# Hassel Island 1688 – 1801 An Unusual Plantation

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#### A Brief Introduction to the Danish West Indies from 1688 to 1801

This introduction will give the reader an idea of what kind of place the Danish West Indies were during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through descriptions from people who lived in the islands at the time. The eighteenth century was much influenced by upheavals in both the old and new world as seen in the large number of wars conducted in Europe during this period:

- The Great Nordic War from 1700 to 1721.
- The Spanish Succession War from 1701 to 1713.
- The Polish Succession War from 1733 to 1735.
- The Austrian Succession War from 1745 to 1748.
- The North American Colonial Wars from 1755 to 1763.
- The Seven Years War from 1756 to 1763.
- The North American War of Independence from 1776 to 1783.
- The French Revolutionary Wars from 1793 to 1801.

The wars mentioned above, especially those in the last half of the eighteenth century, created a very profitable business for the Danish state; a business that was as risky as it was profitable. Danish neutrality meant that all goods from the entangled war parties could be shipped by Danish ships.. However, this neutrality ultimately had a high price; the temporary loss of the Danish Caribbean possessions, the Danish fleet and the bombardment of Copenhagen in1807.

Most of the descriptions of the West Indies that were found for this study are from a Danish administrative point of view. All except one of the sources chosen to help describe the West Indies are from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and only one was not created by Danish officials. When the Danish settlers began to colonize St. Thomas in 1672, there was little assistance from the governor, Jørgen Iversen, (who was constantly in conflict with the local administration???). In the West Indian-Guinean Company's copy book from 1672 it reads: *Our Company is so ill spoken of among common folk that when they come to serve in the West Indies they expect to be serving in a pagan world.* <sup>1</sup> The situation did not change in 1681. The Company Book covering incoming affairs reported that governor Iversen complained about how the Danes were referred to as the *Domme Deenen*, 'the stupid Danes', by the Dutch planters.<sup>2</sup> Forty years

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Krarup, Frederik: *Jørgen Iversen (Dyppel)*. Det Hoffenbergske Etabl. København.1891. Page 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ibid. Indkommende sager 1680 af 25/1, 2/2 og Nov. Nr. 9. Page 22.

later, Erik Bredal's appointment as governor in the 1720s found matters little improved. Like Jørgen Iversen had done before him, he complained highly about the local administration. Due to the poor administration of the islands, Bredal was appointed to turn things around. Of his two assistants he wrote: *They are most of all a disgrace of the human race, people that you would get rid of back in Europe are instead serving in America*. Since the early settlers came to the West Indies, the islands were referred to as a hellish place. The influential Catholic English planter Nicholas Tuite who settled in (connection with St Thomas?) Copenhagen wrote: *The people who decide to come out here are people who have been sent away because of their bawdiness and other evil vices*.

But who actually went to the Danish West Indies? In the description of the island of St. Croix from 1758, Reimert Haagensen wrote direct and extensively about who went to the Danish West Indies.

- 1) Old people who have come down in the world in one way or another and as a result, have to venture out in order to improve their lot in life in their old age.
- 2) Ordinary or common people who are not fit for the King's service but who, because of both their bawdy and other negative qualities, have to be sent away, most often to the West Indies. There they either die or possibly improve their fortunes, although the West Indies is not the place for the latter. And yes, at times some are transported there in order that their friends here will not be shamed by them. It may also happen that a man is sent away from his wife just as a ward may be sent from his guardian for mean and selfish reasons.
- 3) Numbers of poor children are also sent out. They are so poor that they have nothing to clothe their nakedness. Were they not to become soldiers- though in truth they are nothing more than boys dressed in a red tunic- they would have to go about like slaves, their skin exposed to baking by the heat of the sun, thus being destroyed. No poor child could boast of having arrived like the boys whom His Excellency Privy Counsellor Carl Adolf von Plessen had sent out in the year 1738. Some of those boys are still alive; one or two of them returned home and some others are dead. I still know of two of these boys who came out at that time and who are now citizens of the island. They now own plantations and have slaves; their names are Peter Bredenbek (and?) og Mogens Andersen, which I should also mention for the record.
- 4) Young, well behaved people are also sent out, either in the capacity of magistrates or assistants. These people, or some of them, become wealthy because they are not disposed

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Brøndsted, Johannes. Vore gamle tropekolonier. Bind 1. 2. udgave. København. 1966. Page 208

Nicholas Tuite beretninger om Vestindien 1763: J.G. Molktes arkiv D. 5. b. (RA) og DKanc indl. t.v. sager 1754, nr. 12.

to partake of harmful drink, or spirits, called Kill-devil, (the local name for rum) which is available in quantity there. All the same, some bad eggs are to be found among them. But the men of the first two classes are usually already drunks here in Denmark, or have at least started to drink. Out there on the island, they continue in the same manner, and that cannot be done, for they will die from it. It is so hot both inside and outside the body that they melt away, wither and die. Consequently, one often sees death settle the question of such men out of hand. For one or two days they are stone drunk and (after?) the third daymaybe not even that long- they are dead. <sup>5</sup>

The Moravian priest, Christian George Andreas Oldendorph 1721-1787 also had some interesting perspectives on the identity of the settlers. In his reports back to the great council in Herrnhut he wrote: Among all these different nations, rich, elegant, polite and decent people can be found but also poor people that could not find a living back in Europe and therefore moved to the West Indies or were sent here as a child. Some are just managing, others have made their own fortune. <sup>6</sup>

In 1793, school headmaster Hans West wrote a description of life in Charlotte Amalie. Even though this description is not a representative point of view, it still creates a clear picture of the time. The mix between Dutch, German, French and Spanish not to mention English and Danish families must create diversity in the household as well as customs. The Danes seem to distance themselves from the other nations because of the special confidentiality between them and their true Danish tone(?) which can be heard among the common people. They visit each other frequently at the family clubs where they spend their time on leisure activities and every time they see each other there is much rejoicing. The inhabitants are very hospitable, the way of living is decent and modest and most commodities are cheaper than on St. Croix. There is nothing else but shops in town (Charlotte Amalie) and they all have European goods... St. Thomas has not got much trading with Denmark except for the trade from Altona (near Hamburg Germany) to Copenhagen (clarify, how does St Thomas fit here?). Nearly all products end up in other ports in Europe. The town consists of 400 Whites, 160 Free coloureds and 1527 slaves. A total of 2087.

Water and soil were two things crucial for the Danish colonies. Haagensen's respect and appreciation for rain water can be seen in his descriptions of the islands from 1758. When a good rain comes, enough water can be collected in a short time from the gutters to serve the households

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Highfield, Arnold R: Description of the Island of St. Croix in America in the West Indies Reimert Haagensen 1758. Virgin Islands Humanities Council.1995. U.S. Virgin Islands. Page 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sebro, Louise: *Kreoliseringen af eurocariberne i Dansk Vestindien – sociale relationer og selvopfattelse.* Fortid og nutid. Tidsskrift for kulturhistorie og lokalhistorie. Udgivet af Dansk historisk fællesråd. 2005. Page 86.

West, Hans: Beskrivelser over St. Croix med en kort udsigt til.. København. 1793. Page 326-8.

for 4 to 5 months. This water is kept secure under lock and key. Neither slaves nor beasts get any of it to drink. Experience and duress have taught me, as well as other citizens of the island, to give proper appreciation to water, because when severe droughts occur, which is often, water becomes so scarce on St. Croix that money cannot buy it.<sup>8</sup> Soil was another topic that had the interest of the Danish administration. The soil is already after the years of farming worn out, visible on the east end which is a victim of the Passat(??what is this?) wind. The roads are in bad condition and the lack of capital has maybe contributed to the poor soil since it does not receive the fertilizer and chemical improvements that it needs.... The amount of dried clay and the red iron earth plus the rocky bedrock results in the fact that the farmers cannot expect the same kind of outcome as the work permits.<sup>9</sup>

#### The Enslaved Labourers

The prosperity that developed from the Danish West Indies was completely dependent on the enslaved laborers. Descriptions of slavery could be quite gruesome and the writers were not shy in voicing their opinions and observances.

The el kamina negroes are hardhearted dogs. They are not only the worst marooners they are also imagining that by the time they are dead they will return to their home land. But as they say it: My dodte my loppe in myn Lande. When I die, I run to my own country. <sup>10</sup>

Reimert Haagensen did not hold himself back when it came to describing the enslaved laborers. *It is as if they are created to be slaves, for they know nothing other than endless work. Therefore, they do it with pleasure, indeed singing and in good state of mind, as if they were the happiest people alive...And when a slave feels that he does not have anything to do for his master, he works either for himself or for one of the other slaves, as he might be needed. <sup>11</sup>* 

...They are all evil by nature, though there is little good in them if I dare say it. I really do believe that their black skin gives proof of their wickedness and that they are destined to slavery, to the extent that they should not have freedom. In the country where these blacks enjoy liberty, no

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Highfield, Arnold R: Description of the Island of St. Croix in America in the West Indies by Reimert Haagensen 1758. Virgin Islands Humanities Council.1995. U.S. Virgin Islands. Page 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> West, Hans: Beskrivelser over St. Croix med en kort udsigt til.. København. 1793. Pages 329-30.

Krarup, Frederik: *Jørgen Iversen (Dyppel)*. Det Hoffenbergske Etabl. København.1891. Indlæg af 1681 12/10 (rødt nr. 408). Page 18.

Highfield, Arnold R: Description of the Island of St. Croix in America in the West Indies
Reimert Haagensen 1758. Virgin Islands Humanities Council.1995. U.S. Virgin Islands. Page 34.

Christian can get on or be liked. 12 The only sign of moderation in Haagensen's descriptions is the way the free blacks and punishment are described.

On the island there are also several free blacks, some of whom are Christians and own plantations and slaves themselves. They lead well-ordered lives and live well, some supporting themselves either by means of a trade or by fishing. It would be a good thing to have more of these Free Blacks since experience has shown that in difficult circumstances their good faith, assits in maintaining order, as in the case of the maroon-hunting activities of the Free Blacks of St. Thomas<sup>13</sup> Regarding punishment: Do not rule your slaves with constant strokes and lashes as some of the planters do, since the slaves will be brought to stubbornness and desperation. In that way they will properly try to hurt themselves or hurt other slaves. A slaves' principle is: When he is dead his enslavement and misery are over. Furthermore they should not be given evil thoughts since they are evil enough in advanced. Experience tells me that they will easily kill themselves if possible.14

These descriptions contribute to our understanding of the prospects and challenges facing all inhabitants in the Danish West Indies from the onset of colonization. The owners of Hassel Island from 1688-1801 were certainly no exceptions.

Opinions about the Danish West Indies provide an insight into a society where people from all over the world had to co-exist. The people sent to the islands from Europe were a mix of people with various backgrounds. Many settlers saw the West Indies as an opportunity to get away from misery at home, but were perhaps often disappointed with their experience in the West Indies and its outcome. The number of illnesses and deaths meant that Europeans became less inclined to go to the islands, and only the promise of money kept people coming. The effect the climate had on the Europeans did not go unnoticed either. It was certainly a new and unpleasant experience. The Danish West Indies started out as a small colony with great expectations that took them 100 years to live up to.

# Introduction to Research Characteristics in a Historical Perspective

13 Ibid. Page 60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ibid. Page 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Brøndsted, Johannes. *Vore gamle tropekolonier.* Bind 2. 2. udgave. København. 1966. Page 156.

The *Vore gamle Tropekolonier* 'Our Old Tropical Colonies' remains, after 50 years one of the great cornerstones of research on Danish colonial history, however, by the end of the twentieth century *Vore gamle Tropekolonier* was losing its status as the sole entrance to Danish colonial history. What *Vore gamle Tropekolonier* wanted to accomplish in the 1950s was to distance itself from anecdotes and exotic fables which had previously influenced Danish colonial history; works like Kay Larsen's 'The Danish West Indies 1666-1917', Waldermar Westergaard's *The Danish West Indies under Company Rule 1671-1754* and Sophie Petersen's 'Denmark's old Tropical colonies.' These stories were not serious or scientific enough for Vore gamle Tropekolonier.

