was recorded to measure 1500 Danish feet in width, but with one length measuring 3000 Danish feet and another measuring 1500 Danish feet. A description like this makes it almost impossible to know the exact shape of the plantation and therefore difficult to locate it. An attempt was made, though, but the exact location of the boundaries of these plots must be said to be filled with uncertainties.

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<sup>24</sup>Oxholm 1800. On the map it is spelled "Brynes Bay"

<sup>25</sup> RRV 571:83.10-83.15

<sup>26</sup> RRV 571:83.3

<sup>27</sup> RRV 571:83.3; RRV 571:83.10-15; Oxholm 1800

<sup>28</sup> Knight 2002 p. 12

<sup>29</sup> STSJG 712:35.37.2 March 26<sup>th</sup>, 1784

<sup>30</sup> Later on known as the East End

Due to somewhat better descriptions, The French Quarter was easier to place on Oxholm's map allowing for fairly accurate location of these estate plots in Brown Bay. In addition, a few plantation plots in the Coral Bay Quarter, which lay on the south side of the mountain from Brown Bay, were placed on the Oxholm map. The reason for this is that several of the land tax records describe the northern boundaries of some of these plantations as running along the southern boundaries of some of the plantations in Brown Bay. For instance in the land tax record of 1731 the plantation of Lorendt Hendrichsen is described as running in its length over the mountain until it touches the plantation of Thoma's heirs on the northern side.<sup>31</sup> Finally, the plantation plots could be placed on Oxholm 1800 map. The result can be seen in figure 2 below. One should bear in mind that the actual boundaries were more organic, i.e. following features in the landscape, than portrayed here.

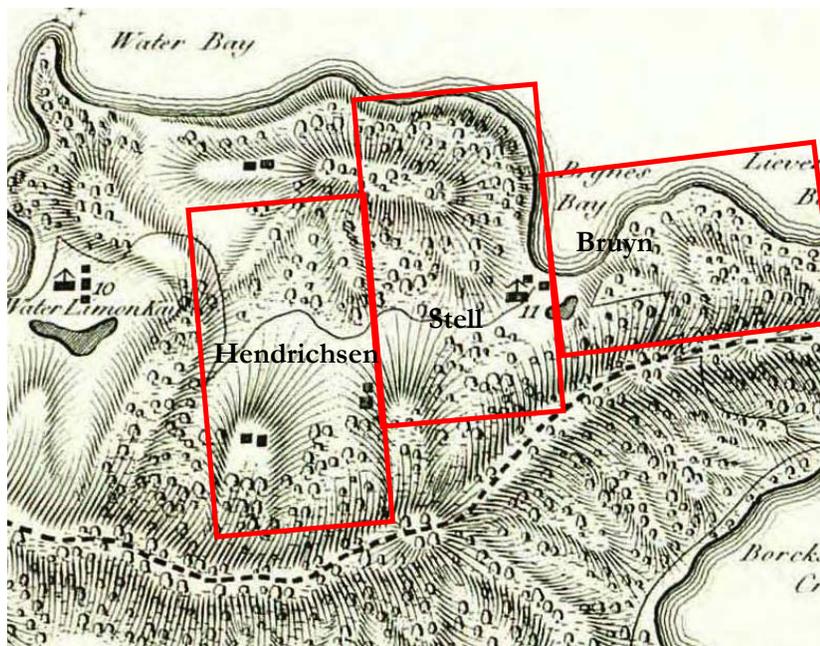


Figure 2. The location of the Brown Bay plantation plots on Oxholm map of 1800.

The order in which the plantations have been set and the location of the Stell plantation and the Bruyn plantation is believed to be fairly accurate. Yet the Hendrichsen plantation can be placed in different ways. According to the land tax records, the plantation was situated next to the Stell plantation and its width and length was as shown here, but it is not known if it was situated near the sea, the hillside or in between. In the probate of Jens Rasmussen (1772), who owned the Stell plantation at the time of his death, it is stated that the plantation consisted of 3000 x 1500 Danish feet besides a

<sup>31</sup> VGK 446:750

point.<sup>32</sup> This information could indicate that the hill next to the Stell plantation was in fact part of the plantation. If this is correct it would mean that the Hendrichsen plantation was situated in the valley and on the hill that separates Brown Bay and Coral Bay. However, it is important to remember that this is only an interpretation.

Furthermore, it seems that the intensity with which the soil was being cultivated as stated in the land tax records is somewhat compatible with the vegetation drawn on Oxholm's map of 1780 (See figure 3.). The land tax record of 1780 describes the plantations in Brown Bay as only growing "very little" cotton, while the Smith Bay plantation is growing sugar with the exception of a small plot of land on which he is growing cotton.<sup>33</sup> With this information compared with how the plots were placed in figure 2, it seems to fit and make sense.

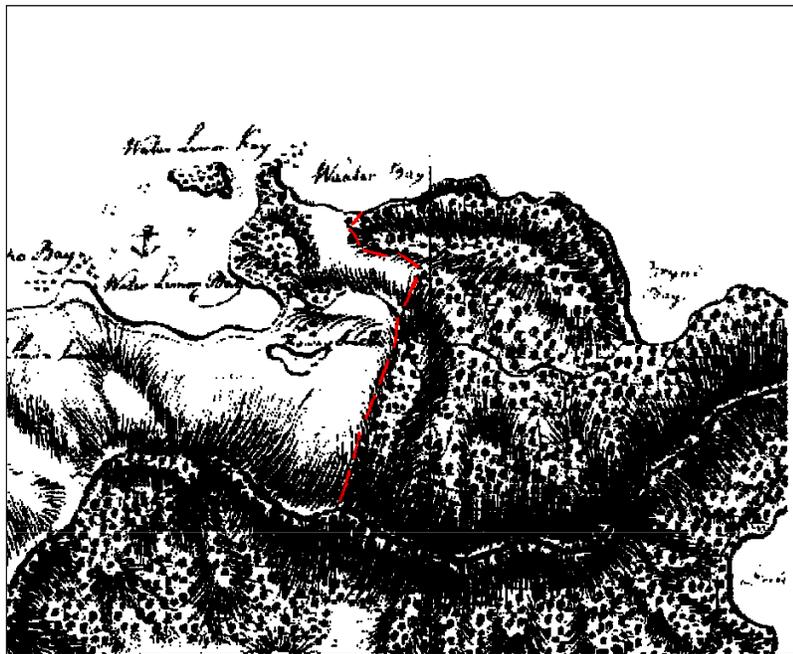


Figure 3. Brown Bay, Oxholm 1780<sup>34</sup>

This map of Brown Bay is not consistent with an earlier research done by David Knight, where the Brownsbay estate is shown to continue further eastward to the end of the Mahoo Bay Quarter.<sup>35</sup> But even though this seems logical to conclude, we believe this last piece of land in the Mahoo Bay Quarter was taken up in 1725, properly by Pierre Castan who is listed as

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<sup>32</sup> STSJG 712:35.40.7. It should be noted that at the moment it is not possible to gain access to the original probate because of its fragile state. But it has been possible to locate a photocopy of the probate, and it is this copy which is referred to here. See the translation of the probate in Appendix 4

<sup>33</sup>RRVR 751: 83.3

<sup>34</sup>Oxholm 1780

<sup>35</sup> Armstrong 2009, p. 108

the plantation's owner in 1728.<sup>36</sup> In 1755, the plantation appears to have become part of a bigger estate owned by Lieven Marché who must also have given name to the bay (Lieven Marché Bay) located at this plantation plot.<sup>37</sup>

It is believed that the placement of the locality that constituted Brown Bay in the eighteenth century is fairly accurate, but again it must be taken into consideration that the exact boundaries of the location may have been slightly different. This is especially important when investigating the area archeologically.

## 2.2. Ownership in Brown Bay

While the previous section focused primarily on the location of the area that constituted Brown Bay in the eighteenth century, the purpose of this part is to reconstruct the ownership in Brown Bay during approx. 1718-1804. The archival materials used to reconstruct the ownership are mainly the land tax records, but other archival material has been used to supplement them. Unfortunately, as mentioned earlier the land tax record was first compiled in 1728, ten years after the colonization of the island and in addition, the land tax records have a lacuna in the years 1734- 1735 (This is most likely a result of the slave rebellion on St. John in 1733), and again a lacuna is present during the years of 1740-1754. Fortunately, the latter lacuna did not create huge problems in the reconstruction of the ownership because the plantation owners listed in 1739 kept their plantations throughout the lacuna 1740-1754 and consequently they were listed with the same plantations in 1755.

To make the information concerning the ownership more clear the different plantation plots have been given names and the information concerning the plots have been arranged under each plantation name; the Stell plantation, the Bruyn and Hendrichsen plantation, the Horan plantation and the Brownsbay plantation. These plantation plots are named after the first known owner except the Brownsbay plantation that is named according to the land tax record of 1801 and 1804.

### *The Stell plantation*

According to the land tax record of 1728, the first plantation in Brown Bay was founded in 1723 and the deed for the plantation was issued November 26, 1723. In 1728, the plantation was owned by Gabriel van Stell's widow who, according to the land tax record, was living on St. Thomas while her son managed the plantation.<sup>38</sup> Her first name appears to have been Johanna.<sup>39</sup> The son Gabriel van Stell Junior lived on his mother's plantation until 1733. This same year he bought approximately half of his mother's and the neighbour, Pieter Krøyer's plantation (the Bruyn plantation) and

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<sup>36</sup>VGK 446:750

<sup>37</sup>RRVR 571:83.1

<sup>38</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>39</sup> VGK 446:1.29.1

founded his own plantation.<sup>40</sup> He lived on this plantation with his wife Neeltje Delicat, whom he married late in the year 1728<sup>41</sup> and their child Gabriel was born on December 18, 1730.<sup>42</sup> During the slave rebellion of 1733-1734, Gabriel and his wife were murdered, but curiously their child Gabriel survived.<sup>43</sup> In 1739, Gabriel's plantation was dissolved and the three plantations in Brown Bay regained their original size. After the slave rebellion 1733-1734, the owners of the Stell plantation are listed as "*the heirs of Gabriel van Stell Junior and Gabriel van Stell Senior's widow*".<sup>44</sup> The land tax record does not reveal who the heirs are, but in a letter dated June 18, 1734 concerning the heirs of deceased plantation owners in Brown Bay, it is mentioned that a Jasper Jansen is guardian for the property of the van Stell family<sup>45</sup> and the child Gabriel.<sup>46</sup> Jasper Jansen was married into the van Stell family.<sup>47</sup>

The heirs of the van Stell family owned the plantation up to 1756, and during that period the land tax record states that no one, not even enslaved workers lived on the plantation. In 1755, it is recorded that the plantation is still uncultivated after the slave rebellion of 1733.<sup>48</sup> Between 1756 and 1758, the plantation changes hands a couple of times and in 1758, it is bought by a man named Jens Rasmussen. Rasmussen owned the plantation until his death in 1772. The two following years, the widow of Rasmussen is listed in the land tax records as the owner. A probate of the deceased Rasmussen exists from February 20, 1772 and states that he left behind his wife Anna Maria and three sons, named Johannes, Nathaniel, and David, and one daughter Juditha.<sup>49</sup> The land tax records state that in 1758-1760, Jens Rasmussen lived on the plantation with his wife and one son, who must have been Johannes, born in 1758.<sup>50</sup> In 1761-1763 Rasmussen is recorded to have lived there with his wife and two sons, but the 1764 and 1765 records show that no inhabitants are listed at the Stell plantation.<sup>51</sup> The record of 1766, again states that Rasmussen and his wife live on the plantation but now with only one son. In the next five years the records show that only one male Euro-Caribbean lived on the plantation, yet does not give any name.

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<sup>40</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>41</sup> VGK 446:516, Book 1727-29: Oct. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1728 permission to marry was granted Gabriel van Stell and Neeltje Delicat

<sup>42</sup> KGV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401 Baptisms September 16th, 1730; VGK 446:750

<sup>43</sup> VGK 446:516 June 18th, 1734

<sup>44</sup> VGK 446:751-53

<sup>45</sup> VGK 446:516

<sup>46</sup> VGK 446:516 September 20<sup>th</sup>, 1734

<sup>47</sup> KGV 1-775-1: LAK 5-1399; KGV 1-775-1: LAK 5-1401. On March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1705 Rebecca, daughter of Gabriel van Stell was baptized. Her and Jasper Jansen's boy, also named Gabriel, was baptized Dec 18<sup>th</sup>, 1731

<sup>48</sup> RRV 571:83.1

<sup>49</sup> See the translation of the probate in Appendix 6

<sup>50</sup> RRV 571:83.2 and RRV 571:83.1; KDV 1-775-1 Lak 5-1402 Baptism Jan. 1758

<sup>51</sup> RRV 571:83.2

A doctor, Thomas W. Grainger, bought the Stell plantation in 1774 and in 1776, combined it with the Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation. Grainger is recorded to have been a doctor in Christiansted, St. Croix in 1768.<sup>52</sup> From 1774/1776 to 1783, he lived on the three plantations that constituted the Brown Bay area in the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the last two years of the period Grainger lived on the plantation with a woman, presumably his wife.

<i>Year</i>	<i>The Stell plantation</i>		<i>The Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation</i>			
1728	Gabriel van Stell's widow (3000 x 1500)		Jan Bruyn's plantation, belonging to Elisabet and Mariane Thoma (3000 x 1500)		Michel Hendrichsen (3000 x 1500)	
1729			Elisabet and Mariane Thoma (3000 x 1500)			
1730						
1731						
1732						
1733	Gabriel van Stell's widow (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Michel Hendrichsen (3000 x 800)	Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 700)
1736			Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Michel Hendrichsen (3000 x 800)	Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 700)
1737			Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Michel Hendrichsen's heirs (3000 x 1500)	
1738			Michel Hendrichsen's heirs (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)		

<sup>52</sup>Carøe, Kristian: "Den danske Lægestand 1479-1900". Bind 5, Copenhagen 1977 p. 9

1739	Gabriel van Stell's widow and Gabriel van Stell junior's heirs (3000 x 1500)	Michel Hendrichsen's heirs (3000 x 1500)	
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Figure 4 Owners of the individual plantation plots in Brown Bay from 1728 to 1755.

*The Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation*

The Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation were originally two separate plantations, but were combined in 1738. According to the land tax record of 1728, the Bruyn plantation was founded on January 11, 1725 and the land letter (deed) was issued nine days later. The plantation is described as “*Jan Bruyn’s plantation, belonging to Jacob Thoma’s heirs by the name of Elisabeth and Mariane.*”<sup>53</sup> This information is interesting, because in a specification of the plantations on St. John from 1722 “*Jacques Thoma’s children*” is listed as owners of an unspecified plantation on St. John. It seems probable that the children were Elisabeth and Mariana and that the plantation was the Bruyn plantation. Unfortunately, the specification does not contain information concerning the location. Did the daughters of Jacob/Jacques Thoma own another plantation on St. John prior to 1728, or is the plantation they owned in Brown Bay during 1728 actually the plantation that the specification from 1722 refers to? If this last assumption is correct, the plantation was already founded before 1722 and not in 1725 as the land tax record states, but this cannot be confirmed.

The land tax record of 1728 states that the two women are living on the plantation, but according to the church records Elisabeth Thoma was married to a Pierre Castan in 1724<sup>54</sup> and in the land tax record of 1728 Castan, whose plantation was neighbouring the Bruyn plantation, is stated as living on his plantation with his wife. The land tax record of 1728 also states that the young women’s mother, “*Mariana Loison, now married to Lieutenant Peter Fröeling*”, was living on her plantation in Mahoo Bay together with “*her daughter*”,<sup>55</sup> yet since we know of no other children, this could very well be her daughter Mariana Thoma. Furthermore, there is only one enslaved worker listed on the Bruyn plantation in the land tax record of 1728. The following year, no owners or enslaved workers are recorded as living on the plantation, but the person “*Jan Brun*” is listed by himself just below the description of the women’s plantation and the text states that he is living on the plantation and paying the tax for the enslaved worker.<sup>56</sup> In the records of debts to the West Indian Company in the year 1728, a tailor by the name Jan Brun is listed as living on St. John<sup>57</sup> and the following year a Johan Brun is listed as

<sup>53</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>54</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1400 Marriages July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1724

<sup>55</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>56</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>57</sup>VGK 446:711, 1728

having died on St. John.<sup>58</sup> It would appear to be the same man especially since the land tax records say nothing more of him after 1729.

It seems likely that the area today known as Brown Bay was named after Jan Bruyn/Brun. However, one wonders why the area was named after him when the plantation he lived on in 1728 was owned by Jacob Thoma's heirs. It is possible that Jan Bruyn founded the plantation and the heirs bought it later and this is why the bay is named after him, but this is purely speculative.

After the supposed death of Jan Bruyn in 1729, no one is recorded as living on the plantation until 1731. This year, Pieter Krøyer appears to have married Mariana Thoma and taken up residence on the plantation. In the following year Pieter Krøyer is listed as owner of the plantation, so it appears he had bought Elisabeth Thoma's share of the plantation. Pieter Krøyer and Mariana Thoma had their first child, Hans baptized September 8, 1733. A little over two months later, the whole family was killed in the slave rebellion. A letter from June 18, 1734, states that there were no heirs to the Krøyer family and the records state that no one lived on the plantation until 1737. In that year the plantation was bought by the heirs of Michel Hendrichsen and merged into the Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation.<sup>59</sup>

The Hendrichsen plantation was established in Browns Bay in 1724 and the deed was issued January 13, 1725. In 1728, this plantation was owned by a man named Michel Hendrichsen, who in the land tax record of that year is recorded to be living on the plantation with his wife and six children.<sup>60</sup> According to the Book of Guardians of 1733-34, the mother of Michel Hendrichsen's children died in 1727, leaving the children's inheritance to be invested in the plantation. The children were named Cornelius, Johannes, Machil, Rebecca, Johana and Elisabeth. We also learn from the same source that Hendrichsen himself died in 1734 and that the children inherited the plantation.<sup>61</sup> Cornelius lived on and cultivated his father's plantation together with two sisters, one little sister, and one who was handicapped. From the land tax records it seems that the other siblings went to live with relatives. In 1737, the record states that Cornelius, 19 years old, and his sister of 28 are living on the plantation. In 1737, the heirs of Michel Hendrichsen also bought the Bruyn plantation.<sup>62</sup> However, in the following year of 1738, the record shows that the oldest son of Michel Hendrichsen now worked as an overseer on Johannes van Beverhoudt Glaüdizoon's plantation on St. Thomas and that no Euro-Caribbean lived on the plantation. There were only two enslaved workers and one of them was under twelve years old.<sup>63</sup> This information indicates that Cornelius Hendrichsen gave up managing his father's plantation and the only people living on the plantation or at all in

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<sup>58</sup>VGK 446:711, 1728-45

<sup>59</sup> VGK 446:571-753

<sup>60</sup> VGK 446:570

<sup>61</sup> VGK 446: 521

<sup>62</sup> VGK 446:751-753

<sup>63</sup> VGK 446:571-753

Brown Bay in 1739 were two enslaved workers on the Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation.

The Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation lay deserted until 1765 and it is mentioned several times in the records as deserted land with no inhabitants, neither Euro-Caribbeans nor enslaved workers. In 1765, the country bailiff Weyle bought the plantation and the following year he sold it to a free African-Caribbean man named Christian Sort. Christian Sort lived on the plantation from 1766 until his death on February 7, 1772.<sup>64</sup> During his ownership, the records state that there also lived a woman on the plantation. She was most likely his wife, since according to the church records Christian Sort married an African-Caribbean woman called Christina Bille on August 30, 1747. In the records, Christian Sort is referred to as “*A free Negro*”.<sup>65</sup> At his death in 1772, the plantation is listed as being owned by “*Sinclair and Jameson*”. The following year Christian Sort’s widow owned the plantation again and she kept the ownership until 1776, when Doctor Grainger bought it.

#### *The Horan plantation*

In 1759-1764, an additional quarter is listed in the land tax records, which is called “*Bruuns Bay*”<sup>66</sup>, and beside the above mentioned plantations is also a planter listed whose name is James Horan. As mentioned previously, it was not possible to locate this plantation plot earlier than 1755. James Horan owned the plantation from at least 1755 and until his death in 1766, that year the owner is listed as James Horan’s widow. Her first name was Susanna.<sup>67</sup>

In 1770, the plantation was divided into two equal sized plantations and the widow Susanna owned one of these until 1773 when it was sold to Thomas Smith. The other half of the plantation is interesting because later this half merged into the Browns bay plantation. This half was bought by Walter Schoy and the records state that he lived with his wife on the plantation. However, in 1773 Walter Schoy probably died because “*Walter Schoy’s widow*” is listed as being the “*new*” owner of the plantation. In 1776, Walter Schoy’s widow sold the plantation to Issac Nowell. Isaac Nowell lived on the plantation alone except during 1788-1780, where the records state that both a Euro-Caribbean man and woman lived on the plantation. In the archival material, we were able to find the legal documents drafted during the administration of the deceased Issac Nowell’s estate. The legal documents date to 1784 and according to them the plantation consisted of “*a dwelling house, two negro houses and one old store house*.”<sup>68</sup> Apart from a specification of the state of the plantations on St. John made after the slave rebellion and several legal documents relating to the deceased William Brown, this is the only

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<sup>64</sup> KDV 1-775-2:Lak 5-1407 Burials February 7<sup>th</sup>, 1772

<sup>65</sup> RRVR 571:83.2 and RRVR 571:83.1.

<sup>66</sup> Translate into Browns Bay

<sup>67</sup> RRVR 571:83.2

<sup>68</sup> STSJG 712:35.37.2

information we were able to find in the archive concerning the buildings on the plantations in Brown Bay.

