

Syracuse University

**SURFACE**

---

Anthropology - Dissertations

Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public  
Affairs

---

5-2013

## Estate by Estate: The Landscape of the 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion

Holly Kathryn Norton  
*Syracuse University*

Follow this and additional works at: [https://surface.syr.edu/ant\\_etd](https://surface.syr.edu/ant_etd)



Part of the [Anthropology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Norton, Holly Kathryn, "Estate by Estate: The Landscape of the 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion" (2013).  
*Anthropology - Dissertations*. 102.  
[https://surface.syr.edu/ant\\_etd/102](https://surface.syr.edu/ant_etd/102)

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at SURFACE. It has been accepted for inclusion in Anthropology - Dissertations by an authorized administrator of SURFACE. For more information, please contact [surface@syr.edu](mailto:surface@syr.edu).

## **Abstract**

This historical archaeological investigation looks at the 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion in the Danish West Indies. This rebellion, which lasted for eight months, was approached via “Archaeology of Event” and was investigated using the archaeological survey, historical documentary analysis, and Geographic Information Systems. Among the topics discussed are the conditions for rebellion, the social structure of the island in the years leading up to the event, how the built environment reflected this social structure, and the consequences of rebellion for the island.

**Estate by Estate: The Landscape of the  
1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion**

by  
Holly Kathryn Norton  
B.A. University of South Carolina, 2002  
M.A. Syracuse University, 2009

Dissertation  
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology  
in the Graduate School of Syracuse University

May 2013

Copyright 2013 Holly Kathryn Norton

All Rights Reserved

## Acknowledgements

As with any research, this dissertation was a work of collaboration that was built on a foundation of support from many people and institutions. This research was generously funded by the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs through Roscoe Martin Scholarship and the Goekjian Grants for Summer Research program, as well as the National Park Service and the Friends of the Virgin Island National Park. I would like to thank my committee: my advisor, Dr. Douglas Armstrong, who encouraged the research of a topic that is not traditionally archaeological, and who provided insights into an island that is deeply complex; Dr. Shannon Novak, for pushing my theoretical vision and providing important criticism of my writing; Dr. Robert Rubinstein, who continually pushes me to think in new directions and who has provided support when I have most needed it; Dr. Anne Mosher, who opened up avenues of collaboration discussion beyond the confines of my discipline; and Dr. Theresa Singleton who continually challenges me to make broader connections. I would also like to express my deepest thanks to Christopher Espenshade who has served as a friend and mentor, and Joe Joseph, both of whom have provided wonderful professional opportunities.

This dissertation would not have been completed without my island family. First and foremost I would like to thank St. John historian Chuck Pishko and his wife, Terry. Chuck was my friend, mentor, and fictive kin; I was honored to be considered his “niece” at the Commemorative Walk. Chuck and Terry opened their home to me, and Chuck generously shared his infinite knowledge about the history and people of the island, and allowed me access to his immense archive. I can only hope that someday I have a fraction of the knowledge about St. John that Chuck possesses.

Living on a small island creates close friendships, and I am grateful for the support and friendship of my other St. John “family”: Ken Wild, who holds the archaeology of the island together (I wouldn’t want to argue about historical interpretation with anyone else); Susanna Pershern, my comrade in arms at VINP; Jessica Hornbeck, the only roommate I ever liked, and John Griffin, who allowed me to tag along on all their outings; Tim Hanley and Kevin Chipman, who grew up one town over from me and knew my Nana, but I had to go all the way to St. John to meet; and Chirag Vyas, “Cheech,” who became a really close friend, got me to, and accompanied me on, the Commemorative Walk when my plane and ferry refused to cooperate, and who showed me a side of St. John I would have otherwise missed. The *Tap Room* became my home away from home, and large portions of this dissertation were written with a pint of Kevin and Cheech’s *VI Pale Ale* in one hand. I am also grateful for the late night conversations, after the bar closed, about the islands history and current politics that helped shape my perceptions. I

would also like to thank Katie Bhillip who scanned all my maps; and Rose Puntillo and Mandara Takowsky, who served as my field assistants and discovered Base Hill Slave Village on their “vacation”.

I would like to thank Jonas Pedersen, Andreas Latif and Casper Toftgard, colleagues at the University of Copenhagen, for sharing their insights on Danish history. Jonas in particular was generous with historic documents. I am especially grateful for the friendship and camaraderie of Vibe Martens, a brilliant historian and good friend. I could not have slogged my way through the gothic Danish without her.

My friends and colleagues at Syracuse University deserve more credit than almost anyone else. Helen Blouet, who adventured on island with me; Meredith Ellis, Rachel Horlings, Cathy Lavoy, Steve Lenik, Connie Etter, Caterina Anderson and Amy Roache all read numerous drafts of chapters and offered constructive criticism and improvements. They also offered informal conversations and debates, along with colleagues such as Francois Richard, Jonathan Jackson, Brent Olson, Nicole Wilson, and Zach Beier that have forced me to grow as a scholar and person. I would also like to thank Ian Price and Ken Anderson, each of whom provided support, advice and their vast knowledge of ArcGis when I got stuck in the software.

I appreciate the encouragement of my family. My Mom, Kim Read, who was my buffer to *Anderson* and offered me her keen insights on the novel; my Dad, Jeff Read, who never let me feel sorry for myself; my little brother, Justus, who inherited all the quick wit; my grandparents, Kay Nodine, Jim Read and Geri Read, each of whom I lost during the course of this research; and Janet Leiger, who has always provided unconditional encouragement. I would also like to acknowledge my in-laws, Dale and Nancy Theiling, who are consummate optimists and great copy-editors. I would also like to thank Jordan Bruna for the bottomless supply of encouragement and vino.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Dale Theiling, who has been there along every step of this research, including helping conduct field work in uncomfortable conditions, serving as my IT guy, and supporting marathon writing sessions. This is as much his work as it is mine. And I would like to thank my sister, Courtney Norton, who has kept me fed since I was an undergrad. This is for you guys.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	iv
List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
Introduction	1
Chapter 1. Slave Rebellions and the trans-Atlantic Trade Era	15
Chapter 2. The St. Jan Slave Rebellion: A Sequence of the Event	44
Chapter 3. Theoretical Foundations	96
Chapter 4. Field Methods and Data Collection	126
Chapter 5. Rum Stills and Water Pots: The Spatiality of Rebellion	149
Chapter 6. Ruptures and Conjunctures	229
Chapter 7. Conclusion	285
Appendix I: Inhabitants of St. Jan and Participants in the Rebellion	299
Appendix IIA: GIS Attribute Table- Description of Fields	306
Appendix IIB: GIS Attribute Table- 1733/36 <i>Landlister</i>	308
Appendix III: Slave Rebellions in the New World, 1522-1865	318
References Cited	323
Curriculum Vitae	339

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Locational Map of St. John, USVI. ....	43
Figure 2. Danish West Indies and significant locations of rebellion events .....	59
Figure 3. Significant locations in the Lesser Antilles .....	60
Figure 4. 1733 St. Jan plantations designated by Quarter as indicated in the 1733/36 <i>landlist</i> . .....	152
Figure 5. Years in which individual plantations were established.....	154
Figure 6. Plantation boundaries illustrating primary crop type as registered in the <i>landlist</i> . ...	155
Figure 7. USDA (1994) St. John Soil Map .....	157
Figure 8. The Plantations of Coral Bay Quarter .....	158
Figure 9. Detail of the 1719 Van Keulen map illustrating Coral Bay.....	162
Figure 10. Company Plantation factory. ....	166
Figure 11. The Plantations of French Quarter.....	167
Figure 12. Brown's Bay Site Plan. ....	172
Figure 13. The Plantations of Caneel Bay Quarter .....	175
Figure 14. Rustenberg Plantage. ....	185
Figure 15. L'Esperance Plantage.....	186
Figure 16. The Plantations of Durloe's Bay Quarter .....	187
Figure 17. Estate Beverhoutsberg.....	190
Figure 18. Manager's Villa Site Plan, Caneel Bay Resort. ....	192
Figure 19. The Plantations of Lameshure Bay Quarter .....	194
Figure 20. Site plan of the Gouvert Marche plantation.....	198
Figure 21. Lameshure Bay site map. ....	202
Figure 22. Floor Plan Lameshure Residence.. ....	203
Figure 23. Lameshure Residence.....	203
Figure 24. "Great House" structure, zone 1, Cabrit Horn.. ....	205
Figure 25. The Plantations of Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter .....	206
Figure 26. The Plantations of Maho Bay Quarter .....	210
Figure 27. Maho Bay Project plan view. ....	214
Figure 28. Frederiksdal Plantation.....	216
Figure 29. The Plantations of Reef and Fish Bay Quarter .....	217
Figure 30. 1733 plantation complexes archaeologically surveyed .....	221



Figure 31. Elevation of the archaeologically surveyed 1733 properties.....	222
Figure 32. The Frederiksvaern viewshed.....	226
Figure 33. The population density of the island at the time of the rebellion .....	235
Figure 34. Status of individual plantations by the culmination of the conflict .....	239
Figure 35. Estimated locations of Rebel and Maroon Camps.....	240
Figure 36. Plantations that shifted their built structures after the slave rebellion.....	245
Figure 37. Post-1733 Durloe House.....	246
Figure 38. Lameshure Plantation Great House. ....	249
Figure 39. 1780 Oxholm .....	253
Figure 40. Frederiksvaern in its final, mid-eighteenth construction. ....	256
Figure 41. Frederiksvaern Viewshed.....	256
Figure 42. 1754 Beck Map of St. Croix.....	262
Figure 43. Key Sites Connected to the 1733 Revolt on St. John, Virgin Islands.....	295

### **List of Tables**

Table 1. Enslaved Population of St. Jan 1728-1733.....	56
Table 2. Gender and Age of Enslaved Population.....	56
Table 3. Free Land Holding Population of St. Jan 1728-1733.....	56
Table 4. Population of Coral Bay Quarter.....	159
Table 5. Population of French Quarter.....	168
Table 6. Population of Caneel Bay Quarter.....	176
Table 7. Population of Durloe's Quarter.....	187
Table 8. Population of Lameshure Bay Quarter.....	195
Table 9. Population of Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter.....	207
Table 10. Population of Maho Bay Quarter.....	221
Table 11. Population of Reef and Fish Bay Quarter.....	228
Table 12. Total number of Enslaved and Rebels by Quarter.....	234
Table 13. Rebellions related to the St. Jan Slave Rebellion.....	264

## **Introduction**

Before dawn on November 23, 1733, a group of enslaved Africans arrived at the fort on the tiny Danish island of St. Jan with a bundle of sticks for the day's firewood. When the small contingent of soldiers- young, poorly trained, often drunk- opened the door, they were attacked (Dookhan 1994; Westergaard 1917). Six of them were immediately slaughtered- a seventh, passed out drunk under his cot, escaped notice by the rebels. Having taken Frederiksvaern, the slaves fired the cannons twice, signaling to their fellow conspirators that the rebellion had begun (GOB:1136-42; SPC:90-100;114-121). The island fell into chaos, with some planters and their families fleeing the island, while others were killed in their sleep. The single soldier who survived the initial attack made his way to St. Thomas where he reported the incident to the Governor of the Danish West Indies. What ensued was a conflict between a weak colonial authority and a small, but powerful, group of rebel soldiers. It was an event that was to last for eight months as the Danish tried desperately to regain control of the island (Caron 1978; Dookhan 1994; GOB 1733-34; SPC 1733-1734; Westergaard 1917). The 1733 St. Jan slave rebellion had immediate implications for the people who experienced it, planters, rebels, and others caught in the circumstances of the day. The rebellion also had long-lasting socio-political implications for the island of St. Jan and the Danish West Indies, and the regions emergence into sugar-producing capitalist economy. The consequences of the rebellion survived the eventual collapse of both sugar and slavery in the region, finding renewed resonance within the modern day political system of St. John as it emerged in the twentieth century.

The St. Jan slave rebellion of 1733-1734 has captured the imagination of successive generations of Virgin Islanders and students of Afro-Caribbean history.

Referred to by many local intellectuals as the “first successful slave rebellion,” enslaved Africans and Afro-Caribbeans managed to hold much of the island of St. Jan for nearly eight months.<sup>1</sup> The story has been captivantly related in a colorfully painted and passionately told folkloric tale in John Anderson’s historical novel “Night of the Silent Drums” (1975). This recreation of history now shapes much of the currently “known” history of the event and its aftermath. Hence, what is undoubtedly a significant historical event is best known not so much from the archival records, accounts by first hand observers and writers of the era, or the material record defined within the boundaries of documented places in which actions took place, but from the pages of this richly fabricated novel.

This begs the question: where is the boundary between myth and reality? What actually took place, where did people interact, and what were the consequences in terms of life in the second quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century in a region fully embedded in institutions of slavery and emerging capitalism?

This dissertation uses archaeological investigation of spaces and places tied directly to the events as depicted in the available archival record to seek a contextually based interpretation of the events and consequences of the rebellion. It draws upon primary documents, and evaluates the layers of secondary and tertiary interpretations of the events. Above all it is spatially oriented to see how the rebellion played out in space and time and to explore its consequences in terms of changes in the cultural landscape. It

---

<sup>1</sup> The DWI has a long history of rebellion, revolt, and civil unrest, which will be discussed in greater detail in chapters 4, 6, and 7. The 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion is the first in this chain of events, and was often invoked in later events. Two slave revolts/conspiracies were thwarted in 1742 and 1759 on St. Croix; at the time some planters whose enslaved population had been accused of participating in the 1733 revolt were again implicated. The final rebellion of the slave era in the DWI, which occurred in 1848, which culminated with the emancipation of the enslaved population of the islands; the event that came to be known as “Fireburn” occurred on St. Croix in 1878, when laborers fought for more freedom in movement and employment choices. Later, as citizens of a US territory, West Indians continued acts of civil disobedience to agitate for greater degrees of civil rights. Furthermore, the DWI rebellions are seen as part of the larger tapestry of Caribbean resistance, the most famous of which is the St. Domingue, or Haitian, Revolution.

also evaluates the reflexive nature of contemporary views of the rebellion and explores how islander and historian have depicted these spaces and the actions of the rebellion in the past and present.

### *Fiction as History*

*"I am willing to feel guilty, night and day, for the enslavement of Negroes, and for this enslavement you are entitled to the same number of hundreds of years of bigotry, if you truly wish to poison yourself so. But I insist that you in turn, while balancing the books of bigotry, feel guilt for your part in the enslavement of the Black by the White. The master part of you must feel guilty for selling black bodies for profit to the white man; but the slave part of you must feel even more guilty for being so lacking in self-respect as to stand for being sold."* (Anderson 1975:388)

Thus ends Cornelius Bodger's tenure as the humanistic doctor on St. Jan as he leaves for the *table rasa* of St. Croix in the historical novel "Night of the Silent Drums." As protagonist of the novel, Bodger is portrayed as a benevolent slave owner, so kindly in his treatment of the black body that he is beloved even by the rebels who thirst for nothing but revenge in the form of violence visited on white bodies. The Hero not only divests himself of the responsibility for the slave society in which he lives and from which he profits by participating passively as a slave holder, but Bodger also divests Europeans of full culpability of the trans-Atlantic slave era by defining Africans as people who lacked a full range of humanity. For Anderson's hero, Africans became enslaved because they could not fully comprehend the magnitude of enslavement. Ultimately, in the novel, the slave rebellion fails for similar reasons. Anderson's rebels lacked the sobriety for mature calculation and self-determination; the rebels are unable to fully comprehend the magnitude of being free.

It is this novel, published in 1975, that has become a dominant history of the 1733 St. Jan slave rebellion in the Danish West Indies, and has aided in illuminating the rebellion as one of the defining events in the history of the Virgin Islands. The actual event of the 1733 slave rebellion was momentous to contemporaries; the conflict lasted six to eight months, depending on how various historians reckon the completion of the event. During that time, it affected the entirety of the small island of St. Jan, as well as its 'parent' island of St. Thomas, where the Danish colonial administration, in the form of a charter-bearing company, the *Danske Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni*, was located, and where many of the key planters involved in the conflict lived. The rebellion affected the nearby islands, held by other nationalities, particularly the English, and required foreign intervention; first by the ambivalent English and then the calculating French, who were merely seeking Danish friendship for larger, more momentous events that were transpiring in the Old World. While the rebellion marked a significant structural relocation on the island of St. Jan, it also shaped the colonization of St. Croix, and was seen as the spark that ignited a decade's worth of slave rebellions throughout the New World.

The rebellion was a significant event in the social history of the region and served to reframe many aspects of social relations under the system of slavery in the Danish islands. While Anderson is sometimes given credit for "rediscovering" the rebellion, his novel can really only be given credit for making one version of the story available to a wider audience. The basic events of the rebellion have always been known to scholars of the region, as well as scholars of New World slave rebellions (Caron and Highfield 1981; Carroll 1938 [2004]; Genovese 1979; Lewis 1968, 1972). The rebellion is a corner-stone

of West-Indian identity in the former Danish West Indies,<sup>2</sup> and is often used as an anchor for modern political discourse, particularly for the disenfranchisement of the West-Indian population. Accepted uncritically by some populations on island, but highly controversial among others, Anderson's novel *Night of the Silent Drums* has become a master narrative of the rebellion, and has codified some of the primary assumptions of the causes of the rebellion.

While challenging popularly accepted histories is no easy task, by moving away from Anderson's version and drawing on primary sources and archaeological data one can reconstruct the basic outline of events. Significant questions that must be asked of any act of collective violence include ascertaining what conditions contributed to the rebellion occurring when and where it did. How was the rebellion carried out? Where did the actions and events take place and why? What were the objectives of the rebels? Who were the rebels? What were the reactions to the rebellion by the plantocracy? What were the impacts for the various communities living on the island at the time? What were the long-term impacts of the event on the island and subsequent populations? Finally, what is the current role of the rebellion in contemporary St. Johnian and West Indian society?

Today, the island, with its anglicized name St. John, is part of the United States Virgin Islands.<sup>3</sup> Like other parts of the Caribbean, the USVI has undergone massive shifts towards a tourist-based economy. The "American Paradise," as the VI license plates used to boast, has seen unprecedented development over the last thirty years. For

---

<sup>2</sup> Purchased by the United States in 1917, the islands of the Danish West Indies- St. Croix, St. Thomas, and St. Jan- are today the U.S. Virgin Islands.

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this study I use the Danish name "St. Jan" to refer to the Island's Danish colonial period, 1718-1917. "St. John" refers to the island's American period, 1917-present.

St. John, this has been both influenced and mediated by the presence of the National Park Service, which occupies nearly 75 percent of the island, and serves as the single largest employer on the island. The creation of the Virgin Islands National Park, established in 1956, remains controversial in the methods that were used to procure land, and maintains a tense relationship with various communities in the local population, especially the West Indian community, as it is often accused of failing to engage with the community in basic ways. One aspect of the political rhetoric between the two groups rests on the interpretation of the 1733 rebellion, or rather, the apparent lack of focus on what is widely held to be a pivotal and significant event in the history of the island and its inhabitants.

The purpose of this current work is three-fold. First and foremost, this is a work of historical archaeology which seeks to understand the social milieu of the early eighteenth-century Danish slave-holding society of St. Jan through the lens of rebellion, and the disjunctures that such an event illuminates. Attempting to move beyond essentialized narratives of black resistance to white oppression, I investigate the various groups who lived on island and how they identified themselves and related to each other. This becomes important when analyzing who was involved with the rebellion activities. Identity is spatially analyzed via the unit of the plantation complexes on St. Jan at the time of the rebellion, by determining who occupied these various spaces and under what conditions. This is accomplished through archaeological investigations into the landscape of St. Jan, encompassing the built and natural environments, and how those environments were used during the rebellion, and how they were subsequently changed in response to the rebellion. The primary unit of analysis is that of the plantation, defined here as the

borders of the property held by specific individuals as understood to the contemporaries through the Danish *landlisters*. The methods of data collection included traditional archaeological excavation, when appropriate, as well as pedestrian survey and GPS recording. This information was managed and analyzed in the Esri ArcGIS suites 9.3 and 10.0. This kind of use and manipulation of material space has been successfully undertaken archaeologically in studies of Caribbean plantations (Armstrong 1990; Carney and Voeks 2003; Delle 1998; Fitts 1996; Hicks 2007; Orser 1998; Singleton 2001b; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). Fundamentally for this project, I am interested in how relationships between various groups are organized not only within plantation complexes, but between plantation complexes as well. How was space used to negotiate, not just define, social relationships?

Archaeology is uniquely suited to investigating phenomena such as slave rebellions. While the events themselves are often materially ephemeral in nature, the long temporal view point that is often unique to the discipline of archaeology allows researchers to identify the implications of an event beyond the scope of its immediate occurrence. This becomes even more significant when studying populations that were denied the opportunity to leave their own written or other documentary accounts of their experiences and perceptions. As is the case with all slave rebellions, the European plantocracy, who were ultimately victorious in the conflict, provided the official account that was left for posterity. Archaeology can both challenge and complement that account through the reconstruction of the built environment and careful analysis of material culture which provides evidence for what transpired.



As a historical science, historical archaeology relies heavily on traditional historic methodology of narrative creation from archival documents. This work, through critical documentary analysis, presents a narrative to the reader of the significant events that lead to the rebellion; a narrative of the rebellion itself; and a narrative of the aftermath. The significance of the selected episodes is analyzed through the theoretical lens of Eventful Archaeology as conceived by Beck et al. (2007; Bolender 2010), and is the application of the “Eventful Sociology” developed by historical sociologist William Sewell (2005) to the archaeological record, particularly where there are transformations in the material culture of a society.<sup>4</sup> For the authors, who deal with a broad temporal and geographical range of past cultures, the concept of an event is the most useful in the form of a “...temporal datum, to illuminate and demystify the volatility of pre- and post-event conditions” (Beck et al 2007: 844). The eventful archaeology visualized by Beck et al. emphasizes the processual quality of transformative occurrences: “Events, thus conceived, do not change the course of histories, driven forward by process; rather, events make the course of histories...” (Beck et al 2007:835). These events should have material correlations which manifest in the archaeological record in a number of different ways. When approached in this way, slave rebellions should be analyzed structurally, recognized as shaping the cultural system in which they are embedded as much as being shaped by those same cultural systems.

---

<sup>4</sup> “Archaeology of the event” is also advocated by Mark Staniforth, particularly for ship-wreck investigations, although Staniforth’s “event” differs somewhat from the concept of event advocated by Sewell and Sahlins. Staniforth basis his theoretical approach on the third generation of the *Annales* School. Therefore, the focus is on specificity, the event as a singular occurrence, an instance of “everyday happening” (2003) from which the archaeologist can draw larger interpretations about the *conjonctures* of structures such as consumerism, capitalism, and colonialism. c.f. Staniforth, Mark (1997) The Archaeology of the Event- The *Annales* School and Maritime Archaeology. *Underwater Archaeology* 1997:17-21; Staniforth, Mark (2003) “Annales”-Informed Approaches to the Archaeology of Colonial Australia. *Historical Archaeology* (37)1:102-113.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of structure is the one that is used by Marshall Sahlins (1985) and William Sewell (2005). At its most basic, structure is understood to be a system of cultural schema which have meaning as the schema are practiced. These practices are informed historically, meaning they are shaped by schema and modes of practice which have come before. Societies possess multiple structures, which at their conjuncture can cause significant occurrences, or events. It is this same conjuncture of multiple structures that will be investigated in the 1733 St. Jan slave Rebellion.

Slave rebellions are well-suited for this theoretical perspective because in the event of a rebellion, the transformation of social structures is an actual, intended consequence of the action taken. Whether a rebellion succeeds or fails, the social structures have to transform, either to accommodate the success of the rebels, or, as in this case, to keep such action from occurring again on the part of the plantocracy. “Historical Events are spatial as well as temporal processes” (Sewell 2005: 259); the locations where specific activity occurred on island were not accidental, and understanding the conditions that led to specific actions in specific locations will grant a greater understanding to the social processes occurring. During the St. Jan rebellion it was noted by contemporaries that the rebels destroyed some plantations complexes while occupying or abandoning others. My hypothesis was that I would encounter a pattern to this destruction- were the plantations that were destroyed owned by absentee owners, or were they all at a particular level of production (i.e. did they have a mill?); were the plantations that were destroyed all producing a particular crop, or were they all located in the valleys? Likewise, the European plantocracy, in reacting to the event, transformed the

built environment. Archaeological survey indicates that prior to the rebellion it was common for plantations to be built on the beach with access to the water. This often left the plantations isolated from their neighbors. After the event it appears that several planters moved the plantation complexes to higher elevations. I investigate this transformation to identify how widespread a practice this was on St. Jan. If it were a significant change, it would mean that the Danish authorities were adopting a model of plantation that we see in British colonies, where surveillance became a central feature of the built, and therefore social, environment.

The second purpose of this work is to draw the particular event into the broader socio-political trends during the trans-Atlantic slave era. While slave rebellions are usually dissected individually, taken in concert they illuminate facets of the colonial New World that are often over-looked. Drawing on Charles Tilly (1989; 2003), this work treats slave rebellions as collective actions with political motivations related to other popular uprisings. Rebellions as collective action are related to contemporary events, as well as being placed in the continuum of collective actions as experienced throughout the modern era. Collective actions such as slave rebellions were transformative events that had lasting effects on slave societies. This study also serves to complicate essentialized notions of European hegemony in the slave trade era.

This study provides a model of how archaeologists can adopt an analysis of event to provide a scalar view of artifact assemblages, and to illuminate long term processes of cultural change. It lays the groundwork for future historical archaeological analysis of collective slave resistance. While the current study is largely regional in nature in that the plantation complexes across the island are studied in relation to each other, this broad

understanding is necessary before investigating the specificity of the experience at the scale of individual plantations or households.

What is clear is that the rebellion forever changed life on St. Jan for the enslaved and the planters. What remains to be illuminated are questions about the structural consequences of this event, shown by investigating how those transformations were written on the physical and social landscape of St. Jan. Bringing the structural changes into the present, the rebellion today is an important part of island identity, and has been resurrected in many forms when politically cogent for various groups on the island.

This dissertation is organized in the following way:

**Chapter 1. Slave Rebellions and the trans-Atlantic Trade Era** discusses the trans-Atlantic trade era; highlights the European powers that dominated life in the New World, particularly the Caribbean, and reviews the current literature on the historiography of slave rebellions and related resistance movements such as marronage. It also provides a brief history of the Danish colonies in the New World during the trans-Atlantic slave era, as well as a view of the relationship between the Danish West Indies and Denmark's African slave trading post, Christiansborg.

**Chapter 2. The St. Jan Slave Rebellion: A Sequence of the Event** lays out the chronology of the event, providing contextual background from the first fifteen years from the founding of the colony through the end of the rebellion and reconstruction. These events are determined through critical analysis of key historic documents such as the Governor's Order Book 1733-34 and the proceedings of the Secret Privy Council during the rebellion.

**Chapter 3. Theoretical Foundations** provides a more critical look at the historiography of New World Slave resistance. It also provides the reader with the theoretical foundation on which this work is based. These theoretical foundations are the structural analysis of the event that draws heavily on William Sewell (2005) and Marshall Sahlins (1985; 2004). In this work slave rebellions are treated as collective action.

Because this study is archaeological in nature, it also draws heavily on the well-established landscape tradition of historical archaeology.

**Chapter 4. Field Methods and Data Collection** lays out the methodologies employed in gathering and analyzing the data used in this study. This includes traditional archaeological survey and excavation, GIS analysis and GPS collections, as well as archival documentation.

**Chapter 5. Rum Stills and Water Pots: the Spatiality of Rebellion** provides a more detailed look at the spatial nature of the rebellion, looking closely at how space was used and providing insights into the transformational nature of the event. This chapter draws on the archaeological and historic architectural data available for the estates involved in the rebellion, establishing a GIS of the era and spatially analyzing the attributes of the event.

**Chapter 6. Ruptures and Conjunctures** This chapter also draws the theory into the historical narrative to provide an explanation of the meaning of particular structures and occurrences that had important impacts on the course of the rebellion.

**Chapter 7. Summary and Future Research Directions** This chapter summarizes this study and provides a discussion of how this study provides a framework for long-term work on processes of cultural change in the Danish West Indies, and throughout the New World, emphasizing the importance of events such as slave rebellions.

## Chapter 1. Slave Rebellions and the trans-Atlantic Trade Era

### A. *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade*

Slavery and slave trading was an integral part of the historic Old World, Europe and Africa. Most societies around the world and throughout recorded history have experienced some form of slavery or captivity (Cameron 2008, 2011). Europe had experienced slavery as a form of economic and social relationship since the existence of ancient Greek and Roman societies. As early as 350 B.C.E., political leaders and philosophers were debating the nature of slavery; Aristotle is often credited with articulating “Natural Slave Theory,” the argument that slavery, constructed by man, was not only natural but just, creating an intellectual foundation for the divine right of slavery for the next millennium (Aristotle 350 B.C.E.; Garnsey 1996). By the time of the expansion of Europe and the discovery of the New World, slavery had been codified into the structural fabric of Europe and was closely linked to ideologies of religion, family, and economy and was a “...basic, structural element of the household...” (Garnsey 1996:238; Lenski 2008).

In pre-trans-Atlantic era Africa the structure of slavery was also institutionalized at the household level. For both Europe and Africa, slavery created various states of *unfreedom*,<sup>5</sup> where individuals were the personal property of others, and both the slave as individual and the status of slave were inheritable, creating a perpetual institution. Most significantly, slaves were regarded as being kinless aliens without a social network that

---

<sup>5</sup> There is a substantial literature that discusses captives worldwide, and the various roles that captives played in societies, such as wives, adopted tribal members, and as replacements for the dead. Cameron also provides interesting insights into captives as bearers of culture change. See Cameron, Catherine, ed. (2008) *Invisible Citizens: Captives and their Consequences*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press; (2011) *Captives and Culture Change*. *Current Anthropology* 52(2):169-209.

otherwise endowed them with identity (Adoma Perbi 2004; Lenski 2008; Lovejoy 1983; Meillassoux 1991).

The continent of Africa experienced slavery prior to the advent of the trans-Atlantic trade era. This consisted of two types: internal indigenous slavery and a trans-Saharan Arabic trade (Meillassoux 1982; Mitchell 2005). The trans-Saharan trade existed for centuries prior to the advent of the trans-Atlantic trade, perhaps even as early as the second-century C.E. (Fage 1982:156). Arabic trade increased in intensity and volume after the rise of the Muslim states, reaching its height just as the trans-Atlantic trade began, around C.E. 1500 (Adoma Perbi 2004:16). A defining characteristic of the Arabic slave trade was that female slaves were the primary commodity, as opposed to the desire for male slaves in the trans-Atlantic trade (Manning 1990).

Indigenous slavery on the African continent took many forms. Like other cultural institutions, it manifested differently locally. However, there were some characteristics of slavery that were exhibited cross-culturally in West Africa. There were three primary methods by which slaves were procured. First and foremost, prisoners of war were made slaves. Meillassoux (1982) describes how the demand for African slaves in the Saharan slave-trade created cultural institutions among the medieval states of the Sahelo-Sudanic zone of Africa shaped entirely by the dual projects of war and slave trading; war became the mechanism in which slaves were procured, while the status of the slave merchant grew to match the status of the warrior. Based on oral histories gathered in Ghana, Adoma Perbi (2004) identifies similar patterns of slavery. According to Adoma Perbi, the practice of slavery existed as early as the neolithic and iron age periods, becoming a well-entrenched institution of that region by the fifteenth century, or the start of the trans-

Atlantic slave trade. Secondly, slavery was an inheritable status. While slaves were taken as spoils of war, in the Ghanaian system people were born into a status of slavery, inheriting their status from their parents, although the status had slightly more mobility potential than the chattel status of slaves in the European system. Finally, it is noted by many scholars that, while not as common as enslaving prisoners of war or the offspring of enslaved people, a third form of enslavement occurred through tribute or gifting, often of a criminal or person who had violated cultural norms (Fage 1982; Manning 1990; Meillassoux 1982).

The existence of indigenous African slavery prior to the advent of the trans-Atlantic trade has been criticized by some scholars of African history. The Rodney Thesis of 1966 (Rodney 1970) argued that slavery became engendered into African culture as a result of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, and that indigenous slavery internal to African societies did not in fact take place prior to it. Rodney argues further that the slave trade that developed during the modern era caused the political and economic underdevelopment of the continent of Africa. Although the trans-Atlantic slave trade had an overall negative impact on West Africa, the Rodney Thesis is overly simplistic, as much of the impact can be traced back to the Saharan trade (Manning 1990; McIntosh and Thiaw 2001; Rodney 1982).

Despite the long traditions of slavery across Old World cultures, most scholars agree that the trans-Atlantic slave trade that marked the colonization of the New World and the growth and development of capitalism was qualitatively different from what had previously been experienced in human history. According to Manning, “What distinguishes Africa and Africans in regards to slavery is modernity” (1990:27). The



earliest identified purchase of an African for export back to Europe occurred in 1462, by Portuguese sailors/explorers making their way down the African coast (Postma 2003). After Columbus's initial contact with the Western Hemisphere, the potential profit from various natural resources became a major concern for European powers. When the indigenous population of the Americas proved insufficient for the volume and level of resource exploitation preferred, the European powers shifted to a strategy of procuring African slave labor. The first recorded instance of African slaves exported to the New World occurred in 1502 onto the island of Hispaniola (Postma 2003). This continued until the nineteenth century when slavery and the slave trade were officially abolished, and ended with the culmination of the partitioning of Africa by Europe (Fage 1995; Mitchell 2005; Stahl 2001; van Dantzig 1982).

The volume of the slave trade has been intensely debated. Trading of all commodities, including human slaves, was *ad hoc* in nature. While there were robust trading mechanisms established, on the ground realities of inter-continental trade were often muddled. To further complicate the matter, it can be assumed that there were varying levels of illegal trading occurring simultaneously with legal trading. Due to all these factors, it is difficult to accurately calculate the total number of individuals forcibly removed from the African continent. Most frequently cited is Phillip Curtin (1969) who conducted the first and most thorough census of the slave trade, closely scrutinizing shipping records and import documents that were available at the time. Curtin estimated that between eleven to twelve million individuals left Africa as slave cargo. With an estimated *en route* death rate of ten to twelve percent, he further estimated that approximately 10 million individuals reached the shores of the Americas. Curtin's

findings sparked debate among scholars of the slave trade. Most notably, Inikori (1976; 1981) rejected Curtin's findings in their entirety, deeming them much too low and citing his own figures of nearly 15 million individuals forcibly removed from Africa.

Subsequent scholars have undertaken their own census of the slave trade, most notably Paul Lovejoy (1982), who concluded that Curtin's estimates were sound.

Even more important, and more contentious, is the effect of the slave trade in Africa. These arguments center around not only the number of people drained from Africa, but what the ultimate consequences were for the continent. The primary argument that favors the massive transformation of African societies due to the trans-Atlantic slave trade is that proposed by Lovejoy (1989). Lovejoy draws on aggregated data from a number of scholars. Many of these researchers focus on a specific geographic region or nationality in the slave trade, or on a specific temporal period. It is worth noting that the significance of the number of people removed from Africa during the slave trade matters only if we know the total population. Manning suggests that population of "west and west-central Africa that provided slaves for export was in the order of 22-25 million in the early eighteenth century" (Lovejoy 1989:387). The Curtin-Lovejoy estimate of people removed from Africa in that time was approximately twelve million in the years 1650-1850. The thesis rests on the dramatic change among three social institutions within the African societies that engaged in the slave trade. The first significant change noted by Lovejoy and others is that, as the trans-Atlantic slave trade increased, the incidence of internal slavery also increased, equaling roughly ten percent of Africa's population at the turn of the nineteenth century. While slavery as an institution existed in Africa prior to the advent of the European trade, it increased as slavery became increasingly normalized.

Because more women were retained in Africa in larger proportions than men, Lovejoy also suggests that polygamy became closely related to the slave trade, and increased in tandem (Lovejoy 1989:387; Manning 1990:8). The demographic impacts, while realized throughout the region, manifested differently in different locales. Also significant is that as the trans-Atlantic trade increased, it drove African communities which became ensconced in the trade to increase their sources of slaves, creating conflict and war between slaving and victimized societies, driving the trade deeper into the interior of Africa. For the first decades of the eighteenth century "...the general political situation on the Gold Coast must be characterized as one of turbulence and instability..." (Herneias 1995:15). The political instability was caused by the wars between Akwame and Asante kingdoms, and the rise of the Dahomey state along the Gold Coast through the 1720s and 1730s (Herneias 1995:16; Law 1991:261).