'Our Old Tropical Colonies' represents a more scientific approach by making use of archival research. However, as good as it may have appeared, 'Our Old Tropical Colonies' had the flaw of not including the influence of the 'others', West Indian slaves. <sup>15</sup> In the Danish West Indies, the enslaved laborers were only of interest when they interacted with the Danish local administration. The 'others' were added into a history that concerned Danes and Denmark. In 1969, the historian Ole Feldbæk stated that 'Our Old Tropical Colonies' was too focused on the administration of the colonies, when it should instead focus on the economic side of the Danish colonial history. The Danish government only saw colonies as economic investments and this should be the focus of any research conducted. In the 1970s and early 1980s, Danish colonial history was very much influenced by the tradition of economic history. The influence of the cultures of Africa, India and the West Indies were not taken into account regarding their affect on Danish society and history. Although historians like Svend E. Green-Pedersen recognized the Danish legacy of slavery in the former colonies, they made no efforts to describe enslaved laborers, African kings and Indian merchants, as anything other than a static class. The clash with the ethnocentric perception of Danish colonial history occurred in the mid-1980s and was led by anthropologist Karen Fog Olwig. She acknowledged that the history of the Danish West Indies was a result of an encounter between a European colonial power and Africans that gradually turned into a rather important Afro-American counterpart. Since the turn of the millennium, Danish colonial history has been influenced not only by social history but also by archaeological and medical history. 16

### Hassel Island 1688-1801: An Unusual Plantation

## Introduction

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The enslaved labourers in the Danish West Indies, the West African kings or the East Indian peasants. The cultures surrounding the Danish administration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Brimness, Niels: Den jyske historiker. Nr. 60, juni 1992. *Dansk kolonihistorie mellem historievidenskab og antropolog i-et forslag til metode*. Århus Universitetsforlag. 1992. og Jensen, Niklas Thode. *For slavernes sundhed*. Ph.d. – afhandling. Københavns Universitet. 2006.

Hassel Island has been known by various names and descriptions since the settlement of St Thomas in the 1680s by the West Indian-Guinean Trade Company *Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni (VGK)*. Hassel Island is located off the south side of St. Thomas Island, on the west of the entry to the Charlotte Amalie harbor. Today Hassel Island is an island separated from St Thomas, but the two islands were previously joined by a narrow neck of land. This neck was cut in the 1860s. The earliest records of Hassel Island date back to the *landliste*, the land registry of 1688, where it was first referred to as *Orcan Hullet*, or Hurricane Hole.<sup>17</sup>

Hassel Island has been owned by various planters from different national origins in the time frame from 1688 to 1801. English, Dutch and Danish planters have all contributed to the early history of Hassel Island. It is evident from the land registry that production of goods, such as *cattun*, cotton, on Hassel Island must have been relatively limited, or nonexistent. This report focuses on why typical goods were not produced in any great amount. All conclusions are based upon findings from the National Archives in Denmark as well as the geology, terrain and soil found on location. Furthermore, the report takes into account archaeological findings previously uncovered as well as observations made by the authors on site.

# **Research Question**

The main question posed in this report is how and why Hassel Island was a non-traditional plantation and did not have any traditional produce such as cotton or sugar over the course of approximately 110 years from 1688 to 1801. This study looks at how this might be explained through primary and secondary archival sources, and more practically by geological and archaeological data that has been retrieved.

What activities unfolded on the island between 1688 and 1801, and what was their dependence on enslaved laborers? Further, who owned the plantation during this period, and what was their status and position in Danish West Indian society? What nationality were they? Did these people own any other plantations? Did they hold public posts, i.e. working either for the Westindian-Guinean Company pre-1755, or the Danish State after 1755? What responsibilities did they have that can shed light on any social networks and social importance they may have had?

The report will primarily focus on events taking place on St. Thomas, although in some cases possessions on either St. John or St. Croix may be taken into consideration when appropriate.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Det Vestindiske-Guineiske Kompagni. 446. Bogholderen. *Landliste 1688*. 1688-1755. Pk. 731.

#### **Time Frame**

The time frame of this report spans from 1688 to 1801, since the historical records regarding Hassel Island from 1801 and onward are already well researched and published. The report focuses on the earliest period recorded. During this period there is a natural increase in the primary source material available, partly because the first administration of the islands by the VHK was hardly concise, but also due to the increase of the administrative apparatus over time. This paper will provide further information expanding upon the earliest days on Hassel Island beyond what had previously existed regarding this time period.

#### Content

This paper consists of four chapters. Chapter One is the introductory chapter, which provides a general history of the Danish West Indies and the research conducted there over the course of 150 years. It explains the focus of the paper and why the period was chosen. Additionally, an overview of the primary and secondary sources is presented.

Chapter Two details findings from the archival research, which is primarily based on the so-called "timeline" document, composed of sources from *Rigsarkivet* (RA), the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen. The chapteris written chronologically, and chapter ends with interim conclusions based on the discoveries made in the archives and what was expected to be uncovered in the field.

Chapter Three consists of the archaeological data recovered on Hassel Island in May 2008. In this chapter there is a general introduction of on-site procedures and methodology, as well as an explanation of problems encountered and how they were resolved. This chapter describes the five sites surveyed and shovel tested and the analysis of the artifacts recovered that are applicable to this study. Lastly, this chapter looks at the archaeological discoveries and how they contribute towards an understanding of what Hassel Island was used for, who lived there and where they lived for nearly 125 years.

Chapter Four presents the conclusions to the research questions asked in this paper. Chapter Five details our suggestions for further research regarding Hassel Island. The paper concludes with a bibliography and appendices.

# **Primary Sources**

For the archival research, a variety of primary sources were utilized, including land registry, public documents regarding any legal dealings of the inhabitants on the island, maps, and probates detailing the administration of a deceased person's estate. Furthermore, use was made of existing financial records; detailing individual debts, taxes paid and other incidental expenses the owners of Hassel Island may have incurred, such as the purchase of enslaved laborers and food. Included are documents that detail any events that may have taken place in relation to the owners of Hassel Island and the island itself such as documents detailing arrests or other cases involving the owner in his dealings with the West Indian-Guinean Company or the Crown. Church registers from the two congregations on St. Thomas were consulted; the Evangelistic and the Dutch Reformist churches, in order to find personal data for the owners of Hassel Island and their families. Information recovered included dates of birth, marriage and death. The land registry records proved to be the most useful source. The registry gives details of the plantations and production, or lack thereof, records of the enslaved laborers, taxes paid and other plantations in possession of the owners of Hassel Island.

An attempt was made to gain access to documents detailing probates for the owners of Hassel Island. Unfortunately, the documents are not accessible to the public because of their deteriorating condition in the archives. This information would have provided a detailed insight into the wealth and social standing of the owners in question. In only a single case did we locate a probate record for an owner of Hassel Island. The information contained in the probate confirmed a use of the property we would not have been able to confirm otherwise.<sup>18</sup>

Investigation was also made into the so-called *Landbreve* or Land letters, documents detailing a type of citizenship or at least allowing the person in possession of a such letter to have a business on the island; for example in order to purchase land the buyer must possess a *landbrev*. Although searched for, no land letters exist from any of the owners of Hassel Island.

Debt books have also been consulted. The books, *gældslister* and *interessebøger* in Danish, have provided insight into the operation of the lending-business during 1680 – 1755, when the islands were owned by the VGK. These show that vast amounts of money would be owed to the company by planters but also by more prominent people, such as Governor Frederik Moth, which indicates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> This is the case of Jacob Magens, whose largest single valuable thing are *et parti køn røg*, which means a lot of a black mass that was used to stuff the holes in ships. This confirms our belief that Hassel Island was used for careening ships.

that at these early stages in the Danish colonization of the islands, the plantation business was neither a safe nor profitable business for the shareholders of the VGK.

First hand accounts such as diary entries and correspondence were studied. Invaluable information was gleaned from accounts from Georg Høst, a commander on St. Thomas in the 1770s; correspondence sent to and from Copenhagen by søfiskal (translate)Michael Michael Michael and his experiences in the West Indies in the 1680's during the Esmit trial; and finally Etatsråd (translate)Martfeldts' collection, a prominent state official who visited the West Indies from 1760 - 1770. These personal sources have been used with caution, but are included because of the excellent insight they provide about events that took place and Danish perception of these events.

Last but not least, the maps from the period provided hints about the owners of Hassel Island, which have been confirmed in all but one case. These maps were the foundation for the decision-making when trying to locate a potential site for an early settlement on Hassel Island. Multiple maps were studied, including the beautiful Van Keulen map from 1719, the 1770s Oxholm map, the hand colored map by General Lieutenant de Montargues from 1772 as well as various eighteenth century maps from the National Archives.

## **Secondary Sources**

The secondary literature used in the report can be separated into three different categories: general contemporary literature about the Danish West Indies; literature on the archaeological features of Hassel Island; and contemporary academic works regarding social history and other theoretical works on certain groups on the islands. Documentary works regarding piracy in the Caribbean were also briefly examined.

Certain general works on Westindian history including Westergaards *The Danish Westindies under Company Rule 1671-1754* and Kay Larsens work *Dansk Vestindien 1666-1917* were not considered due to their unstructured nature and poor references. Conversely, Sophie Petersens work, *Danmarks gamle Tropekolonier* is too focused on the Danish aspect of the history of the West Indies. (Why is this bad?)

# The Archival Findings

This report begins at the earliest mention of Hassel Island in the primary sources. The mention of Orcan Hullet, "Hurricane Hole or today, Hassel Island occurs for the first time in the land registry of 1688. 19 Orcan Hullet is depicted on maps along with the name Hassel Island, thus confirming the name of Orcan Hullet as being that of Hassel Island.<sup>20</sup> In order to fully confirm this and the location of the estate in the land registry records, an overview of the kvarter inddeling, the land division quarters used by the administration of St Thomas at the time, was constructed. Unsurprisingly, over the course of the first 40 or so years, the quarters used by the administration vary radically. In 1691 the land registry list of plantations is divided into 10 quarters while in 1717 into 25 quarters.<sup>21</sup> This is explained by an increasingly effective and precise administration of the islands, which in turn reveals a need to separate the plantations and their owners more effectively for tax purposes. On the basis of the 1717 land registry and a map of St. Thomas from circa 1730, it was discovered how the quarter division had been laid out at this time.<sup>22</sup> Starting from the west end of the island, the first kvarter (is this a quarter? How can 1 quarter contain 11 quarters?) called Westeyunde had eleven quarters; the one before the one with Hassel Island in it: Rasmus Bay; Hassel Island is described quite clearly as "bordering north and south to the harbor and on the other side to Water Island". 23 This leaves no doubt that the land mentioned here is Hassel Island, and thus can pin point the quarter that Hassel Island belongs to in the majority of the land registry's records. Even though the divisions may change, the number of plantations largely remains the same throughout the period.<sup>24</sup> This confirmation that this piece of land is in fact Hassel Island is also supported by a description in the 1707/1708 land registry record where it is described as "a point by the entrance to the harbor to the West", where the number and position of this record correspond perfectly with the location of Hassel Island in later land registry records.<sup>25</sup>

This report has made use of several historic maps to retrieve names of owners of Hassel Island. In all but one case it was possible to verify the names of owners listed on the maps with names of owners listed on the land registry records. One name on a map, however, did not match any record of ownership of Hassel Island between 1688 and 1801. The 1802 map in the Royal Library

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Rigsarkivet (RA): Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni (VGK), Bogholderen, Landlister 1688-1754. Arkivnr 446. Box nr 731 Map with a Christen Lassen placed on Hassel Island: "Indløbet til St. Thomas": from the Royal Llbrary, Copenhagen: online at www.kb.dk searching in Rex under "Kortsamling". Dated 1802; which we believe is misdated and to be from early 1700s or late 1600s

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Please see appendix A

RA, Rentekammeret, 337, 22-50 XXIX: nr 43. Eylandet Sancte Thomas m. plan over Christiansfort, ca 1730. Negativ no 129 (b/w and colour)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Grenst Zuyd & Noord de Eene Zyin de haven de andere Zy pae see coven Waater Eylandt". Here the language used is the typical language of the early administration: a mix of Dutch and plattysk (a variation of German), and we have translated it as accurately as possible.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Please see appendix A for details of the quarter divisions on St. Thomas

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> I.e. the page number, and the order of appearance – since many of the plantations stay with the same owners, Hassel Island stays in between two other named plantations for a long period of time.

of Copenhagen is believed to be misdated, but shows the harbor entry to Charlotte Amalie and has the name "Christen Lassen" printed on the middle of Hassel Island, on the narrowest strip of the island.<sup>26</sup> The map is the least accurate of the maps examined in its depiction of the harbor, which indicates that it dates to much earlier than 1802, by the time that more accurate maps were being produced. Since we have not been able to find a Christen Lassen listed as the owner of Hassel Island in our time period, it is possible that Christen Lassen may have been one of the first Danish settlers on St Thomas. It is also possible that he was one of the indentured servants that was first sent over to the newly-possessed colony, meaning he would have been there from as early as the 1660's. This would make sense of the inability to locate him in the records from 1688 and onwards.