In 1784, the Horan plantation was bought by John Shatford Jones together with the Stell/Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation.<sup>69</sup>

*The Brownsbay plantation*

In 1801, the land tax record states that William Brown owned the Brown bay plantation, but even though the name of the plantation is Browns bay, William Brown was not the founder of the plantation conglomeration. The Brownsbay plantation was founded by John Shatford Jones who has been described as a “savvy New York business man and entrepreneur.”<sup>70</sup> The plantation consisted of the above mentioned plantations. Even though Jones founded the Brownsbay plantation he only owned it for three years (1784-1786). The plantation was then owned for two years by a man named William Johnston. In 1789, the plantation was then bought by William Brown and he lived at the plantation with his family until the end of the time frame of this report.

The Brownsbay plantation is different from the other former plantations in the area. While the other plantations cultivated cotton, the Brownsbay plantation started producing sugar around 1792.<sup>71</sup>

Year <sup>72</sup>	Owners listed in the records	<i>Euro-Caribbean living on the plantation</i>			
		<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
1789	William Brown & sons	2	-	-	-
1790	William Brown & son	1	1	1	-
1791	William Brown & sons	1	1	2	-
1792	William Brown & sons	1	1	2	-
1793	William Brown & sons	1	1	2	-
1794	William Brown & sons	1	1	2	1
1795	William Brown & sons	-	-	-	-
1796	William Turnbull	1	1	1	1
1797	William Brown & sons	1	1	1	1
1798	William Brown & sons	1	1	-	-
1799	William Brown & sons	1	1	1	1
1800	William Brown & sons	2	-	-	-

<sup>69</sup>RRVR 571:83.3

<sup>70</sup>Knight 2002 p. 22

<sup>71</sup>RRVR 571:83.4-83.9 & RRVR 571.83.10-83.15 & RRVR 751:83.16

<sup>72</sup>RRVR 571:83.4-83.9 & RRVR 571.83.10-83.15 & RRVR 751:83.16

1801	William Brown	1	1	-	-
1802	William Brown	1	1	-	-
1803	William Brown	-	1	-	-
1804	M. Brown & E. Bentzon	-	2	-	-
1805	Mary Brown & Esther Bentzon	-	2	-	-
1806	No records available				
1807	Mr. Dogharty	-	-	-	-

Figure 5: The Brown family listed in the records as living on the plantation 1789-1807.

The land tax records contain some inconsistency (Figure 5) regarding the owners and their families living on the plantation during the Brown family ownership. William Brown was married to Mary Brown. We were able to identify two of their children in the archival material, a boy and a girl, but according to the land tax records Brown lived on the estate with his two sons, yet no record of the other son is found. The couple had a son named William Brown Junior, who was married to a woman named Rebecca. In the will after William Brown, dated March 1, 1804, Rebecca is referred to as “*The widow Rebecca Brown*”.<sup>73</sup> This could indicate that the son William Brown is dead at the time, but the exact date is not known. The other child was a daughter named Esther Bentzon, ne Brown. According to the records, she lived together with her mother on the plantation after her father’s death in 1803. Esther Bentzon had been married to Poul Voigt Bentzon and had a son named Jacob William who was baptized April 3, 1791, but he must be presumed dead since nothing more is heard of him.<sup>74</sup> William Brown’s heirs tried to sell the plantation in 1804 when they put it up for auction, but it was not until 1807 that two new owners appeared named Martin Dogherty and Richard Finch. In the archive we found two wills that appear to show that Mary Brown married Martin Dogherty and that the daughter Esther married Richard Finch.<sup>75</sup>

It is an unusual coincidence that the first and the last plantation owner in the time frame of this report, Jan Bruyn and William Brown, both have surnames that mean brown. From 1718 until 1789, the area was most likely named after the first planter Jan Bruyn. After William Brown bought the land the place name changed to Brownsbay. To view a complete outline of the ownership in Brown Bay from 1728 to 1807, please see Appendix 1

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<sup>73</sup> STSJG 712:35.38.1

<sup>74</sup> Ryberg, Hugo: “A list of names of the inhabitants of the Danish West Indian Islands from 1650- ca. 1825”, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1945, see the name “Poul Voigt Bentzon”; KDV 1-775-2: Lak 5-1413 Baptism Marts 4<sup>th</sup>, 1791

<sup>75</sup> STSJG 712:35.38.1 page 97 and 93; STSJG 712.35.42.2

### 2.3. Brown Bay investigated archaeologically

During a four week internship with the National Park Service in the Virgin Islands on St. John in May 2009 one of the goals was to locate the plantation ruins on the three plantation plots in Brown Bay. The archival materials provide an idea of the location of the plantation plots and the ownership throughout the eighteenth century. However, determining where the plantation buildings were located on the plots and when the buildings were occupied was one of the project goals. To find dateable material, generally meaning ceramic material but also dateable bottle fragments, clay pipe pieces, and other personal items we used two archaeological techniques: surface collection and archaeological excavation.

In addition to the already known ruins by the beach of Brown Bay that date to the late eighteenth century, it was possible through historical knowledge from the archives combined with archaeological investigations, to find evidence of habitation on the Stell plantation and on what we believe was the Hendrichsen plantation.

#### *The Stell plantation*

If one visits Brown Bay today, the ruins of the Brownsbay plantation are visible near the west side of the beach. The ruins are situated on the land that was part of the plantation plot named the Stell plantation. The 1804 probate of William Brown makes an inventory of the plantation that shows a large building complex with a dwelling house, a boiling house, a smoke house, a distillery and a basement with built-in sugar kettles. On the estate was also a horse mill, a privy, an old dwelling house on the hillside and 24 “Negro houses.”<sup>76</sup>

The dwelling house on the hillside is also mentioned in the travel journal of Cuthbert Powell. Powell writes that on February 13, 1797 he visited William Brown and his wife and dined in the Brown’s dwelling house, which was situated on top of a high hill above the sugar house.<sup>77</sup> On the hill west of the seashore, above the already known ruins of Brown’s sugar factory we found evidence of what probably is the so called old dwelling house. The foundation of the house measures 6.68 x 11 meters. To date the building, two shovel tests were excavated at the north wall (unit 1) and at the west wall (unit 2). Artifacts were not recovered from the shovel test on the north wall, but at the west wall four potsherds were found.

Through analysis of the ceramics and other temporal diagnostic artifacts, it is possible to estimate when a building was built and occupied. Part of an historic ceramic analysis entails defining each ceramic’s date of manufacture to estimate the occupation period of a site. It is also important to note the presence and or absence of key ceramic types that rapidly flooded the ceramic markets. When one employs this method, it is also important to keep

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<sup>76</sup> Powell, Cuthbert: “Journal of Cuthbert Powell”. In: *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Vol. 13. No. 1 (Jul., 1904) p. 60; STSJG 712:35.42.2

<sup>77</sup> Powell 1904 p. 60

in mind that the owner of the ceramic could have used it after the end date of manufacture e.g. he/she could have bought an old piece of pottery or saved it. Furthermore, if the ceramic material was recovered from the surface it is possible that they have moved from their original deposit by other forces such as erosion and later occupants. Even though the date of manufacture analysis contains some uncertainties it is the best method to estimate when a historic site was occupied.

<i>VIIS 329 "Van Stell" Unit 2 (Shovel test at the west wall of the "old dwelling house")</i>			
<i># FS</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date Range</i>
16.1	Unit 2, level 1	Creamware	1762-1820
16.2	Unit 2 level 1	Moravian	1750-1825
17.1	Unit 2, level 2	Creamware or UID shell edged?	
17.2	Unit 2, level 2	Moravian	1750-1825

Figure 6 shows four potsherds that were recovered by the shovel test at the west wall.

The date ranges of the potsherds found in the west wall shovel test have a temporal range of 1762-1825, indicating that the building was probably built and occupied within this time frame. This means that the building could have been built by Jens Rasmussen (1758-1773) or doctor Grainger (1774-1783) and later inhabited by William Brown and his family. Interestingly, two pieces of Moravian pottery were found and as Rasmussen is known to have been very engaged with the Moravian mission this could perhaps mean that Jens Rasmussen built the "old dwelling house" first and lived there.

By carrying out a surface collection down the northeast slope between the old dwelling house and the sea, 44 ceramics with a date range 1675 to present (some ceramic types have remained in production) were found within a shallow midden deposit.<sup>78</sup> Having identified the location of plantation plots in Brown Bay along with the information obtained from the archival sources, it is clear that the flat land on this hillside where the old dwelling house is situated was owned and inhabited by the family van Stell in the 1720s and 1730s. After the death of Gabriel van Stell Jr's family in 1733, the land lay uncultivated until it was sold in the 1750s.<sup>79</sup> This information makes nine (see Figure 7) of the 44 ceramics particularly interesting, because their date range covers the 1720s and 1730s.

<i># FS</i>	<i>Location (Viis 329)</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Date Range</i>

<sup>78</sup> See Appendix 8 for a full outline of collected artifacts on Stell VIIS 329

<sup>79</sup> VGK 446:750; 44:751-53;RRVR 571:83.1

1.6, 2.2, 3.2, 5.4, 18.8	Surface collection on the north slope	Underglazed blue porce- lain	1660- 1880
2.4 2.5, 3.8, 18.4, 18.1 0	-  -	North Staffordshire slip- ware	1675- 1740
2.7	-  -	Porcelain, Ching	1644- 1912
2.9	-  -	Delft, rim lining	1729- 1793
2.15, 3.9		Delft	1600- 1802
2.16, 4.5, 5.5	-  -	White salt glazed stone- ware	1720- 1770
3.6, 4.6	-  -	Black lead glazed coarse earthenware	1700- 1770

Figure 7 Illustrating artifacts collected at VIIS 329 “van Stell”.

These seven ceramic types, of which several of each type was recovered, could be evidence of the family van Stell living on the hill above the Brown Bay factory ruins. However, the date ranges of many of them could just as well have been owned by Jens Rasmussen and his wife. However, Ken Wild notes that investigations of several historic sites on St. John, documented as having been inhabited soon after 1718 and then abandoned in the mid eighteenth century, produce identical ceramic assemblages specifically; delft, white salt-glazed stoneware, black lead-glazed earthenware, fulham brown salt glazed wares, porcelains, and most specially North Staffordshire slipwares, of which many were recovered. A number of archaeological investigations, on St. John have demonstrated that historic estates of this size, with an occupancy range into the nineteenth century increased in population and wealth. As a result the ceramic percentage ratio hardly, if at all, presents the early occupation that was present on the estate. Recent investigations in 2010 have demonstrated just how few artifacts there are on estates abandoned in the mid 1700s in comparison to sites such as the one at Brown Bay. At one early eighteenth century site only 25 sherds were found on the surface, if this same site had been occupied for the next 60 years, one has to wonder just how difficult it would be to find those same 25 sherds and discern the obscure eighteenth century structural remains found on this early site. Nonetheless, finding sherds that predate 1758 along with the historic

record is a good indication that the site was occupied as early as the date the family van Stell.

The old dwelling house was probably built in the same vicinity by Rasmussen and remained occupied up until the death of William Brown as the artifacts indicate. Additional investigations should be able to pinpoint the location of the early van Stell Jr. house site. Considering the landscape, the hilltop is an ideal place for a dwelling house with a view of the bay and neighboring plantations. In regard to this last assumption, it is relevant to remember a standard practice discovered through recent archaeological investigations on St. John, that of placing the main house at a location that insured a visual distance to a neighboring estate. In this pioneering setting where you depended on your friends, family and neighbors for help and protection, it was vital to be in visual contact. Wild and other Danish historians of this international intern program each year have found that this was accomplished by placing their house sites at similar elevations across the landscape where possible.<sup>80</sup>

Northwest of the sugar factory ruins is a rectangular cemetery with seven graves in different sizes without inscriptions. The cemetery is estimated by Frederik Gjessing to date from the early nineteenth century, but the various conditions and designs of the graves indicates that it was used as a burial ground throughout most of the nineteenth century.<sup>81</sup> In Brown's probate from 1804, it is mentioned that the probate administrator arrives on the day of William Brown's burial at the cemetery of the plantation.<sup>82</sup> It is very likely that this is the cemetery where William Brown was buried.

We carried out a surface collection at the cemetery, and 20 artifacts were collected, 14 of them were ceramics.<sup>83</sup> These ceramics date from 1718 to present, but the majorities of them have a date range from the 1770s to the first half of the nineteenth century. The ceramics in the cemetery area are most likely discards from the village of those enslaved that have eroded down slope. The slave village is located just above the cemetery on the south slope. Visible house remains consist of leveled platforms.

# FS	Location ( <i>vis</i> 329)	Type of artefact	Date range
7.1	Cemetery by the Brownsbay plantation	Porcelain	Unknown
7.2	-     -	Pearlware, plain	1780-1840
7.3	-     -	Pearlware, handpainted	1775-1840
7.4	-     -	Whiteware/Pearlware	Unknown

<sup>80</sup> Petersen & Thatt 2010 p. 40

<sup>81</sup> Ausherman 1982 p. 234

<sup>82</sup> STSJG 712:35.42.2

<sup>83</sup>The potsherds are shown in figure 8

7.5	-  -	Pearlware, scalloped blue	1780-1830
7.6	-  -	Pearlware, Blue banded annulare	1780-1830
7.7	-  -	Olive green glass fragments	Unknown
7.8	-  -	Stoneware, unglazed	Unknown
7.9	-  -	Glazed stoneware-UID-grey	Unknown
8.1	-  -	Iron stone	1840-1930
8.2	-  -	19 <sup>th</sup> ink ginger beer	1820-1900
9.1	-  -	Creamware	1762-1820
9.2	-  -	Pearlware, plain	1780-1840
9.3	-  -	Green shell edged	1800-1840
9.4	-  -	Pearlware-polychrome, handpainted	1775-1840
9.5	-  -	Transfer print whiteware, embossed	1830-present
9.6	-  -	Lead glazed coarse earthenware	1490-1900
9.10	-  -	Pipe stem, Large bore diameter	Older
9.11	-  -	Pearlware, engine turned dipt	1785-1840
9.12	-  -	Shell	Unknown

Figure 8. Illustrating artifact collected at VIIS 322 “van Stell”, the cemetery.

Additional archeological testing was completed at the Brownsbay plantation. One of two historic structures that consist of square foundation remains was investigated. The structures are located south of the factory ruins just off the beach. Surface survey and shovel tests confirmed that these buildings were constructed in the nineteenth century and therefore outside the scope of this research project. However, material remains found suggest the structures were used as domestic housing and possibly by a site manger as ink bottles and ceramics indicated.

*The Hendrichsen plantation*

On the down-slope from what is currently called Base Hill, southeast of a gut, a ruin was discovered. The ruin is situated on the land that very likely belonged to the Hendrichsen plantation plot. A 50 X 50 centimeter subsurface plot. A 50 X 50 centimeter subsurface test and a surface collection were undertaken at the site. The subsurface test was carried out at the north wall of the building and a creamware sherd (1762-1820) was discovered together with some fragments of a cooking pot from the eighteenth century. As the next figure shows (Figure 9), not all of the structure’s walls were found above ground. We also found that the building was constructed on two different levels. The western wall measures 9.7 meters, and was the most intact, but the size of the three other walls would require archeological excavation to plot the entire foundation outline. Considering the size of the building, it was probably the main house or dwelling house.

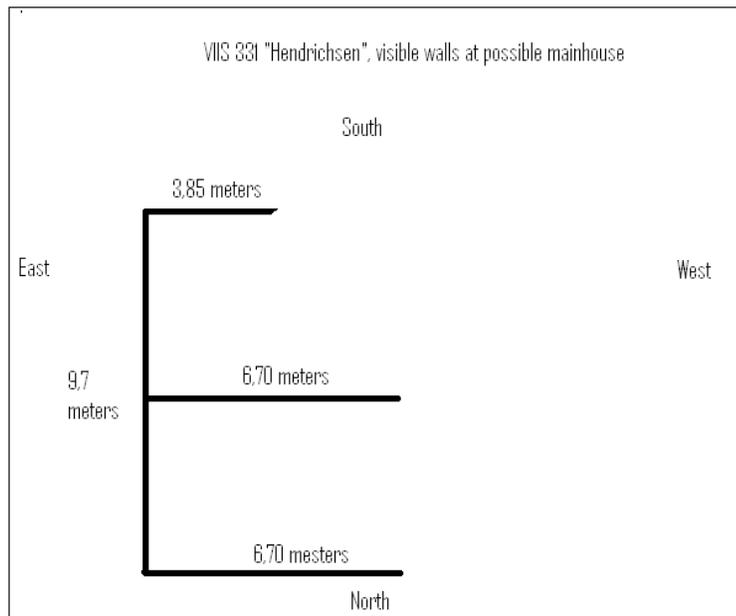


Figure 9: Illustrating visible walls at possible main house at “Hendrichsen”, VIIS 331.

A total of 81 artifacts were recovered and mapped using a Tremble GPS system in conjunction with Arch GIS. The majority of the materials recovered during surface reconnaissance were found in the area around the building; the northeast slope and at the northwest slope.

# FS	Location (VIIS 331)	Type of artifact	Date range
1.2		Kaolin clay tobacco pipe stem bore diameter 5/64	1720-1750
6.1	In/outside of main	Underglazed blue Chinese	1660-

	house	porcelain	1880
7.2	Northwest slope of buildings	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
7.3	-  -	Delft, purple polychrome	1600-1802
8.1	-  -	Delft, plain undecorated	1600-1802
8.3	-  -	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
8.4	-  -	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
8.5	-  -	Stoneware, white salt glazed	1720-1770
8.9	-  -	Stoneware, transitional white glaze with oxide detailing	1720-1730
8.12	-  -	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe stem bore diameter 5/64	1720-1750
9.1	Northwest slope	Delft, blue on white	1600-1802
9.2	-  -	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
9.3	-  -	Delft, undecorated plain	1600-1802
9.5	-  -	Fulham saltglazed stoneware	1690-1775
9.6	-  -	Porcelain ext. brown glaze	1740-1780
9,7	-  -	Agateware	1740-1775
9.9	-  -	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe stem bore diameter 5/64	1720-1750
10.5	Northwest slope	Rhenish stoneware	1650-1725
10.6	-  -	Delft, undecorated	1600-1802
10.7	-  -	North Staffordshire slipware	1670-1740
10.8	-  -	Delft, blue on white	1600-1802
10.9	-  -	North Devon gravel tempered ware	1650-1775
10.10	-  -	Underglazed blue Chinese Porcelain,	1660-1880

10.1 1	-  -	Porcelain ext. brown glaze	1740- 1780
10.1 2	-  -	Porcelain, Chinese Imari	1700- 1780
10.1 3	-  -	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660- 1880
11.1	Northwest slope	Underglazed blue Chinese Porcelain,	1660- 1880
11.2	-  -	Delft, polychrome painted	1600- 1802
11.3	-  -	Delft, blue on white	1600- 1802
11.4	-	Course Earthenware, yellow glazed - Charante Plain	18 <sup>th</sup> cent
15.1	Southwest wall of main house	Delft, blue on white	1600- 1802
16.1	Main bldg.	Redware, black lead glazed	1700- 1770
17.1	N, wall inside main house	Delft	1600- 1802
18.1	At SE corner of main house	Course earthenware, yellow lead glazed Saintonge	18 <sup>th</sup> cent.

Figure 10. Illustrating artifacts with an early date range collected at VIIS 331, “Hendrichsen”

The fact that this ruin is situated on the land that very likely belonged to the Hendrichsen plantation plot and that the majority of the ceramics date from the seventeenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century, suggests the possibility that both the Hendrichsen and Sort families could have resided here.

Further down slope near a rock overhang additional artifacts were recovered that included some nineteenth century ale bottle remains that are probably not associated with the occupation of the house remains investigated here. However, these objects have been cataloged under this park accession.

During the field investigation, ruins of the Bruyn plantation were not discovered. A surface reconnaissance was carried out on the hill east of the beach and a possible foundation of a building was noted, but due to the sparse time, this area was not further investigated. It would make sense if the buildings of the Bruyn plantation were placed on one of the hills across the bay because with such a position, one would have a good view of the bay and the neighboring van Stell plantation. However, the area needs to be investigated further to say anything more conclusive.

Additional ruins were also investigated that lie between the investigated ruin at the Hendrichsen plantation plot and the Brown Bay factory. These ruins were designated Brown Bay West by park historic architect Fred Gjessing. In this area are a cemetery and the remains of a great house and founda-

tion remains of outbuildings. Oxholm depicts the estate here on both his 1780 and 1800 map of the island. However, all cultural remains recovered during our investigation post dated 1800. This could be the remains of the James Horan estate but until further research is conducted this is purely speculative.

The results of the archaeological investigation clearly show that further archeological research is needed and we hope that the National Park Service will conduct such research in the future.

### 3. The importance of social relations and networks.

#### 3.1. Introduction: A new Society

The Danish West Indian society that emerged on St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix was very much a new society. As in many other colonies, the Caribbean islands became inhabited by people of primarily African or European descent. The creolization of these groups came to characterize the Caribbean society as it emerged with Euro-Caribbean colonialism.