A competing, though less accepted, argument is advocated by David Eltis and Lawrence Jennings, and is what Lovejoy identifies as "revisionist interpretations". This argument contends that "neither the scale nor the value of the Atlantic trade between 1680s and 1860s was sufficiently large to have had more than a marginal influence on the course of African history" (Lovejoy 1989:366). Eltis and Jennings primarily focus on the variable cost of slaves as evidence for their thesis. Their argument is two-fold: first, that low market prices for slaves equated to low demand, meaning that the human trade became one of less dominant commodities, and second, that the money entering Africa from the slave trade was such a small amount that it had a relatively small impact on the overall economy of Africa, and therefore a negligible effect on the social and political development of the continent.

What should be acknowledged first is how entrenched in ideology many of these arguments can be, regardless of the intentions or methods of the historians who produced them. Lovejoy (Lovejoy 1989:368) discusses the contention around Curtin's initial attempts to quantify the number of enslaved who were forcibly removed from Africa. Lovejoy contends that scholars on either side of the debate would "have not welcomed the hard look at facts and statistical probability" as these numbers could weaken their overall arguments (Lovejoy 1989:368). What seems to have actually transpired was an on-going revision of the numbers, as well as a greater variety of interpretations of the numbers of enslaved Africans transported.

While there may be debate regarding the effects of slavery on African societies, it is undeniable that the practice of African enslavement was a major factor that shaped the character of the Western Hemisphere after 1492. African slavery built vast amounts of wealth for Europeans and Euro-Americans, created the physical infrastructure and built environment of much of the colonial landscape, and created the foundations for social relations that exist into the twenty-first century.

### *B. European Super-Powers*

The Caribbean was ground-zero for European contact with previously unknown cultures in the Western Hemisphere in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The interactions that took place in the islands established the precedence for colonial relationships. The collision of hemispheres in the late fifteenth century is a familiar narrative. Europe collided with the half of the globe that was to become known as 'The New World' when Christopher Columbus made landing at an unknown Caribbean island in 1492. It took precious little time for the European kingdoms to realize the potential that

lay across the oceans. For his troubles, and despite his delusions of being a messenger of God (Williams 1970:20), The Crown Heads of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella, appointed Columbus 'Grandee' over the Caribbean islands that he had "discovered." Along with his "discovery" of an entire hemisphere full of people, Columbus found the presence of gold in that hemisphere, which first ignited the blood lust of Spain. While there was relatively little gold on the island dubbed Hispaniola where Europeans first attempted to establish a settlement comprised of Columbus' crew, Spain focused its search for further veins in the islands of the Greater Antilles, and eventually pushed into the mainland of the South American continent and north into Mexico (Williams 1970: 24-25).

As Spain claimed more and more land, the nation also instituted policies of monopoly to protect their new found resources. For Spain monopoly meant that only Spanish goods could sail on Spanish ships and be purchased with Spanish gold. As discussed by Williams (1970:50-53), there were holes in the monopoly policies, particularly when it came to the trade in African slaves, where Portugal had an early lead over the other European countries. Both Hapsburg Germany and Belgium became part of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth century, extending monopoly rights to these countries. While Spain was busy defending her claim, privateers and pirates, representing all nationalities of Europe, tried their hand at the booming illicit trade that dominated the early colonial era in the Caribbean. Significant in the history of the Danish West Indies, Spain sent Juan Ponce de Leon to occupy Puerto Rico in 1508 (Figuerola 2010).

While Spain was the first European nation to lay claim to the New World, the others were not far behind. Henry the Navigator, England's King Henry the VII, sent John Cabot on a "voyage of Discovery" in 1496, establishing a precedent for discovery

authenticating ownership (Williams 1970:71). Vasco da Gama claimed what today is known as Brazil for Portugal in 1499 (Williams 1970: 20). While England focused on the North American continent, they finally occupied their first Caribbean island, Barbados, in 1625. That same year England and France divided the island of St. Christopher/St. Kitts, annihilating the Amerindian population that inhabited the island (Delpuech 2001:29). A decade later France seized Guadeloupe from Spain, solidifying with military power the presence they had established with Jesuit priests earlier in the century. While the Dutch maintained a maritime trading presence in the early colonial era, they also seized their first islands, Curacao and Bonaire, from Spain in 1634 (Haviser 2001:64).

This scramble for the New World colonies is often discussed in economic terms, focusing on the political, terrestrial, and maritime battles waged between European powers. However, the real significance of New World/Old World contact is in the way the encounters shaped everyday life. Scholars heavily debate many of the key themes of early contact, but several facts cannot be ignored. The first is that complex cultures, similar to those that developed in Europe and Africa, heavily populated the western hemisphere and these sophisticated societies interacted with one another through intricate patterns of trade, religion, and other social networks. It is these people that Columbus, and subsequent explorers, met when they finally landed their boats on the shore of a land that, by European calculation, didn't exist. It is undeniable that within the unfathomably short period of time these indigenous cultures fell; an unprecedented number of indigenous peoples of the New World died, and Europeans went to yet other distant lands in Africa, lands with which they had had contact since the dawn of humanity, to fill the void, taking their inhabitants as slaves.

Since the beginning of the culture contact between Europeans and Western Hemispherians, many European chroniclers have kept numbers, most questionable at best, about the Western Hemisphere population. The entire hemisphere was “virgin soil” for deeply established Old World diseases, many of which hit indigenous populations in wave after wave. As Europeans introduced new people and domesticates, successive waves of disease such as swine flu, smallpox, measles, malaria, anthrax, chicken pox, diphtheria, plague, scarlet fever and typhus,

“...descended on the Indians in the first several decades after European contact. Obviously one does not have to spend much time subtracting 20, 30 or 50 percent of a population after every new disease visitation before it becomes obvious that small surviving populations are not necessarily indicative of the size of those populations before they ran such a gamut” (Kiple and Ornelas 1996: 51-52).

This unimaginable onslaught of death was interpreted through the Christian-based ideology of the Europeans, who often took this devastation as a divine sign that God looked favorably on their occupation of this new land.

From this devastation the “...genocide and dispossession...remains the lasting image of encounter...” (Honychurch 1997:292). The survivors of these biological attacks had to contend with not only the complete collapse of their societies, but also with everyday struggles to survive. For many in the Caribbean islands trading and interacting with the invading Europeans became the dominant manner in which indigenous peoples attempted to meet some of these needs.

Lennox Honychurch has investigated the dimensions of contact between Europeans and indigenous Caribbeans in the Lesser Antilles and found compelling evidence for their, albeit short, continuation and adaptation to the new circumstances.

Arguably the most compelling evidence is the continuation of trade with European groups, where indigenous peoples were not just passive receivers of Old World cast-offs or trinkets, but actively procured items that had functional purpose. The Amerindians also quickly adapted to capitalist, commercial concepts, and "...appeared to be adding 'commercial' tobacco farming to their subsistence farming," recognizing the value this particular crop had for Europeans (Honychurch 1997: 299).

Honychurch reported that newly arrived Europeans also greatly needed the indigenous population for information on ecology and survival in the unfamiliar environment. In the first years the Europeans were heavily dependent on the indigenous population for a large variety of foodstuffs such as "potatoes, plantons and other fruits," for which the Europeans traded knives, beads, iron tools and copper trinkets.

However, Honychurch is careful to point out that there was a "...diversity of responses to contact..." (1997:302) which was stimulated by constant and increasing interaction between these disparate cultures. Many of these responses took the form of violent resistance, even by previously friendly trading partners. As different ethnic groups within the islands migrated or fled to avoid the invaders, pushing into islands already occupied, these tensions increased:

"Relations remained cordial for the most part until French and English settlers began to take physical control...This prompted violent reaction from the Caribs of Dominica who were at the same time being joined by Carib refugees who were fleeing colonization..." (Honychurch 1997: 297).

Honychurch's study highlights the complexity of the Caribbean during the contact period. Although met with constant devastation and death through disease and conflict that



caused the collapse of most of these sophisticated, interconnected indigenous societies of the Americas, Amerindians responded with all the complexity that drastic change causes, showing the universal human characteristics of social intelligence and adaptability necessary for survival, even in the face of annihilation. As expressed by Honychurch,

“To see the European arrival on...the Lesser Antilles as a complete break with the past is to deny the ability of human groups to recondition traditional conceptions based on customary relationships, even in the most extreme circumstances, so as to enable them to meet new challenges to their cultural continuity” (Honychurch 1997: 302).

Above all else, economic concerns motivated the European powers. While Columbus sought to extract gold and other precious metals, he also introduced sugar cane to the New World. The ease with which the Caribbean islands cultivated sugar was equal only to the demand for the sweet substance in the Old World. Spain introduced the first recorded sugar mill, an animal or horse mill, to the island of Hispaniola in 1516 (Williams 1970:26). Sugar production proved to be extremely profitable, and quickly spread throughout the Antilles.

The extraction of metals and the production of sugar were both labor-intensive projects. This need for labor shaped the emerging creolized cultures of the New World. While Spain, England, France and Holland all chased different political policies, these economic endeavors were bound by the similarities of slave labor, mono-agriculture, and colonialism.

The dominance of the various countries waxed and waned, often based on the dramas that were unfolding in Europe, but spilled into the Caribbean Sea. After the infamous defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, that began Spain's long downward

descent, England and France eclipsed this previous global leader for dominance in the seventeenth century, then spent much of the succeeding two centuries vying each other for global supremacy.

### *C. Danish Imperialism in Africa*

Denmark entered the trans-Atlantic trade on the heels of European super powers such as Britain and the Netherlands, but was particularly spurred by Sweden's foray into the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Sweden, which had been part of the Danish-Norwegian Kingdom until 1521, became Denmark's bitter rival in the seventeenth century. Danish slaving ships managed by the Gluckstadt-Africa Company and *Det Vestindiske Kompagni* (the predecessor of *Det Vestindiske-Guinea Kompagni*, or *VGK*, which later administered the Danish West Indies) were sent to the African coast as early as 1658/59, and there engaged Sweden for control of the Fort Carolusbourg as well as minor trading lodges (DeCorse 1993:149; Green-Pedersen 1971:28; Norregard 1966b:17). At some point during the 1660s, Gluckstadt-Africa built Christiansborg, which was their primary trading fort near present day Accra, Ghana. The fort had significant problems from the outset, not the least of which was that it was situated on a very poor harbor that discouraged large ships from dropping anchor as the lines were subject to be cut on the rocks (Norregard 1966:43).

The Gluckstadt-Africa Company had difficulty raising sufficient funds to outfit cargo ships; many of those that did set sail were caught in unfortunate accidents and lost. There were other Danish companies, as well as private merchants, that engaged in the slave trade in the late seventeenth and through the early eighteenth centuries. Despite this volume of activity, Green-Pedersen, who has conducted the only historical analysis of the

Danish Slave trade, concludes that Denmark's economic activity cannot be characterized as a "triangular trade" as this economic activity was characterized in other Nations. Instead, Green-Pedersen argues that "...the Danish slave trade becomes not so much a self-contained Danish traffic between three points in a Danish colonial empire but rather a phenomenon conditioned by international economics" (*ibid* pg. 30). The ideal model of the triangular trade was similar to the early Spanish monopoly- a single nation, such as Britain or France, would move slaves, raw materials, and finished goods between Europe, Africa, and the Americas, all on their own ships. Denmark failed to achieve any level of exclusivity in their trade, because of the nation's lack of international power. Instead she was often at the mercy of the European Superpowers at all points in her trading cycle.

In West Africa, Denmark's closest European neighbors were the English at Fort James, and the Dutch at Fort Crevecoeur. According to Norregard, during the entire occupation of Christiansborg, the Danish were under constant antagonism from the Dutch (1966).<sup>6</sup> In fact, Christiansborg was lost to other European nations and reoccupied by the Danish several times throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Not only were European rivalries a drain on the resources of the African trading post, but the Danish, like other Europeans in West Africa, were severely impacted by African political machinations. The first decades of the eighteenth century saw enormous political upheavals along the Gold Coast of West Africa where the Danish were active. Various African merchants and political groups were involved with the capture and sale of slaves to the Europeans, as well as subsequently receiving and trading European

---

<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, the Gluckstadt-Africa Company and the *Det Vestindiske Kompagni* were primarily bank-rolled by Dutch investors, and, at least initially, staffed by Dutch Sea Captains and their ships. The Danish West Indian colonies were likewise supported by Dutch colonists and investors, some of whom played a significant role in the 1733 slave rebellion. While both Africa and the Caribbean were influenced by events taking place in Europe, relationships in these places developed because of local conditions.

goods. As these groups saw enormous profits, and as internal sources for slaves waxed and waned, conflict erupted within the African continent to gain and keep control of the markets. Most significant for Denmark was the fall of the Kongolese empire and the rise of the powerful Dahomey state during the first decades of the 1700s (Herneas 1995; Nathan 1904; Norregard 1966a; Rask 2009 [1708-1713]). The immediate ethnic groups that surrounded the Fort, offering both support in the form of trade and military alliance, as well as conflict, were the Akwamu and Akim, who experienced both inter- and intra-tribal conflicts throughout the 1720s, coinciding with the organization of the Ashanti Nation around 1700 (Norregard 1966: 74-79). Finally, in 1730 the Akwamu were destroyed by a large African alliance including the Accra. The rivalry with the nearby Dutch was particularly potent as the Dutch provided arms and equipment to Denmark's African enemies in return for enslaved prisoners of war (*ibid* 98-99). During this time Christiansborg experienced periods of siege in which trade was disrupted; trade finally came to a complete standstill in 1731. The real effects of this political turnover were not seen for another decade. The Ashanti rise to true prominence really began in 1740; at this time Denmark started seeing former allies arriving at the fort as slaves (Norregard 1966:101, 105).

The Danish companies that participated in the trans-Atlantic trade had their own set of internal problems. As mentioned above raising enough money, and therefore acquiring ships, was a constant problem. Gluckstadt-Africa and the VGK only ever had a small handful of ships at any one time, as opposed to England, France, Portugal or Holland, which sent out hundreds of ships per year. Norregard estimates that prior to 1710 "usually no more than one [Danish Company] ship came out every third year" while

Herneas proposes that periods as long as five years elapsed between departures of Danish slave ships with human cargo (Herneas 1995; Norregard 1966: 68; Rask 2009 [1708-1713]). This situation influenced a highly destructive culture within Christiansborg and the minor lodges, including accounts of embezzlement by fort Commanders, and several instances of mutinies and slave rebellions, including an event in 1693-94 where a group of enslaved men occupied the fort for a year (Norregard 1966:58-59).

Although some Danish nationals and *VGK* leaders recognized the potential profit to be had from the trans-Atlantic slave trade and their participation, for economic reasons the *VGK* voted in 1734 to halt the shipping of slaves from Africa as part of the company's activities. At that time privateers were granted government passes to trade with the forts in Africa and the Caribbean colonies. Denmark didn't establish its first permanent trading post to the east of the Volta in the Gold Coast until 1720 under the rule of the *VGK* (Hernaes 1998: 19). Frederiksborg, the primary Danish "factory" was built in 1736. This Fort was victim to the same weaknesses, both internal and external, as Christiansborg, and also struggled along in the red. In 1754 the *VGK* in both Africa and the Danish West Indies was dissolved by the Crown and all operations put directly under government control.

Denmark never achieved the success seen by other nations. Instead the country found its own economic niche in both Africa and the Caribbean, largely by being a carrier for other countries' consumables (DeCorse 1993), while Danish forts supplied foreign ships with human cargo, even those bound for the Danish West Indies (Green-Pedersen

1971).<sup>7</sup> For instance, the primary suppliers of African slaves to St. Thomas in the last decade of the seventeenth century were the Brandenburgers.

Despite lacking an organized abolitionist movement like that seen in Britain, France or the United States, Denmark was the first European nation to abolish the slave trade in 1792. The process, designed to be slow so as not to stress the economic structure of the islands, was supposed to take full effect in 1803 (Dookhan 1994: 137; Green-Pedersen 1971:34; 1975:215; Keller 1903: 104). However, Denmark did not abandon its African possessions. Wage-labor plantations were established on African soil with the shifting of resources from the New World colonies back to the Old World as a primary reason for the edict banning the slave trade (Green-Pedersen 1971, 1975; Hopkins 2001).

#### *D. The History of the Danish West Indies and St. Jan*

In a devastatingly short period of time after initial European contact, the Caribbean islands were de-populated of their indigenous Amerindian inhabitants. European powers quickly scrambled for possession of the New World, populating it with enslaved Africans as early as 1502 (Postma 2003). Denmark was no exception, and scrambled to take part in the economic windfall that was sweeping Europe. Christian V, then absolute monarch of Denmark, granted a charter for a Danish trading company to Dutch merchants in Copenhagen for trade in the western hemisphere in 1665, followed by the claiming of St. Thomas, one of the Virgin Islands, named by Columbus for St. Ursula and her 11,000 massacred virgins (Dookhan 1994; Larsen 1991; Westergaard 1917). The endeavor failed within 19 months due to illness and piracy. The *Det Vestindiske Kompagni*, the first of many which would all ultimately fail, dissolved. In

---

<sup>7</sup> Common abbreviation for the Danish West Indies.

1670 the *Danske Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni* was established, and again St. Thomas was colonized, this time successfully.<sup>8</sup> The 28 square mile island had little land suitable for sugar cultivation, but the Danes were in the Caribbean “to make their fortunes by fair means or foul and return in triumph to their homelands” (Campbell 1943:62). While mono-agriculture was emphasized, the Danes also focused on other financial models, including international trade at the expense of nationalistic monopolies. Charlotte Amalie, the “capital” of St. Thomas, became a major port city for the Caribbean, welcoming all nations- and privateers- for trade.

The lack of arable land and frequent drought on St. Thomas soon led to dissatisfaction by the plantocracy. Despite the military might of the English and Spanish, each of whom also laid claim to it, the Danish occupied the small island of St. Jan, just 2 miles east of St. Thomas. In 1718 the Company sent a small contingent of soldiers, settlers and slaves to join others they had clandestinely sent to establish a colony on the island in the 1680s (Armstrong 2003b; Armstrong, et al. 2005; Dookhan 1994; Larsen 1991).

St. Jan quickly became an extension of St. Thomas, with rampant land speculation. A single defensive fortification, Frederiksvaern (today the name has been anglicized to Fredricksberg or Fortsberg), was constructed of mud-brick and flimsy wooden structures, overlooking Coral Bay. Within 15 years 106 plantations had been established, dependent on the labor of over 1500 slaves. Throughout its existence St. Jan was plagued with natural disasters, incompetent management and social tensions. These came to a climax in 1733, erupting into a slave rebellion that officially lasted for 6 months. After the revolt ended, the island faced a period of consolidation that occurred in

---

<sup>8</sup> The Danish West Indies and Guinea Company, referred to throughout this work as the *VGK*.

waves throughout the eighteenth century. While St. Jan's prosperity ebbed and flowed, even at its peak St. Jan never reached the level of prosperity seen in other cash-cropping polities. This was partly due to the fact that St. Jan remained a socio-politically marginal island.

The Danes continued their efforts to cultivate sugar, expanding into St. Croix in 1734, an island which had proven largely unprofitable for the French. Although the Danish West Indies never witnessed another rebellion on the same level as the 1733 revolt, both petite and grand marronage continued on all three islands (Armstrong 2003a; Hall 1985; Westergaard 1926). The DWI continued to experience episodes of collective violence against the slave-holding society, and then the Danish government that oversaw emancipation, including the slave rebellion conspiracies on St. Croix in 1742 and 1759, the St. Jan slave rebellion conspiracy in 1825, and the St. Croix labor revolt of 1848 (Dookhan 1994; Fog Olwig 1985; Hall 1992).

Denmark was the first European nation to abolish the slave trade in 1792, which took full effect in 1803 (Dookhan 1994: 137; Keller 1903: 104). The monarchy finally abolished the institution of slavery in the West Indies in 1848, via Governor Van Sholten, following an uprising on St. Croix by enslaved laborers impatient with time table for emancipation. Interestingly, 1848 is the same year that the Danish constitution was overhauled, granting increased rights to the Danish peasantry in the Old World (Bjorn 2000; Dookhan 1994; Keller 1903: 104). The islands quickly became an unwelcome backwater for the European country, largely neglected. The Danish West Indies became the United States Virgin Islands in 1917.

#### *E. Resistance Movements*



Resistance to the peculiar institution by enslaved people ranged from everyday acts of sabotage and subterfuge by individuals in an effort to gain small, almost unnoticeable victories against oppressors, to well organized rebellions by groups of hundreds and even thousands of enslaved people to gain incontrovertible autonomy (deB Kilson 1964; J. Postma 2003; Schuler 1970). While primarily focusing on slave rebellions, Aptheker notes that enslaved people had a wide repertoire of options available for resistance, including “...purchas[ing] his own freedom; Pretending illness; Strikes; self-mutilation; Individual attempts at assassination or property damage by gun, knife, club, axe, poison, or fire” (Aptheker 1943:141-143). Despite these varying approaches to the resistance of enslavement, the remainder of this discussion will focus on those activities which were explicit, specifically violent conflicts such as rebellions and/or revolts, and marronage.

In the preface to his short monograph entitled *Slave Insurrections in the United States 1800-1865*, Dr. Joseph Cephas Carroll wrote: “The Subject of Negro Slavery Insurrections has been an almost neglected phase of American History” (1938 [2004]). Unfortunately for Dr. Carroll’s careful and exhaustive research, that statement is as true 73 years later as it was when it was first published in 1938. While slave rebellions have been a popular theme of historical research, many researchers still approach the study of all rebellions in an *ad hoc* fashion, as isolated events.<sup>9</sup> This kind of approach fails to link these events to broader societal trends. With a few notable exceptions, rebellions have

---

<sup>9</sup> This method of analysis has been eloquently critiqued by Kroeber (1996) and Linebaugh and Rediker (2000).

been overlooked as significant factors that shaped the emerging New World cultures during the modern era.<sup>10</sup>

Violence was a defining characteristic of social relations during the era of the trans-Atlantic triangular trade and New World slavery. Slave Rebellions were a type of collective violence, each successive action different politically and socially than the one that had come before, and yet retaining a thread of similarity. Although the concept of rebellion has entered contemporary understanding of slavery as unique, infrequent events, “Slave insurrections were a usual rather than an unusual symptom” of the systems that developed (Schuler 1970:177). Slave rebellions by enslaved Africans and African descended peoples occurred in every European colony, in every year of the triangular trade since at least 1522, and are inextricably linked to similar rebellions and collective actions that were occurring simultaneously in places such as Ireland, West Africa and on the European continent, as well as by indigenous peoples in the New World (Beckles 1987; Linebaugh and Rediker 2000; Maris-Wolf 2002; Johannes Postma 2003; Rathbone 1986; Tilly, et al. 1975).

Slave rebellions were not in and of themselves inevitable choices made by desperate groups of people. Although C.L.R. James has famously said that “...slavery was the cause of slave rebellions...” (quoted in Adeeko 2005:19) Schroder and Schmidt are careful to point out that “.....while conflicts are caused by structural conditions like the unequal access to resources, population shifts, or external pressures, wars do not automatically result from [such conditions]” (2001:4-5). While rebellions and conflicts

---

<sup>10</sup> These notable exceptions include Aptheker (1943) and Genovese (1979), each of which will be discussed in the Chapter 2. While many researchers have looked at the conditions and consequences of individual or even temporally or geographically grouped resistance movements, Aptheker and Genovese have been notable in that they developed an overarching theory of rebellions that encompassed the entire trans-Atlantic trade era, and attempted to account for a broad geographical area.

were constant occurrences, not all enslaved or oppressed peoples planned such events or even took part in such conflicts when they arose. Identifying the structural conditions that accommodated violent conflict as opposed to other types of resistance, and considering who participated in such conflicts, can bring the discussion of New World slavery into the larger discourse of collective actions and violence in the social sciences.

Active resistance to slavery often started before the enslaved reached the shores of the Americas. Ship-board revolts were common on European slave ships, and in some cases even resulted in enslaved Africans gaining control of the vessels. Once on the shores of the Americas, enslaved and indentured people often used the mobility and anonymity offered by working on ships to escape their life of bondage (Aptheker 1943 [1969]; Bly 1998; Hall 1985; Holloway 2010; Linebaugh and Rediker 2000; Scott 1996).

The first recorded slave rebellion was on Hispaniola, in 1522, just 20 short years after the Spanish brought the first enslaved Africans to the New World (Genovese 1979:38). Spreading quickly out of the Caribbean, the first recorded rebellion in North America occurred in 1526, also in Spanish territory, this time South Carolina (Carroll 1938 [2004]; Genovese 1979; Holloway 2010).

Many of the sixteenth and seventeenth century slave rebellions in the Caribbean were tied to maroon movements. Through both their ethnic identity and their relationship to colonial governments, Maroons became a distinct class within seventeenth century society. Maroons were those who managed to escape the plantations where they were sent to labor; sometimes they were able to coalesce into groups with their own sophisticated social structure. This distinct position within the Caribbean created dynamics that affected rebellions in the region. Maroon societies, either clandestine or

incorporated, stood as a symbol of the opportunity of freedom for those that remained entrenched in the plantation systems. Maroon settlements and the ambiguous relationship of these groups to those enslaved may have also been a catalyst for rebellions (Agorsah 2003; Bilby 1997; Kopytoff 1978, 1979; Roopnarine 2010; Schuler 1970).

A small number of Maroon groups were able to establish stable communities. For instance, while having to continuously fight the Dutch and then the Portuguese, the community of Palmares in Brazil thrived for decades on almost equal economic footing with the regional colonial polities, trading items such as pottery freely (Orser and Funari 2001).

Jamaica also saw Maroon settlements that gained a measure of autonomy from the colonial government, in this case British, and endured, creating a community that still exists into modern times. The island was first settled by the Spanish in 1509 (Kopytoff 1978: 288) and already had developed a maroon population prior to its initial occupation by the British in 1655. These, as well as subsequent, Maroons fought continuously with the British until signing peace treaties in 1739 (Bilby 1997; Kopytoff 1978, 1979; Schuler 1970). These Maroon societies, either clandestine or incorporated, stood as a symbol of the opportunity of freedom for those that remained entrenched in the plantation systems.

Maroon communities throughout the Caribbean have been interpreted, by some scholars, as African nations unto themselves (Agorsah 2003; Allen 2001; Chambers 2001; Delgado de Torres 2003; Kopytoff 1978; Price 1979). Many of these interpretations rest on the idea that the middle passage did not cause cultural breaks for the enslaved, and therefore maroons were able to recreate their African cultures in the New World. As ideas of ethnicity and African continuities have been complicated, these

interpretations have become more controversial. More significantly, many of these maroon communities won their freedom, as legally or socially precarious and isolated as that freedom may have been, through a series of armed conflicts (rebellions), sometimes with more than one colonial government. As Agorsah and others are attempting to recover information from the early formative periods of these communities archaeologically, a more dynamic picture of African ideology and survival will begin to take shape. As this early information is understood, archaeologists will be able to more accurately interpret “Africanisms” in the archaeological record of later periods, and analyze the emergent Creole culture in the Caribbean.

Much more common throughout the New World, and small islands such as St. John, was marronage on the scale of the individual. A single person simply walking away, leaving the plantation or free person to whom they were legally bound. While this could require large networks of people to support the runaway materially (Camp 2002; Lockley 2009) marronage more often took the form of an individual escaping. The documentation on marronage of all types is notoriously lacking, especially for the individual runaways that would not have been associated with a larger maroon society. It has also rarely been treated as its own theoretical category. One notable exception is Camp’s (2002) discussion on the role of women in marronage, and the geography of marronage and truancy.

The closing of the 18<sup>th</sup> century saw a rise in the collective and organized resistance to various colonial powers by the enslaved community in the New World, including the Caribbean. The 1790s brought changes in political thought and action to western governments, such as the nascent United States. The unrest and accompanying

ideology in France was particularly potent, and found its way to the small islands of the Lesser Antilles. Although revolts and forms of resistance were as old as the institution of Colonial slavery itself, “The ‘Age of Democratic Revolution’ galvanized oppressed groups in the Lesser Antilles to collective political action” (Paquette and Engerman 1996: 9). It was the emerging political ideas from the Old World which created a shift in the political goals and therefore the repertoire of contention used by enslaved people.

Common to many revolts both large and small in the New World was the mixture of news and rumor which fueled the demands of the politically unsatisfied (Carroll 1938 [2004]:20; Olwell 1989). This is particularly obvious on the French Islands with abolitionist groups such as the *Amis des Noirs* (Geggus 1996: 284). Although a French code of 1685 called for the theoretical equality of all legally free people regardless of color, the reality was very different. A decree of the New Republic in 1792 insisted that the free coloreds and white colonists had equal political rights. Public proclamations such as this encouraged the rumors that the New Republic had allowed for further rights and even freedom for the enslaved population in their Caribbean holdings. These rumors were seized upon, and continental revolutionary symbols, such as the liberty tree, were invoked by groups of slaves who gathered to demand their rights (Perotin-Dumon 1996: 369-272). For instance, on Martinique in 1789, an island that had 3 attempted rebellions during the revolutionary period and into the Napoleonic era, demonstrations occurred that were different from previous attempts to gain freedom in the New World:

“...the insurgents’ strategy seems to have been a strikingly novel departure in Afro-American resistance. They were to demand, from a position of strength but without violence, a freedom they thought already granted by the government” (Geggus 1996: 284).

Not only did these rumors surface internally, but rumor of manumission was used by warring nations to invoke unrest among their enemy's enslaved population. Spain purportedly sent agents to the British colony of South Carolina to spread rumors that if British slaves escaped to Spanish territory, they would be manumitted (Wax 1982). Information, both real and fictional, was transmitted throughout the region by the movement of people and goods on ships. Mariner culture was not just a medium of information, but was also a means of resistance for the slaves who could assimilate into sailing society (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000; Scott 1996).

The most prominent conflict to erupt during this period was the Sainte-Domingue Revolution of 1791 that resulted in the first Black state in the Americas. Often cited as the only "successful" slave rebellion, an armed force of 55,000 (from a larger population estimated at 500,000) slaves, led by Toussaint L'Overture, a recently manumitted slave, succeeded in defeating a white and mulatto population of roughly 30,000 on a French owned island. At the time, Sainte-Domingue was the most prosperous sugar-producing island in the world. What is often discussed as a singular event, the revolution in reality was a thirteen-year long war, directly on the heels of the French Revolution. The leaders of the revolution managed to use the modern political rhetoric of the Age of Revolution to ensure their position as part of the modern world, "...successfully [challenging] the world capitalist system within which slavery itself was embedded" (Trouillot 1995; Williams-Meyers 1996:382; Williams 1970).

Class hierarchy within enslaved cohorts complicates "...issues of rebel leadership and the significance of status differentiation..." (deB Kilson 1964:183) between those who called and led the fight against oppression, and those who either chose to follow

rebel leaders or remain with the known, if oppressive, *status quo*. Some of the most famous leaders of slave rebellions, such as Toussaint L'Overture, Nat Turner and Denmark Vesey "...had opportunities which the ordinary field hand would never have experienced" (deB Kilson 1964: 183). These opportunities included travel, varying levels of education, and access to manumission (deB Kilson 1964; Ingersoll 1994; Postma 2003). An interesting twist is that these same characteristics were also evident in slaves who were conscripted to reveal conspiracies and plans for rebellions. As noted by Genovese, "Both rebel leaders and supreme accommodationists came from the same ranks, for they were men of wider experience than ordinary field hands and had talents they could turn in either direction" (1979:27). It was often slaves from the domestic sphere, or skilled people who worked closely with white plantation owners and overseers, who revealed plans, and their reward for aborting the attempt by others to take freedom was often their own manumission (Olwell 1989; Wade 1964; Wax 1982).

Further complicating notions of class and race were local perceptions of creolization and "racial mixing" that occurred under colonialism. In the Caribbean creole slaves, especially those with phenotypic features that most closely resembled European traits, were often considered to be at the top of the hierarchy, sometimes working in specialized fields such as artisans or domestic servants (Perotin-Dumon 1996: 260; Geggus 1996: 293). Creole slaves also used this relationship to Europeans as a platform to argue for freedom. As early as 1723 in colonial Virginia, a slave, or group of slaves, argues for emancipation through a letter written to the Lord Bishop of London, Edmund Gibson. The author of this anonymous letter eloquently describes the complex identities held by enslaved people, and their equally complicated relationship with European



colonizers, pleading that "...there is in this Land of verjennia a Sort of people that is Calld molatters which are Baptized and brought up in the way of the Christian faith..." who should be released "...out of this Cruell Bondegg..." (Ingersoll 1994: 781-782). This focus on the religious orientation of mulatto slaves was a factor less than a decade later in a rebellion by Virginia slaves "...who believed that planters concealed a royal decree freeing all Christians" (Ingersoll 1994: 781).

One further factor that needs to be addressed in the analysis of revolts is the presence and ambiguous legal status of free black populations. Free coloreds "...made up a significant portion of [Guadeloupe's] police force and were used for control of suppression of slaves" as well as "...suppression of uprising[s], as was usually the case in slave revolts" (Perotin-Dumon 1996: 265; Geggus 1996: 286). deB Kilson identifies several free blacks who were identified as leaders in various rebellions and plots (1964: 177,179). Many free colored individuals held nebulous positions in that they were perceived as both agitator and mediator in the slave revolts. But whereas enslaved groups were at odds with colonial officials to change the system, free populations worked largely within the system to increase their freedoms and attain a voice within government institutions, which set them further apart from the enslaved groups.

Although these researchers, mostly historians, provide valuable insights into slave revolts in late 18<sup>th</sup> century Antilles, they leave a great many questions unanswered. Some of the biggest questions involve the relationships between slave and free colored society, groups that left behind almost no historic documents that would provide information about internal structures that aided in organizing collective types of resistance to slavery. Many of the accounts that are left behind by enslaved people were gathered under duress

by the dominant power, usually during imprisonment. “This type of divergence [between slave and colonist] often recurs in accounts of slave revolts and conspiracies and poses a problem for historians” as there are myriad issues for critical analysis of these historical documents (Geggus 1996: 283). The historians also tie the surge of revolts and demonstrations directly to political changes occurring elsewhere in the world during the close of the eighteenth century, but discuss very little of the reasons there is a massive shift in political ideology, how it may be tied, other than just cursorily, to political demands in the Caribbean, and what it meant to changes in production in the New World and production and consumption in Europe. There are also interesting questions left about the complex relationships between the various planter/elite groups and the various enslaved/servant groups on these islands. Information, often quite sensitive, has been cited by the authors as flowing freely between people, but there is no discussion on the mechanism of that information flow. These may all be questions that archaeologists can address in the future.

Studies of rebellion and Maroon communities are not just interesting looks into the historic past. Many of the events have had lasting impacts through development of different cultural groups, and have been reified through both the oral and written word as a source of identity formation for groups of African descent in the Caribbean and elsewhere. Because of the enduring consequences of the Maroon on the culture of Jamaica, it is impossible to overlook the “...critical importance of an early formative period...” (Kopytoff 1978: 288). This emphasis is the same that Agorsah (2003) stresses in analyzing archaeological sites attributed to Maroon heritage in Suriname prior to 1762, when a peace treaty was signed between Maroons and the Dutch colonial government:

“It is expected that, using the scheme of this research we will eventually be able to establish the gradual evolution of Maroon heritage into what oral historians and ethnographers report to us as today’s Maroon culture” (Agorsah 2003: 738)

These historic events are often cited as important for defining modern identities by descendent communities. The Experience of marronage or revolt are evoked in contemporary discourse by groups experiencing political conflict, and historical events are drawn on to explain contemporary phenomena. This layer of interpretation should also be considered by analysts.

#### *F. The Study Area: St. John and its Environs*

Today St. John is part of the United States Virgin Islands, within the archipelago of the Lesser Antilles, directly east of Puerto Rico and located only two miles from both St. Thomas and Tortola, the latter of which belongs to the British Virgin Islands (Figure 1). The island measures just under twenty square miles, with rugged mountain terrain; the highest peak, Bordeaux Mountain, reaches to 1277 feet above sea level (Thomas and Devine 2005). Although small, the island contains several distinct ecological systems including sub-tropical forests, semi-arid cactus scrublands, and mangrove swamps. Today most of the lush vegetation is secondary growth, the island having been exploited for its hardwoods such as *Lignum vitae*, mahogany, and cottonwood by the Spanish and English prior to Danish colonization, and later deforestation for sugar cane fields and lime-mortar production.

The island relies almost entirely on tourism for its economic survival; there is no industry and very little commercial agriculture any longer on the island. The effects of tourism have been both encouraged and mitigated by the presence of the National Park

Service. Controlling nearly two-thirds of the island, as well as a large percentage of the coastal marine resources, the Virgin Island National Park was established in 1956 through a land-gift from Laurence Rockefeller (Singer 1996). The National Park maintains a tense and complex relationship with the local population, which, along with being the largest landholder, is also the largest employer on St. John.



**Figure 1.** Located just east of Puerto Rico, St. John, USVI belongs to the cluster of islands that begins the archipelago commonly referred to as the Lesser Antilles. Included in this group of islands is St. Thomas and St. Croix, both United States Territories, and the British Virgin Islands including Tortola located just two miles from the eastern shore of St. John. The smaller detailed map of St. John has the Virgin Islands National Park boundary in red (Photo courtesy of United States National Park Service, Norton and Wild 2007).