## The Early Period 1688-1754, Company Rule of the Danish West Indies

In 1688, John Hatch with his wife Adriane Delicat and their four children, Johannes, Daniel, Lisbeth and Maria are listed as the owners of Hassel Island, or *Orcan Hullet*, in the land registry.<sup>27</sup> A later land registry mentions that by 1691, John Hatch owned the land for approximately six years making it likely that Hassel Island belonged to the Hatch family since 1685.<sup>28</sup> John Hatch is listed as owner of Hassel Island from 1688 – 1693. Records from 1693 until 1698 are missing, so his period of ownership may have been longer.

In listing of *Orcan Hullet* from 1691, the ground measures 600 feet in length and 600 feet in width, the equivalent of 186 m x 186 m.<sup>29</sup> In later lists, Hassel Island is always measured as being 1000 feet wide, so it is probable that the measurements listed from 1691 are not entirely accurate. This would not be unusual due to the inaccurate record keeping at that time.

John Hatch is listed as being both English and Irish by nationality, so it can be inferred that he came from the British Isles. His wife Adriane, was a Dutch national.<sup>30</sup> Adriane probably came from a wealthy family on the islands(source?), namely the Delicat family, who at the time possessed several plantations on St Thomas. The four children mentioned in the land registry records all

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 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Op. cit. "Indløbet til St Thomas" map, and Appendix A

RA, VGK, Bogholderen, Landlister 1688-1754. op cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Op. cit.

From a website about old Danish measurements, we know that *en fod,* 1 foot, is the equivalent to approximately 0.31 m, 31 cm: www.glemsom.dk/talmaal/danskemaal.htm. Accessed on 10 April 2008

30 At this time, orthography did not exist, and thus there was not a correct way to spell words. Therefore, the various

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> At this time, orthography did not exist, and thus there was not a correct way to spell words. Therefore, the various spellings of Adriane Hatch's name is normal, but we have agreed that her name must have been Adriane, since this is the spelling that is used for the majority. Most often, the writer would simply write the word, whether it be a name or any other word, as he pronounced it. Therefore, throughout the primary sources we see a variety of spellings, and this will be reflected throughout this report in the original guotes used, where we have used the spelling as it is in the source.

have the surname Jansen, suggesting that the children are Adriane's from a previous marriage. Unfortunately this could not be verified in any of the primary sources available, however, it is confirmed in the so-called "Ryberg list", where it is written that "Arriange [Delicat] widow w. 5 children marr. chirurgus Haitch 20.10.1687." Although the spelling and number of children does not quite match, this gives reason to believe the assumption that the children were Adrianes from a previous marriage and furthermore it sheds light on another profession of John Hatch: chirurgus, i.e. a surgeon.31

If this is correct, John Hatch suddenly appears to be not only a simple planter, but belonging to the higher end of the planter society due to his occupation as a surgeon. Furthermore, the date of the marriage is also supported by the fact that Adriane is married to John Hatch by 1688, which was the first record available. Unfortunately, Ryberg does not provide information on where the facts and dates have been found, meaning that they could not be confirmed. However, although flawed and somewhat unreliable, it does match up to a large extent and is used in this paper as a source of information.

John Hatch was a herberger, or an innkeeper by occupation (not a surgeon?) and his family lived in the village of Charlotte Amalie. His inn was likely also in Charlotte Amalie. The listings of a tapper, a brewer or the runner of a pub named Frands Martens in Charlotte Amalie who was also a herberger, confirms the likelihood of any inn being based in the village rather than on Hassel Island.32 It is interesting that at this early date an owner of Hassel Island is not listed as being a planter by profession. This confirms that Hassel Island was not a traditional plantation with traditional produce at this time. This also indicates that Hatch fit in to the planter society by offering a service necessary for society to function effectively due to the fact that all incoming sailors and other people travelling in and out of the islands would go through Charlotte Amalie and would often require overnight accommodations.

It is interesting that the Hatch family does not live on Hassel Island, but rather in Charlotte Amalie. This is typical for almost all of the future owners of Hassel Island; they own the land but live elsewhere, typically in Charlotte Amalie.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Ryberg, Hugo: A list of the names of INHABITANTS, The Danish Westindian Islands (The VIRGIN ISLANDS) from 1650 - 1825. Page 126. Compiled by use of sources from the Royal Danish State Archive in Copenhagen. Editor: Mrs Rigmor de Vicq, 1945. Available at the Royal Library, Copenhagen. Unforturtunaly, Ryberg does not give exact references to where he has a lot of the information from, and thus we are not able to double check the facts presented to us in the list.

32 RA, VGK, Bogholderen, Landlister 1688-1754. op cit.

In 1688, Hassel Island is described as being well-planted, meaning the land is considered to be fertile. There are no details of any traditional plantation crops such as cotton or sugar on Hassel Island, suggesting that even by this early date the owners have realized that Hassel Island was not suitable for traditional production. Furthermore, in 1691, the plantation is listed as producing cost, meaning food as well as cotton. If any cotton was produced, it would have been rather limited. Any form of food production would have likely consisted of keeping goats rather than agricultural produce due to Hassel Island's low-quality soil (contradicted by opening sentence).<sup>33</sup>

The number of enslaved laborers who worked on Hassel Island during John Hatch's ownership rose from two males in 1691, to seven men and women in 1692. This indicates an attempt to start larger production on the island; however, the land registry still does not specify what was produced. At this early stage, any taxation is paid in produce. Later taxes were paid by more traditional means.

John Hatch's ownership of Hassel Island ends in 1697 when the land registry lists his widow as the owner of Hassel Island. Under the ownership of Adriane Hatch from 1697 to 1710, Hassel Island experiences a rise in the numbers of enslaved laborers, as well as evidence of acquisition of plantations on St. Thomas including two woon huysen, houses "to live in", in Charlotte Amalie.<sup>34</sup> The number of plots of land owned by Adriane Hatch rose from just one, which was Hassel Island, to four plantations by 1705.35 At this stage, Hassel Island has seventeen enslaved laborers. Another plantation in the kvarter called I Bayen Syd-Øst was owned by Adriane Hatch and had as many as nineteen enslaved laborers. It was run by a mesterknægt, a caretaker by the name of Peter Uytendal. Adriane also purchased a plantation 650 feet wide from Johannis Minnesbeck sometime in 1708 or 1709.

In 1704/1705, Hassel Island is described as consisting of a *nauw padt aufbesondert*, a narrow strip of land that is isolated, confirming the impression of Hassel Island as an awkward and uninviting piece of land.

Interestingly, the journal describing legal occurrences on St. Thomas details how Adriana Hatch, sahliq enke, blessed widow of John Hatch, is involved in a case or claim for money against an English merchant based on Nevis.<sup>36</sup> The journal does not specify what the quarrel concerns, however it stated that the council and Vice Commander were aware of its occurence. Allegedly,

Please see Timeline in Appendix B
 Please consult the Timeline in Appendix B

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Gjessing: Gjessing, Frederik C.: *Historic Resource Study, Hassel Island, U.S. Virgin Islands.* 1980-1981, as well as our own observations on site.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> RA: VGK, Guvernementet for Skt Thomas og Skt Jan, Serie 446. Journal over det på St. Thomas passerede, 1696 -1702", pakke 501. Also mentioned in Ryberg op. cit.

money was missing in John Hatch's house (i.e. from his estate), money that was owed to him by the English merchant. What became of the case remains unknown, but it proves interaction was occurring on a non-local scale.

Another indication of Adriana's position in West Indian society is that in 1699 the land registry describes how Lucas Beverhout works a piece of land at the east end of a plantation belonging to Adriana, and most likely Lucas Beverhout lives on this strip of land. It is impossible to tell which of Adriana's plantations this note is referring to As previously mentioned, Adriana Hatch became the owner of two houses "to live in", in Charlotte Amalie, another significant expansion of her possessions on St. Thomas. One of these *woon huysen* appeared to be rented out to one Edward Woodman's wife in 1704/1705; yet another indication of Adriana's business acumen.

Around 1703, before Adriana died and Daniel Jansen became the owner of Hassel Island, the land registry showed that the mother and son traded slaves. Familial bonds tended to produce business associations, a trend that was typical in the West Indies.<sup>37</sup> During the period of Adriane Hatch's ownership it appears that production on all her plantations on St. Thomas continued to rise as seen in the increase of the general number of enslaved laborers present on the plantations. When her son Daniel Jansen grows older he becomes a planter in his own right and ownership of Hassel Island was transferred to him when Adriana dies in 1709 or 1710. Daniel Jansen is listed as the owner in the land registry from 1710. Why Daniel Jansen, not his presumably older brother Hendrich, inherits the plantation is unknown.<sup>38</sup>

By the time ownership of Hassel Island and the three other plantations and possessions in Charlotte Amalie is transferred to Daniel Jansen, he has already been a planter for some time. Daniel Jansen is the first to own Hassel Island for an extended period of time, between 1710 and 1724. Daniel Jansen, like his mother, continued to expand his possessions, and thus purchased additional land to increase the size of his plantation in Charlotte Amalie. He lived with his wife and their four children in a house in Charlotte Amalie. He sold a large plantation in 1718, for which there is no explanation.

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<sup>37</sup> Please see Timeline in Appendix B

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Unfortunately there exists no church registry for the Dutch Reformist Church from this early period as those records survive only from 1744 and onwards. This is where we would expect to find Adriane Hatch and her children listed, since she was a Dutch national. A list of the Evangelistic congregation does exist but holds no record of Adriane Hatch's death in either 1709 or 1710, but does list the baptism of Daniel Jansen's son, also called Daniel Jansen. For this reason we will never be able to uncover the connections of the Hatch family, and explain why Daniel inherits, and why Adriane's children are not named Hatch, but Jansen. Another piece of information adding to the mystery is that in the land registry record dated 1699/1700 Adriane only has one child listed, Daniel, whereas another list, dated from 27 March 1699 – 9 October 1699 has 4 children listed, as earlier. Could it be that the other three children have died, or that just Heinrich had died? It seems unlikely, but unfortunately we are not able to uncover the details of these family members any further.

During the term of Daniel Jansen's ownership, Hassel Island has fewer enslaved laborers than during his mother's term. In 1710, a total of 7 enslaved laborers are listed on the Hassel Island property, for which he did not pay tax, indicating that they did no productive work. It is possible that Daniel Jansen did not cultivate the land on the island to the same degree his mother may have.had, if at all. Once more, the idea that Hassel Island is not used for traditional plantation produce is confirmed, not only by the missing capable enslaved laborers, but by the fact that in 1716 the plantation is described in the land registry as a cattle plantation.

The number of capable enslaved laborers increased in 1718 when Jansen has two men, women, and girls listed; a small number of slaves for a plantation. This number does not change until Hassel Island is sold to Governor Erik Bredal in 1724.

It is interesting to see that once again the plantation on Hassel Island was described as one that "holder med qveog", i.e. the plantation housed cattle in 1716/1717. This confirms the beliefs presented earlier, that the plantation on Hassel Island was primarily used for producing food in the early period of this report's time-frame. It would seem that Daniel Jansen prospered during his period of ownership of Hassel Island. In 1712, he purchased a decaying house in Charlotte Amalie from the Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni, Westindian-Guinean Company (VGK), and on this ground he built a new house. Jansen becomes the *foged*, a type of bailiff function for a plantation belonging to Peter Gratias in Charlotte Amalie in 1719, indicating that Jansen was the sort of man whom his peers would entrust with running their property. In 1721, Jansen's occupation is no longer simply a planter, but a plantation owner, a købmand (definition) and merchant. Jansen's prosperity, however, does not appear to have been derived from Hassel Island. After 13 years of Daniel Jansen's ownership, the plantation on Hassel Island gained a new owner. In 1724, former Governor Erik Bredal bought the plantation on Hassel Island. On page 29 in the land registry 1723/24 it states: Daniel Jansen's plantation now belonging to Erik Bredal head of family living in the town. The head of family negotiated with Cornelius Stallart, Daniel Jansen's (what?) plantation. The taxes have already been observed on folio 1 ... payment of the plantation's width 1000feet, 2.8 rdl(define value in dollars?).39 It appears that Bredal bought Daniel Jansen's plantation through Cornelius Stallart. Sadly, the land registry does not say anything about the price

From 1724 to 1726, Erik Bredal possessed a sugar plantation measuring 3000 x 2000 feet next to the later owner of the plantation on Hassel Island, Willem Berentz. The above mentioned plantation

of the plantation or the number of enslaved laborers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> VGK. 446. Bogholderen. Landlister 1688-1754. (1721-1726). Pakke 736 – 737.

was situated in the west end kvarter and was bought from Madame Busch. The number of enslaved laborers was 15 capable men and women, 9 macrons, inexperienced or injured labor, and 1 maroon, a runaway slave. The taxation for the enslaved laborers was set to 44,1 rdl. He also owned?, a house in *Dorphen*, presumably Charlotte Amalie, registered in folio 1, although it does not say anything about Erik Bredal's taxation. During the two years Bredal was in possession of Hassel Island, the production of sugar or cotton was nonexistent. Although Bredal did have enslaved laborers, none of them were registered on Hassel Island. In 1725 Bredal paid taxes for 17 capable men and women, 13 macrons and 4 children on his estate in the West end Kvarter. A total of 46.4 rdl. In Charlotte Amalie his household consisted of 8 capable enslaved men and women. A total of 2.48 rdl. In total Bredal paid 70,2,8 rdl. that year.