The Danish West Indian society was new in the sense that the traditions and the organization of society did not have any direct bearings on the social order in the Danish West Indies. For example, people's social positions which controlled the relationship between the different groupings in European society and in Denmark, did not have any direct bearings on the social order in the Danish West Indies.<sup>84</sup> The eighteenth century Danish agricultural society was characterized by the social categories of nobility, clergy, citizens in towns (the middle class) and peasantry. Each of these social groups was kept at their traditional occupational and social position in society with the use of privileges and restrictions. The Danish West Indian was in this sense, very different. Here, the society came to consist of a group of African enslaved workers without legal rights and a group of Euro-Caribbeans who for the most part, recruited from the European middle class. Also, an intermediate type of class consisting of free African-Caribbeans came into existence during the time of the Danish rule. These free African-Caribbeans formed a class whose civil liberties were severely limited, and whose political rights were non-existent.<sup>85</sup>

Despite fundamental social differences in the Euro-Caribbean group, it was constituted by people from the European middle class and with an absence of nobility. A hierarchical classification developed among this group that divided people socially due to other circumstances, primarily economics, but also due to offices held. In this society, the opportunity for social advancement was on a much different scale than in Europe, where society was characterized by class and/or rank. One can infer that this must have been

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<sup>84</sup>Simonsen 2000, p. 2

<sup>85</sup>Hall, Neville: "Slave Society in the Danish West Indies". Edited by B.W. Higman. The University of the West Indies Press, 1994p. 139

attractive for certain immigrants from Europe.<sup>86</sup> Also, the enslaved worker who gained his/her freedom had an opportunity for social advancement, although it was within certain boundaries.

The life in the Danish West Indian was very harsh and not all Euro-Caribbeans made it – not to speak of the hardship endured by the enslaved African-Caribbeans. It seems clear that a person's social relations and network were essential for his/her success and social position in the West Indian society. This social network in many ways was a safety net in times of sickness and economic distress. In our archival research we believe we have found traces of different eighteenth century network connections in the Euro-Caribbean group of citizens and the traces of a freed African-Caribbean's network.

One of the more important relations in a personal network seems to have been the family. Family members could help each other during a time of need, and the family could work together to maintain or improve their social standing in society. One way to do this seems to have been through the extension of family connections by marriage. Having a good professional network that could maintain or further an individual's and their family's advancement in society also appears to have been important. However, this type of network seems to have been most important when it was intertwined with a family network, usually by marrying into the network of one's professional relations. Another type of social relation we have found is a religious network. Networks built upon a common faith often generated a feeling of solidarity between its members and established some form of fictive family relations.

The following sections examine some of the social relations that can be traced through the archival material of some of the Brown Bay planters and their families. The focus will be on the Euro-Caribbean family network of the Thoma and Krøyer Family who lived in Brown Bay from the earliest days until the slave revolt in 1733. The life of Jens Rasmussen and religious network of the Moravians, as well as the life and relations of the free African-Caribbean doctor and planter Christian Sort is also discussed.

### 3.2. The First Planters and their Families

As mentioned above, the Danish West Indies was a new society and Euro-Caribbeans had to shape their own social connections and standings in the Euro-Caribbean class of citizens. In 1731, the young couple Pieter Krøyer and Mariana Thoma were married and settled down in Brown Bay on St. John.<sup>87</sup> This section examines the family networks of Pieter Krøyer and Ma-

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<sup>86</sup>Sebro, Louise: "Kreolisering af eurocaribierne i Dansk Vestindien - sociale relationer og selvopfattelse." Udgivet af Dansk Historisk Fællesråd. In: *Fortid og Nutid*", juni 2005, hæfte 2. pp. 86-87

<sup>87</sup>VGK 446:750. The land tax records of 1731 states Pieter Krøyer married "Frøling's step-daughter." Pieter Frøling is at this time married to Mariana Thoma's mother

riana Thoma's families, and explores the ways in which their families created new social relations and standings through marriages and how it came to affect the lives of this couple. Furthermore, the role of professional networks and religion in relation to marriage is discussed.

Pieter Krøyer was reared in a family with a mother and sister married to Danish officials. It appears that these women built and maintained their family's position and networks among some of the more prominent citizens in the Danish West Indies through their marriages. Pieter Krøyer was born on St. Thomas in 1708 as the second child of Barbara Pedersdatter Didrichs and Hans Krøyer.<sup>88</sup> However, Pieter Krøyer lost his father in 1715 and his mother quickly remarried again in 1716 with the Company's Danish Secretary Philip Gardelin.<sup>89,90</sup> This marriage was his mother's third marriage. Her first marriage had been with the company's bookkeeper and merchant Thomas Swain.<sup>91</sup> From this marriage, she had one surviving daughter Birgitte Swain.<sup>92</sup> Just as her mother, Birgitte Swain later married several Danish officials. Her second marriage was in 1726 with Johannes Reimert Soetman.<sup>93</sup> He had come from Denmark to the West Indies as a soldier and from there, advanced to assistant in the Danish administration.<sup>94</sup> His marriage to Birgitte Swain only seems to have furthered his career. By request from his new father-in-law Gardelin, he became the interim town bailiff on St. John in the spring of 1727.<sup>95</sup>

These marriages heavily affected Pieter Krøyer's life and career. He was just 19 years old in September 29, 1727 when he was appointed second assistant ("under assistant") and copyist for his stepfather Philip Gardelin and the Company's Secretary.<sup>96</sup> In 1731, Gardelin "sold" his plantation in Coral Bay, St. John, to Pieter Krøyer and his brother Johannes Krøyer, securing them status as planters.<sup>97</sup> On October 24, 1733, only a month before Pieter Krøyer was killed in Brown Bay, his stepfather, the Governor, appointed

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<sup>88</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1399 Baptisms, Jan. 5th, 1708 (home baptism) & Jan. 29th, 1708 (church baptism)

<sup>89</sup> Appointed Head bookkeeper on St. Thomas and Vice-commander on St. John from Nov 21<sup>st</sup>, 1724 (VGK 446:22-23 Nov. 21<sup>st</sup>, 1724). From 1733-36, appointed Governor (Bro-Jørgensen, J.O: "Dansk Vestindien indtil 1755 – kolonisation og kompagnistyre." Vol.1. In: *Vore gamle tropekolonier*. Johannes Brøndsted (ed.). Fremad, Denmark, 1966 p. 215;266)

<sup>90</sup> Hans Krøyer appears to have died a. 1715 due to the fact that the land tax records of St. Thomas, 1709 to 1715/16 list him as the owner of a house, whereas the land tax list of 1716/17 states that the widow of Hans Krøyer is now married to Philip Gardelin (VGK 446:731-2). Also, the new couple appears in the church book as godparents Aug. 16<sup>th</sup>, 1716. The text reads: "Philip Gardelin and wife Barbara Pedersdatter, the late Hans Krøyer's surviving widow". (KDV 1-775-1:Lak 5-1400 Baptism, Aug. 16th, 1716)

<sup>91</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1399 Marriages, Dec. 20th, 1703

<sup>92</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1399 Baptisms, April 24<sup>th</sup>, 1703

<sup>93</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1400 Marriages, May 9th, 1726

<sup>94</sup> Larsen, Leif Calundann: "Den danske kolonisation af St. Jan 1718-1733", Speciale, Københavns Universitet, institut for historie, januar 1980, p. 86

<sup>95</sup> VGK 446:516 May 24<sup>th</sup>, 1727

<sup>96</sup> VGK 446:516 Sep. 29<sup>th</sup>, 1727

<sup>97</sup> VGK 446:750. Johannes bought out Pieter the same year. The reason properly being Pieter had married Mariana Thoma, and thereby having secured a plantation for himself in Brown Bay

Pieter Krøyer as attorney and administrator of deceased person's estates on St. John under the jurisdiction of his brother-in-law Soetman.<sup>98</sup>

The above mentioned marriages successfully illustrate a strategy of building network relations and social position in this society through marrying into professional relations or colleagues' families, thereby creating a combined family and professional network. Furthermore, these examples of marriages show how much just one family member's marriage could benefit the entire family. It also shows newcomers to this society, e.g. Soetman, could benefit from marrying into a strong family network. Pieter Krøyer's mother and sister must have become attractive marriage partners, not only because of their property, but also because these women could provide their husbands with a strong social network that could further these men's careers. While at the same time their husbands through their profession, could build up and maintain a women's and her family's social networks and their social standing in society.

Pieter Krøyer came from a family of people who were connected to the Danish administration. Being Danish, they all belonged to the Danish Lutheran Church. Unlike his mother and sister, he married out of faith to Mariana Thoma who appears to have belonged to the Reformed Church, just as her mother Mariana Thoma and her sister Elisabeth.<sup>99</sup> The Euro-Caribbeans in the Danish West Indies were of many different origins such as Danish, Dutch, French and English.<sup>100</sup> Accordingly, Lutherans, Reformed, Anglicans, Moravians, Catholics and Jews lived side by side. Compared to Denmark and Europe at this time, the Danish West Indies seem to have had a much unbiased way of accepting religious affiliations.<sup>101</sup> In the archival material, partnership between two people of a different faith as the Lutheran, Pieter Krøyer and Reformed Mariana Thoma was actually not uncommon. This indicates that other concerns were more important than religious affiliation in the choice of husband or wife. For example, many of the more prominent company officers married into wealthy Dutch Reformed planter families.<sup>102</sup>

Just as Pieter Krøyer's mother, Mariana Thoma's mother, (also named Mariana Thoma) was married several times, she too appears to have maintained and extended the family network through her marriages. Her third marriage was with Danish Lieutenant Pieter Frøling.<sup>103</sup> This marriage seems to have connected the Thoma women with the more powerful group of Danish officials. Right after her and Frøling's marriage, the couple begins to appear as godparents in the Lutheran church for the children of Frøling's

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<sup>98</sup> VGK 446:516 Oct. 24<sup>th</sup>, 1733

<sup>99</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1400 Marriages July 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1724 + Baptism Jan. 4<sup>th</sup>, 1728 + Baptism May 8<sup>th</sup>, 1728; KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401 Baptism May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1733

<sup>100</sup> Simonsen 2000, p. 35

<sup>101</sup> Vibæk, Jens: "Dansk Vestindien 1755-1848 – Vestindiens Storhedstid". Vol.2. In: *Vore gamle tropekolonier*. Johannes Bronsted (ed.) Fremad, Denmark, 1966, p. 191; 208.

<sup>102</sup> For example the governors: Heins, Lorentz, Claus Hansen, Joachim von Holten (Bro-Jørgensen 1966, p. 172)

<sup>103</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1400 Marriages, Aug. 5<sup>th</sup>, 1727

colleagues and their families. In 1729, was the home christening of the son of Birgitte Swain and Johannes Soetman. Birgitte Swain was sister to Pieter Krøyer. Mariana Thoma, i.e. Mrs. Frøling, carried the child as a stand in for the governor's wife Mrs. Moth. In 1730, when she and Pieter Frøling's daughter was baptized; Philip Gardelin was one of the godparents.<sup>104</sup> It is very likely that through the mother's marriage to Frøling, her daughter Mariana Thoma somehow came to be introduced to Pieter Krøyer, whom she then married in 1731.

It should be noted that the young Mariana Thoma's marriage to Pieter Krøyer was not only beneficial for her. The marriage also strengthened Frøling's (and his wife Mariana's) social connections and position since the marriage of his stepdaughter to the governor's stepson created a strong combined family and professional network for him and his family. The same can be said of Pieter Krøyer, who by marrying the stepdaughter of a colleague, also created an intertwined family and professional network. Pieter Krøyer also married into land, because through this marriage he secured himself the Bryun Plantation in Brown Bay on St. John. Furthermore, he and Mariana came to have the help and security of close relatives living near them because their neighbor to the east was planter, Pierre Castan who married Elisabeth Thoma in 1724. In a society – especially on the newly colonized island of St. John - where sickness, accidents, economy and security in general was a great challenge; allies and friends close by could mean everything. Nonetheless, all their networks did not help Mariana Thoma and Pieter Krøyer in the slave rebellion of 1733.

### 3.3. Jens Rasmussen and the Moravians

Jens Rasmussen was the owner of The Stell plantation in Brown Bay from 1758 until his death in 1772.<sup>105</sup> According to the missionary Oldendorp, Rasmussen originated from Jutland, Denmark, and came to St. Thomas during the 1730s.<sup>106</sup> As other new colonists arrived to the Danish West Indies, he had to build up his own social relations and networks in this society. An important network for Rasmussen appears to have become the Moravians, a religious missionary group who had come to St. Thomas in 1732 to preach the gospel to the “heathen” enslaved African-Caribbean population.<sup>107</sup>

A great deal of our knowledge about Rasmussen's life and his relations with the Moravians is derived from the detailed account of the Moravian missionary, Oldendorp, who visited the Danish West Indies in 1767-1768. Oldendorp writes that he met Rasmussen personally at his house in Brown Bay.<sup>108</sup> Still, one must always bear in mind that this information is Oldendorp's interpretation and that here, as in all other sources; there is the danger

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<sup>104</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401

<sup>105</sup> RRVR 571:83.1; 571:83.2; 571:83.3

<sup>106</sup> Oldendorp 2000, pp. 337-8 [377]

<sup>107</sup> Ramløv, Preben: “Brødrene og slaverne: Et blad af Dansk Vestindiens historie”. *Kristligt Dagblad*, 1968, p. 73

<sup>108</sup> Oldendorp 2000, p. 1733 [N98]

of misinformation. Also, the information could partially be to the benefit of the Moravians, since Oldendorp's task was to write the history of the Moravian mission from the view of the Moravians. Furthermore, Oldendorp focuses on Rasmussen's relations to the Moravians and it seems probable that Rasmussen had other relations.

Oldendorp writes that Rasmussen began to participate in the Moravian meetings on St. Thomas together with other interested Euro-Caribbeans who were as Rasmussen in the service of governor Moth. However, when the others stopped attending, Rasmussen continued to attend the meetings and listen to the missionary Friedrich Martin speak. As time went by, he became more acquainted with the Moravians.<sup>109</sup> From this account, it appears that Rasmussen became connected with the Moravians after missionary Martin had arrived at the mission in 1736.<sup>110</sup> One can only speculate why Rasmussen became attached to the Moravians. Besides a religious belief in their cause, part of the reason could have been his situation. At the time of his attachment to the Moravians, Rasmussen is said to have worked for the governor. Perhaps Rasmussen was one of the poor Danes who at this time came to the Danish West Indies on a contract with the West Indian-Guinean Company to work as an indentured servant, which lasted on average 3 to 6 years. The strongest of these men became soldiers, while others went to the plantations where they worked on almost the same conditions as the enslaved workers. Many of these men had been craftsmen in Denmark and it is worth noticing that Oldendorp often refers to Rasmussen's carpentry skills. For example, Rasmussen repaired and built mills on St. John.<sup>111</sup> As a poor Euro-Caribbean without connections or people to help him in times of need, Rasmussen may very well have found a security net within the Moravian mission.

In 1738, missionary Martin married a Moravian brother to a free African-Caribbean woman, which provoked many Euro-Caribbeans. A case was made against Martin and for a period he was imprisoned.<sup>112</sup> At the time of his imprisonment, Rasmussen is reported to have gone into the service of Johann Lorentz Carstens, who was one of the most distinguished planters on St. Thomas, who had been helping the Moravians since the first missionaries had arrived.<sup>113</sup> This could explain Rasmussen's change of employment. If so, it seems that Rasmussen's contact with the Moravians came to mark his employments, starting with Carstens.

In early 1739, count von Zinzendorf, who can be said to be the founder of the modern Moravian Church, arrived in the Danish West Indies and got Martin out of prison.<sup>114</sup> Very soon thereafter, Rasmussen accompanied the

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<sup>109</sup> Oldendorp 2000, pp.337-8 [377] and [378]

<sup>110</sup> Ramløv 1968, p. 135

<sup>111</sup> Sebro 2005, p. 89, 91; Oldendorp 2000, pp. 592-93 [662], 593-94 [663]

<sup>112</sup>Ramløv 1968, pp. 138-141

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. p. 73

<sup>114</sup>Ibid. p. 142

count back to Europe as his servant.<sup>115</sup> However, while stopping over in Amsterdam, Rasmussen is reported to have been hired by the merchant Nicolas Tonis as an overseer for his plantation on St. John. Rasmussen then returned to St. Thomas in April 1741. After staying a few weeks at the Moravian's mission station doing some construction work for them, he went to St. John and assumed his post at Tonis' plantation.<sup>116</sup> The land tax records of 1755-1759 state that a Nicolay Tonis, who lived in Amsterdam, owned a plantation on St. John with an average of 54 enslaved workers during these years.<sup>117</sup> According to Oldendorp, Tonis was kindly disposed to the Moravian effort in converting the African-Caribbeans to the Christian faith. It is likely that Rasmussen took the job as overseer with the hope of spreading the Moravian mission to St. John, because according to Oldendorp, Rasmussen began to preach for Tonis' enslaved workers, while waiting for missionaries to arrive at the plantation.<sup>118</sup>

In the beginning of the Moravian mission in the Danish West Indies, the Moravians were met with distrust from several Euro-Caribbeans. They did not approve of mission among the enslaved African-Caribbeans because they feared it would lead to the fall of the prevailing social order. However, the Moravians never went against the social order in which they operated even though they did not always feel themselves bound by the conventions of a slave society. This caused some problems as in the case of the marriage between the Moravian brother and a free African-Caribbean woman.<sup>119</sup> According to Oldendorp, Rasmussen's preaching of the gospel and the subsequent arrival of Moravian missionaries on St. John also produced problems but perhaps they were not as severe as Oldendorp wrote. Even though various Euro-Caribbeans on St. John were opposed to Rasmussen's endeavors and wished to stop his meetings, the burgher captain Mr. Jan de Wint interfered and prevented this from happening.<sup>120</sup> The Moravians seem to have been supported by some Euro-Caribbeans, while others were afraid of the consequences of the Moravians preaching to the African-Caribbeans. For example, one night in 1743, a group of drunken Euro-Caribbean men (overseers?) came to Tonis' plantation and made threats.<sup>121</sup> During the following year, a missionary who had been severely beaten by an overseer from another plantation was brought to Rasmussen. Supposedly, Rasmussen wanted to go to court regarding this matter, but the overseer threatened to shoot him if he went to court. Nothing more is reported about the incident.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> Oldendorp 2000, p. 360 [405]

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.* p. 470 [527]

<sup>117</sup> RRVR 571:83.1. According to the land tax records 1755-1801, this plantation plot (2500 foot in width) later on became part of the larger L'esperance plantation (4000 foot in width).

<sup>118</sup> Oldendorp 2000, p. 470 [527]

<sup>119</sup> Hall 1994 p. 46; 192

<sup>120</sup> Oldendorp 2000, p. 471 [528]

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 548-49 [611]

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.* p. 587 [656]

In the beginning it seems that Rasmussen may have had some problems with some of the other overseers, yet it also appears that Rasmussen's relation to the Moravians was not without problems. Oldendorp only touches upon this matter, but writes that by 1744, Rasmussen had changed. According to Oldendorp, Rasmussen did not have the strength to resist the "*usual sins*" of the islands and therefore the Moravians could not go along with him and his actions.<sup>123</sup> Regrettably, this is the only information about the quarrel between Rasmussen and the Moravians offered by Oldendorp. The Moravians continued to assemble in Rasmussen's house and Rasmussen is reported to have continued to be a friend of the Moravians.<sup>124</sup>

In 1746, while still working for Tonis, Rasmussen is reported to have bought his own small plantation named Jinnegoot. The reason for its name was that a stream called Jinnegoot went through the plantation plot.<sup>125</sup> His plan was that it should come to house Moravian sisters, but by 1749 no proper house seems to have been built yet. During this time Rasmussen is reported to have bought another plantation very close to Great Cruz Bay, St. John.<sup>126</sup> The Moravians who now contemplated a more permanent mission on St. John purchased this plantation from Jens Rasmussen in the month of June 1749, and named it Bethany.<sup>127</sup> In 1755, Rasmussen undertook the construction of the church on Bethany and had timbers cut on his plantation in Waterlemon Bay<sup>128</sup> for its construction.<sup>129</sup> The work was put on hold over the summer and fall of 1758, due to Rasmussen being hit by illness.<sup>130</sup> Several of the African-Caribbeans attached to the mission came and helped Rasmussen and his family as they had done before in 1756 when he had also been very ill.<sup>131</sup> On July 10<sup>th</sup> 1759, for the first time, worship was held at the church at Bethany.<sup>132</sup>

At some point before 1754 Rasmussen married, yet regrettably, it is not known when. In late November 1754, Oldendorp mentions a wife and small child.<sup>133</sup> However, this child must have died while very young because by Rasmussen's death in early 1772, a probate mentions his four children named Johannes, Nathaniel, David and Juditha.<sup>134</sup> From the church book, it is known that Johannes was baptized in January 1758 and thus cannot be the child mentioned in 1754.<sup>135</sup> Since Johannes is mentioned before the rest of Rasmussen's children in the probate, he is likely to be the eldest.

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<sup>123</sup>Ibid. p. 585 [653]

<sup>124</sup> Ibid.p. 585 [654]

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. p. 665 [740]

<sup>126</sup> Today named Cruz Bay

<sup>127</sup> Oldendorp 2000, p. 806 [889]

<sup>128</sup> Today named Leinster Bay

<sup>129</sup> Oldendorp 2000, p. 1186 [1318]

<sup>130</sup> Ibid. p.1398 [1581]

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. pp. 1246-47 [1392]; pp.1247-48 [1393]

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. p. 1484 [1680]

<sup>133</sup>Ibid. p. 1105 [1222]

<sup>134</sup> STSJG 712:35.40.7 Feb. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1772

<sup>135</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1402 Baptisms, Jan. 1758

According to Oldendorp, by 1751, Rasmussen was not working for Tonis anymore, but living on his own plantation, yet which plantation this was is not certain.<sup>136</sup> It could be that he already owned the plantation in Waterlemon Bay. However, because of the lack of land tax records between 1740 and 1754, it is only possible to see that he owned a plantation situated near Waterlemon Bay in 1755.<sup>137</sup> In 1758, Rasmussen bought the Stell plantation in Brown Bay which he kept until his death in the beginning of the year 1772.<sup>138</sup> His Waterlemon Bay plantation went into other hands for three years between 1755 and 1760, and was then definitely sold in 1764.<sup>139</sup>

Rasmussen's close relation to the Moravians also becomes evident at the baptism of his son, Johannes. Where many others typical had family members, colleagues and close neighbors as godparents to their children (many times these being the same persons), Jens Rasmussen chose the missionary couple stationed at Bethany, Mr. and Mrs. Brucker, and a Mr. Magens.<sup>140</sup> The latter is mentioned by Oldendorp as a good friend of the Moravians, and he is also known to be the author of more than one religious book for the teaching in the African-Caribbean community.<sup>141</sup>

The Moravians can be said to have constituted a little community in the greater community. They did not merely support Rasmussen in religious matters, but were just as much a family with its mutual dependencies. Just as Rasmussen helped the Moravians as shown in the many examples above, the Moravians appears to have helped Rasmussen in difficult situations e.g. helping him in sickness. However, the relationship was not without problems, but just as the Moravians may have given Rasmussen trouble at times, they also provided him with religious comfort, friendship, connections, and they seem to have been the driving force behind many of his employments.