## Chapter 2. The 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion: A Sequence of the Event

The popular narrative of the rebellion usually begins in the pre-dawn hours of November 23, 1733. There is generally mention of the September 5<sup>th</sup> proclamation, *with the explicit implication* that there is a direct *causal* link between the draconian laws, and the slave rebellion.<sup>11</sup> The September 5<sup>th</sup> proclamation is important, not because it shows the blind sadism of European planters during the trans-Atlantic trade era; the proclamation is important because it illuminates the conditions on the island in the months and years leading up to the rebellion. It gives context to the social milieu, and says more about the planters and their relationship with the Administrative officials than it speaks to the relationship between the planters and the enslaved. In reality, it is much more difficult to identify the relationship between the planters and the enslaved. As will be discussed, there were multiple conceptions of slavery occurring simultaneously.

This chapter is a historic narrative of the rebellion based on the primary documents available.<sup>12</sup> These documents included the 1728-1733/36 *Landlisters*, the 1733-34 Governor's Order Book, and various correspondences between Danish officials on St. Thomas and the Lord Directors in Copenhagen.

What is striking about these records as well is that the enslaved are rarely identified individually. There is a paternalistic attitude in the records, as if Gardelin, the Governor of the islands and primary author of the documents, is the principle of a large school where the children are a faceless mass, and it is the teachers, or planters, with whom he deals directly. Because of this hierarchy, we don't get a rich ethnographic

---

<sup>11</sup> The September 5<sup>th</sup> Proclamation was a code of punishment established by Gardelin to deal with the increasing unrest in the DWI. Announced September 5, 1733, it laid out extremely draconian measures for disciplining enslaved people, as well as consequences for planters who were unable to control their laborers. There is no evidence that any of the measure in the proclamation were ever carried out prior to the November 23 uprising. It will be discussed in chronological context in the narrative below.

<sup>12</sup> The challenges of the documentary record will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4: Methods and Practice.

record. It is also clear that because Gardelin is dealing so directly with the planters that he fails to see the complexity within the enslaved population. Each act of marronage or violence is treated by the Danish Officials as an isolated incident committed by an ignorant individual. There is no sense that these incidents may be connected.

Things had not been going well in the Danish West Indies for quite some time. The historic documents hint at high levels of violence among the population, both between planters and enslaved, as well as within those groups. It is clear that the Danish Authorities had very little civic control over the population. The documents indicate that there were high levels of marronage during 1733 in the months leading up to the rebellion, and seemingly high rates of violence between slaves. What is also clear is that while the volume of these acts may have increased, these were not new to St. Jan, but had been a part of the culture since Danish occupation. Similarly, the natural disasters suffered in the year leading up to the rebellion, such as a drought and two hurricanes, were not new events but had descended on the island with enough frequency that they were nearly commonplace. This is significant because these conditions indicate that the rebellion was not just a sudden, desperate act induced solely by the immediate material conditions on island.

The following is a discussion of the groups of people who inhabited the island at the time of the conflict, followed by a chronological narrative of the events relevant to the rebellion in the years leading up to 1733, as well as a chronological narrative of the event of rebellion itself.

## *A. THE PEOPLE INHABITING ST. JAN*

### *i. The Enslaved*

Denmark was never a substantial player in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Despite maintaining a presence on the African West Coast during the early eighteenth century, relatively few ships bearing a Danish flag sailed from the coast with human cargo.

Denmark's transported roughly 1% of all enslaved who were sent to the new world during the entire period of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, or totaling between 50,000 and 75,000 enslaved individuals.<sup>13</sup> Much of the secondary literature concerning both Danish slave exports/imports and the demographic characteristics of the slave population of the Danish West Indies post-date 1733. The reasons for this are two-fold. First, few records concerning the early settlement period of the DWI have survived into the present day. Second, 1733 is the year that Denmark acquired the island of St. Croix, which had the most economically successful plantation economy for the DWI and is often considered more significant for such research; most of the secondary literature deals with St. Croix, and to a lesser extent St. Thomas, ignoring St. Jan altogether.

The marginal status of St. Jan means that few records were kept; of those that were, few have survived. This being the case, all demographic estimates for St. Jan for the period 1718-1733 are rough at best. The first challenge is to determine how many slaves were brought to St. Jan from the Danish slave trading post Christiansborg.

---

<sup>13</sup> There are huge discrepancies between scholars regarding the volume of the trans-Atlantic trade, and the numbers of enslaved transported by the Danish during this time are equally heavily debated. The reasons for the discrepancies are numerous; different scholars have different source material available according to when they conduct their research and their primary language. Furthermore, it can be difficult to compare estimates between various scholars as they do not define their time period with the same years. Eltis (Postma 2003) estimates the Danish number to be 0.9%; Curtin puts it slightly higher at 1.7% (Green-Pedersen 1975). Danish scholar Green-Pedersen argues that Curtin's estimates were not based on primary Danish sources but on secondary English language sources. While not positing numbers for the Danish trade in comparison to other nations, Green-Pedersen estimates that in the period of 1733-1802 Denmark exported 50,350 enslaved people from the West Coast of Africa. Lovejoy (1982) significantly estimates these figures upwards, estimating that the total Danish trade consisted of 73,900 individuals in the years 1701-1800, equaling 1.2% of the total trans-Atlantic slave trade.

During the period of the early occupation of St. Jan, 1718-1733, 2,061 slaves are known to have disembarked at Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas from twelve *VGK* voyages (Eltis 2010).<sup>14</sup> All left from Christiansborg, located on the Gold Coast of Africa. Import and Export records are often documents about points of departure and landing. In the case of the Danish West Indies, the ships are concerned with making it to Charlotte Amalie; there is no discussion concerning the movement of slaves either within or out of the city thereafter, particularly in the early years of the eighteenth century. The St. Jan *Landlisters* were first compiled by the Danish officials in 1728 in an effort to assess the taxability of the planters. All information was self-reported by the planters to the bookkeeper on St. Thomas, and was supposed to include a verbal description of the property boundaries, free people who resided on the property, various categories of enslaved people, types of crops grown, and year that the plantation was established. The *Landlisters* indicate that individual plantation owners moved the enslaved between properties with some frequency. This includes back and forth between St. Jan and St. Thomas. This may have been a means to confuse the taxability of the slaves.

Because the first *landlister* was not compiled until 1728, we do not know how many slaves were brought to St. Jan in the first years of settlement. Between 1728 and 1733 the *landlisters* seem to indicate that the slave population doubled, from an initial number of 673 enslaved individuals to 1435 in the year of the rebellion (Table 1). These numbers are both inaccurate and potentially misleading. The *landlister* does not so much record the number of enslaved individuals on island who are taxable as it records the

---

<sup>14</sup> Green-Pedersen (1975:16) laments that few shipping records survive to illustrate the volume and structure of the Danish slave trade. The research emphasis has been on the public venture of the *VGK*; Green-Pedersen points out that private trade from Christiansborg has been completely neglected in the literature, and may have been a significant source of enslaved laborers in the DWI.



number of enslaved individuals that plantation owners are willing to claim for tax purposes. For the years 1728, 1730, 1731 and 1732, Pieter Durloe, one of the largest landholders on the island, does not claim any enslaved individuals in the *landlisters*, although it is acknowledged in the same documents that he does hold slaves. This holds true for other large landholders such as the Beverhoudts. Some of the most affluent plantation owners, whom would be expected to account for the highest number of enslaved laborers, finally report their number of enslaved in 1733. These numbers are suspect since the 1733 document was finalized in 1736 and served as a kind of primitive insurance document for claims of losses the planters endured during the rebellion and expected the Company to pay for. For all years in question there is also a dearth of data concerning the number of enslaved laborers who resided on the Company Plantation. Because the Company did not tax itself, it did not record slave data for the plantation in the *landlisters*. Some slave data for the Company Plantation has been identified. An inventory made in the March of 1733 indicates that there were 166 enslaved individuals laboring on the property at Coral Bay.<sup>15</sup> The Company also employed a higher number of *Mesterknechts*<sup>16</sup> than any private plantation owner; 4 *mesterknechts* on the company plantation to the typical 1 *mesterknecht* employed on all other plantations, if one was employed at all.

---

<sup>15</sup> Because this inventory was not used for tax purposes, the categories of enslaved did not conform to the same categories of enslaved found in the *landlisters*, adding another layer of ambiguity to the demographic profile. The total number of enslaved counted in the *landlisters* and the Company inventory brings the total to 1435 enslaved individuals on the island of St. Jan (Table 1). Fog Olwig (1985) and Westergaard (1917) both estimate 1,085 enslaved individuals in 1733 based on their reading of specific *landlisters*, a figure that is usually adopted by historians for this subject. Fog Olwig makes a point of discussing the discrepancies between different researchers in calculating these numbers for all time periods, not just the early settlement period. Tyson's numbers (1986) come closer to mine; he calculates 1255 enslaved individuals also with the estimate of 100 enslaved at the Company plantation.

<sup>16</sup> Danish; overseer or land manager

As has been mentioned previously, the numbers are also suspect because of the dual condition of poor record keeping by a largely illiterate population as well as the constant attempts at tax evasion that is prevalent in the documents.

Given the available data, these numbers indicate the closest estimation of the slave population present on St. Jan in the years leading up to and at the time of the rebellion in 1733. The numbers for any given year should be considered a low estimate, with the actual number of enslaved persons considerably higher given the blatant omissions present in the *landlisters*.

The categories of slave in Table 1 reflect the categories imposed by the record keepers in the *landlisters*. These were tax categories, based on the production potential of the individuals.<sup>17</sup> These categories included *Capable/Old-Order*; *Maquerons/Makerons*; *Bussals*; and children. Capable or Old-Order slaves were healthy, adult individuals who were established on the plantations. This category is opposed to *Maquerons*,<sup>18</sup> who were enslaved individuals, either adult or children, who were ill, injured, elderly, or in some way not able to labor to the same extent as Capable slaves. *Bussals* were newly arrived slaves. *Bussal* status was generally for a single year, while the enslaved person was “seasoned,” or acclimated to the plantation system, after which time *bussals* became old-order slaves. While it could be considered that *bussals* were newly arrived from Africa, it is unclear whether that was always the case, and could be that the *bussal* status indicated simply that these individuals were new to the DWI, and from where was considered inconsequential.

---

<sup>17</sup> For the period in question the VGK administrators did not regard ethnic or geographic origin data important.

<sup>18</sup> Also spelled *makerons* in the historic documents.

The designation of children vs. adult and male vs. female makes the demographic picture slightly murkier. The Danish had different tax rates for children of various ages, and for different sexes. For the period 1718-1733, the tax structure does not seem to be strictly codified, and the tax rate shifts dependent not only on the enslaved individual but also on the status of the planter family for which they labored; for instance, an infant wasn't taxed at all, but a boy of 10 or 11 years of age would have been taxed at 50%, presumably because he would have been capable of half the labor of an adult. Danish officials also levied a head tax on free individuals which was dependent of sex and age. Despite the inconsistencies, 16 years old seems to be the accepted age of maturity for both free and enslaved on the island. This being the case, I have categorized all enslaved individuals aged 15 years and younger as children.

Likewise there is difficulty in identifying sex in the records. Individuals are sometimes identified as “negroes” and “negresses” in the *landlisters*, making sex identification somewhat straightforward. In other cases, the enslaved are identified as slaves or female slaves; there are other entries where all enslaved people are categorized under slave, and it is unclear if all individuals on that property were males, or if that entry was idiosyncratic. Because the generic term slave can be generalized to include both males and females, I have categorized these individuals as “unspecified”. It can be safely assumed that a majority of these unspecified individuals were male for two reasons. First, more males than females were enslaved during the trans-Atlantic period (Lovejoy 1989), a trend that held true for much of the historic period of St. Jan.<sup>19</sup> Second, because most

---

<sup>19</sup> Fog Olwig (1985) does not go into depth concerning the sex ratios of slaves, particularly for the early settlement period. In the nineteenth century the ratio of male:female was closer to 1:1, particularly if the largest estates were excluded from the calculations as outliers (pg. 58). However, even then more enslaved males lived on St. Jan than females.

enslaved individuals were male, and because of the patriarchal nature of colonial Danish society, it can be assumed that male was the default setting, so linguistically men might not be specified, whereas females would be. The ratio of identified males to identified females in the Danish *landlisters* for this time period is 1.7:1, or roughly 2:1 (Table 2). I would expect this ratio to hold for the “unspecified” category. While this holds true for the adult enslaved population, it may not for children. In fact, the recorded sex of individual children sometimes changed from year to year for the same child in the *landlisters*, for reasons unknown, but most likely having to do with tax evasion.<sup>20</sup>

During the rebellion the Danish Officials decided that the perpetrators of the rebellion were newly arrived slaves from the slave ship *Laarburg Galley* which had landed with a cargo of 244 enslaved people in June of 1733 (Eltis 2010:1239; GOB 1733-34). The rebels were subsequently renamed “Minas,”<sup>21</sup> as many Danish slaves were traded through Elmina Castle along the West Coast of Africa.<sup>22</sup> This identification of the rebels had serious consequences for the enslaved on St. Jan during the conflict; in March of 1734 enslaved people identified as Minas who had remained on their plantations during the rebellion were executed simply as a precaution.

---

<sup>20</sup> Because the landlisters were self-reported, some planters included names for the people inhabiting their plantations, and some did not. In this particular case a child with the same name bound to one plantation was listed as two different genders in subsequent years.

<sup>21</sup> While debates concerning ethnic or tribal identities of enslaved Africans is rife with scholarly debate, it is largely accepted that the identity of enslaved peoples was complicated not only by their geographic place of origin, which is often obscured in the historic documents, but also their fictive affiliations once embarking on the middle passage and landing in the New World, and varies through time. The ethnicity of the enslaved on St. Jan is likewise up for debate. Identified by the VGK officials as “Minas” or “Aminas,” Gwendolyn Hall (2005:114-115) discusses that “Mina” had various meanings in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, concerning geographic origin (along the slave coast and the Volta River basin); port of origin (slaves shipped from the Dutch-controlled Fort Elmina); or the name could refer to the group’s skill with mining activities.

<sup>22</sup> This logic behind the Danes thinking is unclear. What adds further confusion as to why the rebels were labeled “Minas,” neither *Laarburg Galley* nor *Greviden af Laurvugen*, a slave ship that landed in 1732, departed from nor purchased slaves from Elmina Castle. Shipping records show that these ships and their cargos were from Christiansborg. The name might refer to the fact that they were individuals who resided along the Volta River Basin, where Christiansborg was located.

This ethnic identification had further implications. Like instances of collective violence more recently in Europe and America, the officials fighting the rebels used a logic that the enemy was newly arrived people, strangers who neither knew nor respected the island society (Tilly 1989). However, this ran contrary to the identification of individual actors who took part in the conflict. By the Company's own account, at least 5 of the 22 named leaders and participants were *bombas*, enslaved men who were in positions of authority as overseers on the plantations. These were not positions that went to newly arrived slaves. *Bombas* were positions that required a high degree of knowledge about the workings of the plantation as well as close working relationships with the free employees or owners of a plantation. One other leader of the rebellion was identified as a sugar cooker. Again, this position was a highly skilled position, and required time to learn. The leaders of this rebellion were people who were leaders of the plantations- men and women who had the means to plan and execute a complicated action, as well as the agency to convince others to participate in that action.

## *ii. The Planters*

St. Jan was a marginal extension of St. Thomas, which, in the early eighteenth century, were the only two Caribbean possessions claimed by Denmark. They were administered by a charter-bearing company that was largely financed by Dutch merchants and staffed by Danish officials, many of whom were sailors or merchants in their own right. Pseudo-militarized, the head of the Danish West Indies was a governor, who was responsible for the management of the islands as well as the Company plantations.

November 22, 1733, the day before the rebellion, there were 106 formally recognized plantations owned by 65 families. This represents 137 free individuals

categorized into groups of property owners, their family members, and *mesterknegts* residing on property (Table 3).<sup>23</sup> On such a small island there were significant social entanglements- intermarriages between the families, the owner of one plantation employed as the *mesterknegts* on another, and the usual tensions and conflicts that land occupation and agriculture create. Again, this number probably under represents the actual free population, but not to the same degree that the slaves were under represented. I would speculate that there were more *mesterknegts* on island than were listed.<sup>24</sup> Not all of the 90 individuals listed as property owners actually resided on island; 42 are identified in the *landlisters* as being on island; 35 are identified as definitely residing off island; at least 3 planters who own multiple properties live on one of their plantations leaving the other(s) unoccupied; the residential status of 10 owners is undetermined.<sup>25</sup>

These records do not include the Free-Black population who lived in the little village on island, nor the Europeans who did not own land who resided there as well. It also does not include the slaves owned by these individuals. We know that they existed because we have glimpses of them in the documentary record; for example, in 1732 a planter was claiming that one of his slaves was no longer taxable because she had been sold to the “Free-Negro” Emmanuel in Cruz Bay village (LL1732STJ).

---

<sup>23</sup> Free employees were also taxable, and so could be invisible in the *landlisters*. I only counted those as *mesterknegts* who were listed as residing on their employers property if they also were not listed as owning their plantation.

<sup>24</sup> This was confirmed through cross-referencing the different historic documents. I would often find mention of Person X's *mesterknecht* when the *landlister* claimed none was present at that plantation.

<sup>25</sup> This picture gets increasing complicated with the numbers of under-age heirs who have guardians looking out for their interests; many of the heirs, as well as their guardians, live off island. It is also complicated by the partial or co-ownership by some planters, who may have partial stake in several properties. These numbers are based, therefore, of St. Jan as the primary residence of the actual owners. As with the slave numbers, this data is submitted by the owners themselves and is subject to falsification for tax or other purposes.

The plantocracy, or planter class, encompasses a wide variety of nationalities and ethnic identities.<sup>26</sup> In the early eighteenth century the Danish West Indies were known as a place of opportunity for a wide variety of Europeans (Dookhan 1994; Lewis 1972). Danes were present, especially in the role of Company officials; there was also a substantial Dutch population, as well as families with English and French surnames. Where the planters differed- from each other as well as from planters on other islands- was in socio-economic status. There was a wide range of property owners on St. Jan, from individuals with tiny subsistence farms of only a couple of acres to extended families who owned substantial tracts and many people to work those tracts. What is also important to consider is that “wealth” is relative; those individuals who were the elite of St. Jan society could not compete in wealth or status with the elite planters on larger islands. Illiteracy on St. Jan was rampant among the planter class, including such prominent individuals as Pieter Durloe (Pishko 2010; SPC 1733-1734).

### *iii. The Others*

There is a third group that is nearly invisible in the historic and archaeological records, and who are often left out of popular accounts and historic interpretations. This third group includes the free black and free white, non-property holding population mentioned above. It also includes the maroons who lived in the island’s interior. It is unknown how many slaves self-emancipated in the years leading up to the rebellion; a St. Thomas planter, Pierre Pannet, writing during the event, estimated that there were 300 rebels at the time the conflict broke out (Pannet 1733 [1994]). At the time, the officials on St. Thomas were assuming that the maroons were also rebels. This means that there must

---

<sup>26</sup> Although the planters on St. Jan in 1733 represent a broad range of backgrounds, socio-economic status, plantation types and nationalities, they shared the primary characteristic of being slave owning landowners, and bearing the rights and privileges that position held, particularly during the rebellion.

have been several dozen, if not a couple hundred, St. Jan maroons. To their credit, it quickly became evident, even to the Danish authorities, that at least some of these individuals living in the interior were caught in the middle of the conflict and chose not to side with the rebel factions.



**Table 1.** Enslaved population of St. Jan by *landlister* category for the years 1728-1733. There were no slave data recorded for the year 1729. The last row, 1733\*, indicates the population of enslaved on St. Jan including estimates from the Frederiksvaern inventory from March 1733.

Year	Male Capable	Female Capable	Unspecified Capable	Male Maqueron	Female Maqueron	Unspecified Maqueron	Male Child	Female Child	Unspecified Child	Male Bussals	Female Bussals	Unspecified Bussals	Other	Total
1728	290	117	79	43	12	25	8	2	31	27	13	22	4	673
1730	297	106	166	44	12	41	11	3	83	24	10	42	4	843
1731	175	60	240	28	8	63	17	14	43	9	5	68	4	734
1732	96	32	527	8	11	88	81	51	64	0	0	120	5	1083
1733	86	27	637	2	1	125	99	104	73	3	1	101	10	1269
1733*	176	69	637	12	1	125	114	113	73	3	1	101	10	1435

**Table 2.** Estimates of gender and age for the enslaved population of St. Jan by *landlister* category for the years 1728-1733.

Year	Total Identified Male	Total Identified Female	Total Unspecified Gender	Total Adult (16≤)	Total Child (≥16)
1728	368	144	161	632	41
1730	376	131	330	746	97
1731	229	87	418	660	74
1732	185	94	804	887	196
1733	190	133	946	993	276
1733*	305	184	946	1135	300

**Table 3.** Free land holding population of St. Jan present on the plantation for the years 1728-1733 by *landlister*. There were no demographics recorded for 1729. This excludes owners and families who were absentee. The numbers for children are over-represented; the landlisters often identify children of planters without specifying age, so it is probably that many of the children are legal adults. Adults were taxed at higher rates than children.<sup>27</sup>

Year	Adult Male	Adult Female	Children (≤15)	Total
1728	39	19	41	99
1730	19	8	16	48
1731	42	24	37+	103
1732	60	33	60	153
1733	29	18	22	79

<sup>27</sup> For instance, the 1733 landlister identifies the inhabitants of (#13 &14), Jannes van Beverhoudt as “Beverhout and Wife, and 9 children ranging in age from 22 years to 18 months”. All of these have been counted as children in the above table.

+ Number of children are not listed for Pieter Durløe or Jannes Charles in the 1731 *landlister*. In the case of the former, the number of children is recorded as “many,” while for the former the number of children is “yes”.

### *B. A Documentary Sequence of the Event*

The historical documentary narrative of the significant events that lead to the rebellion, as well as how the rebellion unfolded between November, 1733 and August, 1734, was compiled the landlisters, Governor's Order Book, and various correspondences. The primary document that chronicled the event was the Governor's Order Book,<sup>28</sup> a volume that contained the copies of communications from Governor Gardelin to the Lord Directors in Copenhagen; Danish soldiers at Frederiksvaern; the Civil Corp at Durløe's; and foreign leaders and privateers. While the correspondence is ostensibly Gardelin's words, the document was created by a number of different clerks with varying literacy levels, and has correspondence in Dutch, Danish, French and English. The Secret Privy Council Correspondence<sup>29</sup> was similarly created. Not all that secret, the Secret Privy Council consisted of high level Danish officials and affluent citizens who made closed-door decisions about the running of the colony, and corresponded directly to the Lord Directors. While Governor Gardelin was well represented in the SPC correspondence, other officials, such as Schønnemann, a high-ranking member of the Company, and Horn, the Company Book keeper, also voiced their opinions of current events directly in the documents. Leif Larsen (1989) wrote a monograph chronicling the first thirteen years of the St. Jan colony, ending his narrative just short of the rebellion in 1730. Larsen also published English translations of early St Jan documents, as well as annotated bibliographies of documents dating to the early settlement period from the Danish National Archives. As there are a number of people discussed in this narrative, Appendix I provides a table of St. Jan rebellion participants.

---

<sup>28</sup> Cited as GOB throughout the remainder of the chapter.

<sup>29</sup> Cited as SPC throughout the remainder of the chapter.

The following historic narrative is written in the present tense, which some readers may find jarring. The present tense is useful to illustrate to the reader the tempo of the rebellion as it unfolded. The theoretical approach of archaeology of event<sup>30</sup> stresses the importance of recognizing that events are not necessarily singular happenings but are cascades of occurrences that have significance because of their temporal and spatial relationships. The present tense allows the reader to discover this cascade of occurrences, and is a useful device to demonstrate that often significant occurrences may go unrecognized as such when they first occur, even to the participants and witnesses who experience them. Also important is the fact that *the success of the plantocracy was not a foregone conclusion*. The use of the present tense helps to avoid tautological historical assumptions.

---

<sup>30</sup> This theoretical approach will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3: Theoretical Perspectives.

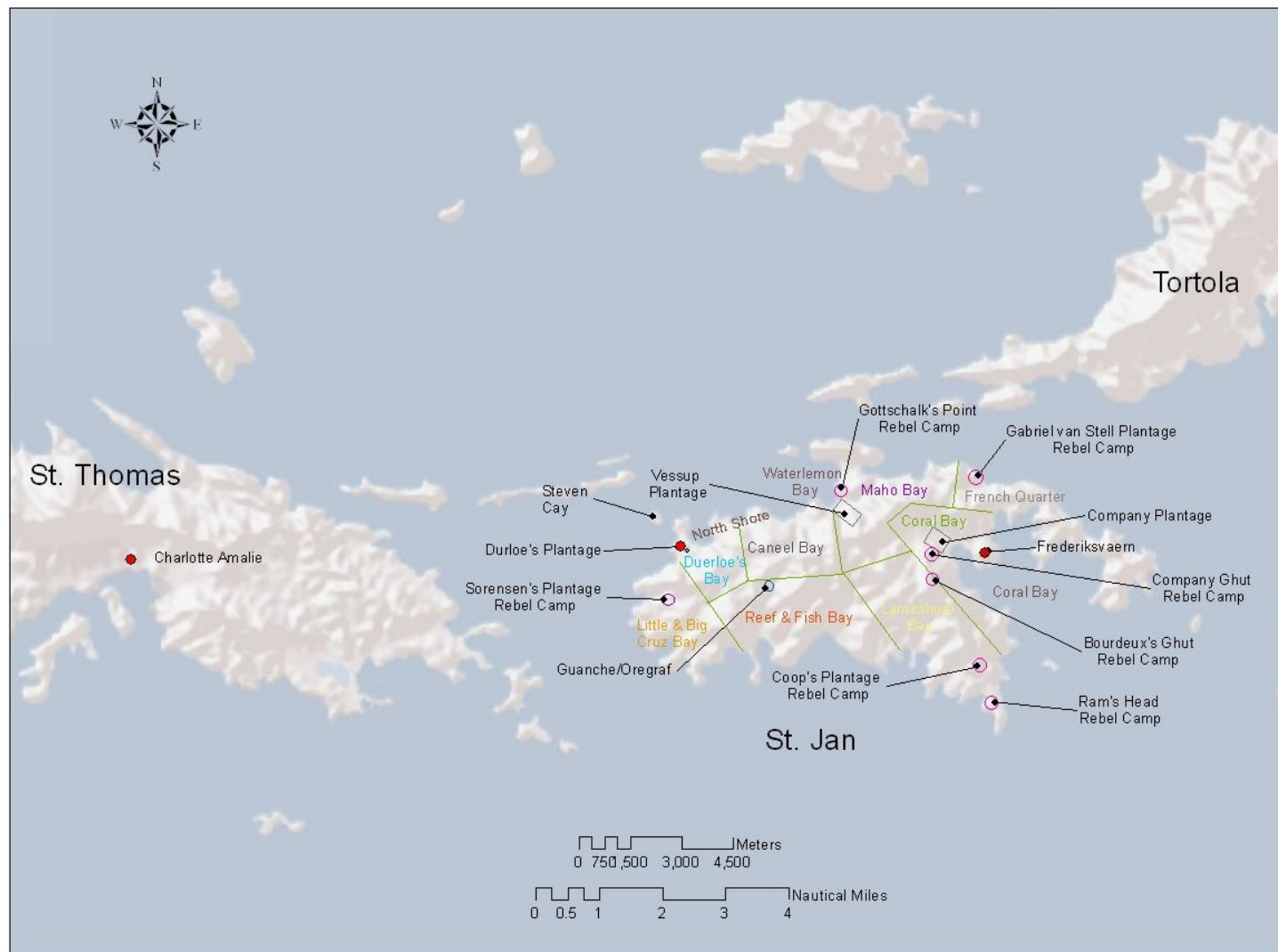
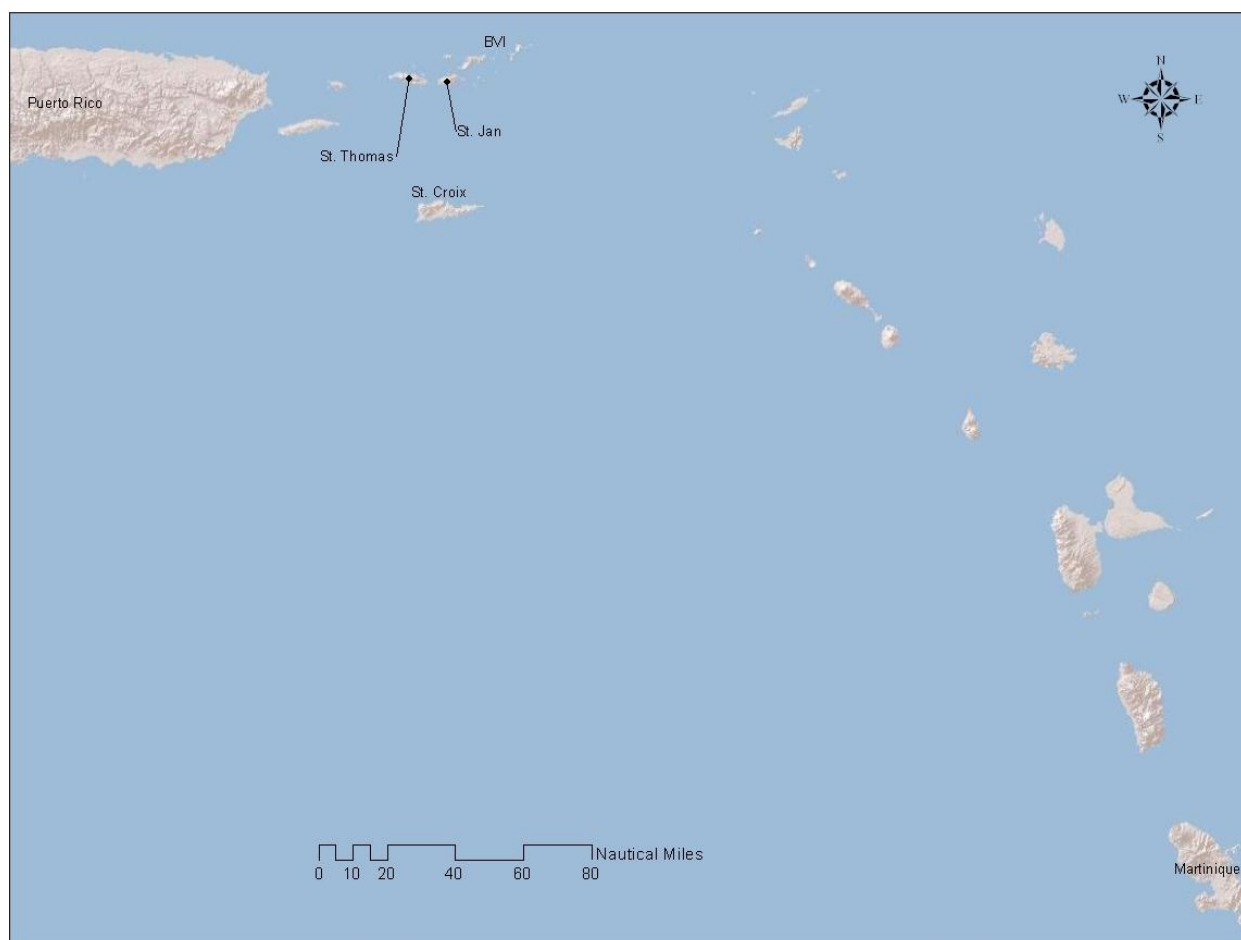


Figure 2. A reference map of the Danish West Indies and significant locations of events discussed in chapter 2 historic narrative.



**Figure 3. Reference map of significant locations in the Lesser Antilles discussed in historic narrative.**

*A History of Settlement Era of St. Jan: 1718-1734*

*1718-1732*

Establishing a permanent settlement on St. Jan is no easy task, despite Governor Eric Bredahl's unending enthusiasm in his letters to the Lord Directors of the Company for the potential the island holds (Larsen 1985, 1989; 1991). The original settlers include sixteen slaves, "of whom some escaped into the bush" (Larsen 1989:2) almost immediately upon arrival. Governor Hart, of the British Virgin Islands, demands time and time again that the Danes evacuate the island. Bredahl, and his successor, Frederik Moth, are in constant fear of English attack, especially as Fort Frederiksvaern is perpetually understaffed with soldiers. The Spanish are also a threat, and have been increasingly belligerent. The Spanish occasionally take ships and small boats from the planters on island, and raid the island for slaves. Because of the harassment from the English, and the Spanish, it is difficult to get planters to stay there permanently. The Directors press Bredahl to send the "idle inhabitants" (Larsen 1985:3) of St. Thomas to St. Jan. In 1719 two office clerks from St. Thomas are sent to St. Jan as punishment for drinking and incompetence. In 1720 Bredahl reports that Jan Hansen, who is imprisoned for unspecified reasons in Fort Christiansvaern on St. Thomas, has been given a plantation. In 1721 a planter, Jannes Charles, is stripped of his property on St. Thomas because of large debts he has incurred with the Company. In its place he is given a piece of land in the Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter.

By 1724 the Danes are more confident that they can hold the island, despite the continuing threats and attacks from the Spanish and English. Moth suggests that the Company close down their St. Thomas plantation and focus completely on the Company

Plantation at Coral Bay on St. Jan. Although the plantation only has twenty-four of the estimated 500 slaves needed to bring the property under full cultivation, Moth believes the plantation has the potential to be very profitable.

Not only is the Company plantation under staffed, but so is the Fort. A maroon hunt has to be called off for lack of men to search for runaways. The conditions on St. Jan must be especially lugubrious; there are complaints that too many white planters are now living on St. Jan, leaving their St. Thomas plantations without proper management. The ratio of black inhabitants to white inhabitants is becoming uncomfortable for some of the Danish Officials. Under-Governor Thambesen suggests that the Company send 100-150 *mesterknechts* to the DWI from Denmark to avoid any potential rebellions or uprisings.

St. Jan experiences a severe drought in 1725. It is reported that approximately 25% of the inhabitants are able to plant provisions. This drought has lasting effects into 1726, when the harvest is poor. What little cotton is grown is eaten by worms. The Governor continues to beg for soldiers.

In a letter to Copenhagen in 1727 the current Governor, Hendrik Suhm, estimates that the Company plantation needs a population of 400 slaves to be profitable; currently the plantage enslaved population is eight-eight. A hurricane in September 29-30th damages the crops, and a poor harvest is expected. Suhm also reports that the soil quality in Coral Bay is very poor, and that all the large building timber has been cut-down.

There is another severe hurricane September 22, 1728. Like Bredahl before him, Suhm reports to the Directors that a map cannot possibly be drawn of the island until it is cleared of vegetation. Suhm also completes the first *landlister*; he stresses it is provisional and needs to be verified at some point in the future. Suhm complains of the

difficulty in getting the planters to give accurate statements about their property, and the original land deeds were never recorded when the plantations were first settled. The settlement pattern has also shifted drastically; the whites who clambered to the island in 1724 have reverted back to living on St. Thomas by 1728.

The year 1729 brings another disappointing harvest. There is almost no sugar, and again the cotton is reported as being eaten by worms. The Spanish have resumed their attacks on island, this time taking thirty slaves. The Company plantation is being staffed by the *bussal* slaves who were not purchased on St. Thomas. Suhm recommends that the Company sell the St. Jan plantation.

1730 brings more drought, and a new Governor, to the DWI. The Company is losing tax money on the little cotton that is grown because of a thriving illegal trade the planters have with the English. Another hurricane hits the island. Gardelin complains of the “negligence of the planters” (Larsen 1985:9) in handing over their acreage specifications for the *landlister*. In July a maroon from Gabriel van Stell’s plantation “has caused much damage to the houses in Coral Bay” (Larsen 1985:11).<sup>31</sup>

Most of the sugar plantations on St. Jan suffer terrible losses from the 1731 drought, including the Company plantation. Gardelin recommends that the Company invest only in cotton and forget sugar; Suhm is still advocating for the plantation to be sold.

Willem Vessup<sup>32</sup> and John Robbesen, two St. Jan plantation owners who both reside on St. Thomas, are accused of murdering a third St. Thomas planter, Kuhlman, and the two leave the island. Willem Vessup is reported to have gotten on island in July and

---

<sup>31</sup> Presumably the slave houses, or quarters.

<sup>32</sup> Vessup has the largest holdings on St. Jan of any planter, and even exceeds the Company in the amount of land he holds by 1733.



absconded with not only his slaves, but four from the heirs of Cornelius Delicat's estate. Gardelin complains that this crime happened due to lack of soldiers.