Why was Governor Bredal in possession of the Hassel Island Plantation, when the land registry has no record of production? A possible explanation could be that Bredal in his function as former Governor wanted to diversify his private business: The VGK officials were especially in the early period poorly paid. One of the reasons for the poor administration was the low wages. The directory had not calculated in the high prices in the West Indies. Therefore, it was not unusual if VGK officials were unfaithful to their company. On that account Bredal got his salary increased by100%.40 Poor pay, and a need to gain a place within the planter society is probably the main reason that Governor Bredal expanded his holding to include plantations. (But where is the economic return to Bredal? Why own Hassel Island?)

There is another interesting aspect to Bredal's ownership of the Hassel Island plantation Bredal was also married to one of Lucas Beverhoudt's daughters and thereby related to the planter aristocracy. Just like Bredal, (Governor) Frederik Moth was also married to one of Lucas Beverhoudt's daughters. Due to Frederik Moth's relationship with Lucas Beverhoudt, the board of the company did not see Frederik Moth fit for reclaiming the company's debt among the planters. 41 The family relation between Bredal and Moth may explain why the plantation changed ownership. Family relations were essential if social and economic advancements were to be successful.

Governor Frederik Moth owned the Hassel Island plantation for only one year. As in previous years, any traditional plantation production was non-existent. Frederik Moth's plantation with land point 1000 feet wide ground taxation 2, 8. 42 Frederik Moths plantage m. pynt: "Frederik Moth Guvernørs plantage tilforn Erik Bredal ... og solgt til Gotichalk/z Som ... ... ... ... Mr Berentz og i

<sup>40</sup> Brøndsted. Bind 1. Page 208.
41 Ibid. Page 210-215
42 VGK. 446. Bogholderen. Landlister 1688-1754. (1721-1726). Pakke 738.

... deform af(?)." Tillige står der at "Willem Berentz bor med familie i dorph denne pynt haar (?) hand tilforhandlet fig. Plantagie: 1000 fod bred. Grundskat 2.8. (Translate!)

Why Frederik Moth owned the Hassel Island plantation for such a short time and why he owned it at all is difficult to answer. It is possible that the plantation on Hassel Island was used for something completely different, but the importance of owning land, the location of the plantation and the family relation to Erik Bredal and Lucas Beverhoudt should not be underestimated. Although no benefit to the two Governors is evident from the land registry records, it is obvious that the planter society with its internal reliance on favors, often created by the connection of family bonds, were important for the two Governors' ability to be in good standing within the society at the time.

Following the brief ownerships of the two Governors, Hassel Island once more became the property of a more typical inhabitant of St Thomas: a planter who, by the time he purchased Hassel Island, owned a number of large plantations on St. Thomas and a house in Christiansted [later to become part of Charlotte Amalie] where he lived with his family. Willem Berentz owned Hassel Island from 1728 until 1744 and exceeded any previous owner's number of enslaved laborers kept on the Island. An interesting theory as to why Berentz bought Hassel Island emerges: to buy bosal enslaved laborers, i.e. those that have just arrived in the West Indies, *saltwater slaves*. In all likelihood Berentz placed them on Hassel Island to be "seasoned", i.e. not to do any physically hard work for between six months and a year until they were accustomed to the climate and past battles with diseases of the new environment. Then, he may have sold some of the recently strengthened enslaved laborers to other planters, both in the Danish West Indies and also in the rest of the Caribbean. Most likely, the majority of them were sent to his other plantations to work there, since no historical record documented Berentz selling slaves. The practice of purchasing *bosaller* was not an uncommon practice at the time, as it could be a profitable business to buy the newly arrived enslaved laborers rather than buying those that were already healthy and capable at

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Christiansted was at this stage a separate village, and was located east of the central harbour, taking its name from the so-called Christiansfort which was a tower in the eastern part of the harbour, and which was later to become part of Charlotte Amalie as the size of the city increased.

44 This treatment of the basel shows a first tr

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> This treatment of the bosal slaves are recommended later in the 1700s by an English MD (Medical Doctor), James Grainger, who wrote a series of recommendations on how to treat illnesses common amongst the enslaved labourers in the British Caribbean isles during this period: Hutson, Edward J.: *On the Treatment and Management of the More Common West-India Diseases* 1750 – 1802. An Essay on the Management of Diseases of Negroes by James Grainger, Part 1, Of Choice of Negroes, page 11. Published 2005 by University of the West Indies Press

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Although actual records from the slave auctions do not exist still, it is likely that notes on enslaved labourers having left plantations belonging to Berentz in any way would have been listed in the land registry records, since this is where we have based these figures on used to map out the changes in the changes of numbers and types of enslaved labourers belonging to Berentz's plantations during his period of ownership of Hassel Island

the time of purchase. Highfield names this form of "industry" the *transit slave trade*. There seems to be no other likely explanation for why Berentz would buy Hassel Island, or why so many enslaved laborers are suddenly listed on as residents during his period of ownership. However, this business of seasoning newly arrived *bosal* enslaved laborers may not have been particularly successful, because many of Berentz's enslaved laborers died over the course of a few years. There are several possible reasons for this; perhaps Berentz was a planter who treated his enslaved laborers worse than others causing them to die from exhaustion or torture. It is also possible that they died from disease during the seasoning process or simply of old age.

For clarification, the purchases Berentz and his widow made during his period of ownership of Hassel Island and the number of enslaved laborers that ceased to belong to him during the same period can be seen in the table in Appendix C. The majority of enslaved laborers bought by Berentz and his widow are bosal slaves, or macrons, which means they would have been cheaper than capable enslaved laborers. Not all the enslaved laborers listed necessarily lived on Hassel Island, but since they belonged to Berentz, they have been included in the table and analytical considerations. This corresponds with the theory of Berentz attempting to make money on trading enslaved laborers because the list describes how many are bought on auctions or directly off a named Galley. The land registry records, details how the information listed therein was provided to the authorities. In more than one case, it appears the details were provided by another planter and not by Berentz himself, indicating that possibly Berentz was trying not to inform the authorities of the number of enslaved laborers and thereby avoid paying taxes. This is very much speculation, but then, much like today; it was not uncommon at the time to use every possible way to pay as few taxes as possible. We believe it is quite possible Berentz represented the typical planter in this manner. Planters aimed to make as much money as they could in the least amount of time possible and then go back to Europe where a new and better life and climate awaited them.

The death of a slave was by no means unusual, but the note saying that one male died from "the hand of Berentz" indicates that it was probably not a natural death, or perhaps it means the man died while belonging to Berentz. It is somewhat unusual to give away enslaved laborers, but the note that a capable male, Nafex Darius, was given to Mons. Stallart by Berentz supports the notion that this was a society depending on favors paid in kind. We know that Stallart acted as the middle man when Hassel Island was bought from Daniel Jansen by Erik Bredal and although this did not have anything to do with Berentz, it shows how the plantation owners were co-dependent on one

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Highfield, Arnold: Highfield, Arnold R.: The Danish Atlantic and West Indian Slave Trade. From Tyson, George F. & Highfield, Arnold, R.: *The Danish West Indian Slave Trade, Virgin Islands Perspective*. Published 1994 by The Virgin Islands Humanities Council, St Croix

another to sort out business deals. The giving of Nafex Darius to Mons. Stallart is most likely another example of the same type of relationship. Another indication of Berentz's thriving business is the mention in 1730 and 1732 of a ship that brings goods back and forth to New York from Berentz's own warehouse in Christiansted.<sup>47</sup> Clearly, in order to have purchased or to be able to have rented and/or maintain a ship, Berentz must have had a considerable amount of goods and produce to trade. It is also interesting to know that Berentz's future son-in-law is from New York; again an indication of a widespread business network that is not limited to the West Indies or the Caribbean, but to the entire New World.<sup>48</sup>

The evidence that Hassel Island changes in the period of Berentz's ownership is also evident in the fact that in 1730 he has a mesterknægt, or manager, again indicating that there is a large number of enslaved laborers on the Island. Another interesting piece of information about Willem Berentz is the fact that in 1731 Berentz becomes formynder, or guardian to the next door neighbor's daughter. The girl's father, Bernt Langemarch, appears to have died leaving his daughter with no relatives to depend upon. Guardianship would include managing any business that pertained to the Langemach plantation. This act of trust is a testimony to the respect accorded Berentz's by his peers and their dependence on one another. When Willem Berentz dies sometime in 1744, Hassel Island becomes the property of his widow. Her name remains unknown. She is the owner of the plantation until 1749 when the island is sold. During her ownership, the number of enslaved laborers on Hassel Island decreases, although their purchase does not entirely cease. This leads us to believe that she attempted to follow her husband's strategy for the island, but eventually reassessed her goals and sold the island.

In 1750, the land registry shows no record concerning the Hassel Island plantation. However, in 1751, we can see that the plantation on Hassel Island changed ownership. Capt. Johannes Balthazer Uÿtendahl a descendent from the well known Dutch Uÿtendahl planter family was registered as owner of the plantation. The land registry describes it as follows: Johannes Balthazer Uÿtendahl. Rasmus Bay 13. kvarter. 1000 feet wide. Johannes Balthazer Uÿtendahl who's slaves under folio 34 & 52 is observed...Ground taxation at 1000 fod = 2,8 rdl. transported to folio 52.49 Although the description of the plantation is missing, it is fair to suggest that this is the same plantation as the previous years, i.e. Hassel Island, because the plantation appears in the land registry on the same page as it was when owned by Berentz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Christianstad is here again referring to a strip of a town that was to merge and become part of Charlotte Amalie later on, as the towns grew larger as previously described.

48 In 1735, Berentz oldest daughter has been married to a John Robbertson from New York

VGK. 446. Bogholderen. Landlister 1688-1754. Pakke 749.

The data from 1752 and 1753 were not recorded for unknown reasons. The plantation does not appear again in the land registry until 1754: Johannes Balthazer Uÿtendahls plantation existing in a land point. This plantation belonged in that year and mentioned before Jacob Magens. Johannes Balthazer Uÿtendahl who's slaves folio 34 & 52 observed is calculated to a ground taxation of 1000 feet's width = 2,8. transport to folio 52.50 Throughout Johannes Balthazar Uÿtendahl's ownership of the Hassel Island plantation, registered enslaved laborers did not exist. The motives for Uÿtendahl's acquisition of the island were just as unclear as his predecessors. However, it probably was for the same reason as in the case of Bredal and Moth, the mere importance of owning land was probably the reason why he bought the plantation.