### 3.4 Christian Sort, a Free African-Caribbean

The life of Christian Sort is very unusual. He was part of the intermediate group of non-European free persons. Christian Sort (?-1772) lived on St. John in the middle of the eighteenth century, where he was connected to both the Euro-Caribbean class and the African-Caribbean class. He experienced the life of an enslaved worker, a doctor, a free African-Caribbean and a plantation owner.

Christian Sort lived in a plantation society based on slavery where the inhabitants were divided into different categories. Through regulations and laws, the Euro-Caribbean officials tried to create unambiguous visual identifiable categories that enabled them to control both the African-Caribbean and the Euro-Caribbean inhabitants. The categorization of the inhabitants

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<sup>136</sup> Oldendorp 2000 p. 922 [1013]

<sup>137</sup> RRVR 571:83.1

<sup>138</sup> RRVR 571:83.1 + 571:83.2 + 571:83.3

<sup>139</sup> RRVR 571:83.1 + 571:83.2

<sup>140</sup> KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1402 Baptisms, Jan. 1758

<sup>141</sup> Vibæk 1966 pp. 198-200

was regarded as being an important part of sustaining the order on the islands. At the end of eighteenth century, the administration began to use different methods in order to make such a separation. The purpose was to maintain the Africa-Caribbean in a lower position and the Euro-Caribbean in a higher.<sup>142</sup> In theory, such categories and its regulations would make the plantation society a static one where social mobility was almost impossible. In practice however, Christian Sort is evidence to the contrary, even though his life story was very unusual. Christian Sort was part of the class of Free African-Caribbeans, a class that disturbed the picture of a society divided by race.<sup>143</sup> The Free African-Caribbeans were a class created by the Euro-Caribbeans that contained former enslaved workers who had been manumitted. From 1733 to 1834, over 40 ordinances were issued to keep the Euro-Caribbean, the free African-Caribbean and the enslaved workers as separated as possible.<sup>144</sup>

Through our research we have been able to reconstruct the life of Christian Sort. The first time we have found him mentioned in the archival documents is in 1747. Then Christian Sort lived and worked as an enslaved African on the West Indian and Guinean Company's plantation, Carolina in Coral Bay, St. John. In an inventory of the Carolina plantation, a man named Christian is listed under "*Negro men*"<sup>145</sup> and has a value of 500 rld.<sup>146</sup> None of the other enslaved individuals listed in the inventory have such a high value. The Bomba does not even possess that status.<sup>147</sup> This individual is most likely Christian Sort.

Within this source, he is not mentioned by his surname, but only referred to as Christian. It was standard practice that enslaved workers did not have surnames. When an enslaved worker was manumitted he or she had to take a surname, which was often the surname of one's former owner. Since Christian's former owner was the king, this option was not available because the word "konger", i.e. King is not a surname in Danish as King is in English. Instead Christian got the surname Sort which means black in Danish. Perhaps because of his skin color?

In the land tax record of 1755, he is described as the king's "barber Neeger", i.e. Negro barber, and in the application for his manumission in 1763; he is described as being the king's "balbermester" since his youth.<sup>148</sup> Balbermester is a form of the old Danish word, barbermester, i.e. barber master. Christian Sort was thus a barber-surgeon; one who had learned to practice medicine as a craft through an apprenticeship.

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<sup>142</sup>Simonsen 2000, p. 69

<sup>143</sup>Sebro 2005, p. 91

<sup>144</sup>Rezende 1997, p. 5

<sup>145</sup>VGK 466:526 August 2nd 1747, "Kompagniets estat på St. Jan, en sukkerplantage beliggende i Coralbaj"

<sup>146</sup>"Rigsdaler" translates to Rix-dollars, a Danish monetary unit which was used, amongst other units, in the Danish West Indies at the time.

<sup>147</sup>A Bomba was an enslaved overseer of all the enslaved field workers

<sup>148</sup>RRVR 571:83.1; GTK 365.1

In February 1747, Christian Sort married an African-Caribbean woman named Christiana Bille. Christiana's surname Bille indicates that her former owner was a member of the Old Danish aristocratic lineage, the Bille family, who has existed since the thirteenth century in Denmark.<sup>149</sup> Christian Sort was part of the Lutheran congregation. The Lutheran church record shows that at the wedding of Christian and Christiana, many prominent Euro-Caribbean citizens were present. These individuals included the governor Suhm with Mrs. Aqinlia, the secretary's wife Mrs. Lindberg, and the civil army captain and wealthy planter, Johannes van Beverhoudt.<sup>150</sup>

In 1755, Christian Sort owned a plantation in Coral Bay with eight enslaved workers,<sup>151</sup> so it is likely that he also owned the plantation prior to that year, but because of the lacuna in the land tax records, it is not possible to confirm this. In 1755, Christian was still enslaved, so it is interesting that he possessed the rights of a free African-Caribbean before he was officially manumitted. The land tax record of 1762 is the first time he is referred to as a "*Free Negro*". This term was used by the officials to describe the free African-Caribbean population. The timing is interesting because the application for his manumission was not sent to Denmark until the following year because in theory, Christian was not free before the Danish king had approved the application.<sup>152</sup>

In the time of Christian Sort, there were three legal means for an African-Caribbean to gain his or her freedom. He or she could be freed by a master, purchase his or her own freedom or be born by a free mother.<sup>153</sup> Christian Sort was manumitted by his owner the king and the application reveals some of the reasons why he was freed. It was Governor-General Baron von Prøck who submitted the application. The text mentions that Christian Sort

*"...from his youth faithfully and diligent has attended and served at the royal estates on St. Thomas and St. John as master barber, and now on account of his old age and the infirmities of his body longs to live the rest of his remaining years in peacefulness, and therefore most humbly asks that he most graciously could be given his freedom,..."*<sup>154</sup>

But a more important clue to his manumission is revealed in the last sentence of the application:

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<sup>149</sup>Lundgreen-Nielsen, Flemming og Hanne Ruus (red.): "*Svøbt i mår: Danske folkevisekultur 1550-1700*", bd. 1 "Adelskultur og visebøger", København: C.A. Reitzels Forlag, 1999, p. 398

<sup>150</sup>KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401 Marriages, August 30th 1747

<sup>151</sup>RRVR 571:83.1

<sup>152</sup>GTK 365:1

<sup>153</sup>Rezende 1997, p.131

<sup>154</sup>GTK 365:1

*"...one would presume that such an example would serve as an encouragement to the other slaves to serve with faithfulness and honesty as this negro slave Christian Sort has proven..."*<sup>155</sup>

In a leaflet from 1888 by Charles Edwin Taylor, member of the colonial council of St. Thomas and St. John, it is stated that an enslaved worker by the name Christian Sout was a servant of Doctor Bodger, and that he acted as a spy for the Euro-Caribbeans during the Slave Rebellion in 1733-1734. Also, that he received his freedom because of this aid.<sup>156</sup> It is very likely Christian Sort that Taylor is referring to. There are though a few problems with the account. First, Taylor does not state where he has his information from. Is it from an oral tradition (the rebellion took place 154 years before Taylor's account) or is it from written official documents, for example court papers? We do not know. Second, we have found other stated fact in the leaflet that does not correspond with the information we have found in the archival documents. It is therefore not to say if Christian Sort besides being a royal slave, also at one point had been in some kind of service or ownership to the Euro-Caribbean doctor Bodger? But we do know that Christian Sort was first officially given his freedom in 1763, and that the reason stated in the manumission letter is his lifelong faithful service as a doctor at the royal estates on St. Thomas and St. John. This does not seem to correspond to Taylors account.

In 1764, Governor-General van Prøck issued an authorization for Christian Sort to practice medicine.<sup>157</sup> The reason was probably that the first Danish West Indian regulation concerning the health sector was issued the same year. It ordered all who practiced medicine to present themselves before the Governor-General and present documentation of their ability to practice medicine.<sup>158</sup>

In 1766, Christian Sort bought the Brüyn/Hendrichsen plantation at Brown Bay and he lived on the plantation with his wife Christiana Bille until his death in 1772.<sup>159</sup> According to the church records, Christian Sort died of a heavy fever on February 2, 1772.<sup>160</sup> His wife, Christiana sold the plantation in 1776 and she died four years later in 1780.<sup>161</sup>

There are several interesting and unusual aspects connected to the story of Christian Sort that makes him an exception to typical slave life. In Carib-

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<sup>155</sup>GTK 365:1

<sup>156</sup> Taylor, Charles Edwin: "Leaflets from the Danish West Indies: Descriptive of the Social, Political and Commercial Condition on These Islands", London, 1888, p. 104. It seems that John L. Anderson, the author of the fictional book "Night of the Silent Drums" is using Taylors leaflet as inspiration for his novel.

<sup>157</sup> Jørgensen, J. P.: "Forholdet til negerne i de "gode gamle dage"", Dansk Vestindisk Samfunds skrifter 1, St. Thomas, 1916, p. 28

<sup>158</sup> Jensen, Niklas Thode: "En verden til forskel? Undersøgelser af sundhedsvæsenet og lægerne i Dansk Vestindien 1755-1830", Speciale, Københavns Universitet, Institut for historie, 2002., p. 31-32

<sup>159</sup> RRV 571:83.2 & RRV 571:83.3

<sup>160</sup> KDV 1-775-1:Lak 5-1403

<sup>161</sup>RRV 571:83.3; KDV 1-775-1:Lak 5-1403

bean plantation societies, it was unusual for prominent Euro-Caribbean citizens to be present at an enslaved worker's wedding and for an enslaved worker to own a plantation with enslaved workers. Slaves owning other slaves were not unusual, but what makes Christian Sort special, is that all of the above happened before he was freed. Christian Sort possessed the rights of a free African-Caribbean and possibly even more extensive rights before he was manumitted. All aspects indicate that Christian Sort was regarded as a free man in theory before he was in practice.

Christian Sort's relationship with the African-Caribbean population is revealed to some extent in the Lutheran church records where he was often named as a godfather when an African-Caribbean child was baptized.<sup>162</sup> This indicates that he possessed a relatively high social position within the African-Caribbean community. Due to his profession as barber-surgeon and planter, he did not live the life of an average enslaved worker.

The story of Christian Sort produces one intriguing question, namely what did Christian Sort do to be regarded and treated as a free man? He could have bought his own freedom before it was formally given to him or he could have performed some service to the colony that resulted in the receipt of his freedom? Unfortunately, the answer is unknown and one can only infer.

#### 4. The slave rebellion and Brown Bay

On November 23, 1733, a slave rebellion broke out on the island of St. John that lasted into the summer of 1734. This rebellion had a great impact on the lives of the planters and enslaved workers in Brown Bay. Many of them did not survive and others had their lives changed radically.

The information we have today regarding the fate of the inhabitants of Brown Bay at the time of the rebellion is built on the account of the planter, Pannet and the records and documents from the West Indies sent to the Danish West India Company in Copenhagen. These documents include testimonies from captured enslaved workers and the men who tried to fight the rebellion. Also recovered are official statements and small handwritten notes from planters listing enslaved workers who were believed to be rebels. These sources provide a lot of information about the rebellion and the rebels, but it is important to note that information was often not completely accurate and that captured enslaved workers often were put through brutal interrogation methods to reveal information regarding other rebels. Therefore, the reader should know that when reading the following accounts, that these sources present a Euro-Caribbean perception of the events and that some of the sources may convey incorrect information.

The rebellion began early in the morning in Coral Bay, St. John with fort Frederiksværn being taken by a small group of enslaved workers who fired

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<sup>162</sup>KDV 1-775-1:Lak 5-1402

the fort's cannons to signal the beginning of the rebellion to the other rebelling enslaved workers on St. John. The plan seems to have been to take all of the Euro-Caribbeans by surprise, kill them or drive them from the island, and then take control of St. John.<sup>163</sup>

It is estimated that of the approximately one thousand enslaved workers on St. John, only around one hundred joined the rebels and the core of these appear to have been the so-called Aminas.<sup>164</sup> Historian Sandra Greene believes these Aminas to have been enslaved Africans from the Akwamu nation. She claims that they were captured as a result of warfare and sold in great numbers by their enemies to the Danish forts on the West African Gold Coast in the beginning of the 1730s. From there, they were shipped to the West Indies.<sup>165</sup>

The Amina rebels appear to predominately come from the plantations in Coral Bay where the rebellion began. For example, many of them were from the plantations of Soetman, the Company and the earlier governor Suhm<sup>166</sup> (See Appendix 10).

Among the first victims of the rebellion was the town bailiff, Johannes Reimert Soetman and his stepdaughter, Helena Hissing, who were the Brown Bay planter Pieter Krøyer's brother-in-law and niece, respectively. Soetman and Helena were staying at their plantation in Coral Bay while the rest of the family was on St. Thomas.<sup>167</sup>

A group of rebels then crossed over from Coral Bay to the north side of the island and into the Brown Bay area, where they were joined by some of the enslaved workers from there and surrounding areas. A document from February 1734, lists twelve enslaved workers believed to have taken part in the rebellion. Eight of these individuals were enslaved by Brown Bay planter Pieter Krøyer, three were enslaved by Brown Bay-planter Gabriel van Stell Junior, and one woman was enslaved by Brown Bay-planter Michel Hendrichsen.<sup>168</sup> However, when examining some of the other sources, it appears that nine of Pieter Krøyer's enslaved workers and four of Gabriel van Stell Junior's enslaved workers were believed to be involved in the rebellion.

According to the land tax record of 1733, approximately 18 enslaved workers lived at the plantation of Pieter Krøyer. Twelve of these were listed as capable enslaved workers, one of whom was imprisoned at the fort; two

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<sup>163</sup> Pannet, Pierre: "Report on the execrable conspiracy carried out by the Amina Negroes on the Danish island of St. Jan in America, 1733". Translated and edited by Aimery P. Caron and Arnold R. Highfield. Antilles Press, 1984, introduction p. 1

<sup>164</sup> See for example VGK 446:99. May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1734

<sup>165</sup> Greene, Sandra E.: "From Whence They Came: A Note on the Influence of West African Ethnic and Gender Relations on the Organizational Character of the 1733 St. John Slave Rebellion" In: *The Danish West Indian Slave Trade*. George F. Tyson & Arnold R. Highfield (ed.). Virgin Islands Humanities Council, St. Croix, 1994, p. 56. Slave ships arrived in the Danish West Indies February 1731, June 1732, and May 1733

<sup>166</sup> VGK 446:99 Feb. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1734 (Bilag: Specifikation Lit. K)

<sup>167</sup> Bro-Jørgensen 1966, p. 230

<sup>168</sup> VGK 446:99 Feb. 20<sup>th</sup>, 1734 (Bilag: Specifikation Lit. K)

were boys aged 10 and 8, and four were adolescents who had just arrived from Africa in May 1733, with the ship *Laarbourg Galley*.<sup>169</sup> According to the land tax record of 1732, nine of the capable enslaved workers came to Brown Bay that same year from the deceased Johannes Krøyer's plantation in Coral Bay, now owned by Soetman. In the same land tax record, one of these enslaved men was stated to be a drunkard.<sup>170</sup> These nine enslaved workers probably arrived in the Danish West Indies in 1731 since the land tax record of 1732 states that they should no longer be listed as buzals for one year.<sup>171</sup> It was customary that newly arrived enslaved workers were listed as buzals. Today, the names of ten of these enslaved workers are known due to the rebellion. The women included Marta,<sup>172</sup> Braffu,<sup>173</sup> and Santie,<sup>174</sup> and the men were Aera,<sup>175</sup> Christian, Claes, Jacob,<sup>176</sup> Pierro,<sup>177</sup> Bastian,<sup>178</sup> and Jeremias.<sup>179</sup>

On Gabriel van Stell Junior's plantation at the time of the rebellion, six enslaved workers are listed according to the land tax record of that year.<sup>180</sup> One had arrived on the ship, "*Grevinden Lauerwig*" in June 1732,<sup>181</sup> and three had arrived on the ship, "*Laadebourg Galley*" in May 1733. The last two individuals are first mentioned in the land tax list of 1733 and unfortunately nothing more is known about them.<sup>182</sup> The names of four of these enslaved workers are known: Tham,<sup>183</sup> Sem, Japhist, Quasie.<sup>184</sup>

Michel Hendrichsen's plantation had approximately nine enslaved workers in 1733 and of those two were children.<sup>185</sup> The only known name of one of them is a woman by the name Cumbia.

According to the sources, approximately twelve enslaved workers from Brown Bay appear to have joined the rebels from Coral Bay. If one is to believe the testimony of one of the later captured enslaved workers, it was the enslaved workers, Christian and Breffu who shot their master and mistress, Pieter Krøyer and Mariana Thoma.<sup>186</sup> Their young son, Hans appears

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<sup>169</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>170</sup> VGK 446: 750

<sup>171</sup> Bro-Jørgensen 1966 p. 175

<sup>172</sup> VGK 446:516 Aug. 26th, 1734

<sup>173</sup> VGK 446:99 May 22nd, 1734 (Bilag: Extract af bytings protokollen om maron jagten Lit B)

<sup>174</sup> VGK 446:99 July 6th, 1734 (Bilag: Specifikation Lit L)

<sup>175</sup> VGK 446:99 May 22nd, 1734 (Bilag: Extract af bytings protokollen om maron jagten Lit B)

<sup>176</sup> VGK 446:516 Aug. 26th, 1734

<sup>177</sup> VGK 446:516 April 20th, 1734

<sup>178</sup> VGK 446:99 July 6th, 1734 (Bilag: Specifikation Lit L)

<sup>179</sup> VGK 446:517 Feb. 10th, 1735 (Fremmede indkommende og udgaaende breve 1735 1/2 – 5/12)

<sup>180</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>181</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>182</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>183</sup> VGK 446:99 July 6th, 1734 (Bilag: Specifikation Lit L)

<sup>184</sup> VGK 446:1.29.1 Feb. 23rd, 1734

<sup>185</sup> VGK 446:750

<sup>186</sup> VGK 446:99, May 22nd, 1734

to have passed away since a document from June 1734 states there are not any children to inherit the estate after the deceased Pieter Krøyer and his wife were killed.<sup>187</sup> According to the land tax record of 1733, Krøyer had an overseer, but what happened to him is unknown. In addition, according to the above mentioned testimony, Gabriel van Stell Junior and his wife Neeltje on the neighbouring plantation were killed by the same two persons<sup>188</sup> However, somehow their son Gabriel survived.<sup>189</sup> It is not known if he was with his parents at the time of their death or if the explanation for his survival is simply that he was staying with relatives. The last planter in Brown Bay, Michel Hendrichsen, survived by fleeing to Tortola, but he later died there in early 1734.<sup>190</sup> Hendrichsen is also recorded to have had an overseer, but his destiny is not known. It is also unknown where his six children Cornelius, Johannes, Michel, Rebekka, Johana and Elisabeth were residing at the time of the rebellion, but they are not listed as living on the plantation in the land tax record of 1733. They are all known to have survived the rebellion.<sup>191</sup>

In addition, a letter from 1735 states that the enslaved worker Jeremias, who had belonged to Pieter Krøyer, had escaped to Tortola during the rebellion and was now believed to be living there with the St. John planters, Joseph Uytendahl and Dinis Silvan.<sup>192</sup>

It should also be mentioned that Mariana Thoma's sister and neighbor to the east Elisabeth Thoma (married to Pierre Castan) and her two children are believed to have been killed in the rebellion.<sup>193</sup> Supposedly, the family's enslaved worker, Sara told the rebels where her mistress was hiding with one of her children and Soetman's bomba, Juni then killed her and the daughter Maria. Her husband, Castan survived and took part in the later interrogations of captured rebels.<sup>194</sup> In the account of Pannet, Castan is said to have escaped death by fleeing into a cotton field.<sup>195</sup> In addition, five of his enslaved workers are listed as having joined the rebellion.<sup>196</sup> This is interesting because by a striking coincidence, he received the precise number of five *buzals* from Soetman through Pieter Krøyer in 1732.<sup>197</sup> We can only speculate if there was a connection.