### *March 1733*

In March, Gardelin makes a trip to St. Jan. He finds many of the plantages owned by high-ranking Company Officials in Coral Bay, as well as the Fort, to be in a deplorable condition as the

“building of the fort in itself only a thrown up para-pet of loose stones and gravel; inside the para-pet a house 5 [illegible] long and 4 broad, covered with planks and shingles, hereto added a small masoned powder-room with a flat roof of mason & round planks...inside the fort 11 4lb cannons inside old and decayed stock pieces, 6 useful...”  
(COIn1733STJ 1733).

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> Gardelin orders Captain Pieter Frøling to construct a proper tower at Fort Frederiksvaern.

The Company Plantation is equally unmaintained. Gardelin also finds that a number of enslaved are ill, badly incapacitated, and maroon. The *mesterknekt* claims he did not feel comfortable ordering a maroon hunt as he would be held financially responsible if any of the slaves were injured or killed. The Governor orders him to proceed with one anyway. The hunt never occurs.

### *April 1733*

Slaves have been going maroon; the Governor of the Colonies, Phillip Gardelin, ordered Mingo Tammeryn and his Free Black Corp to chase down some maroons belonging to a planter. There are also problems at the Company Plantage. Sugar pots and forms belonging to the company are missing. Lieutenant Frøling, who himself is under

criticism for being slack in his duties, is ordered to investigate one of the Company *mesterknegts*, Dines Sylvan,<sup>33</sup> who owns his own plantation in French Quarter, as well as to investigate the former Governor Suhm.

#### *May 1733*

The drought hits an already perennially dry island with a vengeance in May. Slaves are continuing to leave their plantations. Gardelin announces a Maroon Ordinance, specifying the procedures for collecting and punishing runaways, as well as specifying penalties for the planters who allowed it to happen. As it is, Gardelin has to also order a maroon hunt for St. Jan. It is ignored in its totality. This may be because the maroon hunt took second place to the deaths of an unspecified number of slaves at the Company Plantage in the cookhouse, circumstances in which Dines Sylvan is involved; Sylvan runs away.<sup>34</sup> The details are not recorded, and Gardelin absolves Sylvan by commenting simply that "...there has never been anything safe about making molasses, with all the pots and forms" (GOB 1733-34:1092).

#### *June 1733*

Gardelin writes to the Lord Directors that they have experienced five months of drought; the Company plantation has only produced about one-third of the expected amount of sugar for the season, and the plantation continues to bleed money. The Governor recommends, as he has for two years, that the *VGK* should sell the plantation, their slaves, and cut their losses. He also reports that "Fort Frederiksvaern needs maintenance, badly" (Larsen 1985:13).

---

<sup>33</sup> Alternately spelled Dennis, Dinis, Sylwan and Silvan in the historic documents.

<sup>34</sup> In the *DWI* the cookhouse is the structure where sugar is boiled and refined.

A Slave living at Jasper Jensen's, a plantation in the Lameshure Bay Quarter of St. Jan, is accused of stabbing to death another slave in the slave quarters and "terrorizing the other negroes" (GOB:1099). The planters want to put the slave to death. Gardelin feels the punishment is too harsh as the slave is "a stupid heathen who doesn't know any better" (GOB:1100). Gardelin has a history of lightening the sentences imposed by the planters on the slaves.

#### *July 1733*

A heavy storm, apparently a low to mid-level hurricane, descends on the island on the 11<sup>th</sup> of July. It causes significant amounts of damage to crops and buildings, and ships of all sizes are wrecked against the shore. The Danish officials report to the Directors of the Company that due to this setback they will only have one cargo load of cotton for the slave ship that is due to arrive.

The Free Negro Emmanuel is ordered to hunt Jacq, a maroon slave of Andreas Charles, a planter in the Reef and Fish Bay Quarter.

#### *August 1733*

The Company finds their pots and forms, "more than we imagined," (GOB:1107) on the plantage in St. Jan. They do not report where they were or how they had been overlooked.

The "Negro Jacq" is accused of "menacing and thievery" (SPC:87-88) as well as joining in a conspiracy with Mabu, a slave who resides on St. Thomas, but is owned by Uytendahl, a planter with property in the Fish & Reef Bay Quarter of St. Jan. Uytendahl is ordered to bring Mabu to Fort Christiansborg for questioning.

Concurrently, there is a series of complaints against the enslaved population at Jannis van Beverhoudts plantage, all of whom are also ordered to the fort. Likewise, a slave, Coffy, residing on Gottschalk's plantation in Maho Bay Quarter is ordered to the fort for "examination" (SPC:87-88). It is unclear if Uytendahl, Beverhoudt, or Gottschalk comply.

Krøyer and Sødtnann, Company officials who each have property in Coral Bay, want to punish a "violent Maroon" by hacking off his limbs, presumably to his death. Again this order is negated by Gardelin who sees the punishment as "too costly" (SPC:95). Instead the man is whipped and put to hard labor at the fort.

During the month there is a plague of insects, "which ate of the plants as soon as they came up, causing great hunger among the slaves" (SPC:99-100).

#### *September 1733*

Gardelin orders that any slave who "has anything to carry that can be suspected of having been stolen" (GOB:1111) to either carry a letter of permission from their plantation owners, or a specially notched stick for the planters who cannot write.

Maroons are found to be living in the Kierving plantation in Reef Bay.

Gottschalk's *Bomba*, Coffy, and Ms. Ebraers's *Bomba*, Emanuel, both of St. Jan, are ordered to the Fort for questioning.

#### *October 1733*

Jannes Cramwieux is being prosecuted for the death of one of his slaves; the other slaves on the plantation accuse Cramwieux of beating the man so badly that he

subsequently starved to death. Cramwieux's actions were against the September 5<sup>th</sup> proclamation.<sup>35</sup>

### *November 1733*

November 23, Thoma,<sup>36</sup> Printz van Juff,<sup>37</sup> King Claes,<sup>38</sup> Kanta,<sup>39</sup> Juni,<sup>40</sup> Prince,<sup>41</sup> and Apinda,<sup>42</sup> all enslaved men from a variety of plantations in Coral Bay, climb the steep hill in the pre-dawn hours to Fort Frederiksvaern carrying bundles of wood for the cooking fires. It is subsequently reported that weapons are hidden in the bundles; the bundles themselves may have been adequate. Lieutenant Pieter Frøling, the highest ranking officer at Frederiksvaern, is derelict at the time of the attack, not present despite being on duty.<sup>43</sup> Second in command, Corporal Høyk, dies in the attack, and the rebels proceed to bludgeon to death the remaining five soldiers that are stationed there.<sup>44</sup> This survives for modern historians because a seventh man stationed there, Jan Gabriel, is drunk under a cot, where he is overlooked. After taking the fort the rebels "strike" the *Danneborg*, the Danish flag, followed by shooting the cannon to alert their co-conspirators that Frederiksvaern has fallen.

---

<sup>35</sup> The landlister is unclear about whether Cramwieux owns his own property. He does keep slaves at Jannitje Halley's plantation in Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter where he may serve as a *mesterknegt*.

<sup>36</sup> Resides at Company Plantation.

<sup>37</sup> Resides at Adrian Runnel's Widow, Susana, plantation.

<sup>38</sup> Labored as Suhm's Bomba.

<sup>39</sup> Both Kanta and Prince reside at the Company Plantation. Prince is also referred to as "Printz" in documents.

<sup>40</sup> Resides at Soedtmann's plantation.

<sup>41</sup> Labored for Henningsen.

<sup>42</sup> The Danes are never clear about the exact number of participants at any point in the rebellion. In a letter to the Lord Director of the *Det Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni* dated January 5, 1734, in the midst of the rebellion, the planters claim that twelve-fourteen slaves stormed the fort. Because the DWI were in such a state of chaos, and due to the fact that the governor at the time was pleading their case for more money and supplies from the Directors while justifying their inability to end the conflict, I think it is possible that Gardelin exaggerated the number of rebels who attacked the fort. The names provided in this narrative come from the testimony of a small number of suspected rebels tried on St. Jan May 22-May 26, 1734.

<sup>43</sup> A January 5, 1734 letter to the Directors from the Secret Privy Council contains a surprisingly detailed account of the opening act of the rebellion. The SPC does not inform the directors that Frøling was derelict, nor that he is being prosecuted for his crimes. The letter also fails to mention the internal conflicts between the Civil Corp, particularly Captain Beverhout, and Gardelin.

<sup>44</sup> Jan Friderick Tiil, Christian Falencamp, Claus Knudsen, Andreas Lind and Christian Callundborg (SPC 90-100).

The initial uprising is well coordinated. Soon after Frederiksvaern falls, the plantations of several individuals associated with the Company are under attack, all in Coral Bay Quarter. Sødtnmann and his step-daughter, Helena, are murdered by Asari<sup>45</sup> and Juni; Juni proceeds to decapitate Sødtnmann. Meanwhile, Breffu and Christian<sup>46</sup> kill Pieter Krøyer and his Wife, taking their powder and ammunition, then proceed to Gabriel van Stells and dispatch the entire family, husband, wife and child. The children of Beker<sup>47</sup> are killed in the conflict, as is Frederik Moth's *mesterknegt*,<sup>48</sup> who is killed by Claes.<sup>49</sup> Also among the dead are the *mesterknegts* of former governor Suhm and the Company Plantage.<sup>50</sup> In the French Bay Quarter an enslaved woman, Sara,<sup>51</sup> tells Juni and Kasta where Castan's Wife and eldest child are hiding; they are quickly killed. The only whites who are reported to be spared are the doctor, Cornelius Bødker, his two sons, who are taken captive, and Dines Silvan, who is assaulted, robbed and told to leave island. He quickly finds his way to Tortola. Initial reports suggest that slaves from the Company, Sødtnmann's, and Krøyer's plantages are those involved in the conspiracy.

News spreads around the island fairly rapidly, throwing the locality into chaos. When he hears the cannon shots from the fort, Quasi woke the widow, Susanna Runnels, to warn her of the rebellion. Instead of instigating the violence on the West End of the island, as the East End conspirators expected him to, Quasi fires warning shots for the

---

<sup>45</sup> Resides at Soedtnmann's.

<sup>46</sup> Both Breffu and Christian were enslaved by Krøyer.

<sup>47</sup> Specifics about the Beker children are absent, as are specifics about Beker himself. These details are lost to history because in the *landlisters* Moth claims that his plantation lacks an overseer. This is the only mention of Beker or his family in the documentary record.

<sup>48</sup> Friderik Augustus

<sup>49</sup> Several of the enslaved people involved in the conflict share the same, or similar names. Because they did not have surnames, I will try to indicate which plantation they resided on prior to the rebellion when known and appropriate. Claes was enslaved on Friis plantage, while King Claes resided on Suhm's property.

<sup>50</sup> Swend Børgensen and Frederich Aurbst, employed by the Company, and Jens Andersen, Suhm's *mesterknegt* (SPC 90-100).

<sup>51</sup> Sara was enslaved by Castan's. It is unclear to which plantation Kasta belonged.

other planters, then made his way to Jannis Beverhoudt's plantation to warn the family there. When he arrives Quasi finds that Jannis has already left for the fort, and Mrs. Beverhoudt is preparing to leave island. He returns to his own plantation, where he assists the widow, and one of Pieter Durloe's children, to escape to St. Thomas before the rebels reach them. While a group of rebels engages Daniel Jansen's son at Cinnamon Bay, the planters<sup>52</sup> gather at Durloe's plantation at the Northwest corner of the island, forming a Civil Corp headed by Captain Jannis van Beverhoudt.<sup>53</sup> Durloe's plantation is closest to St. Thomas, two miles across the Windward Passage between Redhook and Cruz Bay (Figure 2), facilitating better communication between the two islands than with the Company plantation in Coral Bay. Durloe's is also positioned on a slight rise above the beach, giving it a greater degree of defensibility than other plantations, as well as having the added feature of possessing cannon. Planters, and some slaves, are leaving island by boat when able. Many do not have enough notice, and flee into the oceans, making it to various cays around the island. For the most part the enslaved population stays on St. Jan. By the end of the day the Rebel Force makes its way to Durloe's plantation, and engages the planters in a brief battle where one of the rebels is shot.

Several people make it to Charlotte Amalie during the day of the 23<sup>rd</sup> and report the uprising "against the white population" (SPC:114) to the Company officials.

Gardelin acts quickly, sending out a barque with "30-40 men from garrison"<sup>54</sup> as well as [8] free negroes" and 33 enslaved men (GOB:1137-1139) straight to Durloe's to

---

<sup>52</sup> The planter's present at Durloe's plantation include William Zytsema, Peder Sørensen, J.V. Beverhoudt, Johannes Charles, Johannes Runnels, C.F. Bodger, Johannes de Went, and Timotheus Tørner (GOB:1136). Durloe himself is not on island at the time of the attack, and so does not become part of the planter's forces fighting the rebels.

<sup>53</sup> There is a large family of Beverhoudts who become fixtures in the Danish West Indies. They are Dutch in origin, as are a number of prominent planter families on St. Jan. The correspondence to these families from the Company is always written in Dutch. There are a number of alternate spellings of the surname, which include versions with and without the prefix "van," as well as Beverhoudt and Bewerhoudt.

<sup>54</sup> Most likely soldiers or Company employees from Fort Christiansborg and Frederiksværn on St. Thomas. The Danes named every fortification in the Caribbean and Africa after either King Christian V or King Frederik IV.

strengthen the forces already gathered there. Gardelin also orders other boats to patrol the shores of the east end to ensure that no rebels escape island.

Susanna and Nortche, enslaved women residing on Lambrecht's plantation in the Coral Bay Quarter, wait for Lambrecht to evacuate them to St. Thomas throughout the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup>. Susanna finds two other slaves, Pieter and Jaquo,<sup>55</sup> hiding in the bush. She reportedly tells them to get back to their master's plantations and also wait.

The battle at Durloe's resumes the next day, on the 24<sup>th</sup>. Gardelin and the other officials are trying to move quickly to repel and counter-attack the rebel forces. Skippers in the harbor are ordered by the Governor to lend manpower as well as their boats to the cause. Captain Eggert Lorentzen Holm of the *Laarburg Galley* is requested to contribute twenty men from his crew. Holm responds that his men are not fit for duty, but promises to help in any other way he is able. A barque is also sent to Steven Cay to "rescue the unfortunate people there" (GOB:1138).

A few of the rebel recruits get cold feet after the battle at Durloe's; Coffi<sup>56</sup> and Quanche, who first take up arms against the planters, desert to Durloe's, where they spend the remainder of the conflict fighting the rebels alongside the Civil Corp.

On the 25<sup>th</sup> Gardelin offers rewards to "negroes who distinguish themselves" (GOB:1138-39) against the rebels; he has thirty-three enslaved men volunteer to fight the rebel forces, twenty-one belonging to the Company and twelve belonging to private individuals. Along with this enthusiastic mercenary force he sends "doctoring instruments" (GOB:1139) to Bødker,<sup>57</sup> as well as a list of the Company Slaves.<sup>58</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Pieter resided on Lambrecht's plantation while Jaquo was at the Company's.

<sup>56</sup> Possibly Bearentz's slave Coffi, although there were a handful of rebels with that name enslaved by different planters from all over the island.

<sup>57</sup> Alternately spelled with the anglicized Bodger in the historic documents.

<sup>58</sup> This has not survived for posterity.



King Claes and Kanta return to the East End, where they too find Jaquo and Pieter. They are given a choice- join the rebellion or be shot. Pieter and Jaquo reluctantly join and are taken to Coop's plantation, but claim to escape into the bush again at first opportunity. Susanna and Nortche are taken by King Claes, Coffi<sup>59</sup> and Kanta to the ghut on the company plantation, where they spend the next six months at the rebel camp.

On the 26<sup>th</sup> of November, just three days after the beginning of the conflict, the Civil Corp mount an attack and recapture Frederiksvaern. During the assault they manage to capture five or six rebels, losing one member of their own force. Gardelin immediately orders that the kilns be fired up and "a couple hundred slaves from over there [St. Jan], the Company's as well as others, be set to work building a retrenchment around the fort with a sufficient door in it" (GOB:1140). This victory bolsters the Company and planters alike; Gardelin wants to build the Civil Corp to 150 strong to quickly stamp out the rebellion. There are hopes that the planters can soon re-occupy their abandoned plantations, and the Secretary, Jans Thensen, is sent to complete paperwork and make assessments of the properties affected by the conflict.

Samba<sup>60</sup> and Sipio<sup>61</sup> bring horns and flasks of powder that they took from the Civil Corp when they fled Durloe's to "Gottschalk's Point" (SPC:114) where Printz<sup>62</sup> is camped.

The Civil Corp also make plans for more aggressive attacks against the rebels. On the 28<sup>th</sup> of November Gardelin suggests that they begin their search at "Creutzer Point"

---

<sup>59</sup> Resides at Horn's plantation.

<sup>60</sup> Samba was Pieter Durloe's sugar cooker who defected to the Rebellion.

<sup>61</sup> Resided on Runnel's plantation.

<sup>62</sup> Printz resided on the Company Plantation; Printz Van Juff, who was also referred to as "Printz" or "Prince" resided at the plantation of Susanna Runnels.

GOB:1141) Meanwhile on St. Thomas the rebels who were captured during the battle at the Fort on the 26<sup>th</sup> are questioned and tried.<sup>63</sup>

Preparations for punishing the rebels begins on the 28<sup>th</sup>; the wheels on which the rebels are to be broken are ordered to be constructed. The Danish officials also order hundreds of yards of rope and tarred line with which to bind the rebels to stakes while they are pinched.

Despite the success of the Civil Corp at Frederiksvaern, Gardelin composes letters, in English, to the Governors of Tortola and Spanishtown requesting their assistance in fighting the Rebels as this matter “is of such a Natur that every Chriften Nation wil take part in our affliction...whereof the Reft of your as of our Eylands dependeth” (GOB:1142). Durloe is sent to deliver the letters in his two-masted ship.

On November 30<sup>th</sup> the Danish officials turn their eyes to internal matters. Four days after the beginning of the conflict it has become apparent that Captain Frøling was not only derelict in his duty at the time the rebels first attacked Frederiksvaern, but when he learned of the attack he went to Tortola on his canoe for three-four days, failing to meet for duty with the Civil Corp. Gardelin has ordered a full investigation and charges to be brought against Frøling. Two other planters associated with St. Jan, Willem Vessup and John Robbensen, propose to help capture all the rebels alive. The details of their offer are not clear, but the Company, and Gardelin in particular, are reluctant to get involved with the two as they were officially charged with the murder of another planter in 1732, and had been considered fugitives since that time. The *landlisters*, however, indicate that

---

<sup>63</sup> There is little documentation remaining regarding the trials and sentencing of the slaves accused of taking part in the rebellion. There are mentions, almost in passing, of “justice being served” on the slaves, but, as with so many other aspects of life on this island, there are few details to accompany these mentions. A short, poorly written, and poorly preserved transcript from the Secret Privy Council remains of the questioning of a handful of the slaves captured at the end of the conflict. This will be discussed below.

Vessup, had been present on St. Jan, at least periodically, to oversee his plantation in the Maho Bay quarter. Just prior to the onset of the Rebellion Gardelin had been angry with the St. Jan planters, particularly Captain Beverhoudt, for continuing communication with Vessup and not turning him in to authorities.

The first two slaves to be tried for the rebellion fail to confess, and are hung anyway on the 30<sup>th</sup>. Gardelin orders the two fortifications on St. Thomas to prepare in case the St. Thomas enslaved also rise up in rebellion.

### *December 1733*

On December 2<sup>nd</sup> it is reported that Abraham, a slave at the Company plantation in Coral Bay, says the Rebels were using the plantation on the hill to store their goods.<sup>64</sup> Gardelin order Captain Øttingen, who is overseeing the Company interests in Coral Bay,<sup>65</sup> to find the rebels' stores.

On the 4<sup>th</sup>, a barque with six enslaved individuals arrives on St. Thomas from Tortola.<sup>66</sup> At least one is suspected on being a rebel. He is quickly fingered by the others as being part of the conflict and hanged. The remaining five are turned over to their plantation owners.

Another boat, this one carrying "2 negroe men and 5 negroe women and their children"(GOB:1151-52) arrives from Tortola on the 12<sup>th</sup>. All of the enslaved on board are suspected of being participants in the rebellion who made their way to the British Virgin Islands.

---

<sup>64</sup> This is probably Kiervings.

<sup>65</sup> Gardelin has Øttingen doing double-duty, both fighting the rebels and overseeing the rebuilding and replanting of the Company property.

<sup>66</sup> Tortola, part of the BVI, was a popular destination for St. Jan slaves during the entire trans-Atlantic era. The island is only 2 miles east of St. John, and historically was a part of the "marine underground," where slaves would maroon themselves to islands held by rival European nations (Hall 1985). Today, some West Indians in the DWI identify their roots as being in the DWI, their ancestors leaving for the BVI, and then subsequent ancestors returning to the DWI after emancipation.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> Gardelin is estimating the rebel force to be only twenty men strong. Planters are complaining to Gardelin that too many of the slaves captured have been set loose or given light sentences. The Governor composes a long letter to the members of the Civil Corp explaining the goals and *modus operandi* of the Court Justice involved in the trying and punishing of the various enslaved individuals captured during the conflict. Although he refuses to take responsibility for the verdicts, Gardelin defends the process of justice that requires the slaves be punished only if there is sufficient evidence to find them guilty of participating in the rebellion. He further refuses to hold them on suspicion alone because of the cost the Company incurs feeding them; Gardelin finds it much more expedient to return them to their plantations where they can provision and be cared for from private funds, than to pay “4 stuivers of bread a day” (GOB:1153) for each of the slaves held at Christiansvaern.

Beverhoudt’s dissatisfaction with the Governor grows. In a letter on the 14<sup>th</sup> the Captain of the Civil Corps complains of the “poor quality men” (GOB:1153) sent to fight on their behalf. The Company slaves, still in Coral Bay, are starving from lack of rations Gardelin promised in November. The situation is getting increasingly dire; on the 17<sup>th</sup> Beverhoudt wants to surrender Coral Bay to the Rebels. Gardelin dismisses this completely, instructing Beverhoudt to continue fighting. In a letter to Captain Øttingen on the same day, Gardelin tells him that a British ship may be coming to help, and instructs Øttingen not to let them land completely as he does not entirely trust the British not to take advantage of the situation and occupy St. Jan for themselves. Gardelin fails to tell Beverhoudt. He also mentions a possible promotion for Øttingen.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> another “bad storm” (GOB:1161) devastates the Danish West Indies, cutting St. Thomas from St. Jan for several days. Supplies, men and information fail to get through. A force of twenty-five men arrives from Spanishtown to help fight the Rebels; they refuse to engage in fighting until Gardelin specifies what their rewards will be, and how much money they and their families will received in case of injury or death. They must not be satisfied with Gardelin’s answer as they appear to leave island soon after without engaging the rebels.

*January 1734*

A letter from the Secret Privy Council, headed by Gardelin, Horn and Schønnemann, addressed to the Directors in Copenhagen, is composed on January 5<sup>th</sup> and sent soon after. The letter is a synopsis of the rebellion up until that point. While most of the letter paints the Company and planters in the best possible light,<sup>67</sup> it does complain that many of the planters refuse to provide money and resources for the war against the rebels. The SPC recommends that the planters should be held responsible for two-thirds of the cost of the effort; to entice the cooperation of said planters, the SPC further recommends that the Company should offer planters seven tax-free years at the culmination of the conflict.<sup>68</sup> The letter also begs for a laundry list of men, provisions, sundries, medicaments,<sup>69</sup> hardware, and cash, not only for the effort against the rebels, but also for the everyday maintenance of the settlements on St. Jan and St. Thomas.

---

<sup>67</sup> As can be expected, the letter to the Directors contradicted much of what we see occurring internally in the Governors Order Book. The Officials on the ground in the Caribbean used the distance of a ship’s voyage to their advantage as much as possible in buffering themselves from the meddling of Copenhagen. For this reason, I am highly critical of much that was reported in the January 5<sup>th</sup> letter.

<sup>68</sup> Ultimately the planters only received two tax free years in which to rebuild.

<sup>69</sup> Medicine and medical supplies

Just three weeks later, however, things look grave. An unnamed woman, “Peter Krøyer’s Negress” is captured, and sent to Christiansvaern on the 12<sup>th</sup>. On the 13<sup>th</sup> Gardelin is anxiously awaiting the arrival of the English inhabitants from St. Croix<sup>70</sup> to join the fight against the rebels. As reward they are offered one of every three rebels captured. Meanwhile, pardons and boats off island are offered to any rebel who surrenders. The conditions at Frederiksvaern have deteriorated; a Sgt. Bremer is sent to take over operations from Øttingen at the Fort.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of January, the Civil Corp in Coral Bay, under Creutzer, is ordered to gather all the cattle and forage for foodstuffs, load these items on boats, and send all of it to St. Thomas. Gardelin wants the rebels deprived of food and starved out.

By the 17<sup>th</sup> the entire Civil Corp at Durløe’s has fallen ill. Gardelin refers to this time of year as the “season of sickness.” In the letter to the Directors, the Secret Privy Council is alarmed by the level of illness that has descended on the population.

Schønnemann writes:

“God spare us from the sixth plague, namely pestilence, which could come from the many murdered people and Negroes shot down and left lying under the open sky on St. Jan, unburied, and also from the captured rebel slaves who are daily being burned and broken on the wheel here. Meanwhile, sickness rages and some have died of it. The Gov. has also been sick for a long time, and is at the moment abed with the [unintelligible] fever. Horn has also in this troubled time had fevers, but not they have left him

---

<sup>70</sup> By this time Denmark had purchased St. Croix from the French, but the Company officials in the DWI wouldn’t know about the sale until April of 1734. The French had physically abandoned St. Croix in 1695; the colony had been such a complete failure that King Louis XIV ordered the island abandoned, the colonists removed to Santo Domingo, and the structures burned. The English squatters were essentially non-recognized inhabitants.

to the extent that he only suffers from faintness and occasional intense fever” (SPC:90-100).

The slaves who had volunteered to join the Civil Corp abandon Durloe’s and return to St. Thomas, with their equipment. There is only a skeleton fighting force in Coral Bay; Gardelin recommends they abandon it for lack of manpower.

By the 20<sup>th</sup> Gardelin receives information that leads him to believe that the rebel force is forty-three men strong, and he expresses concern about what the “other nations” will think that they (the Danes) are unable to defeat an army of forty-three negroes. A ship’s captain from Tortola, Tallard, has offered to land 200 men on island to stamp out the rebellion. Gardelin accepts thirty men, with the same offer as that made to the English from St. Croix- one of every three rebels captured. He tells his officers on St. Jan that if the English are very effective they can have two of every three males and one of every three females captured. Or half. Whatever makes the English happy.

Gardelin’s relationship with the officers of the Civil Corp is divided and deteriorating. Beverhoudt, a planter with several plantations across St. Jan, and Baerentz have suggested tricking the rebels by running up the British flag and making the rebels believe that the island has changed hands. Gardelin believes that this is too disrespectful to the Crown. He is also troubled by Creutzer’s claims that Beverhoudt and Baerentz “accosted [him] with cruel words” (GOB:1179) at the Fort. New secretaries are being sent to Frederiksvaern; inventories of the Fort and the Company plantage have not been sent to St. Thomas. Ammunition, weapons, and rations have gone unaccounted for months. The supply chain is in chaos. Vessup travels intermittently to Coral Bay; at his trial in April Jaquo will claim that Juni and Vessup traded ammunition and powder for slaves.

*February 1734*

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> a new plan is set in motion by the Danish Administration.

Schønnemann, a St. Jan planter with experience in Guinea, will offer one faction of the rebels, that led by King Claes, a type of pardon. They will either be allowed to return to “their masters’ plantations and pick up where they left off,” (GOB:1187-88) or have the option, if they prefer, of being sold off island, if they both immediately surrender and provide information where the Civil Corp may find the “guilty” rebels. The flag of truce is to be planted, and the initial offer to be made, by Hally, a rebel soldier who had been captured earlier and found guilty. King Claes and his followers are given three days to think it over, during which time “no man, white or black, shall do them the least injury” (GOB:1188).

Gardelin takes Beverhoudt to task in a letter on the 8<sup>th</sup>. Beverhoudt has asked for more foreign help to supplement the Civil Corp, who is still beset by illness. Gardelin reminds him of their recent conversation where Gardelin warned against foreign help; Tallard had proved both costly and ineffective as the English presence on island “caused the enemy to be encouraged, when they perceived, that they and not we had the greater force” (GOB:1190). Two ships in Charlotte Amalie who are ready to depart are demanding the return of firearms they loaned the Civil Corp before they leave, which the Governor sees as “only fair.” Furthermore, Gardelin demands an accounting of the munitions and guns sent to St. Jan, which are rumored to be getting into the hands of the enslaved population on St. Thomas. Gardelin also threatens to stop sending rations to Durloe’s as he has not “up to date received as much as an empty barrel or sack in return” (GOB:1191-1192).



On the 10<sup>th</sup>, Schønnemann is off to meet with King Claes, who Hally, acting as intermediate between the Rebel faction and the Danes, has said will accept the offer of surrender. King Claes has agreed to return to the Company plantation. When the rebels indicate they are ready, the Company is to send slaves there to build new slave quarters under the direction of the Free-Negro Emmanuel, who has been named as a *mesterknekt* of the plantage. King Claes and his party are further offered 10 *rikgsdolar*<sup>71</sup> for each rebel they bring in alive. They have three days to comply.

As he departs for St. Jan from St. Thomas, Schønnemann is warned that the deal may be off; “the rebels have ravaged the whole north side with fire and sword” (GOB:1195, 1201) and the Danes are unsure what to make of it. Along with the property damage, a few enslaved people left living on the plantations were murdered, and at least one taken captive by the rebels.

All seems lost for the Danish by the 12<sup>th</sup> of February. Schønnemann, was to have been waiting on a signal from King Claes, a fire set at Suhm’s plantage, but instead made a hasty exit by boat back to St. Thomas. King Claes, perceiving that the offer from the Danes had been a trick, destroys the North Side in retaliation. Schønnemann returns to St. Jan to try to correct his mistake.

The planters within the Civil Corp indicate to Gardelin that they are abandoning island. The Governor meets their desperation with anger, accusing them of being unpatriotic and cowardly. He again admonishes them for missing firearms, demanding lists and inventories. He includes a bulletin in his correspondence, written in Dutch, regarding any planter who leaves St. Jan as a “perjurer and deserter” (GOB:1200) whose property will be duly confiscated.

---

<sup>71</sup> *Rikgsdolar*, abbreviated to rdl for the remainder of the document, was the Danish currency.

Gardelin also demotes Lieutenant Jannes Charles, a plantation owner in Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter, who is accused of mistreating the black and poor white members of the Civil Corp. He has denied the men food and forced them to sleep out in the open. Gardelin orders that the cookhouse and main house shall be used for quartering whites, while the black Civil Corp members shall sleep in Durloe's slave quarters. Charles is to be replaced by Johannes de Windt.

Gardelin tells Schønnemann that all the damage caused is Schønneman's fault. By the 15<sup>th</sup> the Governor is holding out hope that Schønnemann will prevail in making King Claes an ally and they can put him to work for the Civil Corp. Despite King Claes' mistrust of the Danes, they remain confident that his party has separated from the other rebels. They see fissures in the alliance.

While the Danes wait to see what success Schønnemann has, they contract with "an old privateer" from St. Christopher, John Maddox, to yet again trick the rebels. The current plan is that Maddox will anchor at Coral Bay under the pretext of getting wood and water, at which time the Free Negro Emmanuel will release the rumor to the rebels that Maddox is heading for Puerto Rico, and willing to take crew. Once he has the rebels on board, Maddox will go directly to Charlotte Amalie, where he will turn over the rebels, receiving half of those captured as payment. Despite the desperately needed help, Gardelin does not trust the English and warns all the officers of the Civil Corp to watch the English carefully while on island. There is also the serious concern on the part of the Danish authorities that "the slaves of the inhabitants, who are still on the plantation on St. Jan, or the Marrons" (GOB:1213) may be mistaken for rebels by Maddox and taken captive by the English.

There is still the serious matter of missing muskets, a number of which cannot be accounted for. Both the Civil Corp on St. Jan and the volunteers who returned to St. Thomas claimed they left their muskets with the men at Durloe's. Gardelin is beside himself, worrying that these weapons have either fallen into the rebels hands or can be used by new conspirators against the citizenry.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> it is obvious that Schønneman's mistake cannot be remedied; King Claes is vague about where his loyalties lie, "neither giving quarter nor granting it" (GOB:1208). The Civil Corp scrambles to gather twenty men (consisting entirely of Creutzer's and the Company's slaves) to be sent with Creutzer to Sgt. Øttingen in Coral Bay in case of immediate attack on Frederiksvaern. Øttingen is admonished for gathering water at the Company pots, where his men are repeatedly attacked.

The tolerance for insubordination from enslaved people is being tested. A slave, named Triumph, is accused of saying "rude and harassing things" to Bareantz's widow, presumably about the rebellion. Triumph is being tried on February 18th, with the Court Justice considering either death or loss of limb as viable punishments, as according to the September 5<sup>th</sup> Proclamation.

The Secret Privy Council reports to the Directors in a letter dated February 19<sup>th</sup> that the rebels have been rumored to have been provisioned with ammunition and powder by an Englishman, Doudes, from "up island." As was the case with Vessup, the rebels reportedly traded slaves for the goods.

The 20<sup>th</sup> brings another bulletin to the plantation owners of St. Jan, ordering them to provide "one white man inside of 3 days" (GOB:1213) for service in the Civil Corp or have property confiscated.

Andreas, an enslaved man laboring for Moth, is paid 4rdl. on the 24<sup>th</sup> “for distinguishing himself against the rebels, as promised in the proclamation”. Likewise, the Free-Negro Emmanuel is awarded 8rdl.

Beverhoudt reports on the 28<sup>th</sup> that at least one rebel is dead from eating poisoned soup the Civil Corp had left at Pietter Sørensen’s plantage in Big and Little Cruz Bay Plantation “long ago” (GOB:1219). Beverhoudt and Øttingen are hoping to rout the remaining rebel forces.

### *March 1734*

The Danish authorities begin regularly to call the rebels “Mina Negroes” in March. While the Danes had immediately identified the rebels as “Minas” in the opening days of the conflict, until now they had referred to them regularly as either “rebels” or “murderous heathens”. Friderik and Zezar<sup>72</sup> are each awarded 4rdl. for their continuing efforts against the rebel forces. Another enslaved man, Hindrich, is awarded a weekly sum for five weeks due to injuries he sustained in the fighting.

Maddox finally arrives on St. Jan March 7<sup>th</sup>, with 70 men and two ships. The Danes are immediately suspicious as Maddox anchors in Waterlemon Bay along the North shore instead of at Coral Bay, in the Southeast of the island as he was instructed to. Their hope lies in Maddox as the Governor of St. Christopher told the officials in Charlotte Amalie that they would be unable to send assistance without permission from the King of England. The Danes instead “shall have to turn to the French, in the hope that the general on Martinique will be better intentioned, in case these troubled times in Europe will permit it, and send us a company of Creoles because Europeans are not fit to

---

<sup>72</sup> Friderik resides at Adrian van Beverhoudt’s plantation, Zezar resides at Magens’ on St. Thomas.

go up hills and through the bush.” Maddox immediately loses three men, while five more are wounded.

Vessup is also on island; it is reported that he is attempting to get some of the rebels off island. Gardelin wants him arrested and questioned about “who furnished the rebels with powder and guns.”

The relationship between Gardelin and Beverhoudt has completely deteriorated. Gardelin begrudgingly sends rations on the 12<sup>th</sup>, along with correspondence questioning the need for the militia stationed at Durloe’s since Øttingen holds the Fort.

The Danish Officials are convinced that the rebellion has been the work of “Mina Negroes.” Furthermore, the planters ascertain that they are losing because those Minas who remain with the planters are spies and traitors. Thirty-one identified Minas, who had remained on various plantations on St. Jan,<sup>73</sup> are rounded up and shot dead without charges or trial on the 19<sup>th</sup> of March as “enemies of that island” (GOB:1229). The planters on whose property these Minas resided are ordered to send “Creole Negroes” to replace their lost laborers and oversee the plantations. Other planters,<sup>74</sup> who had been derelict in employing a *mesterknegt*, are ordered to immediately send one person, preferably a white man, although the Company is accepting “faithful Negroes” instead. The punishment for failure to comply is forfeiture of property.