The later period 1755 – 1801, Crown ownership of the Danish West Indies

In 1755, the plantation on Hassel Island was bought by Jacob Magens Senior. Jacob Magens Senior owned the plantation for 18 years and although nothing really happened during Jacob Magens Senior "reign", those 18 years would summon the essence of Hassel Island. According to Kay Larsen, Jacob Magens Senior was born in Elsinore in Denmark on 4 may 1682 and in 1718 Jacob Magens Senior purchased plantation nr. 7 in Kaneel bay on St. John. 51 Jacob Magens Senior worked as a member of the prestigious Ordinære Råd, The Ordinary Council on St. Thomas that functioned to manage all official business on the islands. To put the family's social standing in perspective, the later Stadthauptmann(translation) on St. Thomas, Jochum Melchior Magens was the son of Elisabeth Runnels and Jacob Magens Senior. From 1755 to 1770, the Royal Crown's land registry shows no trace of traditional plantation production consisting of sugar and cotton on Hassel Island and the no enslaved laborers. Only Mr. and Mrs. Magens Senior were reported being taxed. After 1770, a small number of enslaved laborers appear. Planter Reimert Haagensen noted that in 1758 small plantations could be run with one or two enslaved labourers or even without any enslaved laborers.<sup>52</sup>

In 1755, the land registry mentions that Jacob Magens Senior's plantation on St. John was bought by Diedrich Kiervink's widow. In 1761, the Hassel Island plantation seemed to be the permanent residence of Jacob Magens Senior. During this time Jacob Magens Senior's son, Jochum Melchior Magens owned a rather large cotton plantation on St. John along with a house in Charlotte Amalie. From 1770 to 1773, the number of people on the Hassel Island plantation rose because of the increased number of enslaved laborers. In 1770, two enslaved laborers were

Larsen, Kay. Dansk-Vestindisk og Guineisk Personalia og Data.
 Sebro, Louise, page 86. MORE INFO ON TITLE HERE! SINCE ITS THE FIRST TIME ITS MENTIONED!

reported in the land registry, one capable and one Bosal/macron. The distinction was not clarified at the time. In 1771, two bosals/macrons were registered and in 1772 one bosal/macron was registered. In terms of a rather limited number of enslaved laborers, what was the larger purpose of owning of the Hassel Island plantation? In the Martfeld collection it says: St. Thomas: 8th. South Side Qvarteer.Plantation nr. 91: Jacob Magens Senior. Plantation use: nothing recorded. People: two whites. Slaves: non. Address: Lives on plantation. Notes: To this point belongs a privilege to careen. 53 Careening means cleaning or repairing the bottom of the ship by forcing the empty ship down on each side.<sup>54</sup> The Martfeld collection has one flaw and that is that the notes do not have any year reference, but we know that the Martfeld collection spans over ten years from 1760 to 1770. We also know from the land registry that there were not any enslaved laborers registered in the 1760s. Furthermore, in interim commandant Georg Høst's report concerning St. Thomas, he noticed that Hurricane hole was a good place to caulk ships.<sup>55</sup> Caulking means to stop or seal, tætne, the cracks in the ship by putting værk og beeg I nåderne(translate).<sup>56</sup> The fact that this privilege was given to either Jacob Magens Senior or to the plantation itself, might explain two things. First, the usage of the plantation was never meant for traditional plantation production. The number of enslaved laborers had been decreasing for a long period of time. Second, the increase of enslaved laborers after 1770 may attest to the fact that the privilege to careen ships was the reason why the enslaved laborers were bought. A few years later, the Martfeld collection reads: 8. Syd Side Qvarteer. Plantation nr. 91. Jacob Magens Senior. Plantation use: Nothing recorded. Owners address: lives on plantation. Slaves: none. Notes: This point called Daniel Jansens or Bredal's point, and makes a free plantation and has privilege of careening. 57

On 21 June 1773, Hassel Island was witness to a murder. Georg Høst, the interim Commandant in Civilibus, informed the local authorities about the murder of Jacob Magens Senior and his wife: I Georg Høst do announce that today Jacob Magens Senior and his wife were found in the Hurricane-hole murdered in a horrible way, the members of this council have set up a price or reward for the person that first discovers the one or ones who has committed this murder, this price can exist in 200 rd. in cash to a white or free negro; If it is a slave who discovers them, the slave is hereby free and has rights to all the privileges that other free negroes have. Such a respectable

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Generaltoldkammeret. 365. Ældre del. Vestindisk-guineisk renteskriver kontor. (1760-1770) *Etatsråd Martfeldts* samling over de danske vestindiske øer. 406.

Kofoed, George Albrecht. Forsøg til en Dansk Søe Ord-bog. Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg. 1993. Page 70
 Høst, Georg. Efterretninger om Øen Sanct Thomas Og dens Gouverneurer 1769-1776. Nicolaus Møller og Søn. 1791.
 Kiøbenhavn

Kofoed, George Albrecht. Forsøg til en Dansk Søe Ord-bog. Handels- og Søfartsmuseet på Kronborg. 1993. Page 64
 Generaltoldkammeret. 365. Ældre del. Vestindisk-guineisk renteskriver kontor. (1760-1770) Etatsråd Martfeldts samling over de danske vestindiske øer. 408.

reward is not to contribute to people who are holding information back for the benefit of the profit; it is ones duty to inform the authorities without any payment and the ones who remain in silence can expect a deathly penalty. All seas have been notified. St. Thomas 21. June 1773. Under His Royal Majesty's seal and my hand. LS Høst. P. Kragh. <sup>58</sup>

On the same day, Georg Høst informed police inspector, A.G. Hensler of a possible motive for the murder: With the horrible murder on Jacob Magens Senior and his wife in the Hurricane-hole that(grammar?) Spaniards for some time ago should have found a silver torch and a large silver painting that maybe have animated the killers to this crime and thereby purchasing it; Furthermore golden spender? On a red velvet bible were stolen; It is possible to find the murderer if he has hid it away somewhere. The police inspector must search the Orlogernes here in the harbor as well as in all the houses in the city. The result of the search shall be reported to me. St. Thomas 21. June 1773.

More communication followed:

To: The Const: Byfoged and police inspector Mr. A. G. Hensler.

To Stadthauptmand Magens, the murdered couple's son, Høst wrote; So if it is possible to find the culprit who can have hid the goods away, will Stadshauptmand get (under officer) to assist the (free negro patrol?) who has received orders to inspect every house, since the police inspector in such haset cannot (lattelig) answer everything. St. Thomas 21 June 1773.

To: Mr. Stadthauptmand Magens.

Three days later, came the last restriction from commandant Høst, which was directed to Major Cronenberg:

Mr. Major is ordered not at this moment to permit any vessels to leave the harbor after six o'clock at night; like all ships going to Porto Ricco are halted...; If Jacob Magens murderesr are Spaniards they may still be in this country. St. Thomas 24. June 1773.

To: Mr. Major Cronenberg.<sup>59</sup>

In 1791, Georg Høst published an autobiographical report of St. Thomas. In his description of the murder on Hassel Island, he summed up the investigation by stating: *But in vain; we have never since seen any signs of the culprits*. Høst's idea of why the couple was killed was also mentioned: *The suspicion could fall on either negroes or Spaniards, who at night most likely by boats could land on the shores without the people in the city or the seamen noticing it, because* 

59 Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> St. Thomas og St. Jan Guvernement mm. 693. Kopibøger, rådets/guvernementets mm. Skrivelse til lokaladministrationen. (1755-1779) 11.19.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Høst, Georg. *Efterretninger om Øen Sanct Thomas Og dens Gouverneurer 1769-1776*.Nicolaus Møller og Søn.1791. Kiøbenhavn Page 174.

these people were known to have money and silver, which all was gone; since we found the dead in an empty house and a black housemaid a couple of guns shots away on the road who was also killed.61

In the 18 years of Jacob Magens Senior's ownership, it is interesting to see how the plantation on Hassel Island developed from being a nondescript piece of land to housing what most likely was the beginning of an era of mercantile business. Careening was the main source of income and use of the land. However, it will probably be the murder of Mr. and Mrs. Magens that will be most remembered.

In 1774, Agent Wood or Johannes Wood purchased the Hassel Island plantation due to the death of Jacob Magens Senior the previous year. Agent Wood was supposed to have received the title as Royal Agent on St. Thomas with rank of chamber member at the price of 600 rd. back in 1766.<sup>62</sup>

Because of his title as Royal Agent, Agent Wood was the caretaker of quite a large amount of land on St. Thomas and on St John. In 1774, he was in possession of plantation Nr. 1. East End quarter. 4500 feet. cotton plantation, Nr. 5 Lüden Nord side Nr. 1. 5400 feet. Sugar and Cotton plantation, Nr. 7 West end Quarter. 6400 feet. Sugar and cotton, Nr. 8 Syd side. 1000 feet. On St. John. Nr. 1 Crutzbay Quarter. 5500x3000 feet. Sugar plantation.

Simply owning a plantation did not necessarily gain one access to the higher echelon of the planter aristocracy. It was the size and number of plantations that mattered, 63 especially when they were being taken care of by the crown. The social standing of the government officials and royal agents was not very impressive and they did not belong to the highest classes within the planter society. According to Danish historian Louise Sebro, those above mentioned officials and agents made up the middleclass of the Danish West Indies.<sup>64</sup>

According to the land registry from 1774 to 1776, there was not any activity recorded on the Hassel Island plantation. From 1776 to 1778, five enslaved laborers were registered. From 1779 to 1780, a total of six white officials and 3 enslaved laborers were registered on the Hassel Island plantation and from 1780 to 1784, there was no record of activity reported on the plantation. <sup>65</sup> These plain numbers may not say much about the activities on Hassel Island, but what is unusual is the number of white officials. In 1779, the construction of the Prince Frederik's fort was completed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Larsen, Kay. Dansk-Vestindisk og Guineisk Personalia og Data.

<sup>63</sup> Sebro, Louise: Page 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Reviderede regnskaber. 571. Vestindiske regnskaber. 1755-1915 matrikler for St. Thomas og St. Jan. 83.5-83.6.

Plans of building a fort date back to 1767, when a royal commission was looking for a way to protect the Charlotte Amalie harbor:

No. 61

Hans Kongelige Mayestets haver angående adskillige batterier og bygninger ind... og i sla.. ... på de kongelige vestindiske ejlænder, som af General Guverneur på nærmere kongelige allernådigste approbation, lund ind.. og by.. med måder, den 18 aug 1767, allernådigst behaget af tilforne således. ... af kammeret gjørde forskellige hans .. allernådigste approberet, og der efter bevilje (1) at på den så lasdede Magens Pyndt ved St. Thomas havn må anligge et Batteri på 6 a 8 canoner, hvor med det dog endnu nogen tid og så længe skal beroe, indtil at dets ..ninger at ind.. på St. Thomas land by.. der, med mindre at forinden nye krigs uroligheder sig skulle yttre, da det svag bør slå;...<sup>66</sup> (translate)

The political situation in the West Indies in the late 1760s and 1770s was highly affected by the upheaval in North America and Europe. The military protection of Charlotte Amalie harbor was therefore essential if the prosperous transatlantic trade was to continue. The sudden rise and fall in the number of enslaved laborers and white officials seems to be somehow linked to the construction of the Prince Frederik's fort. However, sadly, there is no evidence for this linkage, though the number of white officials was quite unusual. The reason Agent Wood or the Crown owned the Hassel Island plantation may be explained by the fact that the Crown wanted its possessions spread throughout the islands. By doing so, the Crown could have control of all four corners of the island which naturally would have included the important entrance to harbor.

# James Hassel Senior (1784-1796)

Although the bourgeoisie, did not have noble titles they were able to plead to the nobility in the Danish West Indies for services and rights. (FORSTÅR IKKE HVAD DER MENES HER). (Translation)Theoretically, in the Danish West Indies as well as in other colonies in the Americas, everyone had the opportunity to advance socially without the need for the king's mercy.<sup>68</sup>

In 1784, James Hassel Senior bought Hassel Island plantation. The first time James Hassel appears in the land registry is 1773 when he and his wife only owned a small place in town. In

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Generaltoldkammeret – ældre del Vestindisk-guineiske renteskriverkontor. 1775-1832. Dokumenter vedr. forsvarsvæsenet og fortifikationer i Vestindien. I-II. 466.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Feldbæk, Ole. *Krig*, vand og mere krig. eller vore gamle trope kolonier.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Ibid. Page 87.

1784, James Hassel's business had risen steadily and he now owned quite a substantial amount of property. In 13 years James Hassel acquired a high number of enslaved laborers. From 1784 to 1789, an average number of 15 enslaved laborers were registered on the plantation (on Hassel Island? Not clear) along with 5 white overseers. In 1790, a record high number of 23 enslaved laborers were linked to the plantation. Then in 1791, the number decreased to 16 with only 2 white overseers. From 1792 until the takeover by his son, James Hassel Junior in 1797, 16 enslaved laborers with 2 overseers were present at the plantation. The high number of enslaved laborers shows that a prosperous business of some kind was going on, which is in stark contrast to the preceding years. In 1797, the land registry shows that the enslaved laborers at the plantation were house and craftsmen slaves owned by James Hassel Junior. This was probably associated with the recent careening privilege and it is fair to suggest that James Hassel Senior presumably owned the Hassel Island plantation for careening. The high number of the enslaved tells us that something occurred on a scale never recorded before.