After killing several people that November day, the rebels started to encounter difficulties, probably because of the lack of firearms and ammunition. Perhaps more importantly, because only a small amount of enslaved workers entered into the rebellion. Also, the planters defended themselves

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<sup>187</sup> VGK 446:516, June 18th, 1734

<sup>188</sup> VGK 446:99, May 22nd, 1734

<sup>189</sup> VGK 446:516, June 18th, 1734

<sup>190</sup> Pannet 1984 p. 13; VGK 446:521

<sup>191</sup> VGK 446: 570

<sup>192</sup> VGK 446:517 Feb. 10th, 1735 + April 27th, 1735 (Fremmede indkommende og udgaaende breve 1735 1/2 – 5/12)

<sup>193</sup> VGK 446:516, June 18th, 1734

<sup>194</sup> VGK 446: 99, May 22nd, 1734

<sup>195</sup> Pannet 1984 p. 13

<sup>196</sup> VGK 446: 99 Feb. 20th, 1734

<sup>197</sup> VGK 446:570

and were then relieved – first from St. Thomas, later from Tortola and St. Kitts, and finally from Martinique in late April 1734. Until May 1734, scattered fighting took place at several occasions between Euro-Caribbean controlled forces and rebels and both sides suffered losses.<sup>198</sup> The colonial force was relieved by new forces, however the rebels relied on the same group of people that probably became smaller due to rebels being caught or killed. In the beginning of December, a group of rebels were reported to have assembled at Krøyer's estate.<sup>199</sup> On December 7, 1733, it was reported from St. John to governor Gardelin on St. Thomas that by torturing a captured rebel it had become known that the rebel leader King Claes, formerly an enslaved worker of former governor Suhm, was lying dead from his gunshot wounds on Krøyer's estate and that a few rebels were still staying there.<sup>200</sup> Three days later, a new letter to Gardelin states that Pieter Krøyer's plantation buildings have been found burned down, which indicates that the Euro-Caribbeans at this time had taken over the place.<sup>201</sup>

On December 15, 1733, the deceased Pieter Krøyer's enslaved worker, Bastian was released after having been caught and submitted to corporeal punishment. On January 11, 1734, Pieter Krøyer's Santie was condemned to the punishment of having a leg cut off and then to be released afterwards. On that same day Tham, formerly of Gabriel van Stell, was released after corporeal punishment, and moreover Pierre Castan's Sara was executed after being blamed for the death of his wife Elisabeth and daughter Maria<sup>202</sup> (See Appendix 11).

Pierro, who had belonged to Pieter Krøyer, was captured in April 1734 with one of Soetman's enslaved workers named Printz. They claimed to have been hiding in the bush since the rebellion, but no one believed them. After their trial at court, they were to *"either give their life or limbs as a proper example and aversion for others"*.<sup>203</sup> That was the last that was heard of Pierro.

By May 1734, some of the remaining rebels began to take their own lives, most likely because it became more and more apparent for them that their case was lost. According to the enslaved boy, January, who had been the rebel's captive, Acra and another unnamed enslaved worker of the deceased Pieter Krøyer committed suicide at Ram's Head with a small group of rebels in the beginning of May 1734. January had been present as a captive at Ram's Head at the time of the suicides and at court he reported that the rebels had six guns to kill themselves with. The last one had broken five of the guns and then shot himself with the sixth.<sup>204</sup> Also, on May 23, 1734, the citizen captain on St. John, Mr. Bewerhoudt reported to governor Gardelin that the bodies of 20 African-Caribbean men and 4 African-Caribbean

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<sup>198</sup> Pannet 1984 – introduction pp. 2-3

<sup>199</sup> Ibid. p. 18

<sup>200</sup> VGK 446: 517 December 7<sup>th</sup>, 1733

<sup>201</sup> VGK 446: 517 December 10<sup>th</sup>, 1733

<sup>202</sup> VGK 446: 99 July 6<sup>th</sup>, 1734 (Bilag: Specifikation Lit I)

<sup>203</sup> VGK 446:516 April 20<sup>th</sup>, 1734

<sup>204</sup> VGK 446:99 May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1734 (Bilag: Extract af bytings protokollen om maron jagten Lit B)

women who had committed suicide at “*Gabriel van Stell’s point*” had been found.<sup>205</sup> More than thirty years later, Oldendorp writes in his account that the human remains of some rebels who had killed themselves were laying scattered on the ground on a hill by Jens Rasmussen’s estate in Brown Bay.<sup>206</sup>

May 27, 1734, the French troops from Martinique departed from St. John after having celebrated the end of the rebellion. A few months later, it was discovered that a small group of rebels of a little more than a dozen were still roaming on St. John.<sup>207</sup> On August 26, 1734 an order was given to capture these rebels. Among them were Martha, Jacob, Claes and Christian who had belonged to Krøyer. They were supposedly staying at Soetman’s plantation. Hendrichsen’s Cumbia was believed to be living at the widower Runnel’s plantation. The same order also commanded planter, Jacob Delicat to hand over the already captured Sem, who had belonged to Gabriel van Stell junior.<sup>208</sup> Two days later all of them along with Gabriel van Stell Junior’s Quasie, were put on trial.<sup>209</sup> Their fate can only be inferred. The destinies of the remaining enslaved workers (both rebels and neutral observers) of the Brown Bay planters are not known.

In this manner, the rebellion came to an end on St. John and planters and enslaved workers began to return to the plantations. On 44 plantations, buildings were completely or partly destroyed (See Appendix 9). Surprisingly, the plantations on St. John began recovering quickly. By early 1739, the number of enslaved workers was 1,414 versus 1,087 in 1733.<sup>210</sup> This gives a good impression of the intensity of cultivation. Still, the rebellion had a great impact on the Brown Bay area due to the fact that all of the owners there had been killed. Apart from Michel Hendrichsen’s son Cornelius Hendrichsen, the heirs of the other Brown Bay plantations did not settle or cultivate the land there. The destinies of the surviving enslaved workers of the area are not known. They may have served the heirs of Krøyer, van Stell and Hendrichsen or they may have been sold.

## 5. The production in Brown Bay

The plantations in Brown Bay were founded as cotton plantations and like the general tendency on St. John, the production shifted from small scale provision and cotton production to sugar production.<sup>211</sup> Cotton plantations

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<sup>205</sup> VGK 446: 517 May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1734. Major-general Longueville from Martinique states in a report that the number of dead was 25 of which 6 were women. (See Tyson, Georg F., and Arnold R. Highfield (ed.): “The Kamina Folk. Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies”. Virgin Islands Humanities Council, U.S. Virgin Islands, 1994, p. 27-28)

<sup>206</sup> Oldendorp 2000 p. 1733 [98]

<sup>207</sup> Bro-Jørgensen 1966 p. 233

<sup>208</sup> VGK 446:516 Aug. 26th, 1734

<sup>209</sup> VGK 446:516 Aug. 28th, 1734

<sup>210</sup> Bro-Jørgensen 1966 p. 222;234

<sup>211</sup> Tyson, Georg, F.: “A History of Land Use on St. John 1718-1950” (Preliminary Report). Prepared for the Virgin Islands National Park Service, 1984, p. 25

were often converted into sugar estates in connection with the development from smaller plantations to a few large plantations. Two factors affected the production in Brown Bay. The first was the slave rebellion in 1733-1734 and the other was the shift to sugar production.

The production and the archaeological field investigation used in defining the historic landscape are linked because the means of production determines how many buildings comprised the plantation. Cotton production did not require as many buildings and enslaved workers as sugar production.<sup>212</sup> The archival sources used are mainly the land tax records that contain information about what the plantations produced and how many enslaved workers lived on each of them. According to the land tax record, a plantation could either produce cotton or sugar, but generally more than one crop was grown on the plantations.<sup>213</sup>

## 5.1 The cotton production

*“Cotton is besides sugar the only product of any importance, which is being cultivated on the islands.”*<sup>214</sup>

Cotton was usually cultivated by those with fewer funds to invest on St. John as it required limited inputs of capital, labour and technology. This dry weather crop could be profitably cultivated in environments hostile to sugar cane.<sup>215</sup>

In the first land tax record from 1728, it is stated that the three plantations in Brown Bay all cultivated cotton, but the size of the production varied. The Hendrichsen plantation had an average cotton production, while the van Stell plantation is listed as cultivating little and the Bruyn plantation as only cultivating very little.<sup>216</sup> On average, little and very little are the only information we have regarding how large the production was and the land tax record does not reveal what these measurements mean in actual production. The three plantations were founded respectively in 1724, 1723 and 1725, while the first plantation on St. John was founded in 1718. Since the first planters chose plantation plots in the north-western part of the island, Cannel Bay and Duurlo Bay<sup>217</sup>, it could be an indication that the soil in Brown Bay was less fertile or that it was just far away from the security of St.

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<sup>212</sup> Tyson, Georg F.: On the Periphery of the Peripheries: The Cotton Plantations of St. Croix, Danish West Indies, 1735-1815.” In: *The Journal of Caribbean History*. Vol. 26:1, 1992. Published by the Departments of History, The University of the West Indies, p. 84

<sup>213</sup> Dookhan, Issac & Sheridan, Richard B: “A history of the Virgin Islands of the United States”, 1994 p. 77

<sup>214</sup> Oxholm, Peter L.: “De Danske Vestindiske Öers Tilstand i Henseende til Population, Cultur og Finance-Forfatning, i Anledning af nogle Breve fra St. Croix, indrykkede i det Politiske og Physiske Magazin for Marts og April Maaneder 1797, hvortil er föiet Beskrivelse om Sukkerets Fabrikation, med 4 Planer”. København 1797 p. 59

<sup>215</sup> Tyson 1984 p. 21

<sup>216</sup> RRV 571:83.2

<sup>217</sup> Larsen, 1980 p. 56

Thomas. The terrain of Brown Bay consists of relative steep hillsides and only a small portion of flat land in the valley is suitable for crop production.

Cotton production did not require the same amount of enslaved workers as sugar production and accordingly, the three plantations had a relatively small number of enslaved workers.

Year <sup>218</sup>	1728	1729	1730	1731	1732	1733
<b>The Hendrichsen plantation</b>	8 buzals 1 boy	1 old enslaved 8 buzals	7 buzals 2 children	7 buzals 2 children	7 old enslaved 2 children	7 old 2 children
<b>The van Stell plantation</b>	2 old enslaved 2 man-queron	2 old enslaved 2 man-queron	2 man-queron	No information	1 buzal	None
<b>Gabriel van Stell Junior's plantation</b>	Not founded	Not founded	Not founded	Not founded	Not founded	3 capable enslaved 3 buzals
<b>The Bruyn/Krøyer plantation</b>	1 capable enslaved	None	1 old enslaved	1 old enslaved	8 old enslaved	12 old enslaved 2 man-queron 4 buzals

Figure 11: Illustrating the number of enslaved workers on the Brown Bay plantations 1728-1733.

The plantation owners paid taxes for each of their “capable” (able) enslaved workers. The administration made these categories because a plantation owner should not pay taxes for an enslaved worker that could not work as much as an average enslaved worker. In the early years of the compilation of the land tax records, the information was somewhat chaotic and it was the planters themselves that made the tax returns to the administration, so it is fair to question the accuracy of the information.<sup>219</sup> It was not unusual for a plantation owner to “forget” to make the annual statement. Leif Calundann Larsen has shown that for instance, in 1739, 36 percent of the planters had not reported their annual statement.<sup>220</sup> If a planter did not make the statement, the officials would tax him the same amount as the previous year. Therefore, if a planter is listed as having the exact same number of enslaved workers for an extended period; it is most likely an indication of lacking tax statements.

As mentioned previously, cotton production was a small-scale business compared to sugar production in terms of the number of buildings and enslaved workers required. The only necessary buildings to produce cotton was a shed, where the ginning and baling of the cotton took place, a warehouse

<sup>218</sup> VGK 446:570

<sup>219</sup>Larsen 1980 p. 11

<sup>220</sup> Larsen 1980 p. 10

to store the cotton, a dwelling house for the planter’s family or/and an overseer, and some shelters for the enslaved workers.<sup>221</sup> The enslaved workers lived in a “workers village” where three to four of the enslaved lived in a cottage together. The cottages consisted of the relatively impermanent wattle-and-daub structures roofed with grass or sugar cane. The floors were unfinished earth.<sup>222</sup> Accordingly, the sparse infrastructure of a cotton producing estate does not leave as much structurally to be investigated archaeologically as opposed to a sugar producing estate.

During the field research, a possible dwelling house at the van Stell plantation and the Hendrichsen plantation were discovered, but evidence of the cotton production on the plantations or the slave cottages did not exist. Knowing from the archival material that the first planters cultivated cotton and the fact that nothing connected to sugar production was found on the plantation plots fits well together.

The three plantations pursued the cultivation of cotton until the slave rebellion in 1733-1734.

## 5.2 Derelict plantations

The slave rebellion took place on St. John in the fall of 1733 to the summer of 1734. It had a huge impact on the production in Brown Bay, not particularly because of the physical damage to the plantations but because the plantations lay uncultivated afterwards. During the rebellion, only Pieter Krøyer’s dwelling house and warehouse was burned down, while the van Stell plantation and the Hendrichsen plantations were untouched.<sup>223</sup> Subsequent to the rebellion, nobody lived on or cultivated their plantations. After Michel Hendrichsen’s death in 1734, his son took over the management of the plantation. The son kept cultivating cotton with a few enslaved workers, but in 1738 he moved to St. Thomas to work as an overseer.<sup>224</sup> After 1738, the now *Bruyn/Hendrichsen* plantation was abandoned as well. The land tax record of 1755 records that both the van Stell plantation and the Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation were deserted. In 1758, Jens Rasmussen bought the van Stell plantation and according to the land tax records, he began to cultivate cotton.

<b>Jens Rasmussen’s plantation 1759-1774</b>				
<b>Year</b>	<b>Capable</b>	<b>Manqueron</b>	<b>Half</b>	<b>Child un-</b>

<sup>221</sup> Knight, David W.: “Understanding Annaberg. A Brief History of Estate Annaberg on St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. With A Closer Look at the Annaberg Factory Complex and How Sugar Was Made.” Little Northside Press, 2002 p. 16

<sup>222</sup> Hall 1994 s. 76

<sup>223</sup> See Appendix 9 for a Specification of the plantation buildings after the rebellion

<sup>224</sup> VGK 446:570

	of work- ing		grown	der 12 years
1759	7	-	-	2
1760	15	8	1	-
1761	15	8	1	-
1762	15	8	1	-
1763	15	8	1	-
1764	10	8	1	-
1765	6	1	-	-
1766	5	-	2	1
1767				
1768	7	-	4	6
1769	4	-	6	-
1770	6	3	3	-
1771	5	3	3	-
1772	9	4	1	6
1773	9	4	2	5
1774	4	-	-	2

Figure 12: Illustrating the number of enslaved workers on Jens Rasmussen's plantation 1759-1774.

*The Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation* probably lay uncultivated for a much longer period, approx. 1733 to 1765.

### 5.3 The shift to sugar production

When the Brown family bought the Browns bay plantation in 1789, they began to change the production to sugar. In 1790 and 1791, the land tax record states that the new owners “cultivate sugar but that the factory is not finished.”<sup>225</sup> The ruins of a sugar factory are located immediately behind the beach in Brown Bay. The plantation is not cleared of vegetation and thus, it is difficult to provide an interpretation of it. However, we did observe the structural remains first identified in an architectural investigation of these ruins by Frederik Gjessing. As noted by him there are still standing the masonry remains of a horse mill, a sugar factory and a large dwelling house.<sup>226</sup> The horse mill is depicted on Oxholm's map of 1800 and must have been built in connection with Brown's sugar factory.<sup>227</sup> The factory building stands five feet east from the horse mill, and is connected to it by a ramp. Gjessing found that the factory consisted only of a boiling house, and that the curing house and storage house was either incomplete or altered.<sup>228</sup> A

<sup>225</sup> RRVR 571:83.4-84.9

<sup>226</sup> Ausherman 1982 p. 228

<sup>227</sup> Oxholm 1800

<sup>228</sup> Ausherman 1982 p. 229-30

reason for the incomplete or altered state of these buildings and what other buildings and equipment the Brownsbay plantation consisted of at the death of William Brown in 1804 was found in the following probate inventory.

The probate after William Brown:<sup>229</sup>

300 acres land	
80 acres cultivated with sugar	
10 acres cultivated with provision	
210 acres not cultivated, in bush	
1 building consisting of a dwelling house, a boiling house, a smoke house, a distillery and a basement with built in sugar kettles and other objects	
1 house mill	
2 distillery kettle on 100 gallons with a cistern	
1 privy	
1 old dwelling house on the hillside	
24 Negro houses	
19 mules	
1 horse	
5 small horn beasts	
3 cows	
1 sailing-boat with accessories	
1 fishermen canoe	
Negro men and boys	Negro women and girls
Qvamina 500rdl	Eva 400rdl
Trance 500rdl	Margo 400rdl
Toney 500rdl	Cotine 250rdl
Orange 400rdl	Bella 100rdl
Haac 500rdl	Persilla 425rdl
Toney with	Judith 424rdl
one hand 250rdl	Cate 350rdl
Dirk 250rdl	Mimba 450rdl
Freeman 500rdl	Bice 400rdl
Avashery 500rdl	Dido 300rdl
Dublin 500rdl	Dora 350rdl
Morin 200rdl	Bess 150rdl
Solidare 100rdl	Susanna 250rdl
London 400rdl	Margareth 450rdl
Louis 425rdl	Affeij 250rdl
August 500rdl	Peron 300rdl
Tom 200rdl	Jenney 250rdl
Barrington 450rdl	Nanne 500rdl
Will 600rdl	Marg with

<sup>229</sup>STSTG 712:35.42.2 March 27th, 1804

Philip 550rdl	baby Juliet 500rdl
Dingham 600rdl	Dora 350rdl
Kingsale 450rdl	Sue 500rdl
John 75rdl	Phillis 450rdl
Old Taney 50rdl	Louisa 200rdl
Jack 450rdl	Catharin 150rdl
John 500rdl	Madleen 250rdl
Quarko 400rdl	
Iammey 100rdl	
O... 100rdl	
Ben 300rdl	
George 300rdl	
Limmerick 310rdl	
David 350rdl	
Bob 300rdl	
Jacob 250rdl	
George 150rdl	
John 200rdl	
Christian 200rdl	
Mendrick 200rdl	
Thomas 100rdl	
London, ill 0rdl	
Furniture:	
2 mahogany tables	
1 couch	
1 bench	
Some chairs	
Bed & duvet with sheets	

In 1792, the year after the production facilities were built at the Brownsbay plantation, the prohibition against the slave trade was issued with a 10 year period of transition. The number of enslaved workers maintain approximately at the same level to the end of the eighteenth century. In 1801, the number seems to increase by 10-22 individuals compared to previous years.

The Brown family owned an average of 35 enslaved field workers, which is a relatively low number compared to the Annaberg plantation during the same time period where there were over 100 enslaved field workers.<sup>230</sup>

In 1807, the plantation was bought by James Murphy and merged together with his large estate consisting of Annaberg, Leinster Bay, Munsbury, Betty's hope and Mary's point, but the following year Murphy died and the plantation was sold.<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>230</sup> Knight 2002

<sup>231</sup> RRRV 751:83.16

Gjessing concluded that this site contains archaeological evidence of the early abandonment of sugar production. In place of sugar, cotton was produced again and by the mid nineteenth century, cattle became the main products of the plantation.<sup>232</sup>

## 6. Further Research

As mentioned in the introduction this report has presented several stories concerning the inhabitants in the Brown Bay area. Through the archival research it has been possible to scrutinize the establishment and importance of Pieter Krøyer's and Mariana Thoma's social relations and networks and the reciprocal relation between Jens Rasmussen and the Moravians. Furthermore, the life of Christian Sort has been discovered, whose social relations and status existed among the fringes of the social structures and hierarchy of the slave society in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century. Through the research of the people living in Brown Bay, certain incidents during the 1733 slave rebellion have been reexamined. The slave rebellion had a great impact on the Brown Bay area due to the fact that all owners were murdered and apart from Michel Hendrichsen's son Cornelius, the heirs of the other plantations did not settle or further cultivate the land.

Even though the research has produced many interesting histories, there are still many subjects that need further investigation, both in the archives and archeologically. This is due to three factors: inaccessible archival sources, the lack of archival information, for instance concerning the buildings in Brown Bay, and finally the problem of limited time, especially for archeology. During the four week internship on St. John, different discoveries were made, but because of limited time there are still many unanswered questions. Unfortunately, nothing can be done about the lack of archival information, but further archeological investigation can be performed in the Brown Bay area. During the archaeological investigations on St. John, we discovered what is believed to be the plantation site of the Van Stell plantation. With regard to the Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation the archival evidence in conjunction with the archaeological data suggest that the site investigated was possibly that of Hendrichsen which was then later occupied by Christen Sort. We did not succeed in locating the ruins of the Bruyn/Krøyer plantation. Based on the location of the plantation plots, the Bruyn/Krøyer plantation should be on a hill east of Brown Bay. In 2011, a new historic site was located in this vicinity but no archaeological research has been completed. This site may be that of Krøyer's as Wild reports it is in the perfect location to allow visual contact with the Van Sell estate. If the site is Krøyer's, archaeological data should include evidence of burning and demonstrate an early eighteenth century occupation range that is very short lived.