Maddox has a battle with the Rebels. Although the Danes feel sure the “enemy was weakened by it,” Maddox leaves island with his men on the 20<sup>th</sup>, and there is no

---

<sup>73</sup> The slaves in question labored for the following St. Jan planters: Madame Elisabeth Runnels, Gowert Marche, Jesaias Valleaux, William Barends, Johanne de Windt, Jacob Magen’s Estate, Captain Fridrich Moth, Isaacq Runnel’s Widow, Cornelius Stallart’s Estate, Isacq Salomons, Abraham Salomons, Daniel Jansen’s Widow, Joseph Dreyer, Isaacq Groenwald the Reform Priest’s Estate, and Delicat’s Estate (GOB: 1229)

<sup>74</sup> These planters include: Mme. Halley’s Estate, Andreas Henningsen, Peder Hamer’s Widow, Jan de Windt, Friis, Mr. Horn, Lorentz Hendrichsen, Mr. Schønnemann, Wm. Behrensen [Beraentz] as guardian of Langmack’s minor daughters, David Bourdeauz’s Widow, John Jacobe Creutzer, Mme. Mary Simson, Johannes Uytendahl, Jochum Stolley, Jacob Magen’s Estate, Wm. Berentz, Constantin’s Widow, Pietter Frøling, and Abraham Beaudewhyn (GOB:1236).

accounting for how many rebels were captured or killed, although Mars<sup>75</sup> is later reported to have been killed in the fighting with the English. Johan Horn, a Book Keeper for the VGK and a plantation owner in the Coral Bay Quarter, leaves for Martinique to request help from the French. Horn is instructed to tell the French that the rebel force numbers approximately 100.

The Assembly on St. Thomas passes a resolution to stop sending provisions to the Civil Corp at Durløe's under the pretext that they "refuse to do their duty...without actually attacking the enemy and trying to prevent him from doing greater damage" (GOB:1232).

On the 24<sup>th</sup> a number of St. Jan planters<sup>76</sup> are informed that there are a number of Englishmen who would like to be employed as *mesterknegts*; the planters refuse to employ anyone in any capacity on their respective plantages until the island is reclaimed from the rebels. Schønnemann sums it up for the group, writing "I have no need of a *mesterknegt* on St. Jan as I have nothing there to be attended to, so long as my plantage cannot be inhabited" (GOB:1238). The Company responds on the 28<sup>th</sup> that all St. Jan planters who have cotton plantations on St. Thomas need to increase production so as to fund the war against the rebels.

#### *April 1734*

The first three weeks of April are relatively quiet. On the 8<sup>th</sup> "Peter Krøyer's Negress," who has been confined in the dungeon for eight-seven days, is tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death by belegging on the 9<sup>th</sup>. On the 7<sup>th</sup> it is reported that the Minas have not been heard from for some time, since they burned Vessup's and Magens'

---

<sup>75</sup> It is unknown on which plantation Mars lived.

<sup>76</sup> These planters include: Henningsen, Jan de Windt, Friis, Lorentz Hendrichsen, Schønnemann, Creutzer, Jannes Uytendahl, Stolley, Berhensen, Frøling, and Boudweyn (GOB: 1238).

storehouses. The Danish authorities believe that it is so quiet because the rebels are trying to escape off island, and they step up their surveillance of the St. Jan shorelines. The rebels, however, numbering approximately forty soldiers, reappear with a violent attack on Durloe's during the pre-dawn hours of the 19<sup>th</sup>. The rebels are victorious in the attack as "everything there is observed to be in flames, and continuous shooting going on" (GOB:1244); they set fire to the magazine and proceed to plunder what they can. The rebels lose three men in the fighting. Six more rebels are wounded in the fight, and later die; the Secret Privy Council reports that these bodies are "raised up as a spectacle on their [rebel's] huts" (SPC:105).

The French arrive on the 21<sup>st</sup>, a force of 220 men strong in two ships, led by *Comandanten* de Longueville. Longueville is immediately displeased with the force and conditions he finds on St. Jan, and makes no qualms about letting Gardelin know. Gardelin, for his part, grovels to Longueville, and all but turns over the command of the entire Danish West Indies to Longueville's command. Seventy-five slaves are requisitioned from the St. Jan planters to assist the French in their search for the rebel camps. Longueville begins the search for the rebel camps on the 27<sup>th</sup>, and battles a group of twenty-five men, women and children, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of the month. It is reported that he kills a fair number and burns their huts; "they flee without the least resistance" (SPC:105).<sup>77</sup>

#### *May 1734*

The drought experienced the previous year is replaced with incessant rains, day and night, for the first 3 weeks of the month. Despite this, May begins hopeful with the

---

<sup>77</sup> Anderson does not believe that these are actually rebels, but instead may have been maroons or "other innocents" who were living in the bush that Longueville happened upon.

French forces beating the bush for the rebels. Longueville's quick criticism of Øttingen has tainted Gardelin's view of the Fort's commander; Øttingen is chastised in correspondence from the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May for his poor rationing of foodstuffs, and his men's overindulgence in Kill-Devil, 187 portions of which were consumed in just a single day at the end of April. While Gardelin tells Øttingen that "there is no more kill-devil to be bought here, so you can figure out for yourself how you are going to come out at that rate" (GOB:1271), as well as warning him that food is becoming scarce, Gardelin is supplying the French with the best meat, fresh produce, and beer that he has somehow kept hidden from the Civil Corp during the previous months. Øttingen receives two kegs of kill-devil on the 5<sup>th</sup>, which he is instructed to "hoard like gold as there is no more to be had on the whole island" (GOB:1274). On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of May it is reported that St. Thomas has run out of live animals with which to provision the French Expeditionary Force, the Civil Corp, and the slaves still dwelling on St. Jan.

Longueville's presence seems to inspire confidence in the citizenry of the DWI as well; more and more slaves are offered for the task of assisting the French in their efforts. Still, the French forces have twice encountered the rebels "And their negresses," yet fail to capture or kill a single one. The bush is getting the better of the French, as are the lack of adequate guides who know the topography of St. Jan as well as the rebel forces.

On the 7<sup>th</sup> Longueville requisitions an additional 115 "Creole Negroes" to take part in the expeditionary force on St. Jan. He also places a "Mulatto, Jan Revir" with the Civil Corp at Durloe's, refusing to explain his reasons to either Beverhoudt or Gardelin. Despite the faith the Danes have in the French, Longueville doesn't experience the level of success he anticipated, blaming the failure of locating the rebel camps on the "poor



guides” (GOB:1274-75). He is threatening to leave within a week. The French soldiers and the black population of St. Jan have experienced their own tensions; the soldiers have quartered themselves, and taken food, without permission from the slaves or the Danes.

On the 8<sup>th</sup> Longueville reports that the rebels have begun to kill themselves. January, a child belonging to Bødker, is captured, and reports to the Danes during questioning that many of the rebels reported killed during various battles with the Civil Corp are in fact still alive. Some of the rebels are camping at Ramshead during the time the French are on island.

Longueville, acting on information from his guides, attempts to surround the rebels on a nearby point. Instead, the French forces are ambushed in Thomas Bordeaux’s ghut, and two soldiers are killed in the attack. The rebel Contompa<sup>78</sup> reportedly cuts off their heads, exhibiting them on poles at the Company Plantation.

Øttingen and Gardelin begin preparing for the French departure on the 10<sup>th</sup>, convinced that no more will come of the French efforts than earlier efforts at ending the conflict. Among the Governor’s orders are that the slaves sent to help are to be returned immediately to St. Thomas. Afraid of so many blacks on a boat with so few whites, Gardelin tells Øttingen that he “better see that the Negroes are pretty well liquored up, issuing them a whole days rations at one time” (GOB:1285). Gardelin further orders that all the firearms are to be collected from the Civil Corp and also returned to the Company; if the French leave, he doesn’t see what use the Civil Corp will have for firearms.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> Longueville announces his plans to leave at the end of the week.

A post is “delivered by a line over the wall at ten o’clock [on the night of the 17<sup>th</sup>]....after the fort doors were closed” (GOB:1292-93) to Gardelin from Longueville

---

<sup>78</sup> Labored for Suhm.

reporting the 8 rebels from King Claes' camp surrendered. Longueville intends to execute them, but Gardelin suggests that he delay the executions to entice others also to surrender. To Horn and other officials, Gardelin also intimates that the Danish, not foreigners, should dispense justice and suggests that these eight who surrendered may not actually warrant the death penalty. There may be other "execrable murdering horrors" (GOB:1294) who can better be made examples.

Neither the Danish nor the French are able to locate the bodies of the rebels reported to have committed suicide. On the 21<sup>st</sup> Longueville reports the death of two more rebels in the bush, although they can't locate the "others that are supposed to be there" (GOB:1295). He assumes they have left island. Gardelin is more skeptical, and warns that the remaining rebels (he expects thirty-six men plus the women associated with the rebel camp, based on the information from January) could be well hidden.

The Danes question a handful of captured rebels on St. Jan on the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup>, including Phillip, Printz, Friderik and Janeke.<sup>79</sup> Throughout the conflict Danes have relied on torture to gain information, as well as false promises of pardons. Phillip quickly confesses to his involvement in the plot, and rattles off names, implicating scores of individuals. Printz and Friderik follow suit; Janeke denies any involvement in the plot. His compatriots testify against him, and the Danes convince him to confess. Janeke, Prinz and Phillip are sentenced to being burned alive on a pyre. The fate of Friderik is unknown.

By the 24<sup>th</sup> the rebels had not been seen for two weeks; the planters decide they can take possession of their properties again. As far as they are concerned, the French

---

<sup>79</sup> Phillip and Printz both resided on the Company plantation; Friderik labored for Henningsen and Janeke belonged at Horn's plantation.

were successful and the conflict is over. Longueville sends to Charlotte Amalie five men and two women to be tried as rebels. A group of twenty-four rebels are found dead at “Gabriel van Stell’s point,” from an apparent group suicide.<sup>80</sup> Among them is a person whom Gardelin learns “with surprise that one of the leaders of the rebellion, Baeffu,<sup>81</sup> whom none of us knew, and whom we assumed to be a man having murdered my son Pieter Krøyer and his Wife, is a woman!” Later in the day Gardelin learns from another slave<sup>82</sup> that she was in the group of suicides at Van Stell’s point; he is disappointed she was “let off so easy” (GOB:1212).

The Danish authorities immediately put plans into place for re-establishing their presence on St. Jan. Gardelin orders that only whites are to be stationed at Fort Frederiksvaern; all blacks, enslaved or free, are barred from the Fort. As many slaves as can be found are being sent to Coral Bay to re-establish the Company plantation and salvage some of this year’s crop. The slaves who live on properties on St. Thomas are to be sent home at once.

Horn’s request of fifty-six slaves to help with the chase of the remaining rebels through the bush is denied; officials think that fifteen or sixteen should suffice. This despite the fact that Akra, a leader of the revolt is still at large, as is Samba, Durloe’s sugar-cooker, who was captured but managed to escape into the bush again after being seriously injured.

---

<sup>80</sup> Not to be confused with present day Mary’s Point. This is the area of St. Jan that today is called Brown’s Bay. Although the van Stell family also held property at Mary’s Point, it was a different branch, presumably Gabriel’s uncle and cousins. Mary’s Point has become the popularly believed location of the rebel’s mass suicide due to its dramatic cliffs.

<sup>81</sup> Beafuu was identified as early as January as being one of the leaders, and taking part in the slaying of planters on November 23, 1733, so it is even more surprising that her gender was unknown. Alternately spelled Breffu in the historic documents, this woman is usually identified as the “Queen” of St. John. Each of the three Danish West Indies had a Queen associated with a conflict in which enslaved or oppressed West Indians fought the Danish Administration for freedom. Breffu is the accepted spelling of her name by modern historians.

<sup>82</sup> Abraham

The trials of the captured rebels resume on both St. Jan and at Christiansvaern in Charlotte Amalie. On the 25<sup>th</sup> Jaquo is questioned on St. Jan. He confirms for the Danes that Vessup supplied them with powder, and was in turn paid in slaves. Also questioned on St. Jan are Guanche, Coffi, and Quasi. Guanche, who resided on Moth's plantation, made his way to Durloe's when the rebellion commenced. He fought faithfully by the side of the planters until Niels Øregraf<sup>83</sup> sent him to Krabbe's<sup>84</sup> plantation on an errand. Guanche stayed there for several days, until Øregraf showed up. Guanche was ordered to "cut maize and build a house" (SPC:114-121) for Øregraf to hide in for the remainder of the rebellion.

Coffi, accused of fighting against the planters for the first two days of battle against the planters, claimed to be a different Coffi than the one being sought for participation in the rebellion. He further claims to have been forced to participate in the rebellion by Contumpa,<sup>85</sup> and that he was afraid to defect to the planters because of fear they would kill him.

Quasi was questioned about his knowledge of the rebellion, but instead testified on his own behalf that he helped Runnels escape the violence.

Two enslaved women, Susanna and Nortche, are also questioned about participating in the rebellion. They both testify that they were taken to the Company ghut by King Claes and spent the entirety of the conflict there. Nortche is whipped to force her to confess that she left the ghut and took part in the rebellion activities; she never changes her story. The rebels caught by Longueville are sent for trials and sentencing to Christiansvaern.

---

<sup>83</sup> As well as being Durloe's *mesterknekt*, Øregraf also had his own property in the Coral Bay Quarter.

<sup>84</sup> Alternately referred to as Crabbe.

<sup>85</sup> Resided at Suhm's.

The execution of the 5 rebel men sent to St. Thomas by Longueville begins at 7am on May 29<sup>th</sup>. A spectacle is to be made of the punishments by the Danes so that “the French may be witnesses of a rigorous justice for such crimes, as also, there may not be a too great appearance of our weakness” (GOB:1305).

#### *June 1734*

After five days of celebrations, the French sail on June 1. For the first time since November, the DWI resumes a level of normalcy. Gardelin begins the task of blaming others for the conflict that embroiled the island for six months; he informs the Directors that Suhm, Friis and Krøyer are to blame, as they never informed Gardelin that their slaves went maroon. He also blames Frøling’s poor administration of Frederiksvaern and finally reports that he is under investigation. On the 4<sup>th</sup> Gardelin sends a letter to “the Brave Øttingen,”<sup>86</sup> commending him for his service at the Fort during the conflict. Along with the letter is the Sergeant’s pay, for the first time in months. Gardelin refuses to pay the “under officers and common soldiers, they have drank so much kill-devil and eaten so much meat and bread” (GOB:1306). Previously, Gardelin withheld pay under the pretext that “there was nothing to purchase” on St. Jan, so the men did not need it. Gardelin also compensates one of Jan de Windt’s slaves for a pig that the French took from him during their time on the island.

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, one of the Company’s *Bombas* kills another *Bomba*; the plantation panics, with some of the women reportedly seeking refuge at Frederiksvaern, out of fear that this is a new uprising. The accused escapes into the bush.

---

<sup>86</sup> literally translated “the manly Øttingen” (JLA).

By the 15<sup>th</sup> there is still no sign of the remaining rebels; the search is called off. The Danish have much more important matters to attend to, namely, the Company's newly appointed *mesterknegt*<sup>87</sup> is to begin making kill-devil<sup>88</sup> again so the old sugar juice does not go to waste. The still is the first thing that the Company rebuilds in Coral Bay.

The peace is threatened again on the 18<sup>th</sup>, when Akra attacks Jasper Lieman on the road on St. Jan with a knife, badly wounding him in the leg. Lieman defends himself with a sword. Gardelin is beside himself, and orders everyone to "beat the bush" (GOB:1312) looking for Akra and Samba.

Akra is brought in on the 21<sup>st</sup>. He attempted to slit his own throat rather than be caught, but was prevented from doing so. The next day a maroon hunt is ordered; Crommelin<sup>89</sup> claims his slaves have gone maroon.

#### *July 1734*

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July the command of Frederiksvaern is handed over to Sgt. Salomon Bremer. Øttingen is relieved so he can take his post at the newly acquired St. Croix. Captain Frøling, meanwhile, has been held in Christiansvaern for three months, but Gardelin reports that the case against him has fallen apart for lack of witnesses.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, ten rebels, three women and seven men, are found caulking a canoe at Gabriel van Stell's point.<sup>90</sup> They manage to escape into the bush. Word is also

---

<sup>87</sup> Einert Olsen

<sup>88</sup> A type of rum made from the dregs of sugar.

<sup>89</sup> It is unclear who Crommelin is. He is not a property holder, but may be the *mesterknegt* for Carstens. Carstens appears to have sold his plantage in Little & Great Cruz Bay Quarter to Zitzema in 1730, but continues to work the property, a common practice on St. Jan during the early settlement period (1718-1733).

<sup>90</sup> This supports my earlier hypothesis that Gabriel van Stell's point is Brown's Bay and not Mary's Point; Mary's Point is rugged, without good canoe access. It also on the North Shore, which is a more populated, and therefore easily surveilled, portion of the island, both historically and today.

received that “after the armistice”<sup>91</sup> Hermanus van Stell<sup>92</sup> had captured three of the rebel soldiers. Instead of turning them over to authorities, he “quietly” put them to work on his plantation (GOB 1326-27).

Another letter is penned to the Directors by the Secret Privy Council on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of July. The letter provides the latest news of the revolt, but mostly contains complaints that although “we been waiting a whole year for [the Danish ship] *Eenigheden* thinking it would bring us some help” it arrived without any of the requested medicines or new recruits. Schønnemann writes that he is “signing for only the parts not having to do with the St. Jan affair, with which I was dissatisfied, having sustained a loss of 1200rdl. therein” (SPC:106-110).

#### *August 1734*

By the 6<sup>th</sup> of August the bulk of Carsten’s slaves have joined Crommelin’s in self-emancipation. Gardelin orders Creutzer to “hump himself and carry out those orders” from June to find the runaway slaves.

Gardelin sends a letter to now Lieutenant Øttingen in St. Croix on the 9<sup>th</sup>, begging him to return to St. Jan; Gardelin claims the Fort is in chaos and that the remaining rebels are still menacing the planters. Øttingen returns by the 14<sup>th</sup>; he and Gardelin hatch a plan whereby the remaining rebels will be tricked into surrendering with false promises of pardon. Because of this, there are no trials, only quick, private executions of those who surrender. Among the first taken captive under this policy is “Negress Acra Gibe,” whose

---

<sup>91</sup> Presumably Gardelin is referring to April 24<sup>th</sup>, the date that the Danes cite as the “official” end to the rebellion. Armistice is an interesting choice as the Danes never negotiated an end to the conflict with the rebels.

<sup>92</sup> Hermanus is an interesting character. His brother, Gabriel, for whom the area is named historically, was among the first killed by the rebels during the initial hours of the rebellion, along with Gabriel’s wife and child. Hermanus was also arrested in December of 1733 for failing to report for duty with the Civil Corp. Hermanus apparently inherited his brother’s plantation in 1734.

punishment is to be buoyed<sup>93</sup> for an unspecified amount of time in the channel between St. Jan and St. Thomas, then returned to labor at the Company plantation. The only reservations the Danish have about this sentence is the fear that other rebels will get wind of the punishment and refuse to surrender.

The Governor of Tortola returns three rebels whose boat was intercepted when they attempted to escape to the BVI on the 16<sup>th</sup>. These men are publicly executed; it is reasoned that the rebels will think there is more punishment in leaving island than in surrendering.

Øttingen captures ten more rebels on the 18<sup>th</sup>. Because they surrendered, these men are returned to their original plantations until the remainder are caught, at which time the Danes will round them up and execute them. It is estimated that only three-four more people are left hiding in the bush, led by Prince. Runaway slaves and stalwart rebels are not the only people plaguing the Company's prosperity; a soldier at Frederiksvaern has deserted, reportedly taking on work as a sailor on a foreign ship as a means to leave island.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of August Gardelin provides new measures to ensure that slaves cannot escape island through the theft and use of boats or canoes. The planters complain that the new measures are a "molestation and hostility" (GOB:1340).

Amid the task of reclaiming their plantations and rebuilding their properties, many of the planters are also choosing either to abandon the DWI altogether, or to branch out and start new ventures on St. Croix.

---

<sup>93</sup> This punishment consisted of being place in a flexed position into a barrel that is floated in the open water.



### **Chapter 3. Theoretical Perspectives**

#### *A. Foundations of New World Resistance Studies*

The study of New World slave rebellions has a long pedigree, conducted primarily by historians, sociologists and historical anthropologists, extending back to work by Melville Herskovits (1941), Herbert Aptheker (1943), and Eugene Genovese (1979). Over the years many slave rebellion scholars have attempted to identify distinct characteristics common to rebellions and insurrections that occurred during different eras of colonialism (Agorsah 2003; Aptheker 1943 [1969]; deB Kilson 1964; Genovese 1979; Schuler 1970; Thornton 1991; Williams-Meyers 1996). For instance, Melville Herskovits, in *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1941), was one of the first to challenge notions of accommodation and paternalism on the part of enslaved Africans, using rebellion as one of his many evidentiary foundations. For Herskovits, who argued that African customs continued through enslavement, challenging then main-stream arguments that enslaved Africans had been completely stripped of their culture, revolts indicated that enslaved blacks were not submissive recipients of the social order, but self-determined, dignified individuals.

The early, definitive work on rebellions, *American Negro Slave Revolts*, was produced by Herbert Aptheker published just two years after Herskovits' book. Aptheker was responding to much of the mainstream scholarship and accepted wisdom of the time, asserting that enslaved African-Americans were not docile and passive, but completely devoted to their own freedoms, and the same democratic rights enjoyed by white Americans. Noting that there were "approximately two hundred and fifty revolts and conspiracies in the history of American Negro slavery" (Aptheker 1943 [1969]:162). More than just illustrating the high rate of rebellion in the United States, Aptheker

provided a compelling hypothesis on how rebellions shaped the structure of the American South. The author insisted that fear of rebellion, and the *apparati* of control necessary to suppress such actions were the foundation for the “colossal myth of the sub-humanity of the Negro, a myth basic to the entire social order, and which demanded the corruption of political science, theology, and anthropology” upon which “was reared the structure itself” (Aptheker 1943[1969]:370). For Aptheker, rebellions were central to Southern slave society, and part of a long list of actions undertaken by the enslaved to fight the system. Although this concept of active resistance is commonly accepted today, Aptheker identified what he considers to be key features of rebellions and conspiracies with an aim similar to that of Herskovits- to illustrate what today we would call the agency of enslaved individuals, something that was not as accepted in the 1940s.

Eugene Genovese gave slave rebellions broader historical and social context by associating individual conflicts with broader political trends in the western world. Focusing primarily on North American rebellions in his monograph *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts and the Making of the Modern World* (1979), Genovese had two primary theses: (1) that slave rebellions in the United States were qualitatively and quantitatively different from slave rebellions that occurred in the Caribbean and Brazil due to the unique socio-political structure of the Southeastern United States; and (2) that slave rebellions “and other forms of violent resistance during the Age of Revolution shaped and were shaped by those struggles for national liberation and social change” including the American War of Independence and the French Revolution (Genovese 1979:119). Genovese contends that collective resistance on the

part of enslaved people was a direct challenge to the emerging capitalist system, and had great influence on the emergence of the modern world.

While there is an argument to be made that Genovese essentializes much of his argument concerning the motivations and aspirations of the enslaved Africans and people of African descent, his work is useful in several ways. The author provides a compelling argument for the impact of slave rebellions beyond the immediate reaction of the participatory plantocracy. Genovese also provides the basis that many other scholars draw on for a theoretical investigation of revolts based around time period, specifically the political difference between early revolts and those that occurred contemporaneously or after the American and French Revolutions.

Although there is no definitive temporal boundary, the earliest acts of resistance within any colonial context have been associated with large numbers of enslaved individuals being brought directly from Africa, with little time for a strong Creole culture to have developed. deB Kilson (1964) categorized slave revolts in the United States into three distinct types: Type I, systematic or rational revolts, the primary aim of which was to create a new government, or “Negro State,”; Type II, unsystematic or vandalistic revolts, the primary aim of which was to destroy slave holders and their property; and Type III, situational or opportunistic revolts, the primary aim of which was escape from servitude (deB Kilson 1964: 175-178). deB Kilson identifies the different categories as having some specific geographical and temporal boundaries, although all three types of revolutions occurred throughout the duration of slavery.

Likewise, Genovese illustrates an evolution of resistance, one from a reactionary position of armed rebellion to what he considers a position of revolution, where rebellion

and desire for freedom are groomed by the nascent political philosophy of human equality. He argues for different mind sets behind rebellion that corresponded to different periods of time. This is a theme that has become largely accepted among historians of slave rebellion, and has been adopted as an explanatory framework for slave resistance.

Williams-Meyers draws heavily on this framework, stating that:

“...prior to the Age of Revolution, revolts in the restorationist phase never directly ‘challenged the world capitalist system’ but were content, on the margin of the colonial world, ‘to defend their traditional conceptions of their own rights’...” (1996: 386).

These “restorationist movements,” as Genovese described them, were characterized by an African leadership, one that is distinct from a later “Creole,” or African-American leadership like that which fueled rebellions in Haiti, Martinique, Guadeloupe and South Carolina (see appendix I).

Monica Schuler (1970) characterizes these early rebellions as “rebellions of ethnic identity.” Arguing that not only was the leadership of these early rebellions primarily African, she rejects notions of pan-African organization, and identifies rebellions where groups united under linguistic or other cultural ties warred against European oppressors and other African or Creole groups. For Schuler, the 1739 Stono Rebellion in South Carolina is a typical example of a restorationist revolt. There were rumors that foreign governments, this time the French and Spanish, were inciting ideas of freedom as a way to indirectly battle the British (Wax 1982: 138). The Stono rebellion, which haunted the white psyche and was recalled even decades later by hysterical residents of Charleston when faced with another uprising, this time the Vesey Conspiracy (Wade 1964), was perpetrated by 150-200 slaves, primarily former soldiers from the Kingdom of Kongo,

against British Colonists (deB Kilson 1964; Olwell 1989; Wax 1982). Thornton finds it particularly significant that "...historians have generally not appreciated the extent to which the African background of the participants may have shaped their decision to revolt and their subsequent actions" (Thornton 1991: 1101). First, the Kongolese were reported to have been a Christianized African nation; their enslavement by the English infuriated the Catholic Portuguese clergy who had been the primary modus of conversion. Also significant for Thornton was the long history of civil wars in Kongo, creating a pool of trained and hardened soldiers who brought their knowledge to South Carolina.

Although slave revolts are often painted in plain terms of black and white, the Caribbean islands contained complex, mixed societies where race and class were often blurred depending on location, time period and colonial authority. Even within slave society, there was a class hierarchy that calls into question "...issues of rebel leadership and the significance of status differentiation..." between those who called and led the fight against oppression, and those who either chose to follow or remain with the known, if oppressive, status quo. Schuler, Thornton and others assume that the Kongolese slaves in South Carolina in the 1730s could have been derived from a privileged segment of society as "Before 1665, Kongo was a centralized kingdom, one in which there was a great deal of internal order" (Thornton 1991: 1109). The characterization of these early revolts emphasizes an approach where participants drew on the knowledge and ideology of those who served as leaders in their African homeland, directly importing those cultural concepts to the New World slave society.

These scholars fail to ground their analysis of historical accounts of slave rebellions into broader theoretical considerations of violence and collective political actions. This may be due in part to the fact that many researchers approach the study of rebellions in an *ad hoc* fashion, as isolated events.<sup>94</sup> Theory of event can serve as a unifying paradigm from which to analyze individual rebellions, as well as relate them to longer socio-cultural processes, while taking into account such disparate factors as gender, class, religion, ethnic identity, and time period.

### *B. Collective Violence*

This research builds on the growing literature of collective violence by treating slave rebellions as instances of collective action for political gain, drawing heavily on the model of collective violence espoused by Charles Tilly. Collective violence studies have complicated social relationships of labor, questioned historical meta-narratives, and invited cross-comparative research to inform a rigorous theoretical paradigm of collective violence (Novak and Rodseth 2006; Saiita 2007; Schroder and Schmidt 2001; Tilly 2003). Violence is an action that is undertaken under many circumstances by many different cultures, and is a practice that serves particular social functions which are symbolic as well as material. Acts of violence are "...more than just instrumental behavior. As historically situated practice, violence is informed by material constraints and incentives as well as by historical structures and by the cultural representation of these two sets of conditions" (Schroder and Schmidt 2001:3). Organized violence is always "embedded within the larger fields of cultural experience" (Pauketat 2009) and

---

<sup>94</sup> This tendency to view slave revolts as idiosyncratic events has been eloquently critiqued by Kroeber (1996) and Linebaugh and Rediker (2000). while there have been studies of revolts that are clustered either in time or space, with the exception of Genovese and Aptheker, few have attempted to investigate revolts on the scale of the entire trans-Atlantic trade era and world.

has social, political, and material consequences, both for the participants and those caught within the boundaries of the conflict, regardless of their level of involvement.

Furthermore, participation in specific types of violence requires the creation, destruction, and re-creation of social and group identities, physical boundaries that correspond to identity formation, and the development of meta-narratives concerning the actions (Bowman 2001; Novak and Rodseth 2006; Saitta 2007; Schroder and Schmidt 2001; Tilly 2003). Archaeological studies of violence have focused on a variety of themes, such as inter-group conflict between non-state societies (Armit, et al. 2006; Chacon and Mendoza 2007; Snead 2008; Vandkilde 2006; Wiessner 2009), war between nation states (Geier, et al. 2011; Geier and Potter 2000; Scott, et al. 2007), or conquest by nation states against indigenous polities (Fox 1993). Archaeological studies of violence have also focused on rebellions or other acts of resistance by oppressed groups under colonial regimes (La Rosa Corzo 2003; Orser and Funari 2001; Preucel 2007; Sayers, et al. 2007), labor disputes (Saitta 2007), and territorial and political confrontations between non-state groups (Novak and Rodseth 2006). Violence operates both in periods of change and in periods of stasis, although in times of stasis it can be viewed as a mechanism to instigate change.

Theories of collective violence, defined as the coordinated actions of two or more categorically bounded people who are making a collective claim against another group, often against a political regime such as a government, incorporate these seemingly disparate practices within a single spectrum (Tilly 2003). A number of factors shape collective violence, including environmental, cognitive, and relational mechanisms (Tilly 2003:20-21), as well as the political structure of the government. Because various types of governments tend to produce particular kinds of collective violence, a "...careful

examination of authority-citizen interactions...” is required for a thorough understanding of a particular violent event (Tilly 2003:28).

Collective violence is also dependent on particular kinds of actors who choose the actions of violence that further their political goals, and are able to persuade others to accept violence as the correct course of action. It is widely recognized that such actors possess greater privilege than many of the other members in their bounded categorical network; “...wars are made by those individuals, groups, or classes that have the power to represent violence as the appropriate course of action in a given situation” (Schroder and Schmidt 2001:5). Tilly calls such people “political entrepreneurs,” agents who “...specialize in activation, connection, coordination, and representation...” as well as engaging in “...generating opportunity hoarding...” and exploitation of other individuals and groups (2003:34).

Instances of collective violence manifest as phenomenological events, a conjuncture of structures that is “...a unique actualization of a general phenomenon, a contingent realization of the cultural patterns...” (Sahlins 1985:vii) that predominate within the particular place and time of the event. Leaders, Tilly’s “political entrepreneurs,” carry out the actions of the event, causing it to be such not only in their interpretation of its significance, but also in the interpretation of the processes that lead to the event and the transformation of structure that occurs in the wake of the event.

Collective violence is also an act of *cooperation* by two or more people who use physical force against people or property in an attempt to satisfy a collective claim. Because collective violence can thus be defined, the theory of the event is the best entrée into grounding the study of New World slave rebellions during the era of the trans-



Atlantic triangular trade and European expansion, as “...no violent act can be fully understood without viewing it as one link in the chain of a long process of events, each of which refers to a system of cultural and material structure that can be compared to similar structural conditions anywhere else” (Schroder and Schmidt 2001:7). Slave rebellions were each contingent, contextual events that simultaneously related to previous rebellions. This approach to the study of these historic actions can inform contemporary scholars on the processes of collective violence. Most attempts to categorize revolts have stressed “motivations”, undertheorizing important social attributes that created the conditions for armed conflict; since slave rebellions were acts of collective violence they need to be treated theoretically. An archaeological approach to event that utilizes theories of collective violence will provide the benefit of recognizing that each event of rebellion is structurally conditional, grounding actions in materially in such a way that the agency of the enslaved to accept or decline participation in the event, and to what extent, can be investigated.

Charles Tilly has extensively studied historic cases of collective violence in Europe, particularly England (Tilly 1989, 2003; Tilly, et al. 1975). What is most compelling about Tilly’s discussions of collective violence is that the characteristics that he has identified are quite analogous to slave rebellions and other acts of collective action within slave society. For Tilly, all instances of collective violence, although common, seem to be greatly misunderstood. In European and American perspective, collective violence is often blamed on the congregation of immigrants and the mobile poor in large urban centers which gives these individuals an opportunity to find like-minded

individuals and to vent their discontent. According to Tilly this popularly held belief is wrong in several respects. According to Tilly:

*“In the short run the growth of large cities and rapid immigration from rural to urban areas in Western Europe probably acted as a damper on violent conflict, rather than a spur to it. That is for two reasons: 1. The process withdrew discontented people from communities in which they already had the means for collective action and placed them in communities where they had neither the collective identity, the interpersonal connections, nor the organized means necessary to strike together. 2. It took considerable time and effort for both the individual migrant to establish new connections in the large city, and thus to join the political strivings of his or her fellows, and for the new forms of organization that served collective action to grow up in the cities.”*  
(1975:69 emphasis added)

I argue that this would seem to hold true for slave societies as well if you replace “cities” with “plantations.” To use the same model as Tilly, it would read: 1. The process of enslavement removed people from their communities where they had various networks of support, and placed them in new communities of various individuals from different backgrounds, nation-states and language groups. Although sharing in a common experience of enslavement, there is little to indicate that this was a point around which to quickly build a shared identity; 2. It took considerable time to acclimate to the new physical and social environment as an enslaved person in the New World, and therefore to create the necessary social connections needed to foment rebellion.

In the case of collective action produced by enslaved individuals, you have a group of people who are taken from their communities and placed into new communities. As with immigrants to a city, the establishment of new social connections takes time,

particularly if you take into consideration the delicate nature of an undertaking such as a rebellion and the large investment of trust one would need to bestow on their fellow conspirators.

Popular accounts of the St. Jan slave rebellion assert that the rebel leaders were newly arrived Africans from the Danish slave ship *Laarburg Gally*. Historical evidence indicates, however, that the leadership that emerged from the rebellion had been on island well before the *Laarburg* arrived in June of 1733. I will also argue that the actions of the rebels during the revolt indicate that these were not new arrivals, but were individuals with extensive inter and intra-island knowledge and personal connections. Thus I challenge the commonly argued idea that it was African slaves who lead rebellions, and creole slaves who accommodated the slave societies. Instead I argue that slave rebellions were conscious, political actions undertaken by oppressed people who possessed

“...considerable knowledge of political events in general; of the divisions among whites; of military prospects and exigencies; of terrain; of the psychology of their people; of ways to get arms and train fighters; of everything” (Genovese 1979:27)

Tilly continues that although “in the short run” the growth of cities, or plantations, did not immediately create conditions of collective violence, over time the concentration of large numbers of individuals facilitated the emergence of certain kinds of actions. Again, if by analogy we read “cities” as “plantations,” the conditions for collective violence can be seen. These include:

“1. by grouping people in larger homogenous blocs (especially via the factory, other large economic organizations, and the working-class neighborhood) than ever before; 2. by facilitating the formation of special-interest associations (notably the union and the party) incorporating many

people capable of informing, mobilizing, and deploying them relatively fast and efficiently; 3. by massing the people posing the greatest threat to authorities near the urban seats of power, and thus encouraging the authorities to adopt new strategies and tactics for controlling dissidence.” (1989:69)

These are all characteristics that can be applied to the St. Jan rebellion to greater or lesser degree. For St. Jan, as for all New World slave rebellions, it can be argued that the grouping of people onto plantations, and into slave quarters did not immediately have the affect of causing conditions of revolt. However, over time these working and living conditions would have provided the means for individuals to establish viable networks of allies that could then be triggered in organized resistance.

The one major problem with applying Tilly’s model of collective violence to slave rebellions exists within an implicitly expressed role of citizenship. For Tilly, the actors associated with Western European and American acts of collective violence are individuals who are citizens, regardless of their degree of rights, which legitimizes their claims-making. This is not the case for slave rebellions, especially ones that occurred in the early eighteenth century and prior. The institution of slavery explicitly denied any claim to citizenship. I believe that this issue can be resolved, however, if we look at the progression of slave rebellions over time and the various tactics used by both the enslaved and free populations to making claims of freedom on the behalf of the enslaved.

Early in the trans-Atlantic slave era, or with populations that were largely born in Africa, there was less opportunity to make a legitimate claim to citizenship.<sup>95</sup> What we

---

<sup>95</sup> While we do not see claims to citizenship in the early trans-Atlantic era, we do see claims making to rights and autonomy based on religious and racial identities. For a particularly poignant example see Ingersoll, Thomas (1994) “Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg”: An Appeal from Virginia in 1723. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3<sup>rd</sup> Series; 51(4):777-782. This issue of enslaved Africans who were Christians making early claims to freedom based on

see later in the trans-Atlantic slave era, particularly beginning in the late eighteenth century during the “Age of Revolution” with an increasingly creolized and American born enslaved population are greater claims to degrees of citizenship. With this we also see non-violent claims making movements that precedes or replaces acts of collective violence.