## James Hassel Junior (1797-1801)

When James Hassel Junior took over in 1797, the enslaved laborers on the estate were identified as craftsmen in the land registry. It seems as though the business on the Hassel Island plantation had something to do with a maritime craft, most likely careening. From 1797 to 1801, James Hassel Junior had an average of 14 enslaved laborers and one overseer. The taxation during the reign of the Hassel family increased significantly from previous years. Both father and son seemed to keep a steady business. Though the number of overseers and enslaved laborers was not as high as when Hassel Senior owned the plantation, there is no evidence of a less productive plantation. Both James Hassel Senior and Junior were using the Hassel Island plantation on a scale that had not been seen before in the previous 113 years covering the timeframe of this report. During the American Revolutionary Wars and French Revolutionary Wars, the Danish West Indies were used as free port that made both Charlotte Amalie on St. Thomas and Copenhagen, Denmark two wealthy cities. Therefore, it was likely that the two Hassels' benefited from the heavy maritime commerce.

It is quite evident that James Hassel Junior and his father saw great potential in maritime crafts. The way Careening Cove still to this day makes a good spot for repairing or anchoring tells us that the Hassel island plantation deserves to be taken serious as a plantation, although in an untraditional sense of the word. The reason James Hassel Senior and Junior owned the plantation is directly related to fact that the plantation was a convenient place for careening ships. Evidence discovered in the land registry records indicates this type of enterprise had indeed been attempted (describe?) earlier in the history of the Hassel Island plantation, but with much less success(??).

#### Interim Conclusion

Hassel Island proved to be a non-traditional plantation. Traditional production(such as? cotton, sugar cane, what about cattle?) did not take place on the island and there was never any real attempt to utilize the plantation in this way throughout the researched time period. Some owners found other uses for Hassel Island. For example: Willem Berentz with his enslaved laborer "business", and many(evidence?) of the later owners used the location and the shape of the island to careen ships. The owners, however, were all typical of the time and place: various nationalities, none were particularly wealthy, but most owned a number of plantations on St. Thomas besides the one on Hassel Island. Even the two Governors fit this description: neither of them particularly rich, but both eager to make money while in appointment. All of the owners held various important positions in the small society: public servants; tradesmen; surgeon; and simply planters or a mix of these.

Although Hassel Island was utilized in an untraditional manner during this period of roughly 110 years, the owners represent a typical social and economic group for the Danish West Indies.

# Archaeological Findings on Hassel Island. Accession Number 271.

#### Introduction

Our primary goal for our on-site work was to uncover a possible site of early settlement on Hassel Island. From archival research, we had no concrete information on which structures had existed during the period in question. We understood that the majority of Hassel Island owners lived in Charlotte Amalie and from this information we should not expect to find any ruins from houses for owners from the earliest period. However, there was a slim possibility that there would be ruins of owners' houses from the later part of our period, i.e. from the 1760's and onwards. Since we knew that there were a good number of enslaved laborers present in the early days during the ownership of Adriana Hatch, we were hoping to find either ruins of historic buildings or artifacts that would have been used by the enslaved laborers. As described in the section below, we had no precise information as to possible location(s) for any of the historic buildings described above, since this information does not exist in the documents in the National Archive. This meant it was rather uncertain what we would expect to find on-site.

To attempt to locate a possible site of early settlement on Hassel Island we made use of the existing maps from our period of study. There were a total of four maps dating from within the

period of this study that were consulted, but of these two were used in particular to assess where any ruins or artifacts relevant to this search might be located on Hassel Island. <sup>69</sup> We primarily used the Van Keulen map (citation) and the map from 1802 (citation) detailing the buildings erected by the British on Hassel Island. This last map also details the building on the map belonging to Mr Hassel, thus giving us the most precise location of possible sites, albeit only for the very end of our timeframe.

With all of the maps it was difficult to make an exact estimation of where the early houses from our period would have been, but one possible place was unfortunately also the location of the later oil tanks for the Hamburg-America Line, which is situated on the ridge behind Careening Cove facing down from north to south on the island. On the Van Keulen map there are two small houses marked Daniel Jansen somewhere on this hillside, but the location could also have been farther up on the hill or farther inland on the southern part of the island. On the 1802 map, which appears to be more accurate, there are several sites of buildings listed as belonging to Mr Hassel. One location could very well be the same as that of the Van Keulen map that features houses belonging to Daniel Jansen and the second consisted of a few houses on the flat land that today is referred to as Careening Cove. The third location is four scattered clusters of buildings near the Officers Quarters that are mid-island, and today is somewhere in between Shipley Battery and the lowest point on the ridge above Careening Cove. 71 The National Park Service has the exact GPS coordinates for these points. We also considered the natural benefits of certain places on the island to establish possible locations. Because it was primarily enslaved laborers living on the island, placement of any buildings would likely have been easy to spot from the harbor and quickly accessible for the owners on St. Thomas.(Why?) Another consideration was the natural shape of the island, in terms of where anyone living on the island would get the benefit of a breeze, which, among other things, was thought to help keep diseases away.

The use of maps and natural circumstances as a means of identifying individual sites was in conjunction with performing a ground reconnaissance survey. Renfrew and Bain suggest that performing a reconnaissance survey enables the surveyor to "study the spatial distribution of human activities ... changes in population through time, and relationships between people, land and resources".<sup>72</sup> What this meant in practice for the Hassel Island Project was that a natural

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The four maps were the Van Keulen, Oxholm, 1802 map of buildings erected by the British as well as the 1772 map by de Montargues. Please consult the primary source list for further details.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> See map in Appendix A

<sup>71</sup> Ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Renfrew, Colin & Bain, Paul: *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practice.* Fourth edition, published by Thames and Hudson, 2004. Page 75 - 83

boundary was present since the site is an island. There were a few natural expectations in the study: for example, it was fair to believe that there would have been some buildings forming some function for the careening business in Careening Cove from the later period of this study. It was also fair to expect that it was possible that any earlier plantation buildings would have been situated higher up on the hillside to get the benefit of the breeze and the early maps depicted settlements on hills. Determination as to exactly which hill settlements are depicted was and is a guessing game due to the distortion of these early maps.

From the information on these maps, it was decided that we would make our way to the lowest point on the ridge above Careening Cove and fan out from there, moving towards Shipley Battery. The site on the hillside behind Careening Cove was discarded at this stage since we believed that anything of interest to us would most likely be buried underneath the metal scraps and foundations left behind from the oil tanks used to fuel the Hamburg-America Line. (are we sure these weren't WWII Navy?)

A sampling strategy was considered and dismissed because it is used once a site is located and therefore, not relevant for our use.(I thought sampling was also used to discover sites – at least in the classical period, and why not here?)<sup>73</sup>

We should also account for certain challenges that affected our search on Hassel Island. The primary problem was the time constraint. Four weeks is a considerable amount of time, but it would appear insufficient to successfully locate, collect and analyze artifacts from such a large area. The vast majority of the time was spent looking for a possible site. The island is completely overgrown and it was necessary for us to cut trails in the direction we wanted to go, further slowing down the group. The second problem was the size of the island. Cutting trails and attempting to cover all of the likely areas for a site was not possible, but we tried to the best of our ability. Another factor to add to the list was the lack of precision of the old maps used to determine possible sites: had these been more exact or reliable, the work may have progressed faster. The overgrowth and vegetation on Hassel Island made it quite difficult to spot artifacts on the ground surface.

Results from the four weeks include the location of a number of potential sites and one site that is irrelevant to the period of focus. The sites were as listed below:

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 $<sup>^{73}</sup>$  Renfrew & Bahn, op. cit., page 80 - 81  $\,$ 

- 1) The great wall located when walking from Shipley Battery towards the Officers Quarters, and the surrounding buildings around there.
- 2) "Christmas Bush Hill" located on the ridge between Shipley Battery and the Officers Quarters, named after a Christmasbush on site (a poisonous plant). Performed two shovel tests on site with no artifacts recovered.
- 3) Officers Quarters located mid-island on the narrowest point between the southern and northern parts of the islands, on the ridge. This site includes the structures evident en route from Christmas Bush Hill to the main structures (i.e. the large houses, cemetery etc.) A single shovel test was performed and artifacts were recovered.
- 4) Careening Cove. Two shovel tests performed at different locations, but both in close proximity to a very thick wall that probably dates from within the time period.
- 5) Hamburg-America Line Hill located on the hillside behind Careening Cove when facing from north to south on the island, towards the east. Surface collection.

## **The Great Wall**

The first site we approached was just south of the Shipley Battery.<sup>74</sup> According to both the Oxholm 1778 map(how can this map show 1802 ruins?) and the 1802 map, the ruins discovered were most likely built by the British during their occupation of the islands, 1801-1803 and 1807-1815. The maps show the buildings as situated on the northern end of Hassel Island.<sup>75</sup> The strategy was to carry out an immediate reconnaissance of the area. What we found was a long, low wall that had a small number of building remains and congregated roofs a short distance away. In both the Gjessing and the Jameson reports, the area south of Shipley Battery is described as an area with significant archaeological disturbance. In all of the survey tests carried out at this site, the results proved to be rather insignificant due to archaeological disturbance of artifacts and buildings. We agreed to focus on sites farther down the ridge line. Still, since the 1778 and the 1802 maps indicate that some buildings existed at the time it makes this area an obvious site for future research, most urgently a survey of structures but also in need of excavation.<sup>76</sup>

#### "Christmas Bush Hill"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> GPS coordinates are known to the USVI NPS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> 1778 map and the 1802 map

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Ibid

"Christmas bush hill" got its name from the poisonous Christmas bush in the middle of the excavation site. The reason we chose this site was of an indication of a possible settlement on the 1778 Oxholm map and the 1802 map. The local vegetation and topography at the narrow ridge top is semi arid and scrub. A surface survey was conducted, followed by the excavation of two 50 x 50cm squares. Shovel test number 1 was at a grid location on the east side, (next to?) extant foundation and a possible doorway. The soil was a sandy loam mixed with approximately 50% coarse gravel and very dry. The square was excavated to a depth of 25cm where we reached sterile soil. The only artefacts recovered were sporadic lumps of wall mortar at 0-10cm..

The second test unit was at a grid location on the north side, (next to ?) extant foundation, in front of a possible doorway (same location as before? Not clear). The soil was the same as that in the other shovel test, unit 1. The depth of the unit reached a total of 35cm below surface. No artifacts were recovered from the second test unit. The fact that no evidence of human activity was uncovered may very well be data. In previous investigations at early settlement sites, there are often very few artifacts recovered, so our lack of material remains could be suggesting an early occupation for the site. Sites from this early period most likely produce low numbers of artifacts because of the lack of material possessions owned by these early settlers. Investigations by Danish student interns in 2007 at an early settlement site required the excavation of 5 test units before a single artifact was found. Another possibility may be found in the land registry records that mention *qveeg*, cattle, as one of the uses for Hassel Island during our period of interest, and therefore a plausible theory is that the any building was wooden and used as a cow shed and not

FS #	Location	Era	Class	Туре	Count	Date Ranges	Weight	Comments
3	Christmas Bush Hill	Historic	Ceramic	stoneware	1	1750- 1900		brown salt glazed with brownish-grey paste
4	Christmas Bush Hill	Historic	Ceramic	Undecorated white ware	1	1815- present		flatware rimsherd
5	Christmas Bush Hill Test Unit #1 0-10 cmbs	Historic	Building/Household	mortar		unknown		
6	Christmas Bush Hill	Historic	Glass	medium green bottle glass	1	unknown		Flat
7	Christmas Bush Hill	Historic	Ceramic	stoneware		1750- 1900		grey salt glazed with grey paste
8	Christmas Bush Hill Test Unit #2	N/A						No artifacts recovered

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<sup>77</sup> GPS Coordinates are known to the USVI NPS

for human activity. This could also explain the lack of artifacts other than mortar. The local vegetation and topography at the excavation site indicates that a pasture could have presumably been situated there. The limited amount of artifacts collected at the excavation site and the minimal activity at that time shows cohesion between archives and archaeological findings.