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<sup>232</sup>Ausherman 1982 p. 228

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571:83.4-83.9 Matrikler for St. Thomas og St. Jan 1755-1915, 1786-1796  
751:83.10-83.15 Matrikel for St. Thomas og St. Jan 1755-1915, 1797-1802  
751:83.16 Matrikel for St. Thomas og St. Jan 1755-1915, 1803-1813  
571:157.1 Auktionsprotokoller 1755-1854, St. Jan 1755-1792

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712:35.37.2 Registerings- og vurderingsprotokoller 1763-1882, 1775-1796  
712:35.38.1 Registerings-, vurderings-, sessions-, og testamenteprotokoller 1807-1838, 1807-1826  
712:35.40.7 Skifteretsprotokoller. 1741-1823. 1767-1791. **(Cannot be accessed due to its fragile state. A photocopy is obtainable through Marie Veisegaard Olsen.)**  
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446:1.29.1 Samlepakke I, 1733-1755, 1733-1745  
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- 446:99            Direktionen, Breve og dokumenter fra Vestindien.  
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- 446:516           Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, 1724-  
1740, ordre-, brev- og plakatbøger for St. Thomas og  
St. Jan
- 446: 517           Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan,  
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Kopi af indkomne breve fra St. Jan ang. rebellionen  
1733-1734
- 446: 521           Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, 1733-  
1734. Formynderskabsbog
- 446:526           Vestindiske inventarier 1680-1752, 1733-1752
- 446:711           Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Gældslister  
for St. Thomas og St. Jan 1728-1745
- 446:731-732      Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Landlister  
for Skt. Thomas 1688-1754, 1688-1694 & 1697-1718
- 446:750           Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Landlister  
for St. Jan 1728-1739, 1728-33
- 446:751-753      Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Landlister  
for St. Jan 1728-1739, 1736-1739

**On Microfilm in the archive:**

**(KDV) Kirkebøger fra Dansk-Vestindien (Church books from West India)**

- 1-775-1: Lak 5-1399 1691-1795: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1691-  
1708
- 1-775-1: Lak 5-1400 1691-1795: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1708-  
1729
- 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401 1691-1795: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1729-  
1753

- 1-775-1: Lak 5-1402 1691-1795: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1753-1770
- 1-775-1: Lak 5-1403 1691-1795: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1770-1786
- 1-775-1: Lak 5-1404 1691-1795: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1787-1793
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1405 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1762-1766
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1406 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1766-1770
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1407 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1770-1788
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1408 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1780-1787
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1409 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1782-1783
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1410 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1783-1784
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1411 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1784-1786
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1412 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1787-1791
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1413 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1791-1793
- 1-775-2: Lak 5-1414 1762-1794: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1793-1794
- 1-775-3: Lak 5-1415 1762-1780: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1762-1775
- 1-775-3: Lak 5-1416 1762-1780: Skt. Thomas & Jan/Evangel. men., 1776-1779

**Oxholm 1780: Map from the National Archive**

Oxholm1780:

Rentekammeret 337, nr. 209 fra P.L. Oxholms indberetning 30. august 1780.  
Kort over St. Jan

**Oxholm 1800: Map from the Royal Library, available online:**

Oxholm, Peter L.: "Charte over den Danske Øe St: Jan i America"/optaget I Aaret 1780 og udgivet I Aaret 1800 af P.L. Oxholm; stukket af G.N: Angelo i Kjøbenhavn Online link: <http://images.kb.dk/present?id=dk001404>

Appendix 1: Outline of the ownership in Brown Bay  
1728-1804

<i>Year</i>	<i>The Stell plantation</i>		<i>The Bruyn/Hendrichsen plantation</i>				<i>The Horan plantation</i>
1728	Gabriel van Stell's widow (3000 x 1500)		Jan Bruyn's plantation, belonging to Elisabet and Mariane Thoma (3000 x 1500)		Michel Hendrichsen (3000 x 1500)		?
1729			Elisabet and Mariane Thoma (3000 x 1500)				
1730							
1731							
1732							
1733	Gabriel van Stell's widow (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Michel Hendrichsen (3000 x 800)	Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 700)	
1736			Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Michel Hendrichsen's heirs (3000 x 800)	Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 700)	
1737			Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)	Michel Hendrichsen's heirs (3000 x 1500)		
1738			Pieter Krøyer (3000 x 750)	Gabriel van Stell junior (3000 x 750)			
1739			Gabriel van Stell's widow and Gabriel van Stell junior's heirs (3000 x 1500)		Michel Hendrichsen's heirs (3000 x 1500)		
1755	Gabriel van Stell's heirs, abandoned since the rebellion (3000 x 1500)		Michel Hendrichsen's heirs, uncultivated (? x 3000)				James Horan (3000 x 700)

1756	Huegh Mitchel		
1757	junior (3000 x 1500)		
1758	Jens Rasmussen		
1759	3000 x 1500)		
1760			
1761			
1762			
1763			
1764			
1765		Fredrich Wejle (? x 3000)	
1766		Christian Sort (? x 3000)	
1767			
1768			James Horan's widow Susanna (3000 x 700)
1769			
1770			Walter Schoy (1500 x 350)
1771		Sinclair and Jameson (? x 3000)	
1772	Jens Rasmussen's widow (3000 x 1500)	Christian Sort's widow (? x 3000)	
1773			
1774	Doctor Grainger (3000 x 1500)		
1775			
1776		Doctor Grainger (? x 3000)	Issac Nowell (1500 x 350)
1777			
1778			
1779			
1780			
1781			
1782			
1783		John Shatford Jones (? x 3000)	John Shatford Jones (1500 x 350)
1784	John Shatford Jones (? x 4850)		
1785			
1786	William Johnston (? x 4850)		
1787			
1788			

1789	William Brown, (listed as the Brownsbay plantation in 1801) (? x 4850)	
1790		
1791		
1792		
1793		
1794		
1795		
1796		
1797		
1798		
1799		
1800		
1801		
1802		
1803		
1804	Mary Brown and Esther Bentzon (? x 4850)	

## Appendix 2: Partial translation of the land tax record 1728, St. John

(Direct translation, but with a few adjustments to ease the understanding. Names are spelled as in the original land tax record.)

### Mahoo Bay Quarter:

No.	Owner	Land letter	The land occupied	Tax year	Their quality and use	Their course and boarders	Length	Width	The Family	Enslaved workers
74	Isacq Constantin	April 27 1723	Be- fore 1721	1728	Average (Sugar)	Situated by WaterLemon Bay. Length running ESE and WNW. The eastern width from Jac. V. Stel's now Governor Moth's plantation. North and South to the [...] trees by the seashore.	3000 feet	2000 feet	Himself with wife and 1 child live on the planta- tion	Old Slaves: Capable men – 6  Buzals: Capable men – 5 Women – 3  Manqueron men – 3 Children – 6  To pay tax of: 14
75	Capt: Frider: Moth Exchanged with Jacob van Stel And added a bit of land	Dec. 9 1723 To Jac. V. Stel but chan- ged after	Feb. 21 1721, but from 1724 Moth 's own plan- tation	1731	Average (Sugar)	Situated in Little and Great Mahoo Bay between Constantin's, Sootman's, og W. Wessuup's and also Jac. Van Stell's plantations and the seashore after the measurement Aug. 2, 1726	4200 feet	Not known. It runs in and out, but are a. 2000 feet	Keeps an over- seer	Not stated

		being measured Aug 2, 1726								
76	Willem Wessup Lives on St. Thomas. Got this plantation from Lucas van Beevenhoudts widow	Sep. 13, 1726 to Mr. Beevech. and given to Wessup the same year.	Measured May 1, 1721, but without a doubt founded in 1718	Without a doubt 1725	Planting sugar, but no sugar work put up yet.	On the eastern barricade by Mr. Sootman's top western barricade on the top of the mountain ESE and WNW down to the seashore 4040 feet. The western barricade by Vlack's eastern barricade S and N 3200 feet to the seashore. Length on top of the mountain along the King's Road 4700 feet, men along the seashore it runs from one barricade to the other.	4700 feet	4040 feet	Keeps an overseer	Old slaves: Capable men – 9 Women – 4  1 boy – 8 years 1 girl – 3 years To pay tax of: 13
77	Jacob van Stell Exchanged with Moth.	Moth's land letter March 17, 1724 and his Aug	From 1721 when his own estate was founded	1728	Little (Cotton)	Is on big point lying by Governor Moth's plantation in Little and Great Mahoo Bay	3000 feet	1500 feet	His son lives here	Old slaves: Capable men – 8 Women – 1  Manqueron woman – 1  To pay tax of: 9

		4, 1726								
78	Johan Rejmer Sootmann	Has land letter	1721	1728	Average (Sugar)	Situated by Governor Moth's, W. Wes- suup's, Constantin's plantations. Length running WNW and ESE. The With NNE and SSW	3000 feet	2000 feet	He lives here with his wife and 2 small child- ren	Capable men – 8 Women – 6  Boy over 12 years – 1 Ditto girl – 1  Manqueron men -4 Ditto woman -1  Children under 12 years – 5  To pay tax of: 16
79	Mariana Loison Now married to Lient. Peter Frøling.	Feb. 13, 1621	Ditto	ditto	Plating sugar	Situated next to Constantin's eastern barri- cade and runs along this plantation. West- ern barricade towards Constantin 3000 feet, while the eastern barricade is only 2200 feet ESE and WNW. Width NNE and SSW 1500 feet	3000 = ~ 2200 feet	1500 feet	Him and his wife's daugh- ter. Keeps an over- seer	1727: Old slaves: Capable men – 2 Women – 4  Children over 12 years – 2  Manqueron woman – 1  To pay tax of: 8
80	Cornelius Stallardt's underage heirs for whom Jan Timenmand and Daniel Ocharjetter are guardians	Marc h 31, 1728	1722	1729	Little (Cotton)	Stretching with its length from Loison's now Lient: Froeling's eastern barricade ESE and WNW 2400 feet until Michel Hendrichsen's Western barricade. Width South and North from Hendrichsen's plan- tation to the sea, that is on its eastern barri- cade 2700 feet while the western is only	2400 feet	2700 = 1600 feet	Not known	No statements have been given

						1600 feet				
81	Wm. Eason	Feb. 21 1728	1725	1732	Little (Cotton)	Lies between Michel Hendrichsen's and Cornelius Stallart heirs' plantation. Running with its' length south and north 1400 feet and width east and west 700 feet.	1400 feet	700 feet	Lives with wife and 1 child	1727 statement: Capable woman - 1  To pay tax of: 1

### The French Quarter:

No.	Owner	Land letter	The land occu- -pied	Tax year	Their quality and use	Their course and borders	Length	Width	The Family	Enslaved workers
82	Michel Hendrichsen	Jan. 13 1725	1724	1731	Average (Cotton)	Situated by Stallart's, Loison's and Constantin's plantations. Length runs S and N and width East and West 700 feet and yet another piece to of land to make out the width, running to the length of Gabriel van Stell.	3000 feet	1500 feet	Lives here with his wife and 6 child- ren	Buzals: Capable men – 4 Women – 4  A boy 14 years – 1  To pay tax of: 9
83	Gabr: van Stel's widow lives on St. Thomas	Nov. 26 1723	1723	1730	Little (Cotton)	Situated by Cornelius Stallardt heir's plantation. Length runs by the north side of the country from the seashore N and S 3000 feet and the width east and west 1500 feet.	3000 feet	1500 feet	Her son takes care of the planta- tion	Capable men – 2  Manqueron man – 1 Woman – 1  To pay tax of: 2
84	Jan Bruyn's planta- tion, belonging to Jacob Thoma's heirs named Elisabet and Mariane Thoma.	Jan 20 1725	Meas- ured Jan 11 1725	1732	Very Little (Cotton)	Situated east from Gabriel van Stell's length. The length east and west 2600 feet, and the width south and north 1500 feet with 2 points to fulfill the length.	a. 3000 feet	1500 feet	Elisa- beth and Ma- riane	Capable man – 1  To pay tax of: 1

									Thoma lives on the planta- tion	
85	Pierre Castan	Feb. 27 1725	1725	1732	Little (Cotton)	Stretching with its width north and south till up to the mountain 1200 feet and by the length ENE approximate 2500 feet	2500 feet	1200 feet	Him and his wife	Capable men – 3 Women – 3  To pay tax of: 6
86	Reymiirt Volkers Lives on St. Thomas	Marc h 27 1728	1728	1732	Little (Cotton)	Situated west of David Bouadeaus' widow's plantation. Width a 1000 feet E+W and WSS and length NSO SSW 3000 feet	3000 Feet	1000 feet		No statements made
87	David Bourdeaus Lives on St. Thomas	Aug. 20 1727	1726	1733	Little (Cotton)	Situated east of Reyn Volker's widow's plantation and runs east with its width a 1000 feet, the length stretches from the sea to the sea south and north – there is also a point.	Un- known	1000 feet		No statements made
88	Berent Langemach Lives on St. Thomas	Feb. 23 1728	1728	1735	Nothing yet	Situated between David Bourdeaus' wi- dow's and Henrich Rykes plantation. Width N+W and S+E. Length lies as the other plantations, from the sea to the sea	Un- known	1600 feet		No one yet
89	Henrich Reyken	April 7 1727	1725	1732	Little (Cotton)	Width NW and SE. Length from the sea- shore to the seashore and there is also a point	Un- known	1000 feet		Capable man – 1  Manqueron man – 1  To pay tax of: 1
90	Mathias Salomons	None yet	1725	1732	Very Little (Cotton)	Situated by Hendrich Reyks. Length runs from the sea to sea. Is situated just as the others	Un- known	1000 feet		Capable man - 1  Manqueron woman – 1 To pay tax of: 1

	Here between these two plantations, there is a little piece of land a 1000 feet in width, which is given some soldiers to use									
91	Joh. Jac. Creutzer	March 11 1725	1725	1732	Little (Cotton)	Is a point which stretches east of Kay Bay and begins by the narrowest place of the point, where some soldiers have a little piece of land, and have this point as the land falls. M. Creutzer to this land [...]	Is not known, but is stated to be a cotton plantation 3000 feet	1000 feet	No whites	Capable men – 6 Women – 3  Manqueron men – 2 Woman – 1  Boy over 8 years – 1  To pay to for: 9

### Appendix 3: Partial translation of the land tax record 1739, St. John

(Direct translation, but with a few adjustments to ease the understanding. Names are spelled as in the original land tax record.)

#### The French Quarter:

Page	Owner	Land letter	The land occupied	Tax year	Their quality and use	Their course and boarders	Length	Width	The Family	Enslaved workers		
										Capable Negroes	Half Negroes	Manqueron, children, and others
55	<i>Jan Jansen de Windt/</i> formerly David Bourdeaux's widow	Aug. 30 1727	1726	1733	Cotton work	Situated east of the earlier mentioned Joachim Melkior Magens and runs east with its width, the length stretching from sea to sea south and north. There is also a point.	Unknown	1000	No whites	No slaves Note: last year's land record		
55	<i>Barent Langemak's</i> heir, who is a daughter by the name of Margaretha approximate 10-11 years old	Feb. 23 1728	1728	1735	Ditto	Situated between the above mentioned de Windt's and Johannes Minnebek's. The Width NW and SE. The length from sea to sea.	Unknown	1600	No whites	No slaves Note: last year's land record		
56	<i>Nicolay Crentzfeldt</i> has Negroes, Note: statement no. 20 by the date December 28	Dec. 10 1728	1728	1735	Planting Cotton	Is a point which takes its beginning on its west side by the seashore from Langemak's daughter's southern side barricade, and runs then south around on the eastern side and touches against Henrich Reich's plantation now Minnebek.	Not measured but answers to a .....600		No Whites, himself is in the Company's service	2 women		1 man 1 woman
56	<i>Johannes Minnebek</i> has given statement Note: No. 11 by the date December 28	April 7 1727	1725	1732	Cotton work	The width NW and SE. The length from seashore to seashore and there is also a point.	1900 Note: 1730 years	1000	himself with 2 child-	1 man 3 women		3 men, 4 women. 5 boys 2 babies

	With him lives the sister of his deceased wife.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....Knud Erichsen's wife with a little son	land tax record		ren	Has a woman Note: St. Thomas' land tax record 1738		
57	<i>Thimotheus Torner</i> has no statements done, but it's well known that he has no slaves, because they have escaped to Puerto Rico, and himself with wife and 6 children are living in such poverty, that he cannot pay head tax. However he is taxed until a resolution of his government is taken to free him	Feb. 12 1732	1725	1732	A cotton plot	Is a point situated at the east end next up to Johannes Minnebek, and (situated) by Richardt Alling's plantation		Estimated at 1000	Himself with the wife and 6 sons 1 grown up 2 half grown ups ditto 3 little ones			
57	<i>Charles Hill</i> Bought this plantation at auction anno 1738 by <i>Michel Hendrichsen's</i> heirs	May 21 1731	1731	1738		Beginning with its width from that place which is called Hallover, where the land is narrow. Runs from there NW to SE to widow Creutzer's plot, length stays at the same stretch of land of Mr. Creutzer's side	Un-known	1000	1 white 2 men 2 women			2 girls



	<p>1<sup>st</sup>: Which was taken up by Dinis Sylwan..... Granted Lieutenant Tornby May 14 1735, and after a closer explication about its correct course November 12 ditto year</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup>: Joseph Dreaker's which Lieutnant Tornby bought on auction July 9 1736</p>	<p>May 18 1729 &amp; Aug 28 1731</p> <p>May 18 1729</p>	<p>1729</p> <p>1728</p>	<p>1736</p> <p>1735</p>	<p>Cotton plot</p> <p>Ditto</p>	<p>Consist of 2 plots running from Charles Hill's WNW and ESE to Joseph Dreaker's 1700 feet in its width, the length is not measured because it falls quite irregular, like the land falls on both sides of the sea.</p> <p>Lies between the above listed and Richart Alling's plantation. Running with the width WNW and ESE 708 feet.</p>		<p>Only pays for 700 feet, because one of the plots is shaped to the length's completion</p> <p>Answers to 800 feet</p> <p>Both 1500</p>	<p>No whites</p>	<p>Neither any slaves Note: from last year land tax record</p>		
59	<p><i>Richardt Alling</i> Serves as overseer for Gerhardt Moll. Note: fol. 37 Has no statement given and therefore refers to last years land tax record</p>	<p>May 18 1729</p>	<p>1728</p>	<p>1735</p>	<p>Planting cotton</p>	<p>Situated between Joseph Dreyer's or now Tornby's widow's and Johannes Minnebek. Stretches with the width NW and SE. Length runs from Tim Torner's north end over to the sea side against the north.</p>		<p>728 Note: the land letter book</p>	<p>None</p>			<p>1 woman 1 boy</p>
59	<p><i>Michel Hendrichsen's</i></p>	<p>Janu-</p>	<p>1724</p>	<p>1731</p>	<p>Ditto</p>	<p>Situated by Stallard's heirs, Pieter Duurloe</p>	<p>3000</p>	<p>1500</p>	<p>No</p>	<p>1 woman</p>	<p>1 woman</p>	

	heirs' plantation for which no statement is given and therefore refers to last year's land tax record	ary 13 1725				formerly Froeling's and Mads Larsen Aalborg's plantations. Length south & north. Width east & west Another piece of land to meet the width. Running to Gabriel van Stell's widow's length.			whites but the heirs should be 2 grown up sons and 1 young			
60	<i>Gabriel van Stell's</i> widow and where to half of it belongs to her deceased son Gabriel van Stell Junior's heir, by note of explanation of year 1733 land tax record, but it is an (abyss) because in the same land tax record it is stated that Gabriel van Stell Junior should own half of Pieter Kröyer's plantation according to his own statement, for the same statement writes the following: The plantation is situated between both Kröyer's plan-	Nov 26 1723	1723	1730		Situated by Cornelius Stallart's heirs. Length running by the north side of the country from the seashore N.	3000	1500	No whites	Neither no slaves Note: last year land tax record  Gabriel van Stell's widow is debited for half of it  And Gabriel van Stell Junior's heir's for ditto		

	tations, width 1500 feet, of which I'm entitled the half that is 750 feet. Of which it is clearly seen it is only this plantation in partnership with his mother.											
61	<i>Machiel Hendrichsen's</i> heirs. Formerly it belonged to Pieter Kröyer	Jan 1725	1725	1732		Situated east of Gabriel van Stell. Length east & west, width south & north, and 2 points to fulfill the length	3000	1500	No whites	Neither no slaves		
61	<i>Willem Barry</i> Who has slaves, Note: statement No. 12 of December 28	Feb 27 1725	1725	1732	Planting Cotton	Stretching with the width north & south up to the mountain. Length ENE  Also he states that he has one negro man: 1 Buzal bought in July this year, and one ditto	2500	1200	No whites For his wife (he pays tax) Himself is overseer in the Company's service	1 woman  2 men		1 boy 3 years old 2 girls



	2 buzal negro men bought in Aug 1739											
62	<i>Anna Christina Gotschalt's heirs</i> for whom the administrator Jacob van Stell Senior has done statements for Sub. No. 19 of December 30	Dec 9 1723	1721	1728	A sugar work	Situated in Little and Great Mahoo Bay between Aalborg, Jacob van Stell Senior, fol. 64 Wessuup's now Kerwing's and ditto van Stell's fol. 66. Their plantation [...] seashore after a closer measurement in [...] of date August 2 1726.	4000	3000	No whites	4 men 1 woman		3 men 2 women 3 children
63	<i>Lieven Kierwing</i> Formerly Willem Vessuup's [...] which in the probate was given to Mr. Governor Moth, and sold to Mr. Kierwing May 27 according to statement no. 39 by St. Thomas land tax record dated December 28 after which and negroes are observed	Sep 13 1726	1721	1728		On the east barricade by van Stell Senior's sugar work, the top west barricade from the mountain's top down to the seashore 4040 feet ESE and WNW, the western barricade by Vlak's eastern barricade south and north 3200 feet to the seashore.	4700	4040	No whites As far as known	4 men 2 women		1 boy 1 baby
64	<i>Jacob van Stell Senior</i>	Marc h 17 1724	1726	1728	Cotton work Ditto	Is a point situated by Godtschalts in Little and Great Mahoo Bay. But is owned by Commander von Eerden in last year land tax record. Runs with its width SSE and NNW 740 feet	3000	740 Note: last years land tax record	Is working this plantation with			