### *C. Structure, Agency, and the Event*

The study of slave rebellions in the New World can offer unique challenges to the recovery of archaeological data. Rebellions were usually short-lived, and often left little to no visible evidence in the archaeological record, other than the occasional burn lens indicating the loss of property. Rebellions were often viewed by the European plantocracy across the New World as inevitable but unpredictable calamities, akin to natural disasters, actions that punctuated the status quo. When put down, and put down quickly, the planters and non-rebelling slaves could quickly resume the quiet routine of their daily lives. Even better for the Plantocracy, if discovered early, while still only a conspiracy or rumor of violence, those same routines need never be interrupted. But rebellions were powerful events that shaped the character of daily routine, beyond the immediacy of their occurrence. Fear of insurrection haunted white society, while the ideology of resistance became a central value to many African-descended cultures throughout the western hemisphere. Rebellions were as much a part of the system of slavery as they were challenges to that system.

If approached from this paradigm of shaping the cultural system in which they are embedded as much as being shaped by those same cultural systems, then slave rebellions

---

their shared religious identity with slave owners is cited as a motive for rebellion at Stono River in 1739. Thornton, John (1991) African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion. *The American Historical Review* 96(4):1101-1113.

should be analyzed structurally. Structure is often an ambiguous concept in social science usage, an implicit idea of the rules of social life which all members of a given society “know.” For the purposes of this paper the concept of structure is that used by Marshall Sahlins (1981, 1985) and William Sewell (2005), and is the schema, or cultural presuppositions, that all people within a culture share. Structure becomes complicated when we hypothesize the inherent character of structures themselves- universal or contingent, learned or organic, transformational or reproductive. Sahlins and Sewell both subscribe to an understanding of structure which is contingent, learned, and both transformational and reproductive.

Structure provides shape and meaning to actions of social actors.<sup>96</sup> Actions have meaning as they are practiced: “Structure becomes a social logic underlying and giving meaning, sense and significance to that which may be empirically observed. It exists through its effects on social life but is not itself empirically observable” (Tilley 1990:5).<sup>97</sup> What is empirically observable are the actions undertaken by social and historic actors. Structure is realized through practice. For Sewell this concept of practice is drawn from Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*.<sup>98</sup> Sahlins also draws on Bourdieu, but less explicitly so, explaining that “practice [is] human action in the world” (Sahlins 1981:6); it becomes interesting not in how the social actors perceive their structures within their practice, but in the dynamics of practice itself, the relations between different modes of practice, what Sahlins refers to as the “structure of conjuncture” (Sahlins 1981:33).

---

<sup>96</sup> The meaning attached to structural actions is referred to variously as schema by Sewell (2005), values and signs by Sewell (1981, 1985).

<sup>97</sup> Practice is “the relationship between external constraints...and [internal] dispositions which are the product of economic and social processes” (Bourdieu 1990:50).

<sup>98</sup> For Bourdieu, *habitus* is defined as “a particular class of conditions of existence produce...systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as...principles which generate and organize practices and representations” (1990:53).

Following Bourdieu, Sewell and Sahlins deny an objectivist based structural reality.<sup>99</sup> Instead, structure is contingent upon both time and place, and often goes unrecognized as such. Practice is historically informed, meaning actions are influenced by schema and modes of practice which have come before. Both Sahlins and Sewell complicate their ideas of structure, recognizing that classic structuralism often "...tend to assume a far too rigid causal determinism of social life..." (Sewell 2005:125) denying agency to social actors and prohibiting a useful concept of internal mechanisms of change. It is in the "structure of the conjuncture," the dynamics of practice, in which this deterministic concept of the reproduction of culture is overcome. In what Sahlins refers to as the dialectic of structure and practice, structures are "revised in practice, in relations of the conjuncture" (Sahlins 1981:67); new meanings are given to old categories as different circumstances arise, and in this way structure is transformed.<sup>100</sup>

Grounded in concepts of duality and *praxis* (Bourdieu 1997; Giddens 1984), individual structures are conceived as "...dual in that they simultaneously articulate virtual schemas and material resources, each of which validates and actualizes the other" (Beck et al. 2007:834), while "...for any given geographical or social unit, the relevant structures would always be plural rather than singular" (Sewell 2005:206) because societies are not neatly bounded entities with homogenous populations. "...different clusters or systems of cultural meanings inform different realms of institutional practice" (Sewell 2005:213) for both groups and individuals within a society. Groups of people are

---

<sup>99</sup> Objectivism is the idea that rules which pattern social behavior, or structure, are observable by all the people who practice those rules, as opposed to subjectivism where patterns may only be visible to an outside observer, and not to the affected individual or group of people (Merriam Webster's 11th Collegiate Dictionary, 2004).

<sup>100</sup> Although structures and the practices which they generate are human constructs, their historical embeddedness within a society causes structure to be perceived as natural, leading to what Bourdieu calls "misrecognition" (1990). This is how he accounts for the lack of reflection by most people who go about their daily lives the way they always have.

going to interpret and react to cultural structures differently depending on a variety of variables, but especially as they identify with or are categorized by attributes such as their gender, race or class. Any given actor within a society possesses a number of different roles that she performs, and therefore must possess a range of rules and resources that at times can be incompatible. Individuals, as well as groups, must navigate through different structural realities daily, sometimes consciously choosing which clusters of meaning to accept or reject as their immediate role necessitates.

Sewell sees actors working both as individuals and in concert with other actors, especially in the course of an event. However, he also conceptualizes individual agency as predicated on an actor's location within culture, and so even individual agency is ultimately collective:

“...the transposition of schemas and the remobilizations of resources that constitute agency are always acts of communication with others...the extent of the agency exercised by individual persons depends profoundly on their position in collective organizations...Personal agency, is, therefore, laden with collectively produced differences of power and implicated in collective struggles and resistances” (Sewell 2005: 145).

When cultural transformations occur, actors draw on their structural knowledge to interpret those transformations, and react accordingly. This does not mean that actions within any given cultural milieu are scripted, or predetermined, by the structures that exist within it. It means that the structures supply the initial base of knowledge, which the actors may use, modify, or reject, when acting. The subsequent actions and responses of the actors will necessarily be integrated into the cultural structures. Ultimately, it is because actors possess agency that the creativity exhibited by actors can cause changes in cultural structures; “Agency is implied by the existence of structures” (Sewell 2005:144).



This model of agency is most logical when used within a framework of multiple structures. Sewell's conception of multiple structures is not simply the existence of many structures at once, but includes the conceptualization of "...a multitude of overlapping and interlocking cultural structures" which serves to "...inform the subjectivities of the same persons...explaining the existence of persons with widely varied interests, capacities, inclinations, and knowledge" (Sewell 2005:209). Structures are multiple, intersecting, and overlapping, allowing individual actors access to a variety of schemas and resources. Furthermore, a conception of multiple structures it allow for a broad, and unpredictable, range of creativity on the part of actors. In the case of events, this allows for any number of rearticulations of structures by the population of actors that takes into account creative transformations.

For enslaved Africans this means that choosing to instigate and participate in an act of collective violence, a slave rebellion, was both intentional and purposeful (Ortner 2001).<sup>101</sup> Cultural structures are ultimately about social relationships; a person has more "structural weight" dependent on their position in the social hierarchy (Sahlins 1981:72). Agency means that the rebelling slaves chose different ways to rebel, different courses for the violence to take. These choices were informed by knowledge they had previously accumulated, and the ways that such knowledge was interpreted within their culture. Choices can also be informed by misinformation, knowledge withheld, or a general lack of knowledge about a subject. These ways of knowing are not only shaped by the

---

<sup>101</sup> The relationship between agency and structure, as well as the form agency takes for both individuals and groups is hotly debated (c.f. Dornan, Jennifer (2002) Agency and Archaeology: Past, Present and Future Direction. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 9(4):303-329). I do not intend for this study to identify instances of 'agency'. I am instead "presupposing agency...within...particular practices and projects" (Ortner 2001:272), and assuming intentionality as part of the explanatory framework. This explication is vitally important to the study of slave rebellions. Often rebelling slaves are interpreted as being reactive to a brutal environment. Such interpretations do not necessarily presuppose intentionality, and in many ways strip rebelling slaves of an important facet of the human condition.

relationship of planter/slave, but also by the social roles that the enslaved Africans hold within the internal slave society, and the roles they may have held prior to enslavement. Not all enslaved people would have been in a position in which they could convince others that following them into violent action against the planters was a viable option. Equally important, a holistic understanding of the agency of enslaved individuals means that not participating in an act of collective violence was also an intentional and purposeful action informed by previously accumulated knowledge and cultural interpretations of that knowledge, as well as positionality, within a social hierarchy.

It is important to point out that discussions of agency often devolve into descriptions of personal choices of individuals, or at least can be interpreted as such. There is a tendency to do so particularly in western social science, where there is a stronger emphasis on the normative hyper-individual (Doran 2002:315). Sahlins (Sahlins 2004) notes that in the twenty-first century we are still grappling with the specter of the Great Man of History, the individual who single-handedly swayed the circumstances of an historical event.<sup>102</sup> Sahlins instead discusses the “two structures of agency...*systemic* agency...and *conjunctural* agency...” (2004:155 emphasis in original). For Sahlins, then fates of history grant some individuals a greater range of actions. Those who are born into, or otherwise achieve, high-ranking positions are granted systemic agency by those around them. Likewise, a person who may have had a limited range of action may find an increased range as ruptures and conjunctures occur in a society. Conjunctural agency may be most significant in discussions of slave rebellions. As conditions develop that

---

<sup>102</sup> While there are important historiographic arguments against the Great Man theory of history, there are even greater anthropological arguments against using such a framework. Not the least of which is that in anthropology, and particularly in archaeology, we don't study individuals. Unless we stumble upon Robinson Crusoe's island (and even then he had a companion, Friday, and cannibalistic visitors) anthropologists study individuals in relation to each other, both within and between groups. Particularly in archaeological assemblages it is nearly impossible to separate the artifacts related to a single individual within a household or community.

allow for the conception of rebellion, individuals may be able to practice particular repertoires, such as armed conflict, that would have been denied them previously. Structure, therefore, creates certain conditions under which agency is practiced.

This conception of structure and agency provides a more satisfying understanding of both stasis and change in cultures. Although structure provides the skeleton for society, much like biological bone, this cultural skeleton is not immutable. Structures are subject to change and transformation because of the agency of actors; in other words “...agency is the capacity to effect structural change” (Beck et al. 2007:835). Because structures are multiple, and because individual, and groups of, actors have at their disposal a wide range of knowledges and resources, they can in turn affect varying degrees of transformation on their institutional realms. It is a recursive relationship, the relation between stability and change, agents and institutions. This refiguring of societal cultural structures and human agency allows events - abrupt ruptures in the norm of everyday life - to be related back to everyday life, to be shaped by the knowledge and resources of the people who instigate the occurrence and who are affected by it, making it less an abrupt rupture and more the “...practical realization of the cultural categories in a specific historical context, as expressed in the interested actions of the historic agents” (Sahlins 1985:xiv). “But if it is true that structures define and shape events, it is also true that events (re)define and (re)shape structures” (Sewell 2005:199-200) as the event is reacted to, interpreted and woven into the fabric of the subsequent cultural structures.

One of Sewell’s primary supposition is that the universalizing goals of social science fail to recognize the idiosyncratic actions that powerfully affect societies; these occurrences can best be recognized and described through a historical lens which

concerns itself with the meticulous details, narrative, and chronology, and is therefore able to envision the past as "...lumpy, uneven, unpredictable, and discontinuous" (Sewell 2005:9). To fully engage the event as theoretical category, Sewell argues that social scientists must adopt an understanding of historical temporality, an insistence on sequences of occurrences as central to defining an event.

Historians possess, above all else, sophisticated theories of time, especially as these theories pertain to social life. To historians time is most fundamentally "...*fateful*. Time is irreversible, in the sense that an action, once taken, or an event, once experienced, cannot be obliterated" (emphasis in original Sewell 2005:6). Far from advocating a deterministic quality to time, Sewell is offering the well grounded idea that time is uni-directional and that actions have consequences which become part of the dynamic perspective of reality. What those consequences are is not necessarily predictable, but rest within another quality of historical temporality, and that is contingency. Consequences of actions are contingent on cultural norms, locale, and are "...profoundly dependent on its place of sequence" of actions which exist in relation to it (Sewell 2005: 7). For Sewell, this is why historians place so much emphasis on chronology in historical narratives, as "...meticulous attention to chronology is also important because the meaning of an action or an event depends on the temporal context on which it occurs" (Sewell 2005:10). Historical time is complex, involving the conjunctures of multiple temporal contexts, much like a society is composed of a conjuncture of multiple structures, and this conjuncture of temporalities is most evident at the occurrence of an event. As Sewell is fond of saying, history is "lumpy," due in large part to the complex, contingent, and unique characteristics within any particular

conjuncture; “One significant characteristic of events is that they always combine social processes with very different temporalities...which are brought together in specific ways, at specific places and times, in a particular sequence” (Sewell 2005:9). This perception of time has important implications for causal arguments developed by historians and social scientists dealing with historical phenomena. Sewell is critical of approaches to historical investigations that lack a clearly-theorized concept of time; ultimately the author is concerned with the risk of creating tautological arguments. Teleological explanation, according to Sewell:

“is the attribution of the cause of a historical happening neither to the actions and reactions that constitute the happening, nor to concrete and specifiable conditions that shaped or constrain the actions and reactions but rather the abstract transhistorical processes leading to some future historical state. Events in some historical present, in other words, are actually explained by events in the future.” (2005:84)

This rejection of a teleological explanation must underlie the study of enslaved rebellions and insurrections in the New World. While five hundred years of hindsight allow contemporary people to see the growth and dominance of European expansion culminating in the global political-economic system that we experience today, European hegemony was *not* a foregone conclusion to any of the participants in the events that transpired during any rebellion, and was not a foregone conclusion during the rebellion I discuss here on the island of St. Jan in 1733. I propose that the experience of the enslaved Africans with their Danish oppressors, both on the continent of Africa, and later in the Danish West Indies, illustrated to the enslaved populace that the Danish system could be altered through violence. It could be interpreted that the rebels did in fact calculate

correctly - the Danish administrative authority was unable to suppress the rebellion. It took eight months and successive foreign interventions to do so.

#### *D. Landscape and Archaeological Inquiry*

Sewell's concept of structure is beginning to be adopted by archaeologists. An eventful archaeology, as conceived by Beck et al. (2007), is the application of the "eventful sociology" developed by Historical Sociologist William Sewell to the archaeological record, particularly when there are transformations in the material culture of a society. For the authors, who deal with a broad temporal and geographical range of prehistoric cultures, the concept of an event is the most useful in the form of a "...temporal datum, to illuminate and demystify the volatility of pre- and post-event conditions" (Beck et al 2007: 844). The eventful archaeology visualized by Beck, Bolender, Brown and Earle, emphasizes the processual quality of transformative occurrences; "Events, thus conceived, do not change the course of histories, driven forward by process; rather, events make the course of histories..." (Beck et al 2007:835). These events should have material correlations which could manifest in the archaeological record in a number of different ways.

In proposing a theory of event, Sewell provides a set of theoretical premises on which to base an analysis. Included within this is the premise that "Historical events are spatial as well as temporal processes" (Sewell 2005: 259). Events occur in places, affecting not only the location where they occurred, but other locations as well, depending on the scale of structural transformations that results from the events. There are three primary suppositions within this premise that Sewell identifies as being characteristic of historic events.

The first is that “The actions that determined how structures were transformed were highly concentrated in Space” (*ibid* 259). Sewell determines that specific locales were important at particular points in the process of an event. Following this reasoning, the fact that the St. Jan rebellion began, or is purported to have begun, at Frederiksvaern, as opposed to one of the plantations, has important implications for the analysis.

His second supposition is that “The intersection of structures that results in cascades of transformative actions is spatial as well as institutional” (*ibid* 259-260). While structures are changed from the occurrence of events, so too are locales changed by the events. During the immediate occurrence of the rebellion, some plantation complexes and individual buildings were drastically changed through arson and other acts of destruction, as well as the social upheaval caused by murder and rebellion. Taken together this resulted in a change across the entire island that resulted in long-term shifts in the way that the built environment of the plantations, and the way social relationships were constructed and took place in these spaces.

Finally, Sewell sees the importance of the spatial dimension in the theory of events in the fact that “All action by definition takes place in a particular spatial location. But action taken in some locations has only a local scope, while the scope of other actions is much wider” (*ibid* 260). While the St. Jan rebellion had immediate and lasting effects on the island, it carried with it broader implications for the region and the New World. A 1766-map of the island of St. Croix indicates areas set aside by the Danish administrative authorities for use by “victims” of the rebellion (Westergaard 1938). As has been discussed elsewhere, the rebellion was reported by contemporaries to have inspired subsequent actions on the part of enslaved laborers, and was one of the earliest in

a string of rebellions, revolts and conspiracies that occurred throughout the New World in the 1730s and 1740s, considered an especially violent period.

Sewell's premise of the spatial importance of events as a primary variable to his theory provides a valuable segue to an archaeological use of landscape. Landscape is nearly ubiquitous to historical archaeological studies. The sites which archaeologists study were situated in a particular ecological locality which was subjectively modified by the people who lived at the dwellings, worked at the activity centers, and foraged or gardened in the fields and woods. These same people existed within a social landscape, where the places they lived and worked intersected with their ways of knowing how to do so; these places were part of a local, regional and global landscape.

Landscape is, deceptively, a seemingly simple concept, and yet is exceedingly difficult to define, identify, and quantify within our studies. Like other widely applicable paradigms within archaeology, "landscape as a concept is infinitely variable" (Tacon 2010:77). It is also a concept that comes with its own caveats and colonial history, making the use of the paradigm that much more delicate to approach in our post-colonial discourse.

Landscape grew out of a western aesthetic of natural landscapes and paintings, a European way to view what is dominated (Hirsch 1995; Thomas 2001). It provided Europeans a device to codify what exactly it was that they controlled, and to levy moral and ethical judgments. Early archaeological studies looking at landscape adhered to this Euro-centric vision, exploring the manipulation of "natural" spaces such as gardens and viewsapes by elite European colonizers in the Americas (c.f. Yamin and Metheny 1996). These studies often viewed the landscape as a symbolic system that articulated and



reflected the social relations of the time (Hood 1996; Metheny, et al. 1996; Yentsch 1996). Others have interpreted the relevant archaeological landscape as the built environment- the material residues of the actual manipulation of the environment by those who lived and worked in it. This has sometimes been approached as settlement patterning (Anschuetz, et al. 2001; Hicks 2007). In recent years there has been a growth of approaches to using an archaeological landscape paradigm, such as an increasing interest in the concept of landscape learning, or ideas of different temporalities in regards to landscape modifications as well as interpretations by the population living within the landscape at any given moment (c.f. Blanton 2003; Hardesty 2003; Holtorf and Williams 2006; Ingold 1993; Meltzer 2003).

Ingold (1993) in particular argues for a concept of landscape tied to fluid notions of time and temporality, divorced from chronology, history, environment and nature. Ingold offers two very compelling alternative interpretations; the first is 'dwelling perspective', the idea that "landscape is constituted as an enduring record of- and testimony to- the lives and works of past generations who have dwelt within it, and in so doing, have left there something of themselves" (152). Ingold argues against conceptions of landscape that compartmentalize and separate people and nature or 'space and place', and instead seeks to understand how humans are embodied on the landscape (Ingold 2011). For Ingold, this means understanding human presence as that of dwelling and "wayfaring", the movement of people through, within, and across the landscape (*ibid* 16). This concept of the relationship of humans and the landscape in which they dwell means that nature and society do not just perform reiterative acts of formation upon each other, but that societies and nature exist alongside one another in constant movement and

transformation. Ingold further postulates that archaeologists themselves also dwell within these landscapes, and so may access past processes through the action of archaeology within a given landscape. The second alternative interpretative tool that Ingold presents to the reader is that of 'taskscape', the idea that all actions within the landscape are interlocking, connected and therefore the everyday performance of actions within the landscape is significant. This idea of taskscape is given a temporal dimension through social interactions between people. Seeking relevance for interpretation of the archaeological record, Ingold applies these notions of movement to materials as well as to people. Materials, "that stuff that things are made out of" (2011:20), also circulate through the world in various forms- raw materials, finished products, decomposing items- and this circulation provides greater meaning and context than an item in and of itself (*ibid* 20-31). Ingold unapologetically offers no methodology for employing these alternative ideas of temporality and landscape into archaeological analysis.

Also intriguing for conceptions of landscape is the recognition by researchers studying the contact period that there would have been a steep learning curve for first-generation Europeans (and by implication, first-generation Africans) exploring and settling the New World. Blanton (2003) discusses the many variables which led to the long period of failure for the English colony of Jamestown, particularly inexperience coupled with the "divine right" ideology which blinded the colonists to adopting "native" habits to ensure their survival. Hardesty (2003) similarly discusses the challenges presented to colonizers exploiting new areas of natural resources, and identifies three key components to the process of landscape learning: the use of prior knowledge to the new circumstances; the acquisition and accumulation of new knowledge by various means;

and finally the assigning of meaning to the landscape, in part and in whole. Related to landscape learning is the approach taken by Erickson to his investigations of Amazonia (Erickson 2010). Erickson draws on historical ecology to understand the holistic, discursive relationship of human groups with the environment in which they live, particularly how indigenous knowledges interpret the resources within an area, and the *intentionality* of people's actions within their environment. These ideas echo Barret's (1999) admonitions to pay close attention to chronologies of landscape. For Barret, the archaeologist must pay close attention to how landscapes was culturally perceived and embodied in the past, how social power shaped past landscapes, and that those landscapes may be very different from the contemporary landscapes to which we have accesss (*ibid* 29-30).

This concern with landscape learning provides fertile ground for intriguing questions regarding the colonization of the New World. In archaeological studies we tend to encounter a group somewhere in the middle of its existence- a slave village from a particular time set within a plantation complex that has always seemingly been there, an urban street in a city that, respectively, has always existed, or a rebellion that occurs in the midst of a process, trans-Atlantic slavery, that has always occurred. First and foremost, enslaved and indentured laborers brought to the New World were not necessarily forced into already established plantation structures. This has important implications for the activities of their everyday lives. Specifically for the current research, it provides a framework for questioning what knowledge different groups had of island geography that may have enabled their success or failure during the rebellion.

Landscape approaches have been widely used in plantation archaeology to investigate the power relationships inherent in the colonial plantation society. Many of these studies recognize that space, like material culture, is manipulated for various purposes, including to symbolize and reify dominance. James Delle (1998) grounds his study of nineteenth century Jamaican coffee plantations in “material spaces” using landscape synonymously with concepts of space and the built environment as described by scholars such as David Harvey. For Delle, space is both material and social, the former being space which is an “...empirically measurable universe that has been created and/or defined by humans...” (*ibid* 38), while the latter is composed of the relationships experienced by people within and mediated by the material space. A third space, cognitive space, allows people to interpret the material and social spaces. These material, social and cognitive spaces existed within a capitalist landscape, capitalism being what Delle identifies as the underlying political, economic and social structure for nineteenth century Jamaica. Delle successfully discusses how space was re-organized by the planter elite to elicit certain behaviors on the part of the enslaved population. The author is further able to illustrate how, despite this attempt at complete hegemony, the enslaved laborers also manipulated space to their advantage. Most interestingly for the current study, Delle used an economic concept of crisis around which to structure the social changes that occurred on the plantations. While not synonymous with the theoretical concept of event outlined previously, it is related. Where Delle’s study differs the most dramatically is in the use of structure. Delle uses the single structure of capitalism as the single schema which underlies all of culture during the trans-Atlantic trade era.

Like Delle, Dan Hicks (2007) investigated the changing built environment of the British Caribbean plantation landscape. Hicks was focused on critiquing the colonial project through the use of the archaeological record to show the changing and dynamic character of plantation relationships, linking the changes seen on St. Kitts and St. Lucia to similar changes in the British countryside that were occurring simultaneously. Unlike Delle, Hicks grounded his theoretical perspective in the British Landscape tradition, being founded on the premise of intentional human agency as opposed to the built environment as being "...emergent from on-going interactions" of the people who populated the landscape (Hicks 2007: 8).

Similarly, the landscape of St. Jan played a key role in the rebellion. More accurately, the divergent uses and interpretations of the landscape are pertinent to any discussion of the Rebellion. For the Creole planters, the island cried out for division into economic production units, and little attention was paid to areas of non-productive scrub. The Creole planters also made little effort to develop communication/transportation networks between the plantations, instead focusing on each plantation as a self-sufficient economic unit. The enslaved saw the landscape as offering potential to gather unseen, to isolate and conquer, and to surprise. The slaves learned the strategic details of the landscape, commonly those which were ignored or overlooked by the planters. To oversimplify, on the one hand, the Creole planters viewed the landscape economically, as a source of income and a means to validate their social position. The enslaved laborers, on the other hand, may have perceived the landscape as a reminder of their plight, an arena for subsistence and a degree of self-sufficiency, but also as a potential battlefield. Unlike other forms of cultural transformation, collective violence is undertaken with

explicit intention of altering society. This has intentional and unintentional consequences for alterations of the landscape. In the case of the 1733 St. Jan rebellion, rebels and planters intentionally destroyed and occupied structures and areas during the course of the event. The rebellion was not just an overt action taken in effort to control the island, but also an action taken to change the landscape of St. Jan.

## **Chapter 4. Fieldwork: Methods and Practice**

### *A. Data Collection Methods*

To represent the complex landscape that existed historically on St. Jan, I conducted archaeological survey, historical documentary analysis, and spatially analyzed the data via the Esri ArcGis software. Several threads of data were compiled to complete this current study. Virgin Islands National Park personnel have been collecting spatial data on archaeological sites in the park boundaries for nearly a decade. Similarly, universities and other institutions conducting archaeological and historic architectural investigations within park boundaries as well as private property. I have supplemented this GPS database. In addition to using this data I also conducted GPS survey of plantation sites associated with the rebellion.<sup>103</sup> Location of all surveyed properties was established using a Trimble Geo XH 2005 Series handheld GPS unit. The accuracy of these units under ideal conditions is 20 cm.

When appropriate, I conducted traditional archaeological excavations for the Virgin Islands National Park<sup>104</sup> in compliance with section 106 and section 110 regulations.<sup>105</sup> This consisted of 33cm diameter shovel test pits (Shovel test pits); 50 centimeter square test units, standard for NPS section 110 procedure within VINP boundaries; and 1 meter square units. All were excavated at 10 centimeter levels. The specific sites associated with these excavations will be discussed in chapter 5.

---

<sup>103</sup> Geographic Positioning System, commonly referred to by the acronym GPS, is the generic term ascribed to technology that provides locational data via satellite.

<sup>104</sup> Referred to by the acronym VINP for the remainder of the dissertation.

<sup>105</sup> This refers to the federal legislation governing archaeological investigations on public lands, National Historic Preservation Act 1966 (Amended 2000). Section 106 (16 U.S.C. 470f) refers to the requirement that federal agencies must acknowledge the potential effects a project will have on the archaeological resources of an area. In practice this means that any undertaking using public funds, land or permitting must have an archaeological survey completed to ensure that important resources are not being negatively impacted. This type of survey is often done by private Cultural Resource Management (CRM) companies. Section 110 refers to Federal Agencies with archaeological and historic sites under their jurisdiction, specifically the National Park Service. This section requires that the NPS have knowledge about the extent of their cultural resources. It generally stipulates that as little excavation as possible be undertaken and instead emphasizes a preservation ethos.

Finally, I conducted a literature survey of previous archaeological work completed on both park property and private land by various private companies, academic institutions, and the National Park Service. This data was then applied to a landscape analysis via GIS analysis of rebel movements through the built-environment of the island during the insurrection.

Today, nearly two-thirds of the island of St. John is part of the Virgin Islands National Park. VINP espouses an ethos of conservation of resources, including archaeological sites. As a result the majority of archaeological work involved pedestrian survey of the sites related to the event, mapping extant ruins, and gathering locational data. National Park Service personnel, as well as researchers associated with various universities and private archaeological companies, conducted excavations on sites associated with the 1733 slave rebellion. These reports, available through VINP, the South Eastern Archaeological Conference (SEAC), the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) for the US Virgin Islands, as well as local historians and CRM companies, have been collected and examined for pertinent data relating to the current research. These collections include data on thirty-two sites. A small percentage of sites lie outside of VINP boundaries.

The primary unit of analysis for determining the social milieu of the island at the time of revolt is each property, comprised of the plantation complexes and Frederiksvaern. GIS attribute tables have been created which include information about the individual properties, and integrate both the archaeological and documentary data. The data will ultimately be returned to VINP, integrated into a pre-existing ESRI-based



GIS map that is compatible with a multi-thematic data set used for managing the Park's cultural and natural resources.

### *B. Archaeological Fieldwork Methods*

Within VINP excavation is strongly discouraged except when necessary to comply with section 106 and 110 of the Code of Federal Regulations 36 (commonly referred to as 36CFR) as outlined in the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (amended 2000). Therefore intensive excavation was not a major aspect of this research, but was undertaken when the opportunity arose. One such instance was in May 2010, when I was hired as the Field Director for section 106 excavations at the Caneel Bay Resort. Historically, this location was called Durloe's Bay, and later Klein Caneel,<sup>106</sup> and was the location of Pieter Durloe's plantation. During the rebellion Durloe's plantation served as the North shore headquarters for the Civil Corp, and was the site of battles between the Civil Corp and Rebel groups.

Although it seems detrimental to an archaeological investigation to be limited in the amount of excavation that can be undertaken, under further examination it has become apparent that traditional excavation would not necessarily be the best method for answering the current research questions. Due to the ephemeral material record that prior excavations have uncovered for this rebellion, it would require large-scale excavations on the order of tens of plantation sites, which would be outside of the scope of this dissertation project. Instead, it would be more beneficial and responsible to refine future research questions based on this study's findings and evaluate the efficacy of excavation for future projects. It may also be best for the VINP and the cultural resources of the park

---

<sup>106</sup> Danish for "Little Cinnamon."

to avoid even future excavations and instead attempt sophisticated geo-physical survey to identify the early colonial landscape (c.f. Kvamme 2003).

### *C. Geographic Information Systems (GIS)*

Base maps and data sets for St. John already exist, consisting of both cultural data and natural data, including information on the ghuts (seasonal water-beds), vegetation, geology, and soil types across the island, as well as marine data. These physical attributes have been incorporated into the final analysis to gain a holistic perspective of the island at the time of the rebellion. Previously collected archaeological datasets also exist for St. John. These consist primarily of GPS data points that have been collected over several field seasons by Syracuse University, University of Maine, and Sir Sandford Fleming College, as well as National Park Service personnel. These pre-existing data sets, along with the data collected for this project, were integrated into holistic maps for spatial analysis.

GIS is a significant tool for modeling complex landscapes at multiple scales. The program that I am using for the current research is the Esri ArcGIS v9.3 and v10.0 suites. ArcGIS is the most widely utilized GIS program, used almost universally by state and federal agencies as well as academic institutions and private companies in the United States, meaning that it is the most accessible in terms of data sets and support. ArcGIS is able to integrate archaeological and ecological data meaningfully. For this study it was necessary to integrate qualitative data with the built environment. A basic assumption in archaeological research is that settlement patterning is non-random, and that the location of plantations as well as distances between plantation complexes and between sites within plantations complexes should therefore be meaningful (Mayer 2006:154). It has been

shown that qualitative data can be quantitatively strengthened within GIS through the use of analytical hierarchy processes (Verhagen 2006). The cultural variables that were chosen were subjected to independence tests to decrease the degree of redundancy of the attributes and to ensure statistical relevance (Kvamme 1990; Mayer 2006). These will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Archaeologists saw the value of GIS early, but much of the early emphasis was on database management, or mapping monumental sites across large geographic regions (Conolly and Lake 2006; Evans and Daly 2006; La Rosa Corzo 2006; Llobera 2006; Wheatley and Gillings 2002). Archaeologists, more so than any other social science or historical discipline, with the exception of geography, already dealt explicitly with spatial information- where a site was located, the provenance of an artifact, the relationship between features found in the soil. Initially GIS became a convenient, if expensive and complicated method for tracking this kind of spatial information. Quickly, other applications were developed. Much of the reason that GIS was so easily integrated in existing archaeological methods was that monumental architecture or earthen-works which are prominent on the landscape were meant to be a visual structure by the people who built them (Llobera 2001). In many ways this is still unique among historical disciplines.

GIS is, in many ways, counter-intuitive to History, which is a verbal, not a visual, discipline (Knowles 2008; Knowles, et al. 2008). GIS has become increasingly popular with researchers who focus on historic and qualitative data, and there is a continuous push to develop new methods of analysis for GIS, particularly in wedding temporal information to spatial and non-spatial attributes. For scholars delving into this new

medium, “GIS offers an alternate view of history through the dynamic representation of time and place within culture. This visual and experimental view fuse qualitative and quantitative data with in real and conceptual space” (Bodenhamer 2008).

Archaeologists have increasingly used GIS to answer social questions that have a spatial component (Armstrong 2007; Ejstrud 2007; Evans and Daly 2006; Frachetti 2006; Norton and Espenshade 2007; Okabe 2006; Schwartz and Mount 2006). While archaeologists have always had a spatial component to their data, and have had fewer disagreements regarding the appropriateness of GIS, there is often a lack of critical thinking when using the software, with fewer discussions about error, accuracy, precision, and particularly "*quality*[:] the fitness for purpose of the data" (Goodchild 2008; Gregory 2003:21). However, these are arguments that have been had within other historic disciplines as well, such as Geography and History.

As Anne Knowles discusses, there were concerns among geographers that there was an uncritical acceptance of GIS among scholars. For many post-modernist oriented geographers, the use of GIS was interpreted as the discipline taking a decidedly positivist turn, and reaffirming power relationships that once dominated the discipline (Knowles 2008). Likewise, historians have been slower to adopt the technology than other disciplines because of the authoritative representation of the past that is implicit in GIS (Bodenhamer 2008). These issues should become less important as new methods and a more interdisciplinary language for discussing the shortcomings of the technology are developed.

There are caveats to using GIS. Because of the internal precision of the software itself, many people ignore the lack of precision generated by their data, particularly

historic data derived from historic documents (Gregory 2003). Gregory specifies "three basic categories that GIS can be used for: as a spatially referenced database; as a visualization tool; and as an analytic tool" (Gregory 2003:3). Often, these three categories are conflated by the user and therefore never specified to the receiving audience. GIS runs the risk of being a positivist tool that is accepted uncritically. Many historians in particular "discuss the gaps and biases in their sources as an important part of their interpretations. In the same spirit, any work of historical GIS should address the quality of sources and the kinds of uncertainty and error resulting from their use in spatial analysis" (Knowles, et al. 2008:259). Similar to the critical use of historic documents or oral traditions, which has become virtually second nature to modern scholars, the critical use of GIS must become a common practice in using the technology.

For the current project, I have great confidence in the accuracy of the data as I have analyzed it. However, because of the poor record keeping of the *VGK*, it lacks precision. This is overcome in the current study because of the gross scale at which I am working. Due to the fact that I do not need to know precise locational information on the order of centimeters or feet, but am instead working at scales of meters or yards in regards to the building ruins, or miles and kilometers in terms of quarters of the island, the lack of precision for the data does not have an impact on my overall thesis.

While I am confident in the accuracy, if not the precision, of my historically derived data, there are also precision issues with the GPS locational data collected on modern St. John. The first issue lies with the instrument with which the locational data was collected. While the Trimble is accurate to 20 cm under ideal conditions, ideal conditions were almost never met on St. John. GPS coordinates are collected using a

triangulation method from United States military satellites. While these 24 satellites give GPS users global coverage, they do not give equal global coverage. Initially this system was deployed by the US for military purposes; the satellites disproportionately have better coverage in areas for which the US has greater political interest. This does not include the Lesser Antilles. While the development of more sensitive instruments and the increasing evolution of the system will mitigate this, it had an impact on the current study. Related to this issue of satellite coverage, the thick canopy of the St. John bush or cloudy skies can often block signal to the satellites, which was an ongoing issue. Many of the GPS points recorded involved offsets, in order to get a point that was obscured by thick canopy.

Another problem related to both the accuracy and the precision of the GPS data is the issue of human error. The VINP has been using GPS and GIS as management tools for several years prior to this study. The data collected by the park personnel was often done by interns and volunteers, and started on much older instruments than the Trimble 2005. VINP, and then I, also aggregated data collected by both graduate and undergraduate students from several institutions, including Syracuse University. The data collected by Syracuse University was directly linked to a series of overlay maps, including both Oxholm surveys of 1780 and 1800, which was then geo-rectified with USGS maps, as well as two sets of aerial photos. One set of these aerial photos was taken after Hurricane Marilyn in 1995, and provided very precise locational data. The initial geo-rectification was analyzed by Armstrong et al (Armstrong, et al. 2008a, b; Armstrong, et al. 2007). Ultimately, the problem of accuracy and precision was overcome by the use of multiple sources of spatial data.