## Officers' Quarters

Moving south from "Christmas bush hill" along the ridgeline, we encountered the Officers Quarters from the British occupation. The largest concern regarding the British Officers quarters was the time frame. The officers' quarters were built during the British occupation of the islands and it is for that reason not within our time frame. On the same location we found the ruins of what was once a cemetery, presumably from the 1800s since it contained the grave of a James Hazzel Junior who died in 1851. The officers' quarters were properly 'recycled' at some point after the occupation(?). With the officers quarters being just outside of our time frame; other NPS members (interns?) conducted a single shovel test there. No further excavations were made due to the fact that time was running out for our project. However, it should be mentioned that the findings from the single shovel test conducted here were interesting. It is suggested for future projects on Hassel Island to conduct a more thorough survey of the Officers Quarters. Below is a list of artifacts encountered in this area:

FS #	Location	Era	Class	Туре	Count	Date Ranges
	Officer's			Porcelain		
1	Quarters	Historic	Building/Household	cabinet knob	1	unknown
				Blue		
				underglaze		
				hand painted		
				porcelain,		
	Officer's			English		
2	Quarters	Historic	Ceramic	softpaste	1	1745-1800

## **Careening Cove:**

Careening Cove, or *Kiølhale hullet* has since the early 1700s been described as a good place for anchoring or careening. In the mid-1700s interim commandant George Høst described Careening

<sup>78</sup> Vestindisk-guineisk kompagni 446. Landliste over St. Thomas. Pakke 731-732.

Cove as a good place to caulk ships. <sup>79</sup> In the 1760s, the Hassel Island plantation was given the privilege to careen ships. 80 It appears from both primary and secondary sources that Careening Cove was a careening site and might show evidence of human activity. For that reason, we decided to excavate two test pits.81 The project goal was to find evidence of human activity that could link the excavation sites with the maps from 1719 and onward. The building complex that stands today dates back to the "Hamburg American Line," the Royal Mail Steam Packet Company and the WW I and WW II ship maintenance area. The most interesting house in terms of its probable early date, is a small square stone house, situated at the base of the hillside. The walls of this small building are approximately a half a meter wide, this and its size is very typical of many structures that have been dated to early to mid 1700s. The building currently serves as the living quarters of a sail maker. Unfortunately, no subsurface tests could be preformed near this structure as it is surrounded by a concrete pad. The 50 x 50cm shovel test unit number 3, although located at the bottom of the hill had to be outside of the concrete pavement, away from this structure. Vegetation at the site includes grass and trees as probably planted by the US Navy or the Hamburg American Line. The excavation depth ceased at 30 cm. From 0 to 10cm, we discovered modern glass (FS nr. 10), can tabs, modern ceramics and buttons. The soil consisted of loose gravel. From 10 to 20 cm below the surface, we discovered bricks in the dark brown soil. From 20 to 30cm, in the east side of our test pit, was a possible stone edge, but artifacts were not found. The results of the 50 x 50cm shovel test pit 3 were quite disappointing. There were no traces of human activity from within our time frame. Shovel test pit 3 produced coins, buttons and beads that indicated that the soils in this spot were "turned over"; disturbed by resent modern activities therefore unreliable for archaeological purposes. Disturbances could not only be the result of human activity on this site, but also wind and storms that would affect the area. Our second 50 x 50cm shovel test unit (ST 4) was located on the north side of the sail maker's workshop. The local vegetation was the same as in shovel test 3. In the upper 35 cm of the test a 1958 and 1961 coin were recovered. From 35 to 70 cm below surface the soil remained significantly mixed with almost no stratigraphy present. A 1983 penny from this level demonstrated just how disturbed these soils were. From 70 to 80 cm below the surface, the soil became a reddish orange-clay with small cobbles and gravel. There was a massive tree root in the southwest corner of the unit that hindered excavation. Sadly, the excavation was terminated at 80cm due to bedrock. This level was sterile. This soil layer consisted of a thick lens of decomposed bedrock the same color as the solid bedrock.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Høst, Georg. *Efterretninger om Øen Sanct Thomas Og dens Gouverneurer 1769-1776*.Nicolaus Møller og Søn. 1791. Kiøbenhavn Page 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Generaltoldkammeret. 365. Ældre del. Vestindisk-guineisk renteskriver kontor. (1760-1770) *Etatsråd Martfeldts samling over de danske vestindiske øer.* Pakke 408.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> An overview of these can be found in appendix E

The general picture of the Careening Cove excavations show that signs of human activity from the 18<sup>th</sup> century were not to be found in the short time frame of this research project. It is recommended that future investigations be carried out below the concrete pad adjacent to the 18<sup>th</sup> century structure which now serves as the living quarters of the sail maker. This structure is the most likely candidate for the quarters of many previous owners or mangers of Hassel Island, including Megan.

# **Hamburg-America Line Hill**

On our last day of excavation we decided to investigate the hillside just behind Careening Cove. We were aware of the fact that the U.S. Navy(?) had placed fuel tanks on top of the hill during WW I and WW II, so we expected to have some level of archaeological disturbance. Just behind the remains of the fuel tanks, an old wall was located. Maps from 1719 have shown that buildings were situated on this hillside behind Careening Cove. From the top overlooking Careening Cove, planters and officers had a great opportunity to view both the Hassel Island plantation and the rest of the Charlotte Amalie harbor. With that in mind, different types of artifacts from varying time periods could presumably be scattered in the area. This location can probably be dated back to the days of Daniel Jansen and was suspected to have been in use through the British occupation. Due to time constraints, no excavations were carried out, although a surface collection revealed much earlier artifacts than we had seen at any of the other sites. The finds are listed below:

FS #	Location	Era	Class	Type	Count	Date Ranges	Comments
	Am-Hamburg						
	Hill						
	Enlisted Mens						
	Qrts			blue shell edge			
15	Building 3	Historic	Ceramic	pearlware	1	1780-1830	
	Am-Hamburg						
	Hill						
	Enlisted Mens						
	Qrts			medium green			
15	Building 3	Historic	Glass	bottle glass	1	pre-1860s	applied lip
	Am-Hamburg						
	Hill						
	Enlisted Mens						
	Qrts			porcelain,			
15	Building 3	Historic	Ceramic	canton	2	1790-1835	

15	Am-Hamburg Hill Enlisted Mens Qrts Building 3	Historic	Ceramic	porcelain, english soft paste	1	1745-1800	
14	Am-Hamburg Hill Enlisted Mens Qrts Building 2	Historic	Ceramic	lead glazed red	3	1490-1900	coarse; same vessel, 1 jug handle, glazed interior, unglazed exterior
13	Am-Hamburg Hill Enlisted Mens Qrts Building #1	Historic	Ceramic	Black lead glazed red earthenware	1	1700-1770	refined; black glazed interior, partial black glazed exterior, foot rim
13	Am-Hamburg Hill Enlisted Mens Qrts Building #1	Historic	Glass	medium green bottle glass	1	pre-1860s	applied lip

The artifacts listed here indicate that this location shows evidence of human activity in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. However, these artifacts could just as well represent usage of this site after the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This would be in concurrence with the expectation that pottery manufactured in Europe would not reach the West Indies until quite some time after the date of manufacture. Since the manufacture of these types of artifacts typically have quite a large date range, it is impossible to give any further indication as to when the people who used them actually lived there.<sup>82</sup>

#### **Interim Conclusion**

With the artifacts in the bag, we found ourselves in the difficult situation of assigning dates to the sites investigated. However, to say anything precise on the location of early settlements on Hassel Island, within the 18<sup>th</sup> century time frame of this project from the artifacts collected, is difficult. Almost all of the materials recovered dated into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, it must be concluded that the artifacts did not allow for defining an 18<sup>th</sup> century occupation and that further investigations are required, especially in Careening Cove.

Although relevant artifacts were not discovered, the data collected does reveal a great deal of coherence between the archival studies and the fieldwork we accomplished on Hassel Island. Very few people lived on Hassel Island from 1688 to 1801, so a lot of artifacts would not be expected. The most promising evidence uncovered concerning early occupation of the island, that is depicted

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> We have used this website for guidelines of manufacture periods: http://www.flmnh.ufl.edu/histarch/gallery\_types/type\_list.asp

both in the literature and on maps and is representative of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, is the old small, thick-walled structure currently occupied by the sail maker in Careening Cove.

## Chapter 4

#### Conclusion

Regarding the questions posed in chapter 1, we have come to the conclusion that Hassel Island was an unusual plantation. Proximity to the center of events, the harbor of Charlotte Amalie and the isolation of the estate makes Hassel Island unique. Due to this duality in location, Hassel Island became a place that offered other avenues of business for planters in the eighteenth century. The Hassel Island plantation essentially differed from traditional plantations that were primarily used for sugar and cotton production.

The owners of Hassel Island during the period in question were representative of society in the Danish West Indies at the time, as shown in their respective dealings, both business and personal. The plantation being owned by two governors and the murder on the island are interesting and unexpected historic facts.

With the archival findings in mind, in that few owners of Hassel Island lived on the island, it was perhaps slightly unrealistic to expect to find many artifacts that could shed more light on the island's occupation. Therefore, we can conclude that the lack of relevant artifacts is entirely

natural, but does not exclude the fact that there may still be good data to be recovered on Hassel Island when further resources are dedicated to such a project. We believe there is a concurrence between the archival research conducted and the archaeological findings, although at the same time we do not feel that there were enough artifacts to prove a significant relationship.

# Chapter 5

## **Suggested Further Research**

The primary suggestion is the need for further archaeological research on Hassel Island. The various locations mentioned in this report are not at all thoroughly surveyed, and we expect that future researchers would find a mass of artifacts on certain locations such as "The great wall", "Officers Quarters", "Careening Cove" especially at the old building the sail maker lives in and along "Hamburg-America Line Hill". We are convinced more artifacts within our time frame can be located in Careening Cove and at "Hamburg-America Line Hill" due to the presence of the old building in the cove and since three relevant pottery sherds were discovered on the hill. Any artifacts found would hopefully provide greater insight into the lives of the owners of Hassel Island during the 1700s, but also to provide more information on what happened there during the British occupation on the island. It would be interesting to discover the ways in which historical changes affected how Hassel Island was utilized during and after the British occupations.



Above is a map presumably from early 1800s, which could be useful in further research also. The map is available on the Danish Royal Library's website

## **PRIMARY SOURCES**

## **RIGSARKIVET**

Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni (VGK)

# VGK, Bogholderen, Serie 446

# Landlister 1688-1754:

# Pakke 731 (1688-1710)

- 1. Liste 1688
- Liste 1692 1/3 1693 1/3
   Liste 1693 1/3 1694 1/3

- 4. Landliste marts 1697 marts 1698
- 5. Landliste 1699-1700
- 6. Landliste 1700-01
- Den rigtige landliste 1701-02
   1703/04 Hollandsk liste
- 9. 1704/05 Hollandsk liste
- 10. Landliste 1705-06
- 11. Landliste 1706-07
- 12. Landliste 1707-08

# Pakke 732 (1710-1718)

1. Liste 1717/1718

## Pakke 733 (1718-1719)

1. Liste 1719

# Pakke 734 (1719-1720)

1. Liste 1720

## Pakke 735 (1720-1721)

1. Liste 1721

# Pakke 736 - 737 (1721-1726)

- 1. Liste 1721/1722
- 2. Liste 1722/1723
- 3. Liste 1724/1725

## Pakke 738 (1726-1727)

1. Liste1726/1727

## Pakke 739 (1727-1730)

1. Liste 1727/1728

# Pakke 740 (1731-1735)

- 1. Liste 1731
- 2. Liste 1732
- 3. Liste 1733

## Pakke 741 (1734-1735)

1. Liste 1734/1735

## Pakke 742 (1736)

1. Liste 1736

## Pakke 743 (1737)

1. Liste 1737

#### Pakke 744 (1738)

1. Liste 1738

#### Pakke 745 (1739)

1. Liste 1739

## Pakke 746 (1740)

1. Liste 1740

## Pakke 747 (1741-1744)

- 1. Liste 1741
- 2. Liste 1742
- 3. Liste 1743
- 4. Liste 1744

## Pakke 748 (1745-1747)

- 1. Liste 1745
- 2. Liste 1746
- 3. Liste 1747

## Pakke 749 (1748-1754)

- 1. Liste 1748
- 2. Liste 1749 3. Liste 1750
- 4. Liste 1751
- 5. Liste 1754

# VGK, Direktionen, Serie 446

## Efterretninger om Vestindiske Skifter 1733-1739

#### Pakke 243 (1736-1740)

- 1. Sluttede skrifter 1733-35
- 2. Specifikation 1730'erne
- 3. Byfoged 1737
- 4. Fra Guvernør Moth
- 5. Specifikation 1737
- 6. Specifikation 6/10 1738:
- 7. Litera D 1737
- 8. Specification 1739
- 9. Indberetning fra Gov. Moth
- 10. Protokol fra 28. august 1739
- 11. Liste 1740
- 12. Liste 1739 31/12
- 13. Extract
- 14. Liste 3 juni 1740

- 15. Fra Moth august 1740
- 16. Specifikation august 1740

#### VGK, Direktionen, Serie 446

Skifteforretninger efter indbyggere på St Thomas. 1689 - 1701

Pakke 240

<u>VGK, Direktionen, Serie 446</u> Skiftedokumenter vedr. indbyggere på Skt. Thomas. 1726 – 1751

Pakke 241

<u>VGK, Direktionen, Serie 446</u> <u>Søfiskal Michael Michelsen kommission på Skt. Thomas. 1684 – 1688</u>

Pakke 170

VKG, St. Thomas Byfoged, Serie 446 Skifteprotokol 1750/1750

**Pakke 1.71.1** Dokumenterne heri er slemt beskadigede, og der er en note om at skifterne rent faktisk er fra 1755 snarere end 1750. Flere af skifterne er fra 1752. Siderne er meget svære at tyde, da skriften er tværet meget ud, men der var ikke skifter for nogle af vores kendte navne i kassen.