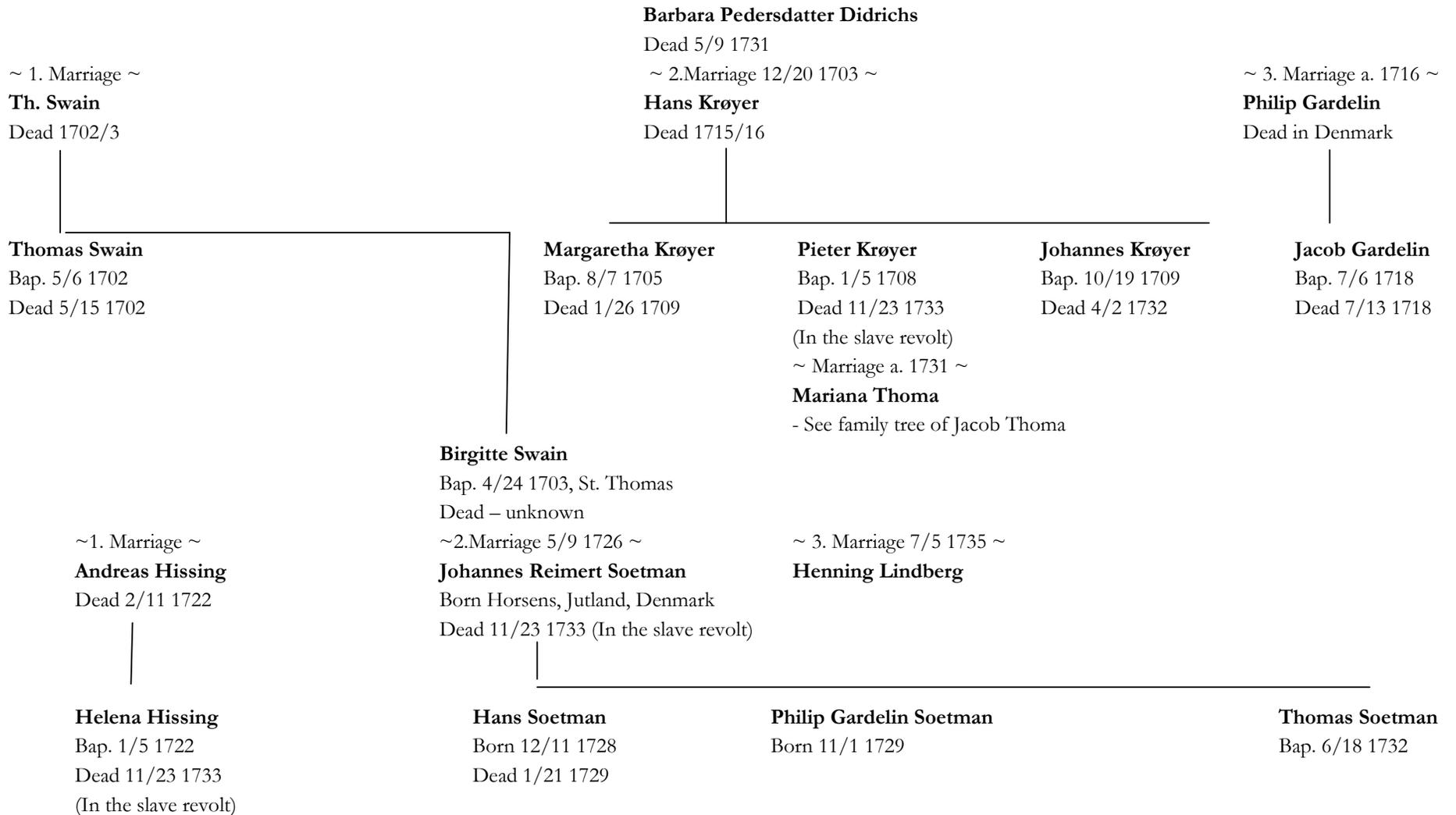
									slaves Stated in next fol. 66			
64	<i>Jacob van Stell Junior</i> He has negroes by note No. 6 of De- cember 29					Runs the same stretch as the above men- tioned and lie between ditto and Jan Pieter Limberg's.		860	Him- self with the wife and one small child	2 men 1 woman		1 man 1 woman 2 boys 1 girl
65	<i>Jan Pieter Limberg</i>							800	No whites	Slaves are observed by fol. 51		
65	<i>Rasmus Other</i> Has no statement made and is debited after last year land tax record. Though it is known that Mr. Aalborg owns one of his negro women and therefore is debited fol. 62 and Jan Pieter Limberg a negro man. The other 3 slaves who he has in his posi- tion shall after cal- culation belong to							800	Him- self with the wife and 4 small child- ren			

	his creditors, but if he since then have bought this [...] is unknown											
66	<i>Jacob van Stell Senior</i> Has negroes by note no. 16 of December 23		1721	1728	Sugar work	Situated by Anna Christina Godtschaltdts, Vessuup now Kierwang's, and Aalborg's plantations. Length runs WNW and ESE. Width NNE and SSW.	3000	2000	Himself with the wife and 7 children where of 2 [...]	12 men 11 women	2 women	8 men 5 women 14 children
66	<i>Pieter Duurloe</i> Who has bought this plantation of Pieter Fröeling, by note No. 38 of January 6 1740	Feb 13 1721	1721	1728	Cotton work	Situated by Mads Larsen Aalborg's eastern barricade and runs the western barricade towards Aalborg 3000 feet, but the eastern barricade is only 2000 feet, ESE and WNW. Width NNE and SSW 1500 feet	2600	1500	No whites			
67	<i>Cornelius Stallardt's heirs</i> On whose behalf Cornelius Stallardt and heir have made statements Sub. No. 26 of December 27 <sup>th</sup> Those slaves which are believed to be stated last year, consist of those which their mother	March 31 1728	1721	1728	Cotton work	Stretching with its length from last mentioned Duurloos plantation's east barricade ESE and WNW towards Michel Hendrichsens heir's western barricade. Length S and N from ditto Hendrichsen's plantation to the sea namely on the eastern barricade 2700 feet, but the western only 1000 feet.	2400	2150	2 sons Daniel & Ananias	4 men 4 women		3 men 1 women 2 boys 1 girl

	and stepfather Adam Kleghorn's probate have received for outlay and have been taken away.											
67	<i>Willem Cramieuv</i> Who has bought this plantation from his stepfather Knud Olsen Lerche and works it with slaves by note no. 23 of December 24	Feb 21 1728	1725	1732	Planting Cotton	Situated between Michel Hendrichsen's and the above mentioned Stallardt's heir's plantation. Length south and north. Width east and west.	1400	700	Himself	3men 1 women	1 man	1women

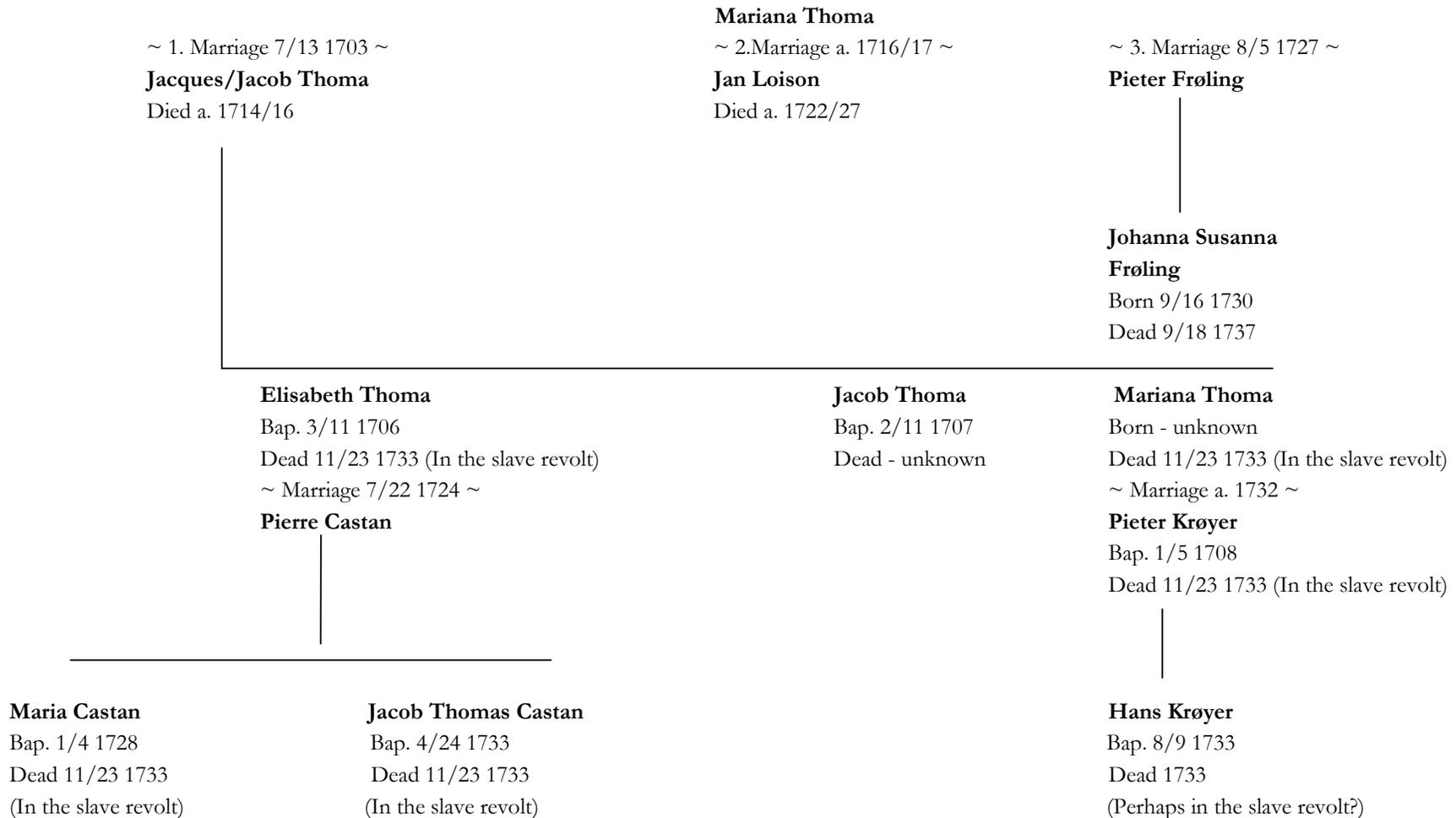
## Appendix 4: The Krøyer Family Tree

Source: KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1399; KDV1-775-1: Lak 5-1400; KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401; VGK 446:99; VGK 446:516; VGK 446: 731-32; VGK 446:750; Larsen 1980 p. 86



## Appendix 5: The Thoma Family Tree

Sources: KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1399; KDV1-775-1: Lak 5-1400; KDV 1-775-1: Lak 5-1401; VGK 446:99; VGK 446:516; VGK 446: 731-32;VGK 446:750



## Appendix 6: Translation of the Probate of Jens Rasmussen

Source: STSJG 712:35.40.7. Cannot be accessed due to its fragile state.  
A photocopy is attainable through Marie Veisegaard Olsen.

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Probate of deceased Jens Rasmussen

Carl Friderich Weyle

His Royal Majesty of Denmark and Norway, etc. etc.

Appointed land bailiff on the island of St. Jan in America

As well as probate Administrator at the same place

Makes public that:

In the year 1772, February 20<sup>th</sup>, I, the undersigned land bailiff and probate administrator on the deceased Jens Rasmussen's plantation situated in [...illegible.....] has registered and be appraised the estate of the deceased, so a legal probate can be made between the surviving widow Anna Maria (Alkak) and the children, namely 3 sons: Johannes, Nathaniel and David, and one daughter Juditha Rasmussen, for which underage guardian was appointed Hr. Matheus Bowe, who at present at this proceeding together with [..illegible..] appointed representative Hr. Matheus Kremser. As appraisers were present Hr. Captain Schmalz & Geloude Runnels, and [..] by the widow is given the following: A plantation, length 3000 feet and width 1500 feet, where to belongs a piece of land or a so-called point, on which no measurement exists, all according to the evidence which was produced, planted with little provisions and cotton, on which stands various small buildings, which all was appraised at: Ps. 1500

N: 1. Samuel, A Negro man 150

Negro women

N: 1. Cumba 200

2. Lena 50

3. Charlotta 250

4. Dominga with a boy David 300

5. (Pheha) with a boy (Phillemon) 300

6. Anna with boy Samuel 300

7. Sara 50

8. (Roos) 250

9. Susanna 250

Negro boys

N: 1. Cesar 250

2. Gedeon 150

3. Henrich	100
4. Christopher	80
Negro girls	
N: 1. Rebecca	80
Animals	
1. mare	60
1. stallion	60
1. bull	10
2. cows	50
1. heifer	25
1. calf	4
7. goats large and small	15
3. pigs	9
Some old house [...], pots, pans, etc. [...] appraised for	10
A canoe	15
Sum Ps.	4518

After asking the widow with curator if there was anything else to report belonging to the estate, answered No, except some [...] cotton whereby they both promised to make an account and correctness to the probate court. So it was reported that on St. Thomas with Hr. Agent Kragh & (Bargger), that to the probate belongs 2 stone kettles, which hereafter [...] will be observed and accounted to this same probate and estate.

The widow further declares with the curator that the deceased had given away or given to his children the following negroes, namely to the son Johannes a negro boy called Christian, who is in apprenticeship at Hr. Kremser; to the son Nathaniel a negro boy called Printz; to the son David a negro boy [...].stian and to the daughter Juditha a negro girl called [...] which all are not appraised.

Such has taken place and is registered and appraised. Witnessed at St. John on the date above written.

C. Fr. Weyle

As appraisers: [...illegible...]

Geloude Runnels, .....widow of Rasmussen..... Mathias Bowe as guardian

Appendix 7: VIIS 331 "Hendrichsen"

# FS	Location (Viis 331)	Class	# FS	Type	Date Ranges
1	Unit 1, level 1	Ceramic	1.1	Creamware, light colored	1775- 1820
		Other	1.2	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe stem bore diameter 5/64	1720-1750
		Other	1.3	Wrought iron nail without head	
		Other	1.4	Cast iron cooking pot fragment	18 <sup>th</sup> century
		Other	1.5	Wattle and daub mortar fragment	
2	Unit 1, level 2	Other	2.1	UID cast iron pot fragment	Prob. 18 <sup>th</sup> c. cooking pot
3	Unit 1, level 3	Shell	3.1	Citarium pica shell (whelk)	
4	At possible servants house	Ceramic	4.1	Earthenware, UID unglazed coarse	
		Shell	4.2	Flamingo shell	(African adornment?)
5	Northeast slope from main house	Ceramic	5.1	Creamware	1762-1820
6	In/outside of main-house	Porcelain	6.1	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
7	Northwest slope of buildings	Porcelain	7.2	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	7.3	Delft, purple polychrome	1600-1802
		Other	7.4	Carved bone utensil fragment	
8	Northwest slope of buildings	Ceramic	8.1	Delft, plain undecorated	1600-1802
		Ceramic	8.2	UID tin enamelled, blue on white	
		Porcelain	8.3	Underglaze blue with brown exterior	1740-1780
		Porcelain	8.4	Underglaze blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	8.5	Stoneware, white salt glazed	1720-1820
		Ceramic	8.6	Creamware, darker colored	1762-1780
		Ceramic	8.7	Creamware, lighter colored	1775-1820
		Ceramic	8.8	UID tin enamelled ceramic	
		Ceramic	8.9	Stoneware, transitional white glaze with oxide detailing	1720-1730
		Ceramic	8.10	Dark Creamware	1762-1780

		Other	8.11	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe bowl fragment	
		Other	8.12	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe stem frag – bore dia 5/64	1720-1750
		Other	8.13	UID tooth	
		Glass	8.14	Aqua glass bottle base fragment with heavy patina	
		Other	8.15	Part of a cast iron cooking pot	18 <sup>th</sup> century
9	Northwest slope of buildings	Ceramic	9.1	Delft, blue on white	1600-1802
		Porcelain	9.2	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	9.3	Delft, undecorated,	1600-1802
		Ceramic	9.4	Creamware	1762-1780
		Ceramic	9.5	Fulham salt glazed stoneware ale bottle	1690-1775
		Porcelain	9.6	Brown glazed exterior	1740-1780
		Redware	9.7	Agateware	1740-1775
		Ceramic	9.8	Hand build pottery/Colonoware?	
		Other	9.9	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe stems bore dia 5/64	1720-1750
		Other	9.10	Tooth, animal, prob. a goat	
		Shell	9.11	Chiton shell fragment	
	Northwest slope of building	Ceramic	10.1	Creamware, darker colored	1762-1780
		Ceramic	10.2	Creamware, lighter colored	1775-1820
		Ceramic	10.3	Creamware, feather edge	1765-1820
		Ceramic	10.4	UID gray salt glazed stoneware	18 <sup>th</sup> Cent.
		Stoneware	10.5	Rhenish Gray and purple	1650-1725
		Ceramic	10.6	Delft	1600-1802
		Ceramic	10.7	N. Staffordshire Slipware	1670-1740
		Ceramic	10.8	Delft	1600-1802
		Ceramic	10.9	N. Devon gravel Tempered ware	1650-1775
		Porcelain	10.10	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
		Porcelain	10.11	Brown glazed exterior	1740-1780
		Porcelain	10.12	Chinese Imari	1700-1780
		Porcelain	10.13	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	10.14	Hand build pottery	Colonoware?
		Other	10.15	Kaolin clay tobacco pipe bowl fragment	
		Other	10.16	Burned bone	
		Glass	10.17	Flat aqua window glass	
11	Northwest slope of	Porcelain	11.1	Underglazed blue Chinese porcelain	1660-1880

	buildings	Ceramic	11.2	Delft, polychrome painted	1600-1802
		Ceramic	11.3	Delft, blue on white	1600-1802
		Ceramic	11.4	Course Earthenware, yellow glazed - Charante Plain	18 <sup>th</sup> cent
12	Northeast slope near to "cave" rocks	Glass	12.1	Free blown amber beer bottle fragment	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
		Glass	12.2 20	Free blown olive green wine bottles	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> c.- mid 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
13	Northeast slope, near to "cave" rocks	Ceramic	13.1	English ale bottle, stoneware	Early 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
		Glass	13.2	Cherry Haering bottle, dip mold with an iron pontil	(fake Cherry Herring)
		Glass	13.3	Olive green free blown wine bottle base	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> c.- mid 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
14	Northeast slope, near to "cave" rocks	Glass	14.1	Machine made olive green bottle base	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> c.- mid 19 <sup>th</sup> c.
		Glass	14.2	Possible machine made bottle, green glass	19 <sup>th</sup> century
15	back wall (SW) of upper building	Ceramic	15.1	Delft, blue on white	1600-1802
		Ceramic	15.2	Pearlware, handpainted polychrome	1795-1830
		Ceramic	15.3	Creamware, undecorated plain	1762-1820
16	Possible main building	Ceramic	16.1	Redware, black lead glazed	1700-1770
17	Near north wall inside main house	Ceramic	17.1	Delft, undecorated plain	1600-1802
18	Near SE corner at e main house	Ceramic	18.1	Course Earthenware, yellow lead glazed Saintoinge Plain	18 <sup>th</sup> cent.