The base map for St. John is an aerial photo of the island that has been used by the Virgin Islands National Park and Syracuse University. It is a .sid file that contains several satellite images from the USGS service. Overlying this base map is the Oxholm 1780 map of St. Jan, the first known cartographic survey of the island. Serendipitously, Oxholm surveyed the island at the same scale as the USGS, making conversion of the map into the GIS database relatively easy (Armstrong, et al. 2008a). The purpose of using the modern day satellite image overlaid by Oxholm as the base map for the early settlement era was twofold. While both maps post-date the time period and the event, the satellite image alone conveys an island that is too concrete; the visual representation obfuscates the uncertainty and lack of knowledge about the island that existed at the time. While Oxholm's map has been acknowledged by many scholars to be a very accurate map of the island that has even withstood modern methods of survey and measurement (Armstrong, et al. 2008a), the historic style of the map is more in keeping aesthetically with how our historic actors may have imagined the island. I have taken the verbal information of historic documents and created a visual representation of a specific temporal period; what I have done is attempt to create a historical representation of the island in the absence of such a representation in the historic documentary record. In some ways this addresses the issues that Knowles and others have in wedding the historical with the technological.<sup>107</sup> This information is anchored by the known archaeological sites of this period and should be further tested against future excavations. I suspect that as more information on the early settlement period of the St. Jan's history becomes

---

<sup>107</sup> Usually scholars use already existing historic maps in their studies. What I am doing is fairly unconventional, in many ways it is what archaeologists have always done, identifying sites and structures on the landscape and recording those sites and structures on modern maps. While I acknowledge that creating historical maps through modern technology creates its own unique questions and issues, they are beyond the scope of the current project and will be dealt with in future work.

available, this map will be modified. As it is modified, a representation of how the early planters and enslaved population perceived the island will become better understood. In other words, I do not think of this map as an end product, but a foundation that will both guide, as well as be adapted by, future research.

Many researchers find the greatest utility of GIS maps in the way that layers are created and related to one another as a way of representing information. I have created several maps for the current study. Figures 5, 6, and 34, are univariate maps that provide locational information for the plantation properties discussed above. Figure 3 is the entire island and all known, spatially described plantations plus the location of Frederiksvaern. Details of this island wide map, focusing on individual quarters for the reader's reference are displayed in Figures 4, 8, 11, 13, 16, 19, 21, 25, and 29. I have also created several maps that spatially organize demographic characteristics of the island on the eve of the rebellion. These maps, Figures 6, 31, 33, and 35 illustrate where population density of the island was located, where specific crops were grown, from which plantations rebels came, and where the action of the rebellion was concentrated, among other attributes. While many of these maps rely on univariate analysis, there are also more complicated statistical functions that were performed. Each of these maps is discussed in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

#### *D. Landscapes and Ecology*

Among the hypothesis generated for the cultural re-structuring of the island is the idea that plantations were moved after the event to create an environment where planters had greater control over surveillance of the island and could be within a visible communication range with their neighbors. This will be tested via cumulative viewshed



analysis. Viewshed analysis has been widely utilized to investigate prehistoric monumental structures on the landscape (Bevan and Conolly 2002-2004; Llobera 2001; Wheatley 1995). As has been noted by Llobera (2001) all landscapes ultimately are visually structured. This has been discussed thoroughly in African Diaspora Archaeology literature, where visual surveillance by planters was increasingly recognized as a fundamental necessity to keeping the enslaved population in check (De Cunzo and Earnstein 2006; Delle 1998; Foucault 1995; Hicks 2007; Leone, et al. 1987; Singleton 2001a).<sup>108</sup> Whereas in viewshed analysis visibility from a single point is measured, in cumulative viewshed analysis the emphasis is on intervisibility between multiple points (Armstrong 2007; Ejstrud 2007; Ingold 2011; Llobera 2006; Norton and Espenshade 2007; Wheatley 1995). In this case, what becomes emphasized in the post-event conditions of the island is the increasing intervisibility between the plantation dwelling houses.

Attribute tables for the Esri ArcGIS software program are built from simple Excel or Access files which can be coded in a variety of ways depending on the needs of the researcher. Attribute tables identify the spatial and other locational information for each unit of analysis, in this case individual properties. For this project there is one primary attribute table, with coded information for a shapefile. In analysis these tables can be linked through relating and/or joining the attribute tables. This is a relatively simple process requiring that each table contain a shared value; for this study I used a unique property identification number for each plantation complex.

---

<sup>108</sup> This has been challenged by Ingold (2011) who insists that researchers have privileged vision over the other senses when interpreting landscapes, to the detriment that in doing so we fail to identify important aspects of the landscape that past inhabitants may have found meaningful.

### *The Plantation Complex*

Plantation complexes are defined by the boundaries as understood by the inhabitants of the island at the time of the rebellion, and is based on the locational data as described in the St. Jan *Landlisters*. Each plantation complex is characterized by a variety of characteristics that may have a bearing on the unfolding of the event (see Appendix II). These characteristics can be described as attributes, which can then be mapped and measured via ArcGIS. The base data for the primary attribute table was compiled from the 1728-1733 St. Jan *landlisters* (*LL1728STJ 1728; LL1730STJ 1730; LL1731STJ 1731; LL1732STJ 1732; LL1733STJ 1736*). Created as early tax documents for the property owners on St. Jan, the *landlisters* provide information on the residency of the owner, type of agricultural production, and demographic information on slaves that lived on the plantations. There are significant challenges to using these documents. The first *landlist* was completed by the *VGK* in 1728 in response to the lack of accurate tax documents. The documents were compiled by several different individuals, and they did not follow a consistent pattern of numbering the properties or spelling land-owner's names. As for the information, the planters themselves were requested to submit information, resulting in voids of information where it suited the planters best. For instance, many of the more prominent planters failed to submit an affidavit of what they owned for the first several years of their occupation. Pieter Durloe did not claim any enslaved laborers for his properties until 1732. There were also changes from year to year in the gender of enslaved individuals that are not explained in many of the documents.

Another challenge to these early documents was in the lack of locational information. St. Jan went unmapped for the first 75 years of its existence (Armstrong

2007). While the landlisters documented the property held by each planter, the boundaries and size were all estimated; many of the plantations went unmeasured in the early settlement period of the island. There were narrative descriptions of where the plantations were located in relation to other plantations. Using a handful of known plantation locations as points of reference, I constructed a map of the property boundaries of the island as it may have appeared in 1733, based on these verbal descriptions (Figure 4). Interestingly, the map has both overlapping boundaries and “empty” areas that lack ownership. Far from being mistakes, I think these discrepancies are an accurate visual representation of the lack of precision the planters themselves had; the planters knew little about the island, to the point where they had odd conceptions even of their own property boundaries. The current map conveys *relative spaces*, boundaries as they were legally, if not physically, defined.<sup>109</sup> As will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, the plantocracy seems to have lacked practical knowledge about the landscape, leaving the enslaved population to domesticate the landscape. As the VGK failed to create maps prior to 1780, we have no clear conception of how the planters viewed or negotiated the landscape. It is also important to note that this map is a twenty-first century imagining of the eighteenth century landscape in an attempt to achieve an etic understanding of the relationship between the various groups of people who lived on island and their environment.

---

<sup>109</sup> Armstrong et al (2008) discuss how Oxholm, the first cartographer to map St. Jan, also used relative spaces when recording plantations. Oxholm faced difficult conditions in mapping the island, and, as Armstrong notes, may have recognized the political problems in attempting to define property boundaries that had always been ambiguous.

### *E. Historical Documents*

The Haitian anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) discusses the four moments of historical production in which silences are incorporated into the narrative of the past. The first moment, “the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*)” (*ibid* 26), is obvious to most scholars who work with historical narratives. That is the moment that haunts us as we read the documents written by the slave owners, the ledgers left by the wealthy, trying to glean the slightest piece of information about the enslaved, the laborers, or whoever we are interested in who could not leave their own written sources.

The quick scrawls left by terrified planters who were facing the brink of economic disaster and the potential loss of their own lives during the St. Jan Rebellion are replete with silence. The primary author of the day by day account of the period of November 1733 to August 1734 was the Governor of the Danish West Indies, Phillip Gardelin. As Governor of the Danish West Indies he kept an order book (GOB 1733-34), written by hand in Gothic Danish, as well as a handful of entries in Dutch, English and French, that consisted of copies of the letters he sent to various citizens and foreign dignitaries, ordering, begging and cajoling them to act in various ways. The letters are one way- the responses have not been recorded for posterity. There are no documents from the perspective of the rebels. The closest we have is the mutilated transcript of the hearings of a small handful of the “Minas” tried on St. Jan after the rebellion had been put down, recorded by a white planter in an awkward narrative (SPC 1733-1734). The rebels left nothing themselves of their desires or motivations, or even of their brief experiment with autonomy in the bush for eight months.

Regardless of the chaos brought on by events such as the rebellion, record keeping in the islands was often spotty, particularly for St. Jan, as it was treated as an appendage of St. Thomas, and therefore did not always get specific treatment in the records. The social reality of the Caribbean also seems to have had an effect on record keeping. While the Bookkeeper and Secretary were considered among the highest posts, (just below Governor), the high rate of mortality well into the eighteenth century meant that there was a high rate of turnover in these posts. These posts were often left vacant for lengthy amounts of time or filled in the interim by individuals who can just barely be considered literate.

The second moment of historical production, “the moment of fact assembly (the making of the archives)” further compounds these issues. For Trouillot, assembling archives is not simply:

“a more or less passive act of collecting. Rather it is an active act of production that prepares facts for historical intelligibility...They are the institutionalized sites of mediation between the sociohistorical process and the narrative about that process...they convey authority and set the rules for credibility and interdependence; they help select stories that matter” (1995:52).

John Anderson amassed the most thorough archive of the rebellion that has ever existed. In so doing, Anderson chose which documents were important to him for the version of the story he wanted to create. He further chose which to leave copies of, and which to thoroughly translate. His notes are spotted with comments of “this is still not worth translating fully” or “I need to take a closer look at this sometime in the future,” and documents left incomplete. For Anderson, the documents existed for anyone to see, and

he had all the time in the world to act. Unfortunately, some of the documents to which he refers in his notes cannot be located today, and some are known to have been destroyed.

In the nearly forty years that he spent studying the rebellion, Anderson traveled to Berkeley, Copenhagen, and to the homes of private collectors and descendants of Danish colonial settlers collecting the pertinent sources. Because of Anderson's focus he chose to copy photostatically and translate the documents that pertained to the rebellion, but often ignored information pertaining to daily life in the same period of time. In his papers he has notes to himself where he acknowledges disregarding documents that dealt with other aspects of Danish West Indian life, even in the same time period. Although it is unclear if Anderson ever intended for his research documents to become a repository of information for other scholars, it is Anderson's archive that is the most complete and the most accessible to researchers on this side of the Atlantic regarding the rebellion. In many ways I have been left with Anderson's choices about what information is pertinent and what is not. Although it was through Anderson's actions the archive for the rebellion was created, and will always mediate the interpretations that can be created to a certain degree, I have approached the historical sources as well as Anderson's sources from a specific theoretical stance that has allowed me to come to a distinct interpretation of the event.

Like Anderson, I created my own archive, drawing together documents from a number of different sources. Beginning chronologically, I began archival research for this project in the Enid M. Baa Library in Charlotte Amalie, St. Thomas, in the summer of 2006. When the Islands were transferred to the United States in 1917, the local archives, at least what was left of them, were emptied and sent to Copenhagen and Washington,

D.C. (Bastian 2003; Gobel 2002). Where the real value of the Baa Library lays is in its contemporary collection- the secondary sources created by local West Indians that document the rich culture and history of the islands.

In the spring of 2007, I spent three hectic days at the Unites States National Archives in College Park, Maryland. The US collection is small, primarily micro-film of original documents housed at Copenhagen, and has few documents related to the early period of the Danish West Indies, and instead more with the later history leading up to transfer. I spent nearly eight hours a day frantically photographing the micro-film screen, my plan being that I would record any document that might possibly be of use to me and take it home, to go through at my leisure. While most of the documents at the national archives related to the Danish West Indies date from the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, I did collect *St. Thomas Privy Council Records*, 1723-1754, (NCRE no. T952, Roll 3, RG55) and the *St. John Report Book*, 1734-35 (NCRE no. T952, Roll 12, RG55).

During the 2008- field season I also met with local historians such as Chuck Pischko, who have provided valuable insight and local historic documents pertaining directly to the rebellion as well as to the local interpretation and culturally informed understanding of the event. I also established relationships with both professors and graduate students from the Department of History at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark, with whom I collaborated on the translation of the primary documents. Through private study I learned Danish in preparation for translating historic documents.

In the fall of 2009, I spent several days at the home of Chuck Pishko accessing his private collection. Mr. Pishko currently holds the Anderson archive. As the island has

lacked the proper facilities to house such a collection, it has been passed from historian to historian. Upon Anderson's death, the collection first went to Steve Edwards, a historian for the National Park Service in the 1970s and 1980s. Upon Edward's death his wife passed all of his papers, including Anderson's files, to Pishko. While I have amassed my own archive that has both added to and disregarded sources that Anderson saw as important, I recognize that this archive will also mediate future interpretations of the event.

Accessing contemporary records regarding archaeological field work was just as daunting a task as collecting historic documents. During my tenure as a temporary VINP archaeologist during 2008, I collected as many reports as were available. True to St. John archival form, VINP lacked a systematized site files; many items were misfiled, unfiled, or simply lost. Some of the records I was able to access were incomplete, or damaged beyond use. While the artifact collections themselves were well organized and properly curated, reports about their field collection had never been generated. A further obstacle was that a few of the artifact collections associated with earlier work done on island are housed at SEAC in Tallahassee, Florida. CRM reports generated by private firms were available through the SHPO office on Charlotte Amalie. However, they were more accessible from local historian Chuck Pishko. I also received valuable aid in this area from Christopher Espenshade and New South Associates, Inc. Currently, I have the most complete record of archaeological work conducted on St. John.

Sources are chosen based on any number of criteria by the ones doing the assembling; their choices often determine what is available to all future researchers. Archives pertaining to Danish St. Jan have undergone several acts of assembling. When



the *VGK* was dissolved their documents were transferred to the Danish Government, who underwent a number of purges in 1757, 1796, 1799, 1807, and 1848. Among the discarded items were “ledgers, journals, cash books, and vouchers...; many documents concerning the Company’s shipping and trade, including almost all ship’s log books; and a collection of three hundred boxes of Company orders regarding income and expenditures 1696-1750” (Gobel 2002:49).

Also problematic is the tropical climate of the Lesser Antilles, where many of the pertinent documents were not only created but stored for much of their existence. Dr. Eric Gøbel, a senior researcher at the *Rigsarkivet-Statens Arkiver*, the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen, estimates that nearly 10% percent of the extant documentation pertaining to the Danish West Indies is in a completely unusable condition, with another 11% in poor condition, but still useful, leaving 79% of the archival material accessible to researchers (Gobel 2002:59).

However, that is for the entire Danish West Indian collection, 1670-1917, for the islands of St. Thomas, St. John and St. Croix. If one were to compile the same statistics for the period of 1718-1733 on St. John, it can be safely assumed that the volume of unusable documents would be much higher. In the spring of 2008, two of my colleagues in the Department of History at the University of Copenhagen, Vibe Martens and Andreas Latif, opened a box from this early period of St. Jan, and found only “confetti.” The sparse documents pertaining to the rebellion are tattered, incomplete, left mostly untouched and forgotten.

Other archives have been assembled, and possibly lost, mostly from the primary archives in College Park and Copenhagen. In the first part of the twentieth century

Danish-American historian Waldemer Westergaard spent his career at Berkeley University, studying the Danish West Indies. Westergaard left some of his papers to Berkeley, consisting primarily of letters between himself and other scholars. For reasons unknown, he chose to fracture his archive, and left another group of papers to the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

### *E. Oral Traditions*

This creation of archives deeply affects the ways in which facts are *retrieved* for use in the historical narrative, Trouillot's third moment of historical production. Regardless of what did or did not make it into the archive, not all facts will be treated equally, not all the information will be woven into the story.

Trouillot's final moment of incorporating silences comes in the "moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)" (*ibid* 26). Anderson created a history of the rebellion that attempted to correct for the silences left by the documentary record. Specifically, Anderson's fiction gave personality and voice to the rebelling slaves. In so doing, Anderson created more silences as well as some terribly loud falsehoods. *Night of the Silent Drums* is not only a history of what occurred in 1733, it is also a history of what is occurring on St. John in the mid-twentieth century. While Anderson's sympathies clearly lay with the romantic notion of slaves rising in revolt against their sadistic masters, the biases and pre-conceived notions of the century find their way into the narrative.

In keeping with proper post-modernist self-reflection, this current monograph will suffer from the production of silences. The production and retrieval of facts, the assembly of archives, these moments are further compounded by "the materiality of the socio-

historical process [which] sets the stage for future historical narratives” (Trouillot 1995:29). I cannot escape the history that has already been set down by Anderson and carries so much weight in the public imagination. Instead this dissertation will draw on Anderson and other popular accounts of the rebellion as a foundation, while also offering some alternative interpretations. The shortcomings of the documentary record can be supplemented by the archaeological record. Even in archaeological contexts there are silences in the sources, the quick rotting of organics, the rusting of metal, the thinness of material culture that comes with human mobility, the shiny things that have been looted over the centuries, all leave silences that cannot be retrieved no matter how deep you dig. These are the silences that archaeologists hear. But the creation of facts and archives - the deposition of artifacts and site formation processes - encounter different biases than those that effect documentary evidence.

### *Conclusion*

Historical events require careful reconstruction from the available data, whether that data is documentary or archaeological. The documentary record also comes with its own challenges. In this case, it comes with the challenge of being tied to a single historian, who in many ways is also a legend on the modern-day St. John. The history of the slave rebellion on St. Jan is intimately tied to John Anderson, who was one of my most trusted informants. As the local expert on the rebellion, I avoided John when I first began my research. He had chosen to take his years of knowledge on the subject and create a beautifully written work of historical fiction, arguably the most popular and widely known book on the island. It isn't that the book isn't accurate, or well written, it was both.

*Night of the Silent Drums* (1975) gave voice and personality to the people and events of the rebellion that a purely academic monograph, this one included, never could. I avoided Anderson because he had already codified the history of the rebellion, and it was his history that a fresh look on the topic would challenge. Anderson amassed a huge archive of documents pertaining to the event, some that had been ravaged by time and entropy, and so exist nowhere else. As the realities of historical research on a small island that had been systematically marginalized, first by the Danish then by the Americans, became more apparent, I also had to access Anderson's archive. He learned several languages in order to produce accurate translations. I added some of Anderson's documents to my own archive, but always with a conscious intent to interpret them through a critical, theoretical, lens.

Martin argues that "historians are people who identify episodes and then seek to account for them by asking 'why?'" (2004:65).<sup>110</sup> In answering the why historians are often sidetracked by "simplified or reified" causal explanations. *Night of the Silent Drums* fell in to the same kind of causal explanations, focusing on the September 5 proclamation as the catalyst for the rebellion. The major silences that Anderson must have found in his archive were the same silences that I could not escape in the archive that I amassed. The shreds of facts that were committed to paper were left by the plantocracy. To date, there are no known documents that recorded the motivations, thoughts, philosophy, emotions, or internal actions of the rebels. Anderson invented these for the characters that he also created, usually from nothing more than a name. Anderson

---

<sup>110</sup> Martin continues to underscore the necessity for historians to ask the pertinent questions of who, when, where and what. I would argue that anthropologists are people who ask 'who', and archaeologists people who add the question 'when', and geographers ask the question 'where', and only by understanding all those dimensions of the question can 'what' be answered.

chose to write a novel to overcome these silences in the documents, but by doing so he amplified some of the weaknesses inherent in historical research and writing, the fallacy in explanation derived from

“attempts to account for the motives of individual participants [which] are complicated not only by the usual problems of incomplete evidence but by the high degree of confusion that surrounded their understanding of events, thanks to a combination of poor communication and deliberate misinformation” (Martin 2004:72).

In many ways, Anderson created the popular history of the rebellion. To date, *Night of the Silent Drums* is the only monograph-length publication on the subject. The handful of scholarly articles that exist all cite Anderson’s novel as their primary source. There is logic in that, as Anderson produced a well-researched work of historical fiction. What is troubling is that some historical consumers have failed to separate the work of Anderson the Historian and Anderson the Novelist, and so Anderson has “mislead, even if inadvertently, by offering an account that seems so beguiling complete that readers may not suspect that it is incomplete” (Martin 2004:16). The book has become the popular history, “that which is said to have happened” (Trouillot 1995:2).

## **Chapter 5: Rum Stills and Water Pots: the Spatiality of Rebellion**

### *Introduction*

This chapter draws together archaeological and spatial information from a variety of sources, including survey and excavation conducted by the author; archaeological surveys and excavations, as well as historical architectural documentation conducted by various universities; Cultural Resource Management work conducted by private companies for a variety of clientele; archaeological work prepared by the National Park Service; and historical documentation of sites prepared by local historians. The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. First, it is intended to provide a thorough explanation of the built environment as it is currently understood to have existed on St. Jan on November 23, 1733. Second, it is intended to illustrate the effects of the conflict as seen through the changes to the built environment. As archaeological investigations progress on St. John, it will be worth considering how destruction from various natural disasters, including the hurricane that preceded the 1733- rebellion in the same year, affected the built environment and therefore may manifest in the archaeological record differently.

The following discussion is arranged by Quarters, with individual properties discussed when there is known archaeological and historical information associated with it. Currently there is information for thirty-two of the 106 properties that existed at the time of the rebellion in 1733, plus a brief discussion of contemporary sites not directly associated with known plantations but dating to that time.<sup>111</sup> In addition, spaces that were carved out of the landscape by the rebel forces and groups of enslaved people during the conflict are identified and discussed. Chapter 6: Ruptures and Conjunctions, focuses on

---

<sup>111</sup> Of these 106 properties, only 102 had adequate spatial information and so are included in analysis. This 102 includes Frederiksvaern.

the process of rebuilding throughout the eighteenth century, and some of the known changes to various properties on island, as well as the additional of properties such as Christiansfort, defensive structure in Cruz Bay that was first constructed in the late eighteenth century.

Chapter 5 builds on foundational works such as Aushermann et al (1981-82) and Brewer and Hammerstein (1988) that attempted to create a comprehensive record of the known historical and archaeological sites on St. John. While these works focused on known sites for the entire historic period, the current study focuses only on the eighteenth century. While this is not exhaustive, this study assembles eclectic resources from a variety of organizations and individuals which is the most comprehensive survey of early eighteenth century St. Jan to date. It is hoped that the current study provides a foundation for understanding the early settlement era of the island, and provides a framework around which future research on un-located sites may be conducted.

#### *Quarters and the Establishment of Plantations on St. Jan*

St. Jan, like St. Thomas and later St. Croix, was separated into Quarters, which were geographically designated regions of the island. It is unclear whether or not the Quarters were pre-determined by the Company for St. Jan. They were pre-determined for St. Croix in 1734, which was parceled prior to being settled.<sup>112</sup> For St. Jan the Quarters seemed much more organic. Quartering appears to have been a method of designating “neighborhoods” to which the inhabitants could refer. Unlike other geographic boundaries, the Quarter boundaries appear very fluid, and in fact change over time.

---

<sup>112</sup> This happened in theory. The Company Directors ordered Moth to survey the island and create uniform parcels. However, the survey and maps were not completed until nearly 20 years after the initial occupation took place. See Hopkins, Daniel (1992) An Early Map and Cadastral Survey of St. Croix, Danish West Indies 1734-41: A Cartographic Cul-de-Sac. *Cartographica* 29(3&4):1-18.

Quarters were less about geographic boundaries and were more of a social construct, a way to designate areas that were geographically bounded by the extreme peaks and valleys of the island (Figure 4). These geographic areas became cultural areas as people of different European ethnicities came to dominate specific Quarters.

By 1733 the island was “full”; that is, the Company had determined that all available land had been claimed. When the island was first occupied by the Danes in 1718, they offered seven years tax freedom to settlers who established a plantation with the stipulation that the planters had to establish a sugar works within the first five years. The standard minimum size for a plantation was 3000 *fod* by 1000 *fod*, of which only the 1000 *fod* length was taxed.<sup>113</sup> These minimum requirements were later dropped, or ignored, and by 1729 plots that were well below the minimum 1000 *fod* were being claimed, many by *mesterknegts* and other laborers who were themselves becoming landowners.

The first plantation established on St. Jan by a private landowner is reportedly that of Pieter Durloe in 1718.<sup>114</sup> The landlisters identify the earliest private plantations established in 1718 as Adrian Runnels’ (#11), Daniel Jansen’s (#1),<sup>115</sup> Anna Delicat’s (#10), Jochum Delicat’s (#4), Hans Pieter Dooris’ (#5), as well as a property that was initially established by the Siebens’ Family in Reef and Fish Bay Quarter, but came into

---

<sup>113</sup> A traditional Danish foot, equal to about 12.365 English inches, or 31.41 metric centimeters (Dictionary of Measurements [www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/dictF.html](http://www.unc.edu/~rowlett/units/dictF.html) accessed 9/25/10; 2006 Statistical Year Book [www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/upload/1933s/conver.PDF](http://www.dst.dk/pukora/epub/upload/1933s/conver.PDF) accessed 9/25/10).

<sup>114</sup> Larsen’s interpretation is based on a census sent to the Lord Directors in 1722 by then Governor Eric Bredahl. In that letter Bredahl informs them that Durloe was the first to reside on St. Jan. I interpret the various historic documents to say that there were plantations claimed and established that were not properly established until the early 1720s when the threat from the English had subsided. The *landlisters* register Durloe’s Caneel Bay property as being established in 1721. If it were 1718, then Durloe would have gotten three extra years tax free.

<sup>115</sup> Although the *landlisters* identify this plantation as one of the first established in 1718, this property actually dates back to as early as the 1670s (Armstrong 2005).



the possession of Pieter Durloe by 1731 (#46).<sup>116</sup> The bulk of these plantations are in the Caneel Bay and Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarters.



**Figure 4.** 1733 St. Jan plantations designated by Quarter as indicated in the 1733/36 *landlister*.

These were followed by Abraham Beaudwyn's (#3) in 1719, and three additional plantations in 1720: Pieter Sorensen's (#24) and Gloudi van Beverhoudt's (#21), both located in Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter, and Gouvert Marche's (#52) located in Lameshure Bay Quarter.

While these early plantations had access to the shorelines for ease of travel and trade, they were also set back from the shore-line, and were not in the “protective shadow

<sup>116</sup> Although the *landlisters* record Pieter Durloe's “Hawksnest” plantation (#18 in the *landlisters*, what today is known as Caneel Bay) as being established in 1721, it is commonly accepted among historians that his was the first established on island. While some historic documents do seem to lend credence to this claim, it is further supported by the fact that in our time period of interest, that section of the island where the Hawksnest plantation is located was called “Durloe's Quarter.”

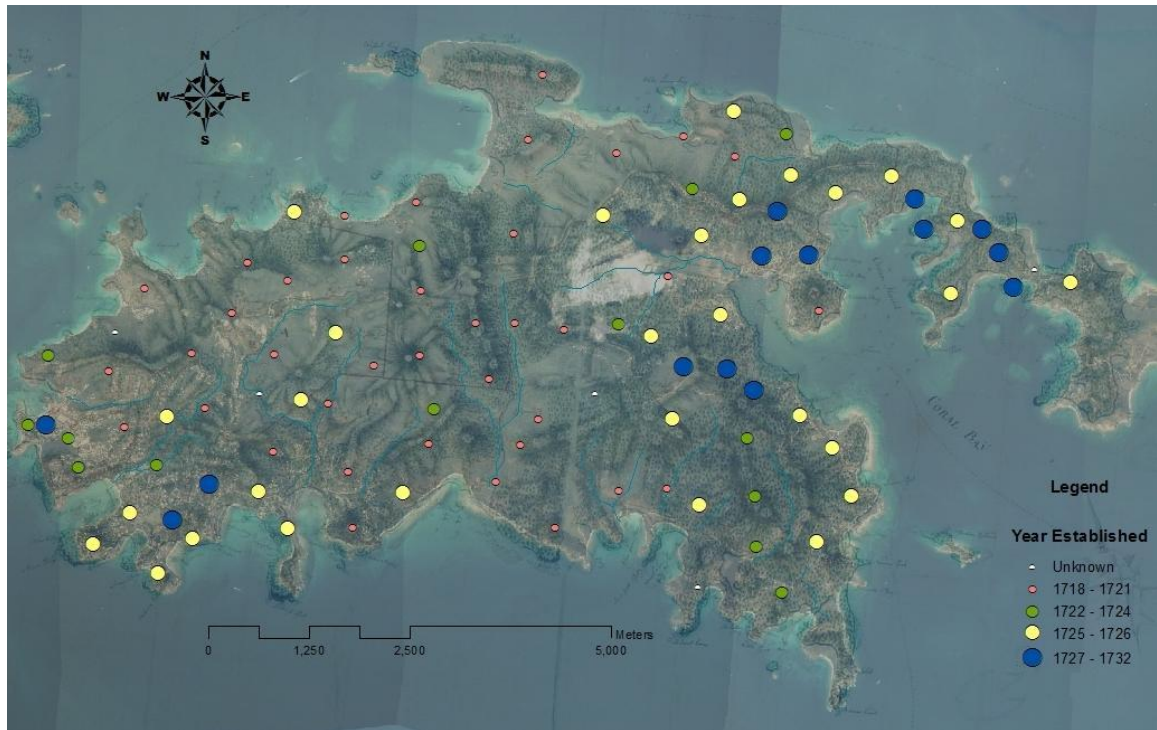
of the fort” (Dookhan 1994; Larsen 1991).<sup>117</sup> The logic behind this probably had to do with not only accessing the best agricultural land, but also increasing protection from attack and raid by pirates, privateers, and aggressive foreign nations.

1721 was a boom year for plantation settlement. Although the Governor of the British Isles was still making threats on Danish sovereignty, it was clear the British were not going to go to war with Denmark over a tiny island in the middle of nowhere. Twenty-six new plantations were established, all of which were located in the Maho, Caneel, Fish and Reef Bay and Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarters, creating a contiguous settlement through the center of the island. Plantations continued to be settled in the subsequent years, with 1725 being another boom year when twenty-three plantations were claimed, this time primarily in the French, Lameshure and Coral Bay Quarters. The last property settled prior to the rebellion was a small plantation, falling below the size requirement, co-owned by de Clery and Girard in Little and Big Cruz Bay in 1732.

The rationale for extending the Danish holdings onto St. Jan had been to increase the amount of arable land for sugar cultivation. After just a few years, that proved to be impractical given the topography, poor soil quality and climate. Cotton became the next preferred crop, although subsistence crops were also being grown on island. At the time of the rebellion thirty-one plantations were cultivating sugar, in all the Quarters except for French. Fifty-five plantations were cultivating cotton. These were located in all the Quarters across the island (Figure 6), but were especially heavy in French Quarter, Coral and Lameshure Bay Quarters, and along the south shore in Reef and Fish Bay Quarter.

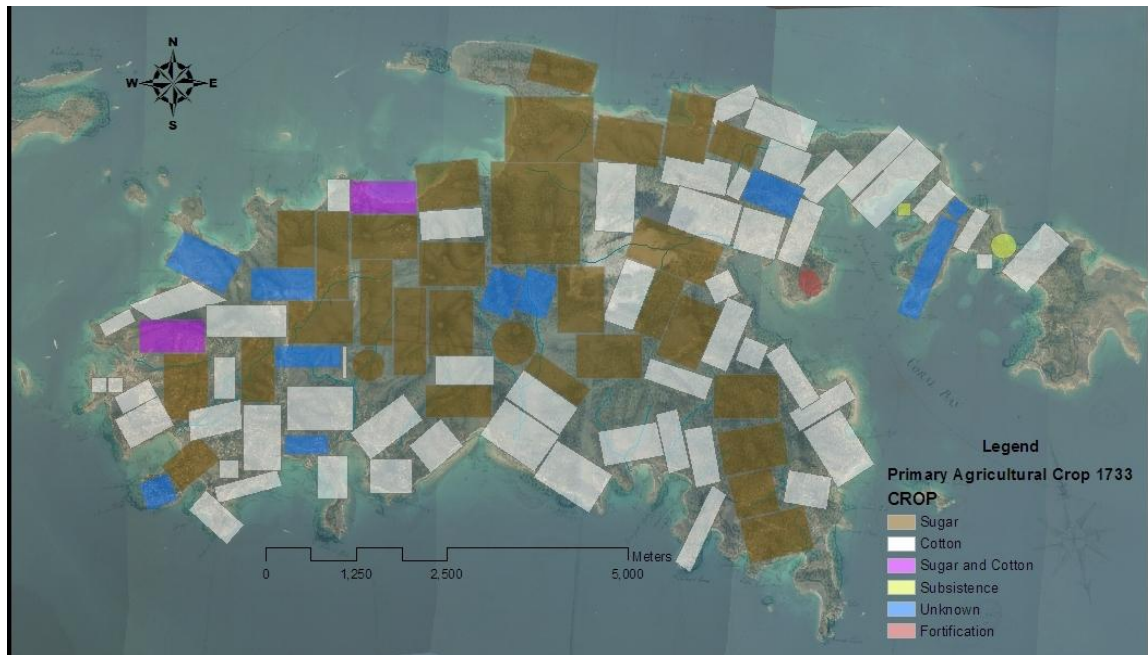
---

<sup>117</sup> Commonly accepted opinion is that Coral Bay Quarter was first established “in the protective shadow of the Fort.”



**Figure 5. Years in which individual plantations were established. Notice that plantations within a quarter tended to be established within the same time frame.**

Only two plantations were cultivating both sugar and cotton, one in Caneel Bay Quarter and one in Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter, as well as two listed as subsistence plantations, both in the French Quarter. Ten plantations were unspecified in the *landlisters* as to what their primary crop was, again throughout all the Quarters with the exception of Lameshure Bay Quarter.



**Figure 6. Plantation boundaries illustrating primary crop type as registered in the *landlist*.**

### *The Environment of St. John*

Despite the small size of the island, St. John exhibits a variety of ecological and climate zones today, and likely also in the past. It is difficult to assess the nature of the forest ecology of the island at the time of Danish occupation; while the island had been officially unsettled, it had already been exploited by peoples from multiple islands for its timber, leaving some questions as to what the ecology was like as "the earliest descriptions of the flora...were not detailed and were produced in the post-plantation era, after the original forests had been altered by clearing and cultivation" (Ray and Brown 1995:212). This occurred by mid- eighteenth century, and by 1800 nearly half the island was covered in secondary growth (Weaver 1990:1). While plantation mono-agriculture expanded early and then quickly ended, much of the island today has been affected by 200 years of livestock grazing. Today the island is dominated by subtropical dry forests, containing "one of the largest and most mature tracts of secondary forest in the

Caribbean" and includes the island's "forests, shrublands, coastal hedges, and rare cactus communities" (Ray, et al. 1998:367). Floral structures of these forests are drastically different across island due to rain, prevailing winds, and even north vs. south-facing slope exposures.<sup>118</sup>

The soils of modern day St. John fall into two general categories, roughly bifurcating the island along its southwest-northeast axis (Figure 7).<sup>119</sup> The geologic substratum for the entire island is a mix of weathered and unweathered igneous rock, overlain by varying depths of often rocky soils.<sup>120</sup> Due to the mountainous nature of the island, the predominating drainage pattern is dendritic, seasonal ghuts. Even the "best" soils for agricultural purposes require intervention with either flood control or irrigation. Under natural conditions most areas of the island are suited for rangeland, and not mono-crop agriculture. How this differs from the historic characteristics of the island is not clear. For example, it is well documented that in some parts of the Southeastern United States, such as in South Carolina and Georgia, some areas lost up to seven feet of topsoil due to the intensive exploitation of the soils, especially in growing "king cotton" (c.f. Messick, et al. 2001). However, the consensus seems to be that this kind of drastic soil deflation did not occur on St. John (Boulon 2008). The steep topography and shallow soils, however, have

---

<sup>118</sup> Interestingly Ray and Brown (1995:220) note that the age of the canopy affects moisture rates; the more mature a growth stand the cooler the climate and higher the moisture content, which could have implications for archaeological investigations of slave provisioning grounds, or areas where native plants could have been exploited. It may also offer interesting data for the incorporation of tamarind and other large trees in the center of vernacular villages on St. John.

<sup>119</sup> This entire paragraph is summarized from the USDA (1994) Soil Survey of the United States Virgin Islands.