St Thomas Byfoged, Serie 697 Diverse skiftebreve m.v., 1749 – 1780

Pakke 13.30.1

VKG, St Thomas Byfoged, Serie 446 Pantebøger 1741 - 1754

Pakke 1.18.1 Pakke 1.18.2

VGK, St Thomas Byfoged, Serie 697 Skifteretssessionsprotokoller, 1736-1893

Pakke 13.23.3: Denne pakke er i fin stand, men dækker således perioden fra 1815-1818 og har derfor ingen relevans

St. Thomas Politikontor, serie 698 Politiretsprotokoller 1788 – 1896

**Pakke 14.1.4-5**: (1799 – 1804)

VGK, Kompagniretten. Serie 446

#### Kompagniets Justitsprotokoller 1704 – 1755. 1747 juli 11 – 1755 januar 10

Pakke 248

VGK, Kompagniretten, Serie 446

Kompagniets Justitsprotokoller 1704 – 1755. 1704 november 26 – 1747 december 23.

Pakke 247

VGK, Guvernementet på Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, serie 446 Landbreve på St. Thomas og St. Jan 1688-1721

Pakke 519

VGK, Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Serie 446 Kopibog 1686 – 1709

Pakke 509 (1686-1688)

Pakke 510

**Pakke 511- 512:** Har set første bind igennem 1762 – 1764 hvor John Hatch er nævnt flere gange. Dog mest i forhold til noget med en barke (ved navn Magretha) men også noget i forbindelse med arv (igen, kun om båden) og noget med en skipper.

Pakke 513 (1702 - 1705 mm.)

<u>VGK, Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Serie 446</u> <u>Kvittance- og attestbøger 1688 – 1704</u>

Pakke 520:

VGK, Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Serie 446 Diverse brevkopibøger fra St. Thomas 1673 – 1735

Pakke 517 (1733-34)

**1735:** Kopi af udgående breve angående bortløbende slaver i forbindelse til oprøret på St. jan.

1733-1734: Beskrivelser og korrespondancer vedr. slaveoprøret på St. Jan.

**1673-76:** Korrespondance mellem Jørgen Iversen på St. Thomas og franskmændene på St. Croix.

1675-1676: Korrespondance mellem Jørgen Iversen på St. Thomas og franskmændene på St. Croix.

**1689-1694:** Guvernør Heins og andre guvernørs korrespondance med Brandenburgerne.

## <u>VGK, Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan</u> <u>Journaler 1710 – 1744</u>

Pakke 1.13.1

Pakke 1.13.2

#### Pakke 1.13.3

## VGK, Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, serie 446 Kopibøger, ført på Skt. Thomas 1686 - 1709

#### VGK, Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Serie 446 Gældslister for St. Thomas og St. Jan, 1728 – 1745

**Pakke 711:** Her findes lister m. gæld fra vores hovedpersoner: Daniel Jansen, Erik Bredal (enkelte år, senere Madame Bredal), Frederik Moth og Willem Berentz. Noter om dette er skrevet ind i tidslinjen. Om Willem Berentz står der umiddelbart rosende ord; at der bortfalder 648 rigsdaler og 10 schilling i 1737 fra WB's gæld fra hvad han har transporteret – det er "suffisant"

#### VGK, Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Serie 446 Interessebøger 1726 – 1732

Pakke 709 (1729-1732)

#### VGK, Bogholderen for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan, Serie 446 Antegnelser og kvittancer til hoved- og bibøger, 1707 – 1755

Pakke 754 (1729-1732): Transport af Willem Berentz' bomuld 1732.

1707

1735-1741: Antegnelser af Købmand Moth. Konkrete regnskabsmæssige optegnelser.

1741: 1742:

#### <u>Generalguvernementet, serie 677</u> <u>Bevilligede ansøgninger om borgerbrev 1752-1842</u>

Pakke 2.44.1: Borgerbreve med efternavn A – G 1752-1842: Ingen af vores ejere

Pakke 2.44.2: Evt. rødt mærke

Pakke 2.44.3: ditto

## Generalguvernementet, VGK, serie 677 17 plakatbøger 1733-1882

Pakke: 2.1.4

#### **OTHER SOURCES**

Generaltoldkammeret - Ældre del. VG Renteskriverkontor, Serie 365 Blandede Vestindisk-guineiske og Ostindiske sager. 1706 – 1851

#### **Pakke 543:**

- 1. Omorganisering af toldvæsnet 1848-50
- 2. Spørgsmål om slaver der har været i Europas status.
- 3. Albertis artikel vedr. negernes stilling.1842.
- 4. Embedsinstitutioner 1773 i dansk vestindien: ???
- 5. Nicobarøerne.
- 6.
- 7. Regelsamling for slavernes inddrivelse: For sent.
- 8. Hververegnskab for soldater.
- 9. Diverse.

## <u>Generaltoldkammeret - Ældre del. VG Renteskriverkontor, Serie 365</u> <u>Om Vestindien 1690 – 1767</u>

**Pakke 543:** Er et helt bind med forskellige breve, plakater og promemoria'er som umiddelbart fokuserer på overtagelsen af St. Croix.

- 1. Fransk erklæring fra Delaporte
- 2. Til Daniel Jansen fra Suhm i 1728
- 3. Fra Daniel Jansen til Suhm 7/2 1728
- 4. Et brev fra Prock fra 1739: Christian Lassen bliver nævnt.
- 5. Skatteopkrævning anno 1755
- 6. Liste over bugter på St. Jan.
- 7. Placat fra Frederik Moth på Hollandsk 1741.
- 8. Brev på engelsk.
- 9. ?
- 10. ?
- 11. ?
- 12. ?

## <u>Generaltoldkammeret, Ældre del. VG Renteskriverkontor, Serie 365</u> <u>Dokumenter vedr. forsvarsvæsenet og fortifikationer i Vestindien I-II 1775 – 1832</u>

Oxholm's optegnelser

Pakke 465 Pakke 466

## Generaltoldkammeret, Ældre del. VG Renteskriverkontor, Serie 365 Etatsråd Martfeldts samling over De danske vestindiske øer, 1760-1770

Pakke 404 Pakke 405 Pakke 406 Pakke 407-408 Pakke 409

St. Thomas og St. Jan Guvernement, serie 693 Gruppeordnede diverse sager 1771-1917 Protokol over canoer, 1771 – 1808

Pakke 11.53.270

# St. Thomas og St. Jan Guvernement, serie 693, Vestindiske Lokalarkiver Gruppeordnede sager - Retsvæsen 1711-1876 Skifteprotokoller for Kgl. Betjente 1764-1800

Pakke 11.53.25 Pakke 11.53.35 Pakke 11.53.37 Pakke 11.53.38 Pakke 11.53.39

## St. Thomas og St. Jan Guvernement, serie 693 Gruppeordnede sager (3) Retsvæsen

Skifteretssessionsprotokoller for Kgl. Betjente, 1758 – 1794

## St. Thomas og St. Jan Guvernement, serie 693 Kopibøger Rådets/Guvernementet breve til Centraladministrationen 1738-1784

Pakke: 11.32.1 Pakke 11.32.2 Pakke: 11.32.3

## Reviderede regnskaber. Vestindiske regnskaber. Serie 571 Matrikler for St. Thomas og St. Jan 1755 – 1915

Pakke 83.1 (1755 - 1760) Pakke 83.2 (1761 - 1768) Pakke 83.3: (1769 - 1785)

#### <u>Dansk Kancelli, Serie 232</u> <u>Vestindiske sager 1699 - 1771</u>

Pakke D36B (1746 – 1771) Pakke D36A

#### <u>Dansk Kancelli, Serie 232</u> Ostindiske missiver ang. Dansborg og Trankebar 1729 – 1729

Pakke D55

#### Sources on microfilm

Danicafilm nr. 1090, Rulle nr 5:

Den Hollandske menigheds Kirkebog fra 1744 - ?, St Thomas

Den Evangeliske Menigheds Kirkebog 16?? - ?, St Thomas

#### **MAPS**

## Maps from Rigsarkivet:

Rentekammeret

- 1) 337, 22-50 XXIX: nr 43. Eylandet Sancte Thomas m. plan over Christiansfort, ca 1730. Negativ nr 129 (s/h og farve)
- 2) 337, 127 (3): Havnekort over St Thomas Havn 1803. Neg nr 124
- 3) 337, 210: Charlotte Amalie. Grundplan. Intet årstal. Neg nr 23
- 4) 337, 327: St Thomas Havn og by. Oxholm. Intet årstal. Neg nr 52. Nævner Cabay Bay v. den tidligere Daniel Jansen Pynt
- 5) 337, 332; Batteri (ved pynten) ved St. Thomas Havn, Intet årstal. Neg nr. 45
- 6) 337, 425: Charlotte Amalie. Bykort m. matrikelsnumre. Intet årstal. 2 x neg. nr. (s/h og farve)
- 7) 337, 202: Kort over Charlotte Amalie havnen UDEN Hassel Island. Intet årstal. Neg nr 20

#### Maps from the Royal Library, all available online (PROVIDE WEB SITE)

- 1. "Plan af de Kongel. Danske Øe St Thomas i Vestindien". By General Lieutenant Stervbroe de Montargues, 1772.
- 2. "Indløbet til St. Thomas": Fejldateret til 1802; vi tror det tidlig 1700. Emnekoder: 4340.112 01802. CHRISTEN LASSEN/LARSEN?
- 3. "Nieuwe en alderreeste Aftechening van 't Eyland St. Thomas. Met alle desselfs Havenen, Anker plaatse en geleegentheden, is gelegen beoosten I. Porto Rico in West Indie, behoorende aan syn Koninklyke Majestyt van Danemarken..."

11 May 1718 by Simon de Bon Maison, by Gerald van Keulen, Amsterdam, 1719 DANIEL IANSEN (også Daniel lansen pynt)

Hoog land (Syd) og Laag Land (nord) & 't Orkanns Gat

4. "Plan over de af Englænderne anlagde Batterier og Byginger [paa Halv-Øen som formerer bet til St. Thomæ Havn)". 1802

## NON-ACCESSIBLE POSSIBLE (?)SOURCES, Rigsarkivet

VGK, St. Thomas Byfoged

Skiftebrevsprotokoller for plantere, 1724-1763. Arkivnummer 697. Nummer 13.28.1- 13.28.6. Magasinopstilling 12+GLO+56+01+11+05

VGK, St Thomas Byfoged

Skiftebrevsprotokoller for indvånere, 1717-1766. Arkivnummer 697. Nummer 13.27.1 – 13.27.13 Magasinopstilling: 12+GLO+56+01+11+04

VGK, Guvernementet for Skt. Thomas og Skt. Jan Testamentprotokoller 1720-1744. Arkivnr. 446. Nummer 1.15.1 Magasinopstilling 12+GLO+56+01+17+02

VGK, St. Thomas Byfoged, serie 697 Fogedprotokoller 1754-1909

VGK, St Thomas Byfoged, Serie 697

Skifteretssessionsprotokoller, 1736-1893 Pakke 13.23.1: I for dårlig stand til at kunne bruges Pakke 13.23.2: I for dårlig stand til at kunne bruges

Landstinget St. Thomas og St. Jan, Serie 695 Justitsprotokoller 1747-1809

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