## Appendix 8: VIIS 329 "Van Stell"

# FS	Location	Class	# FS	Type	Date ranges
1	The north slope near the "Old dwelling house" Surface collection	Ceramic	1.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	1.2	Pearlware, Hand painted	1775-1840
		Ceramic	1.3	Pearlware	1780-1830
		Ceramic	1.4	Pearlware blue shell edge	1780-1830
		Ceramic	1.5	Pearlware, plain	1780-1840
		Ceramic	1.6	Underglazed Porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	1.7	Pearlware	1780-1840
		Glass	1.8	Colorless glass	
			1.9	Citeriaum pica	
2	The north slope near the "Old dwelling house" Surface collection	Ceramic	2.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	2.2	Underglazed Porcelain	1660-1880
			2.3	Strombis Gigas	
		Ceramic	2.4	North Staffordshire slipware	1675-1740
		Ceramic	2.5	North Staffordshire slipware	1675-1740
		Ceramic	2.6	Pearlware, plain	1780-1830
		Ceramic	2.7	Porcelain, ching	1644-1912
		Ceramic	2.8	Underglazed Porcelain, plain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	2.9	Delft, rim lining	1729-1793
		Glass	2.10	Glass fragments	
		Ceramic	2.11	Pearlware, green shell edged	
		Ceramic	2.12	Plearware, hand painted	1775-1840
		Ceramic	2.13	Pearlware, edged	1809-1831
		Ceramic	2.14	Pearlware, annular	1795-1830
		Ceramic	2.15	Tin enamel delft Polychrome?	1600-1802
		Ceramic	2.16	White salt glazed stoneware	1720-1770
3	The north slope near the "Old dwelling house" Surface collection	Ceramic	3.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	3.2	Underglazed blue Porcelain	1660-1880
		Glass	3.3	Glass fragments	
		Ceramic	3.4	Scratch blue white salt glazed stoneware	1744-1775
		Ceramic	3.5	Pearlware, scalloped blue	1780-1840
		Ceramic	3.6	Redware, Black lead glazed Coarse Earthenware	1700-1770
		Ceramic	3.7	Pearlware, plain	1780-1840
		Ceramic	3.8	North Staffordshire slipware	1675-1740
		Ceramic	3.9	Delft	1600-1802
		Ceramic	3.10	Pearlware, hand painted	1775-1840

		Ceramic	3.11	Whiteware, light blue transfer print	1830-1992
		Ceramic	3.12	Green shell edged	1800-1840
		Glass	3.14	Colorless glass	
4	The north slope near the "Old dwelling house" Surface collection	Ceramic	4.4	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	4.5	White salt glazed stoneware-dot diaper basket pattern	1720-1770
		Ceramic	4.6	Black lead glazed coarse earthenware	1700-1770
		Glass	4.7	Colorless glass	
5	The north slope near the "Old dwelling house" Surface collection	Ceramic	5.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	5.2	Pearlware, hand painted	1775-1840
		Ceramic	5.3	Pearlware, shell egded	1809-1831
		Ceramic	5.4	Underglazed blue Porcelain	
		Ceramic	5.5	White salt glazed stoneware	1720-1770
		Ceramic	5.6	Pearlware, plain or UIP	1780-1840
6	The north slope near the "Old dwelling house" Surface collection	Ceramic	6.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	6.2	Underglazed Porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	6.3	Pearlware-polychrome, hand painted	1775-1840
		Glass	6.4	Colorless glass	
		Glass	6.5	Olive glass	
		Shell	6.6	Shell	
7	Cemetery by the Brownsbay plantation	Ceramic	7.1	Underglazed blue Porcelain	1660-1880
		Ceramic	7.2	Pearlware, plain	1780-1840
		Ceramic	7.3	Pearlware, hand painted	1775-1840
		Ceramic	7.4	Whiteware/Pearlware	
		Ceramic	7.5	Pearlware, scalloped blue	1780-1830
		Ceramic	7.6	Pearlware, Blue banded annulare	1780-1830
		Glass	7.7	Olive green glass fragments	
		Ceramic	7.8	Stoneware, unglazed	
		Ceramic	7.9	Glazed stoneware-UID-grey	
		Faunal	7.10		
		Coral	7.11		
		Shell	7.12		
8	Cemetery by the Brownsbay plantation		8.1	Iron stone	1840-1930
			8.2	19th ink ginger beer	1820-1900
9	Cemetery by the	Ceramic	9.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	9.2	Pearlware, plain	1780-1840

	Brownsbay plantation	Ceramic	9.3	Green shell edged	1800-1840
		Ceramic	9.4	Pearlware-polychrome, hand painted	1775-1840
		Ceramic	9.5	Transfer print whiteware, embossed	1830-present
		Ceramic	9.6	Lead glazed coarse earthenware	1490-1900
			9.10	Pipe stem, Large bore diameter	Older
		Ceramic	9.11	Pearlware, engine turned dipt	1785-1840
		Shell	9.12	Shell	
10	Northeast slope	Glass	10.1	Black glass base	1690-1850
		Glass	10.2	Gin bottle base	
		Ceramic	10.3	Stoneware base	1820-1900
11	Northeast slope	Ceramic	11.1	Earthenware, thick unglazed	1490-1900
		Glass	11.2	Bottle lip/neck, black glass	1690-1850
		Glass	11.3	UID bottle base	
12	Northeast slope	Metal	12.1	Ferrous metal fragment	
		Ceramic	12.2	Stoneware	1820-1900
		Ceramic	12.3	Pearlware	1780-1830
13	Northeast slope	Ceramic	13.1	Stoneware, bottle base	1820-1900
		Ceramic	13.2	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	13.3	Pearlware, plain	1780-1849
		Ceramic	13.4	Pearlware, hand painted early	1795-1820
		Ceramic	13.5	Pearlware, annular engine turned	1785-1840
14	Northeast slope	Ceramic	14	Lead glazed coarse earthenware	1490-1900
15	Unit 1 level 1	Ceramic	15	Creamware	1762-1820
16	Unit 2 Level 1	Ceramic	16.1	Creamware	1762-1820
		Ceramic	16.2	Moravian	1750-1825
17	Unit 2 Level 2	Ceramic	17.1	Creamware- UID shell edged?	
		Ceramic	17.2	Moravian	1750-1825
		Other	17.3	Charcoal	
18		Ceramic	18.1	Pearlware, blue shell edged	1780-1830
		Ceramic	18.2	Slipware, green lead glazed	18 <sup>th</sup> century
		Ceramic	18.3	Earthenware, brown lead glazed	1490-1900
		Ceramic	18.4	N. Staffordshire slipware	1675-1740
		Ceramic	18.5	Annular pearlware, engine turned	1785-1840
		Ceramic	18.6	Jackfield	1740-1790
		Ceramic	18.7	Whiteware, plain undecorated	1815-present
		Ceramic	18.8	Underglazed Porcelain	1660-1880

		Ceramic	18.9	Creamware, plain undecorated	1762-1820
		Ceramic	18.10	North Staffordshire	1675-1740
		Glass	18.11	Olive green glass	18 <sup>th</sup> century
		Other	18.12	Lead hook	
19		Ceramic	19.1	Whiteware, undecorated, plain	1815-present
20		Ceramic	20.1	Pearlware, plain	1780-1830
		Other	20.2	Citarium pica	
21		Ceramic	21.1	Pearlware, plain	1780-1830
22		Ceramic	22.1	Pearlware, hand painted edged	1780-1830
		Ceramic	22.2	Pearlware, plain	1780-1830
		Ceramic	22.3	Creamware, plain	1762-1820

## Appendix 9: The condition of the estates after the slave rebellion

Source: VGK 446:1.29.1

### Specification

*On St. John: how many of the plantations and their owners have been damaged by fire during the slave rebellion, and how many have not been damaged. Also, how many plantations are cultivated and how many are not, and also, how many white male lives on the plantations after the rebellion.*

	White males living on the plantation	Number	How many buildings have been damaged and the nature of the damage	Number	How many plantations which are being cultivated	Number	How many plantations which are not being cultivated
The Company	1	1	Mill, boiling house burned down and distillery damaged and also dwelling house and storehouse	1	Cultivated	-	-
Governor Suhm	1	2	Two dwelling houses and storehouses	2	Cultivated	-	-
Pieter Fröling	-	3	Boiling house, dwelling house, storehouse and also the mill burned down	3	Cultivated	-	-
Jochim	-	4	Dwelling house and storehouse burned	4	Cultivated	-	-

			down				
Niels Ore-grass	-	5	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	-	-	1	Not cultivated
Andreas Henningsön	-	6	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	-	-	2	Not cultivated
Johan Horn	-	7	Everything burned down	-	-	3	Not cultivated
Lambregh de Coning	-	8	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	5	Cultivated	-	-
Detlöf N. Fries	1	9	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	6	Cultivated	-	-
Jochim Coop's widow	1	10	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	7	Cultivated	-	-
Anthonÿ Kambeck	1	11	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	8	Cultivated	-	-
Jasper Jansen's plantation, formerly belonging to Mogensen's heirs. Exists no buildings and has not been occupied in three	-	12	-	-	-	3	Not cultivated

years							
Johannes Uytendahl	-	13	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	9	Cultivated	-	-
Govert Marché	1	14	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	10	Cultivated	-	-
Jannes de Winth's plantation. The dwelling house was burned down before the rebellion	-	15	-	-	-	5	Not cultivated
Thomas Bourdeaux	1	16	Mill and boiling house burned down and <i>balten</i> from the distillery missing	11	Cultivated	-	-
Mery Simson	-	17	Boiling house burned down and distillery damaged	12	Cultivated	-	-
Esaias Val-leaux	-	18	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	13	Cultivated	-	-
Wim. Ber-entz formerly Adr. Beverhoudt	1	19	Dwelling house, storehouse and boiling house burned down,	14	Cultivated	-	-

			while the mill and distillery still exists however the <i>kroben</i> from the distillery is gone				
Joachim Stalley	1	20	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	15	Cultivated	-	-
Wm. Berentz's plantation formerly Ma. Torstensen	-	21	Dwelling house and storehouse ruined in a hurricane	-	-	6	Not cultivated
Pieter Dour Loo's plantation, belonging to the widow of Früse, who Dour Loo is now married to.	-	22	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	16	Cultivated	-	-
Jacob Delicat	1	23	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	17	Cultivated	-	-
The plantation of Gerhardt Moll's widow	1	24	Two dwelling houses of which one was burned down by the rebellion, whereas the mill, boiling house and distillery are	18	Cultivated	-	-

			in a good condition.				
Pieter Dour Loo's plantation formerly Sieben	-	25	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down. Mill, boiling house and distillery in good repair	-	-	7	Not cultivated
Captain Moth's and Crabbe's plantation	1	26	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	19	Cultivated	-	-
Johannes Beverhoudt	1	27	Dwelling house, boiling house and storehouse burned down, while mill and distillery in good repair	20	Cultivated	-	-
Diderich Salomon's heirs	1	28	Dwelling house ruined by a hurricane before the rebellion	21	Cultivated	-	-
Issaq Runnel	1	29	Dwelling house, boiling house and storehouse burned down, while the mill is in good repair	22	Cultivated	-	-
Cornelius Delicat's	-	30	Dwelling house,	23	Cultivated	-	-

heirs			boiling house and storehouse burned down, whereas the mill is safe				
Pieter Kröyer	-	31	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	-	-	8	Not cultivated because he lost all his slaves to the rebellion
Jochum Delicat	-	32	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	-	-	9	Not cultivated
Jan Valk's heirs	-	33	Dwelling house, storehouse and boiling house burned down, whereas the mill still exists	24	Cultivated	-	-
Jacob Magen's heirs and Cracowit's plantation [...]	1	34	Dwelling house and boiling house burned down while the mill is safe	25	Cultivated	-	-
Pieter Castan	-	35	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	-	-	10	Not cultivated
Christoffer Gothschalk's heirs	-	36	Dwelling house, storehouse and boiling	26	Cultivated	-	-

			house burned down, the mill damaged, the distillery is gone				
Daniel Gansen's widow	1	37	Dwelling house, boiling house and storehouse burned down, the mill and the distillery in good repair	27	Cultivated	-	-
Didrich van Stell	-	38	Dwelling house burned down	-	-	11	Not cultivated
Issaq Constantin's widow	1	39	Dwelling house, boiling house and two storehouses burned down, the tube and <i>baluten</i> from the distillery is gone. The mill in good condition	28	Cultivated	-	-
Cornelius Stallard's heirs	-	40	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	29	Cultivated	-	-
William Vessup	-	41	Dwelling house, boiling house and	-	-	12	Not cultivated

			storehouse burned down whereas the mill and four sugar kettles are safe. From the distillery the tube and <i>halten</i> are gone				
Johan Reimert Soedtmann	1	42	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	30	Cultivated	-	-
Cornelius Bödger's plantation. NB: belongs to Soedtmann, but was cultivated by Bödger before the rebellion	-	43	Dwelling house and storehouse burned down	-	-	13	Not cultivated

## Specification

*The plantations on St. John which have not been damaged by the rebels*

	<b>White males living on the plantation</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Plantations which have not been damaged</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Plantations which are been cultivated</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Plantations which are not been cultivated</b>
Pieter Dour Loo	1	1	No damage	1	Cultivated	-	-
Johannes Charles	1	2	No damage	2	Cultivated	-	-

Pieter Fröling's plantation which shares barricade with the Company	-	3	No damage	-	-	1	Not cultivated
Lieven Kiervink	-	4	No damage done by the rebels but the dwelling house is ruined by a hurricane	-	-	2	Not cultivated
Lieven Marché formerly deceased Kambeck	-	5	No damage	-	-	3	Not cultivated
Johannes Runnel	-	6	No damage	-	-	4	Not cultivated
Mrs. Bredal	1	7	No damage, but the tube from the distillery is [...] and <i>halten</i> is gone	3	Cultivated	-	-
Adr. Beverhoudt	1	8	No damage	4	Cultivated	-	-
Wm. Zitzema	1	9	No damage	5	Cultivated	-	-
Ditto Zitzema formerly Carstens	-	10	No damage	6	Cultivated	-	-
Dreÿer	-	11	No damage	7	Cultivated	-	-
Engel Beverhoudt junior's widow	1	12	No damage	8	Cultivated	-	-
Robben de Klery	1	13	No damage	9	Cultivated	-	-
Jannes Gintand	-	14	No damage	10	Cultivated	-	-
Janike		15	No damage	11	Cultivated	-	-

Haly's heirs							
Peder Sørensen	1	16	No damage	12	Cultivated	-	-
Jacque Boufferon	-	17	No damage	-	-	5	Not cultivated
Francis Gonsel	1	18	No damage	13	Cultivated	-	-
Issaq Salomon	1	19	No damage	14	Cultivated	-	-
Issaq Mathensen's widow	1	20	No damage	15	Cultivated	-	-
Gland Beverhoudt's widow	-	21	No damage	16	Cultivated	-	-
Issaq Groenwold	-	22	No damage	-	-	6	Not cultivated
Abraham Runnel's heirs	1	23	No damage	17	Cultivated	-	-
Adrian Runnel's widow	1	24	No damage	18	Cultivated	-	-
Abraham Bhaudevbyn	-	25	No damage	-	-	7	Not cultivated
Jacob van Stell	-	26	No damage	19	Cultivated	-	-
Lieven van Stell	-	27	No damage	20	Cultivated	-	-
Constantin Moth	-	28	No damage	21	Cultivated	-	-
Wm. Eason	-	29	No damage	-	-	8	Not cultivated
Gabriel van Stell	-	30	No damage	-	-	9	Not cultivated
Jacob Schönemann	-	31	No damage	22	Cultivated	-	-
David Bourdeaux's widow	-	32	No damage	23	Cultivated	-	-
Berent Langmak's	-	33	No damage	24	Cultivated	-	-

heirs							
Reiner Volker	-	34	The plantation lies waste	-	-	10	Not cultivated
Johannes Minnebeck	1	35	No damage	25	Cultivated	-	-
Nicolaÿ Creützfelt	-	36	The plantation lies waste	-	-	11	Not cultivated
Wm. Berentz formerly belonged to commander Swenningsen	-	37	The plantation lies waste	-	-	12	Not cultivated
Tim Torner	-	38	No damage	26	Cultivated	-	-
Reÿert Alling	-	39	No damage	27	Cultivated	-	-
Michel Hendrichsen's heirs	1	40	No damage	28	Cultivated	-	-
Johan Jacob Creutzer	-	41	No damage	29	Cultivated	-	-
Johannes Beverhoudt formerly belonged to Robert Preÿers	-	42	No damage	-	-	13	Not cultivated
Conrad Veusteg's widow	-	43	No damage	30	Cultivated	-	-
Johannes van Beverhoudt formerly belonged to captain Harmal	1	44	No damage	31	Cultivated	-	-
Andreas Hammer's widow	-	45	Lies waste	-	-	14	Not cultivated
Johannes Salomonsen	-	46	No damage	32	Cultivated	-	-

Peter Cranieüs	-	47	No damage	-	-	15	Not cultivated
Abraham Elias	-	48	No damage	-	-	16	Not cultivated

This copy is a duplicate of the master and was handed over to the secretariat at the fort Christians fort in St. Thomas. Hans Lindberg, secretary

## Appendix 10: Number of slaves in the rebellion, 1734

Source: VGK 446:99

### *Specification*

*Specification of the number of Negroes who were involved in the rebellion on St. Jan, begun the 23<sup>rd</sup> of November 1733, enrolled after received specifications in published public notice, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of February year 1734.*

Owner of the slave	Number of slaves in the rebellion
<u>Jochum Stolly</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Christopher W. Gotskalk's heirs</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Cornelius F. Bödger</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Pieter DeurLoo</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Johan Reimert Soedtmann</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>Mathias Borrel</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Andreas Henningsen</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Pieter Castan</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>Govert Marché</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Gabriel van Stell</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Thomas Boudeaux</u>	<u>3</u>
<u>Maria Simson</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Dethlef Nicolay Friis</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>Adrian Runnel's widow</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Lambrect de Cooning</u>	<u>4</u>

<u>James Charles</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>James Gizard</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Johannes Runnel</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>Pieter Fröeling</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Pieter Kröyer</u>	<u>8</u>
<u>Lorentz Henrichsen</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Governor Suhm</u>	<u>28</u>
<u>Jacob Schönnemann</u>	<u>6</u>
<u>Johan Horn</u>	<u>4</u>
<u>Issaq Runnel's widow</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>Governor Moth, made</u> <u>no specification</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>The company, 25 children</u> <u>and male Negroes and 10</u> <u>female Negroes</u>	<u>35</u>

Summa male and female Negroes besides children: a total number of  
146

Signed by Hans Lindberg, Secretary

## Appendix 11: Specification of rebels released or executed, 1734

Source: VGK 446:1.29.1

### *Specification*

*Specification of the rebel Negroes who were executed or released, selected from the protocol of the city court of St. Thomas*

	Those who were executed	Those who were released
Year 1733 December 1 <sup>st</sup> the male Negro Abraham owned by the Company was sentenced to death and executed	1	
December 4 <sup>th</sup> the male Negro Condo owned by the Company was sentenced death and executed	1	
December 5 <sup>th</sup> male Negro Christian owned by secretary Schönne- mann was sentenced to death and executed	1	
December 6 <sup>th</sup> a male Negro named Aera owned by governor Fridrich Moth, was sentenced to death and executed	1	
December 7 <sup>th</sup> the male Negro Frule owned by the Company was released		1
Same date the female Negro Thora owned by the Company was released		1
Same date the male Negro Capilo owned by Isaq Rünnel's widow was sentenced to death and executed	1	
December 10 <sup>th</sup> the male Negro Abraham owned by governor Suhm was sentenced to death and executed	1	
Same date the male Negro Davano owned by governor Moth was sentenced to death and executed	1	
December 10 <sup>th</sup> male Negro Hans owned by Pieter do Loo was sen- tenced to death and executed	1	
Same date a male Negro Samba or Asa owned by the Company was sentenced to death and executed	1	
December 15 <sup>th</sup> the male Negro Bastian owned by deceased Pieter Kröyer was released		1
Same date female Negro Maria owned by the Company was by the court released		1
Same date female Negro Eva owned by deceased Johan Reimert Soedtmann was by the court released		1
18 <sup>th</sup> December a male Negro named Goliath owned by fiscal Friis was by the court released		1
Same date a female Negro Sara owned by the Company was by the court released		1
Same date a female Negro Castie owned by the Company was by		1

the court released		
Same date a female Negro named Attiba owned by governor Suhm was by the court released		1
December 19 <sup>th</sup> 1733 a male Negro named Bootsman owned by the Company was sentenced to death and executed	1	
Same date a male Negro named Pieter owned by Cornelius Frandsen Bödger was by the court released		1
Same date a female Negro named Santie owned by Lorentz Hendrichsen was released after corporal punishment		1
Same date a female Negro owned by secretary Schönemann was released after corporal punishment		1
Same date a female Negro owned by the Company was released after corporal punishment		1
December 23 <sup>rd</sup> 1733 a male Negro named Jantie owned by Joseph Drejer was released		1
Same date a female Negro named Marotte owned by the Company was released		1
Same date a female Negro named Lisette owned by the Company was released after punishment on the body		1
Same date the female Negro Chatrine owned by the Company was released after corporal punishment		1
Same date Snartie owned by the Company was released after corporal punishment		1
January 11 <sup>th</sup> 1734 the female Negro named Sara owned by Pieter Castan was sentenced to death and executed	1	
January 11 <sup>th</sup> 1734 the female Negro Santie owned by Pieter Kröyer was sentenced to lose a leg		1
Same date the male Negro named Tham owned by Gabriel van Stell was released		1
May 21 <sup>st</sup> 1734 was male Negro Philippo owned by the Company sentenced to death and executed on St. John	1	
Same date the male Negro named Printz owned by the Company executed on St. John	1	
May 27 <sup>th</sup> on St. Thomas, the following were executed; Male Negro Friderick owned by Andreas Henningsen	1	
Ditto Pieter owned by Lambrecht	1	
Ditto Jacqou owned by Lambrecht	1	
Female Negro Aorsche owned by the Company	1	
Female Negro Susanna owned by Landbrecht	1	

*The total number executed*      18  
*And released after corporal punishment*      23

*6<sup>th</sup> of July 1734*  
*G. H. Hansen*

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## Appendix 12: The Request of Christian Sort's Manumission

Source: GTK 365:1

No. 65            22 February 1763

Great Almighty King  
Most Gracious Master!

Governor General and Council Member Baron von Prøck have by letter Sub. Litr. A:/ submitted the enclosed and most humble application for one negro-slave on St. John, belonging to your majesty, by the name of Christian Sort, in which he, as regards that he from his youth faithfully and diligent has attended and served at the royal estates on St. Thomas and St. John as master barber, and now on account of his old age and the infirmities of his body longs to live the rest of his remaining years in peacefulness, and therefore most humble ask that he most gracious could be given his freedom, whose application the named Governor General gives his best recommendations, and which is likewise given by a group of other royal servants on the island, such as: Council Member Lindberg, Council Member Kragh, Doctor Heerlein, Magistrate Weile, the Priest Borck and many more who in the enclosed certificates complement each other on the notion that he at all occasions has showed loyalty and a very good testimonial and therefore wish him most graciously to be granted his prayers.

As it now will be a highly precious mercy for this old negro if he was given his freedom, and one would presume that such an example would serve as an encouragement to the other slaves to serve with faithfulness and honesty, as this negro slave Christian Sort has proven, by the royal mercy wish and grant his freedom.

We remain to our death  
Your Royal Majesty's  
Most gracious and devoted servants  
Weselds, Molthe, A. H. Bernstoft, Eremann, Wayerschlebe de Cederfeld, Kothe.

West Indian and Guinea  
Chamber of Revenue and Customs February 10, 1763

(Note on the following page)

With regards to the loyalty and honesty which this negro-slave Christian Sort has proven through his service, he has by a highly royal grace been given his freedom.

Christianborg Castle, February 22, 1763. King Friderich

Appendix 13: Project Photographs



**Figure 1 Brown Bay.**



**Figure 2** The project crew in from the field on St. John. Left to Right Marie, Ken, Andreas, Galit, Agnes, and Nikolaj.



**Figure 3 Working at the van Stell, Rasmussen, and William Brown Site. The "old house" wall remains are in the foreground.**



**Figure 4 A portion of the Brown Bay cemetery located below slave village and behind the sugar factory.**



**Figure 5 Archaeology work at the 19<sup>th</sup> century structure off the beach at Brown Bay.**



**Figure 6 Possible Hendrichsen and Christian Sort house site before clearing.**



**Figure 7 Great House at the site known as Brown Bay West.**