<sup>120</sup> Coral Bay and French Quarters, along with the entirety of the south shore, which includes portions of the Fish and Reef Bay and Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarters, are dominated by the Southgate-Victory-Cramer soil series USDA (1994) Soil Survey of the United States Virgin Islands. This soil complex is characterized by shallow to moderately deep well drained soils on steep to very steep summits and side slopes of volcanic hills and mountains. Southgate and victory soils are gravelly loams while Cramer is a gravelly clay. This soil complex contains nearly 40% minor inclusions. The USDA identifies the major management concerns of these soil areas as the steep slopes and rocky soils. The Quarters of Maho Bay, Durlow's Bay, Caneel Bay and the bulk of Little and Big Cruz as well as the inland portion of Reef and Fish Bay are dominated by the Frederiksdal-Susannaberg-Dorothea soil complex. Like the Southgate-Victory-Cramer soil complex, this complex is also characterized by shallow to moderately deep well drained soils on steep to very steep summits and side slopes of volcanic hills and mountains. Frederiksdal soils are a gravelly clay while Susannaberg and Dorothea soils are a clay loam. An added management concern for this complex, which is 33% minor inclusions, is that the soils perc very slowly.

had an effect on archaeological assemblages, which are often subject to slope wash. The varying topography will have different effects on archaeological sites throughout the island.

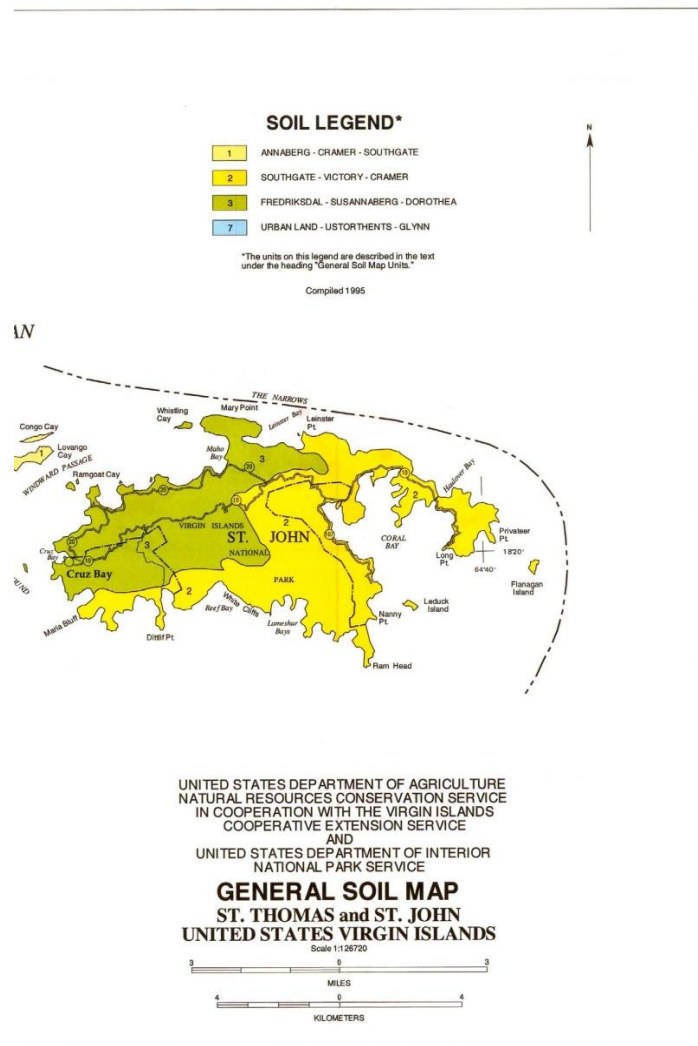


Figure 7. USDA (1994) St. John Soil Map illustrating the general soil zones of the island. Modified from original by Author.



## Coral Bay Quarter



Figure 8. The Plantations of Coral Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and *landlister* number.

**Table 4. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the Coral Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and *landlister* number.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
64	Andreas Henningsen	10	2	Damaged
65	Fiscal Ditlif Nic Friis	15	7	Damaged
66	Augustus Vossi's widow's heirs (Lambrecht de Cooning)	10	4	Damaged
67	Johan Horn	5	4	Damaged
68	Niels Pedersen Øhregraef			Unknown
69	Jochum Schagt's widow (Corporal Høch)	1		Damaged
70	Pieter Frøling	1		Abandoned
71	The Glorious Danish West Indies and Guinea Company	166	7	Damaged
72	Johan Reimert Søetman	51	3	Damaged
73	Cornelius Bødker	7	5	Damaged
74	Hendrick Suhm	25	28	Damaged
75	Lorentz Hendrichsen		4	Damaged
76	Jacob Schønnemann	7	6	Abandoned
	<b>Total</b>	<b>298</b>	<b>70</b>	

Located on the southeast side of the island (Figure 8), Coral Bay Quarter could be thought of as the Company Quarter. When the VGK established a permanent settlement on St. Jan, their first course of action was to establish a defensive structure, Frederiksvaern, to protect the settlement against incursions from other nations. Coral Bay itself is one of the best natural bays in the Caribbean in terms of size, depth, and protection from hurricanes and other storms; the Company believed that because of this Coral Bay Quarter had the potential to have a large settlement that could carry on inter-island commerce. Interestingly, despite this belief the Danes never seemed to have planned for a town or proper port in the Bay. Instead the land in the area was claimed for the private plantations of Company employees, although formal plantations were slow in



developing; while the Company Plantation and Frederiksvaern were each established in 1718, the private plantations were all established between 1725 and 1729. What is also striking is that despite the high quality of the harbor, it is positioned on a portion of the island that is not on a direct route from St. Thomas or any other nearby island, leaving it isolated. As a result, there was little impetus for Coral Bay to emerge as a major port of trade.

While Coral Bay Quarter had the largest number of enslaved people, more importantly, it had the highest proportion of rebels on island, second only to French Bay, which it adjoined to the east. A large majority of the rebels were identified as coming from plantations in the Coral Bay Quarter, and it is in this area that the conflict began with the taking of Frederiksvaern and the lethal attack on several planters and their properties. Correspondingly, Coral Bay Quarter experienced the greatest amount of destruction during the rebellion, with ten of the twelve plantations reporting damage to one or more outbuildings, as well as damage sustained by Frederiksvaern during the conflict.

The Company carved out space for the higher officials of the *VGK* in Coral Bay, although little is known about the archaeological character of these properties.<sup>121</sup> Today, most of these historic properties are privately owned and have not been surveyed. They are important and potentially possess valuable information.

---

<sup>121</sup> Because Coral Bay lies outside of the National Park boundaries and has seen relatively less development than the Cruz Bay area of the island, there is less architectural and archaeological information available for these plantations. Much that does exist date to much later than the time period with which this dissertation is concerned.

### *Fort Frederiksvaern*

Like many fortifications during this period, Frederiksvaern was not built with internal or island security in mind, but instead was built as a deterrent to outside nations. It was constructed at the top of a hill today referred to as Fortsberg Hill, overlooking Coral bay. Twelve hundred feet to the southeast is a small battery of cannons built into the hillside, also facing Coral Bay. Frederiksvaern was established as a symbolic structure that gave weight to the Danish claims on St. Jan in 1718, and, like the Company Plantation, was chronically understaffed throughout the early settlement period. The Company lacked resources, in both man-power and material goods, which would have rendered the fort nearly useless during an attack by an outside nation. Interestingly, the Danes recognized the weakness of their fort, and tried to overcome it through propaganda instead of actual construction or maintenance.

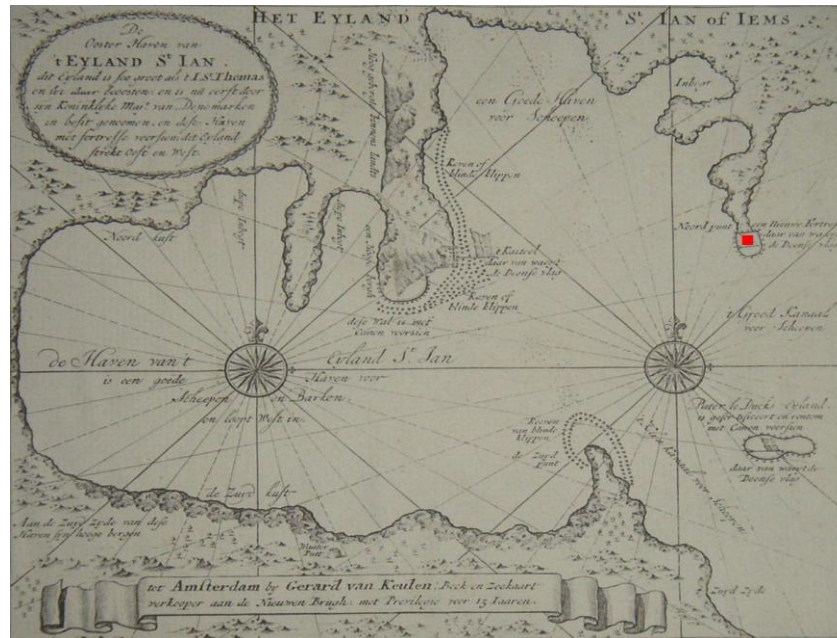
The earliest map of St. Jan is credited to the Dutch cartographer Van Keulen (Figure 9).<sup>122</sup> The 1719- map focuses on the Coral Bay area of St. Jan, which, as noted above, was the quarter of the island with the best natural harbor, and therefore the area the Company had chosen to put both the defensive fort, Frederiksvaern, and their own plantation. Van Keulen depicted three large fortifications- Fredericksvaern, Turner Point and La Ducke Cay- complete with several cannons each, all surrounding the harbor in Coral Bay.<sup>123</sup> Archaeological survey of Turner Point and La Ducke Cay by the author in 2008 identified no historic structures or sites. Similarly, subsequent to 1719, historic maps do not show structures at these points, nor is there any mention of them in historic

---

<sup>122</sup> There is no evidence that Van Keulan ever visited the island himself, and instead created a map at the request of the VGK.

<sup>123</sup> In 1969 Gjessing reports that William Marsh informed him of the existence of a cannon on Turner Point (Gjessing 1969: 30).

documents, although there are oral histories of cannon on Turner Point. It can be safely assumed that in the period leading up to the rebellion Fredricksvaern was the only defensive structure on the island.



**Figure 9. Detail of the 1719 Van Keulen map illustrating Coral Bay. The red square indicates the location of Frederiksvaern. Courtesy of Chuck Pishko.**

The original fort was completed in 1723 (Gjessing 1969:29) and consisted of both a fortification on the top of the hill and a battery of cannons pointed out into the harbor. Contemporary records from the spring of 1733, prior to the rebellion, note that Fredricksvaern, constructed mostly of earthworks, was not completed until the 1720s, and was described by contemporaries as "...only a throwup para-pet of loose stones..." (Ganneskov 1985) that was staffed by a handful of soldiers. What is striking about this map- the only cartographic depiction of St. Jan from the first half of the eighteenth

century- is that it illustrates that the Danish administration was less concerned about exerting power internally, controlling the resources of the island itself, but was instead more concerned with using the map to influence the relationship between the Danish West Indies and her European enemies. The Van Keulen map did not depict the reality that was on the ground in 1719; it did not even necessarily depict a desire or a proposal for future construction on the island. It is actually most likely that the 1719- map was a bluster by Governor Bredal for the English and Spanish, a boast that was meant to deter physical attacks on the island.<sup>124</sup> Whether the posturing had the desired affect is up for debate, however, as the map has merited little attention by historians and geographers, and does not seem to be commented on by contemporaries.

While the vaern would have proved nearly useless during an attack by foreign nations, it also proved useless during the initial uprising on November 23, 1733. The location of Frederiksvaern, at the top of Fortsberg Hill in Coral Bay, was isolated from other parts of the island made it a dubious choice as a defensive structure for the island as a whole. At the time of the rebel attack the fort was staffed by only seven “soldiers,” young men who were discontented employees of the VGK. It is doubtful that these men had much formal training in the military. The commander of the fort, Captain Pieter Frøling, was absent during the initial attack and played little part in the suppression of the rebellion in the succeeding months. After Frederiksvaern fell to the rebels, the fighters fanned out across Coral Bay and appear to have attacked these plantations before moving on to French Bay.

---

<sup>124</sup> This hypothesis was developed through conversations with my colleague Casper Nielsen, University of Copenhagen.

The soldiers relied on the Company for provisions, which must have been inadequate as the 1730- landlister identifies a “piece of ground 1000 feet wide” between Pierre Castans’ and Pieter Krøyer in French Quarter that was used to grow provisions for the soldiers. What the conditions of this provisioning ground were remains unclear. It is possible that a few of the more industrious, and hungry, soldiers squatted on an empty parcel. It might also be the case that this was a more formal agreement between the Company Officials and the soldiers analogous to the provisioning grounds of the enslaved. Either way, it would have taken the soldiers well away from the fort and demanded a significant amount of time and energy to reap any agricultural reward.

Despite the nearly constant calls for maintenance, resources, and the toll of the 1733 Rebellion, arrangements were not made for the Fort to be improved until 1735, after Christiansvaern in Charlotte Amalie was completed (Anderson, et al. 1938-2009). The plans included an entrenchment 100 feet square with small bastions “because of the mountains outlay,” and large planks, made of masonry. Even then, the vaern seems to have been neglected, and allowed to fall into disrepair.

Gjessing (1969:30) reports that Frederiksvaern was abandoned after the insurrection, and was transferred to the Coral Bay settlement in 1760, the decade from which the current structure dates. If this is true, than St. Jan would have gone three decades without a defensive base on the island.

### *The Company Plantage*

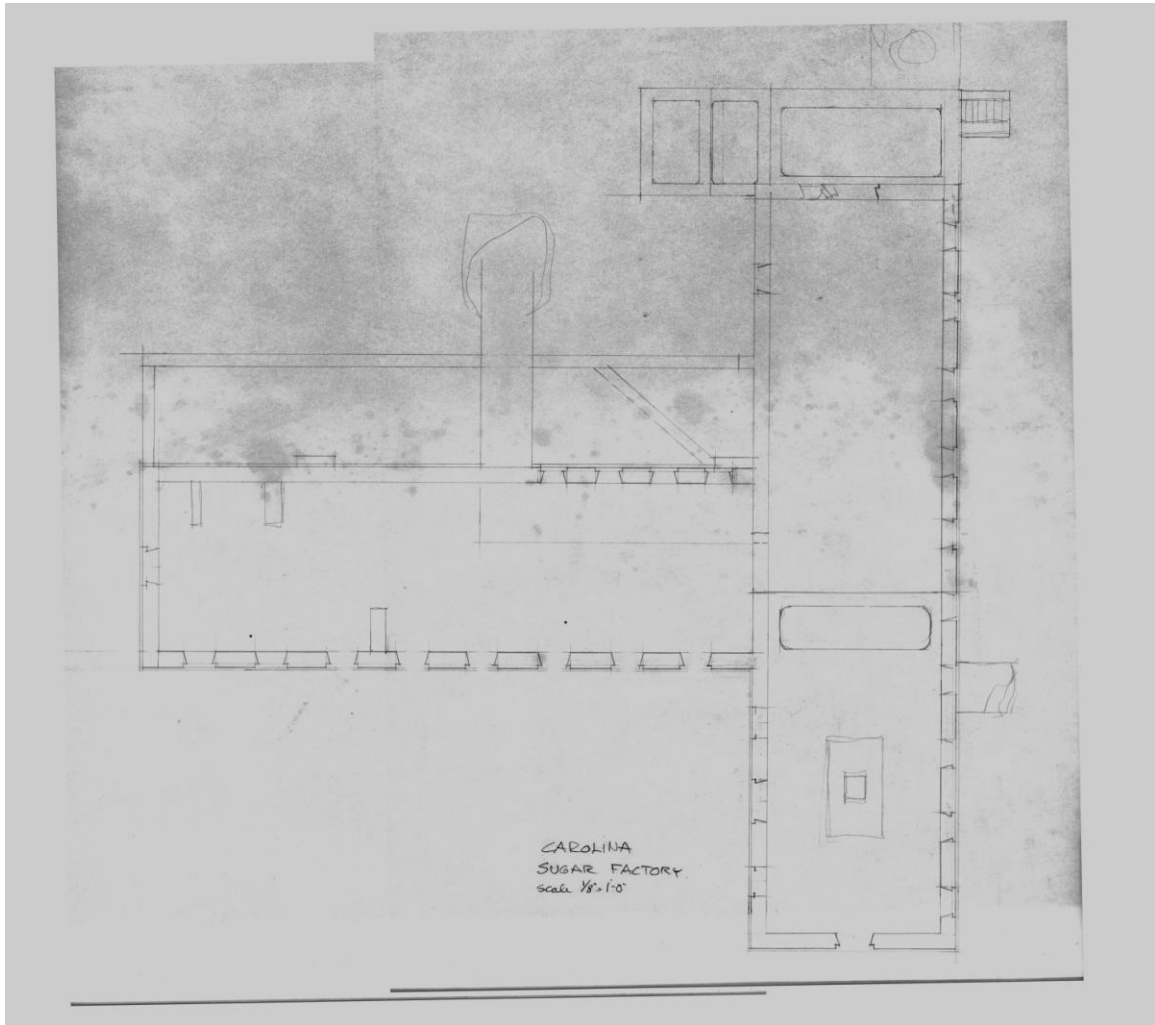
The Company chose a large piece of property near Frederiksvaern when the island was first claimed by Bredahl for the Danish in 1718.<sup>125</sup> Because the area contained a large amount of flat acreage, which was a scarcity on St. Jan, as well as a ghut for water, the Company believed that it would be a very productive area. The property was not, in fact, formally measured until well after the rebellion. It soon became clear that the plantation was not as fertile as the Danish Officials had first hoped, and crop after crop of cotton, sugar and indigo failed. Part of the problem was a chronic lack of slaves and free employees to work the crops. Another part of the problem was that, despite the favorable topography, the southeastern shore of the island, being the leeward side, lacked adequate rainfall and the soils were therefore quickly depleted. As the difficulty of agriculture became apparent, first Governor Suhm and then Governor Gardelin each recommended that the plantation be sold. Despite this, these same men also recommend that pieces of the plantation be carved up and given to Danish officials as their private properties. It is reasonable that Suhm and Gardelin recognized that without huge investment from the *VGK* Directors, the plantation was nothing more than a money pit and paring it down into a smaller entity may have helped in increasing the profitability.

The Company had one of the largest populations of enslaved people on St. Jan. The plantation also had the highest number of rebels. The size of the enslaved force on the plantation was not related to the high number of rebels that it produced during the rebellion, however; Durløe and Johannes van Beverhoudt, for example, each had

---

<sup>125</sup> The Company plantation is generally referred to by the names Carolina Plantation, or Estate Caroline. Neither of these names was in use during the early settlement period of 1718-1733. The Company plantation, like all the holdings of the *VGK*, was acquisitioned by the Danish Crown in 1755. In 1860 the Marsh Family of Tortola purchased the property, and still retains title. Like the Samuels the Marsh family closely protects the archaeological and historical resources of the property. I have not visited the ruins.

populations of enslaved that equaled that of the Company, yet each of these plantations only produced one and zero rebels respectively.



**Figure 10. Company Plantation factory. Frederik Gjessing. Year unknown. Courtesy of the National Park Service.**

## French Quarter



Figure 11. The Plantations of French Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and landlister number where available.



**Table 5. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the French Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and *landlister* number.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
77	Reymer Volkers			Unknown
78	David Bordeaux's Widow	0	0	Abandoned
79	Berent Langemach's Heirs	4		Abandoned
80	Nicolay Creutzfelt			Abandoned
81	Johannes Minneback	19		Abandoned
82	Timotheus Tørner	6		Abandoned
83	Joh. Jac. Creutzer	9		Abandoned
84	Dennis Silvan			Unknown
85	Richard Allen	3		Abandoned
86	Joseph Dreier	3		Abandoned
87	Michel Hendricksen-Pieter Krøyer	9		Abandoned
88	Gabriel van Stell's Widow		3	Abandoned
89	Pieter Krøyer	1	8	Damaged
90	Piere Castan	10	5	Damaged
	<b>Total</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>16</b>	

In some ways the French Quarter can be seen as an extension of the Coral Bay Quarter as so many low-level Company employees acquired land in this area of the island. The French Quarter was the last area of the island populated, and had the lowest population of either free or enslaved people on the island; it is somewhat remarkable, therefore, that it had the highest proportion of rebels. As its name attests, the French Quarter was first settled by French expatriates, many of whom were Huguenots fleeing unrest or persecution either at home or in the French islands (Knight 2001:16). Many of the planters in the French quarter held small plots of land, smaller than the minimum initially prescribed by the Danes, and were *mesterknechts*<sup>126</sup> for the Company or larger landholders. The opportunity to eventually become land holders was part of the package

<sup>126</sup> Gothic Danish term for overseer.

that European nations were selling to their citizens to entice them to immigrate to the New World opportunities to gain wealth and become part of the landed elite. For St. Jan, and particularly for the Company plantage, the practical application seems to have been yet another weakness of the system established by the *VGK*. The labor of these men would have quickly become divided between what was required on their employer's plantations and what was required on their own, especially as the seven year tax-exempt period came to a close and the pressure to turn a profit increased.

Little is known about the early French Quarter plantations. The archaeological investigations that have taken place have tended to focus on the later Oxholm era, corresponding to the 1780-1800 period. In the modern era, this area has proved to be particularly vexing as it is a difficult area to traverse, and has been problematic for NPS personnel to get accurate data. Adding to the general problems of the topography, there are in-holdings of private property within the French Quarter area that are off limits to survey by National Park personnel.

Douglas Armstrong surveyed portions of the French Quarter in relation to his extensive archaeological surveys conducted on the East End community. Armstrong found no evidence of early settlement period plantations (Armstrong 2003a:28, 340). This may be due to the use of this area as subsistence farms or provisioning plots by lower-level employees of the *VGK* that left few archaeological signatures.

The French Quarter produced a high number of identified rebels, sixteen, which was 67% of the rebel population (Table 5). While a high number of rebels are reported as having come from the French Quarter, the properties in this area sustained little damage,

only two plantages of the fourteen, and were primarily abandoned during the conflict. Many were never reclaimed by the 1733- owners.

### *Base Hill*

During July 2008 the author, accompanied by two volunteers, recorded what appeared to an early eighteenth century slave village on the slope of Base Hill. The site is located east of the Johnny Hearn Trail on a steep slope with thick canopy, covered in catch-n-keep.<sup>127</sup> The site measures 12 meter X 15 meter, extending on its long axis roughly north-south, following the natural topography of the ridge. It consists of: dwelling foundations, possibly wattle-and-daub as indicated by the sapling post-holes identified in the masonry structures; dry constructed walls around provisioning gardens and terraces; and an intact midden directly down slope of the structures. A large tamarind tree had fallen over a portion of the rubble-masonry walls, though it continued to grow.<sup>128</sup> The team also identified a diffuse artifact scatter; string rim bottle necks, 3-piece ricket's mold bottle bases, metal debris from what appeared to be an iron pot and a broad garden hoe were all identified but not collected. The artifacts were covered with a thin layer of soil and leaves and left *in situ*. Also identified in the field were two *lignum vitae* posts, *in situ*, as well as a third post on the stone scatter in the center of the site.<sup>129</sup> The small collection of surface artifacts suggests the site is early eighteenth century. It is presumed that the archaeological record is intact, and likely possesses an exceptional degree of

---

<sup>127</sup> I have not provided the exact location of the site at NPS request. To further complicate matters, due to the contested nature of NPS boundaries it is unclear whether this site is completely within NPS boundaries.

<sup>128</sup> Tamarind trees were part of the Columbian exchange, introduced to the New World from Africa. In the Caribbean they are often indicative of slave villages as they had subsistence and symbolic importance to Creole cultures and were often planted in the center of village sites.

<sup>129</sup> *Lignum vitae*, also known as "iron wood" was a popular building material on island due to its strength and resistance to rotting. It was largely over-lumbered during the historic period. The US Navy also heavily harvested *Lignum vitae*. There is almost none left in island today, but historically cut sources are still salvaged and used.

integrity as a result of its location. While at the time the site was tentatively identified as a slave village, more work needs to be done to validate this hypothesis.

It is possible that this is a portion of the site identified by Frederick Gjessing in 1976 and nominated to the National Register of Historic Places (Aushermann 1981:307). Gjessing lists three structures on the north and west sides of Base Hill; however, due to the nature of his map, it seems unlikely that he himself visited the site, but rather incorporated information from another informant, which was not uncommon for Gjessing. Gjessing identifies a set of structures that included a cistern, which was not present on the site described here, but was described by an earlier visit to the same general area by NPS archaeologist Kenneth Wild in January of 2008.<sup>130</sup>

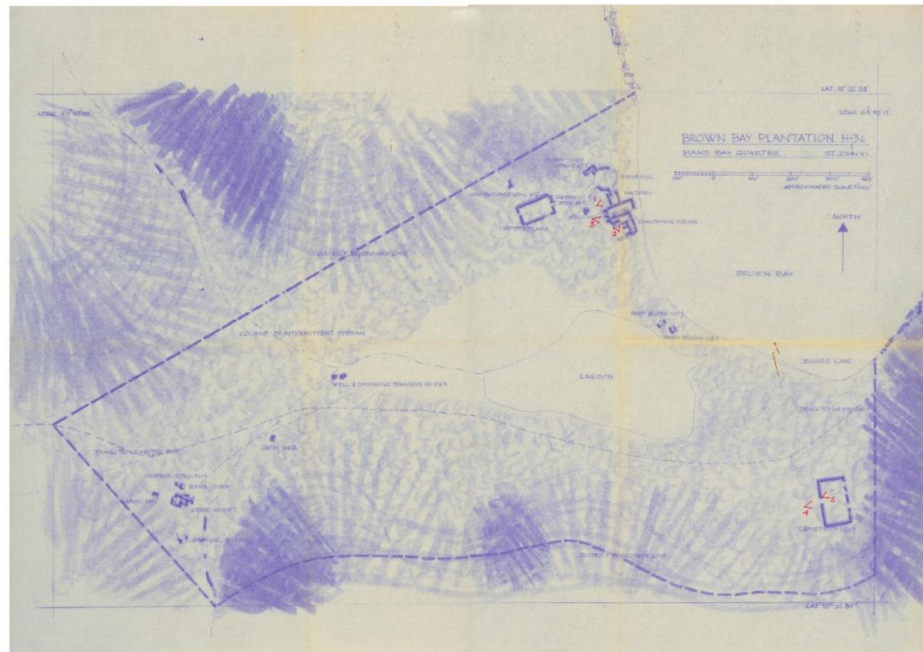
While this site is not directly linked to an individual property holder in the early settlement era, the location of the site provides some intriguing clues as to its role on the island and potentially its role in the rebellion. Base Hill hosted a number of boundaries between various plantations, and so this property, if it indeed dates to the early eighteenth century, could be attributed to William Eason (#98), Cornelius Bødker (#73), Peter Krøyer (#89) or Hendrich Suhm (#74). As this site is highly inaccessible, coupled with the degree of social unrest in the French Quarter during this time period, it is an intriguing possibility is that this was not a sanctioned site, but may be related to marronage.

---

<sup>130</sup> As of January, 2010, NPS Archaeologist Ken Wild attempted to locate the site described by Gjessing, which he had also attempted in the past without success. While one of the structures and the cistern (with standing water) was located, GPS points were impossible to determine due to the heavy canopy. No maps or other data were made in the field. The artifact scatter identified at the site by Wild was reported as relating to the nineteenth and twentieth century.

## *Brown's Bay*

Brown's Bay has some of the most comprehensive, and visible, ruins on St. John. Unfortunately, they all post-date 1780. Ruins related to the 1733 revolt have never been precisely identified at this site. There are ruins that were surveyed by Gjessing and other visitors to the island (Figure 12), but that NPS personnel have been unable to officially relocate. Despite this, Brown's Bay is considered one of the most notorious locales for the rebellion as a number of people were murdered there in the opening hours of the conflict. No structures were reported as being damaged in the Øttingen survey.



**Figure 12. Brown's Bay Site Plan. Probably Frederik Gjessing, year unknown. Courtesy of National Park Service. Note that there are two clusters of plantation structures. The cluster in the upper center post-dates 1780. The smaller cluster in the lower left is more structurally similar to settlement-era plantations.**

By 1733 the bay was split by two plantations. One plantation, (#88), was established in 1723 by Gabriel Van Stell the elder. His widow was listed as the owner from 1728 through 1732, when she sold half the land to her son, also named Gabriel, and

who, acting in the capacity of *mesterknegt*, lived there with his wife and child. After selling her land the widow lived on St. Thomas, and so was absent when the conflict erupted. It is doubtful, therefore, that a second plantation house or complex of structures would have been built. The rest of the Van Stell Family was murdered by Breffu and Christian, before Breffu and Christian moved on to the adjacent plantation, that of Pieter Krøyer (#89). Gabriel van Stell's brother, Hermanus Van Stell,<sup>131</sup> came into conflict with the V GK more than once during the course of the rebellion. When the civil guard was first being deployed, Hermanus fled rather than joining the fight. Later, in the summer of 1734 he was discovered harboring rebels, whom he had laboring for him, on the Van Stell plantation. Hermanus may also have been turning a blind eye to maroon activity as other enslaved people were caught caulking a canoe at Van Stell's point in the summer of 1734.

The exact nature of the ownership of the Krøyer property (#89) is ambiguous; Elizabeth and Maryanne Thoma were listed as the underage heirs for their father, Jacob, who had already died by the 1728- tax assessment. Castan and Krøyer<sup>132</sup> seem to have been given guardianship of the plantage until the girls came of age, although by 1731 they are identified as co-owners, and by 1732 Pieter Krøyer is the sole owner of the property. In 1733 he sold half to Gabriel van Stell. It is unclear whether Krøyer also had guardianship over the minors, although it seems that they lived in the Brown's Bay plantation. They were subsequently murdered during the rebellion as well (Pishko 2005).

---

<sup>131</sup> It is unclear where Hermanus resided at the time of the rebellion. It is clear he was not at the Brown Bay property. He most likely was on St. Thomas with his mother, and returned to St. Jan in the closing months or weeks of the rebellion to claim the family plot.

<sup>132</sup> It was common on St. Jan for upstanding citizens to be appointed guardians of orphaned children, even when they were not directly related. This probably had to do with the small population and high mortality rate during the historic era.

Krøyer was first employed as *mesterknekt* for the Company plantation in Coral Bay. He quickly purchased properties, first jointly and then by himself, and became a minor landholder in the French Quarter. He also married Frøling's daughter, climbing into the ranks of the Danish Company officials. The historic documents indicate he may have been spreading himself too thin; while he managed the Company slaves, he rented his own slaves out to his neighbors and business partners. Five of his slaves were later implicated as participating rebels, and the warehouse and magazine on the Krøyer property were reported damaged in the Øttingen survey.

## Caneel Bay Quarter<sup>133</sup>



Figure 13. The Plantations of Caneel Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and *landlister* number.

<sup>133</sup> The historic Caneel Bay Quarter is not the area today referred to as Caneel Bay. Caneel, meaning “Cinnamon” in Danish, is today Cinnamon Bay. The modern day Caneel Bay was the area of the island known during the early settlement era as “Durløe’s Bay,” and subsequently in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as Klein Caneel, or “Little Cinnamon”.



**Table 6. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the Caneel Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and *landlister* number.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
1	Daniel Jansen's Widow Adriana	42		Damaged
2	Daniel Jansen's Widow Adriana	6		Damaged
3	Abraham Baudewyn (de Buyck)	4		Abandoned
4	Jochum Delicat junior's widow	4		Damaged
5	Hans Pieter Dooris			Abandoned
6	Jen Vlack's heirs	13		Damaged
7	Jacob Magen's heirs	25		Damaged
8	Jacob Magen's heirs			Unknown
9	Eric Bredahl- Claus Thonis	27		Damaged
10	Cornelius Delicat's widow's heirs	35		Damaged
11	Adrian Runnel's widow	36	4	Abandoned
	<b>Total</b>	<b>192</b>	<b>4</b>	

The Caneel Bay Quarter lies along the north shore of the island and provides some of the most direct access to Charlotte Amalie across the Pillsbury Sound. Caneel and its neighboring quarters in the western portion of the island, including Durløe's Quarter and Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter,<sup>134</sup> were the areas settled primarily by the Dutch population on the island. This group held the bulk of the land and the wealth and solidified their position within the Danish West Indies through inter-marriage.

While Caneel Bay had a relatively high number of recorded enslaved people, 192, only four were identified as taking part in the rebellion. This same pattern was followed in the other Dutch-dominated quarters. Despite the low number of identified rebels coming from it, however, this Quarter reported a lot of damage, with seven of the nine plantations in the Quarter adversely affected by the rebellion. While some of this damage, such as what occurred at Daniel Jansen's Widow's plantage (discussed below), may have

<sup>134</sup> A single quarter named by two bays.

occurred during the first day of the conflict, extensive north shore destruction by King Claes was reported in February of 1734, supposedly in retaliation for Schønneman's failures with the negotiations.

*Daniel Jansen's Widow*

The plantations in Caneel Bay were among some of the earliest settled on the island. The earliest documented plantation on St. Jan, that of Daniel Jansen (#1) was “settled as early as the 1680s” (Armstrong, et al. 2005:2). Despite the ambiguity of European ownership of the island itself, St. Jan did not in fact lay abandoned during the years prior to formal Danish occupation, as is evidenced by this plantation. While New World governors squabbled over ownership, planters, sailors and privateers exploited the island for timber and water, others were quietly carving out spaces to grow cash-crops and provisions. William Gandis is the first recorded owner of this property, although whether or not he was the original 1680- settler is still in question (Armstrong 2005:41-42). According to the *landlisters*, this property was formally acquired by Pieter Durloe in 1731, and sold to the Jansen family in 1732.<sup>135</sup> The Jansen's already owned a small cotton plantation directly to the south of, and adjacent to, parcel #2. Daniel Jansen, who had been a *Borger* Captain within the VGK, died by 1730 or 31, leaving the property in the hands of his son, Jan, and widow, Adriana. In the Øttingen survey the cookhouse, warehouse, and magazine were reported damaged.

Previous historical archaeological excavations at the Cinnamon Bay site have included several salvage projects conducted by the National Park Service.<sup>136</sup> The earliest

---

<sup>135</sup> Armstrong et al (2005) claim that Durloe made the initial purchase in 1727. Given the deferred and chaotic nature of the landlisters, as well as Durloe's seeming immunity from proper taxation documentation, he may not have claimed it, or it may have gone undocumented, for several years.

<sup>136</sup> Like many historical sites throughout the New World, this one was built on top of indigenous ruins. In the case of St. John, there was a significant pre-Columbian Taino population that exploited the island seasonally. There is evidence

report was provided by Lee Hanson in November, 1969. In that report Hanson discussed two trenches that were excavated in 1964 for power and water lines. The documentation of the artifacts recovered was ambiguous at best; material was collected at 10 foot increments, the sampling method went unrecorded, and much of the provenance information was lost *en route* to the SEAC headquarters then located in Macon, Georgia. It seems neither that Hanson was present on site, nor that a trained archaeologist conducted the survey. The utility lines cut across a portion of the project area investigated in 2000-2001 by Armstrong et al, and tied into the extant historic building that was identified by Armstrong et al as a planter's residence/storehouse (locus 1). While the width of the trenches also remains unknown, the trenches were presumed to be only one foot deep. Historical artifacts recovered at the time included "earthenwares, stonewares, and Chinese porcelain" from the mid-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although few specifics were included in the report.

This was followed by NPS investigations in 1986 and 1991 (Wild, et al. 1991; Wild and Reaves 1986) for the purposes of re-positioning and improving North Shore Road. The area of the Jansen property that was investigated was set well back from the shore line, and consisted of five 32 centimeter round shovel test pits, and one 1meter x 1meter excavation unit. The historic artifacts recovered dated to late in the eighteenth century, and were associated not with the settlement era Jansen plantation, but most likely the later consolidated plantation. Also in 1991 excavations were undertaken

---

that Cinnamon Bay was an important ritual site prior to Danish colonization. The pre-history of St. John has been examined by the following: Sleight, Frederick (1962) *Archaeological Reconnaissance of the Island of St. John United States Virgin Islands*. William L. Bryant Foundation American Studies Report Number Three; and Wild, Kenneth (1999) Investigations of a 'Caney' at Cinnamon Bay, St. John and social ideology in the Virgin Islands as reflected in pre-Columbian ceramics. In: *L'Association Internationale d'Archeologie de la Caraïbe (eds). Proceedings of the XVIIIth Congress of the International Association of Caribbean Archeology* (Grenada, 1999) 2:304-310. Guadeloupe.

adjacent to this area (Horvath 1991) for the purposes of constructing a waste water management facility. Located just above extant ruins from the late eighteenth through twentieth century, Horvath's investigations revealed no significant cultural materials.

Extensive archaeological excavations of Jansen's plantation were undertaken by Dr. Douglas Armstrong of Syracuse University during 2000-2001 (Armstrong 2003b; Armstrong, et al. 2005). During the course of excavations, Armstrong and his team discovered that there was little disruption for this small holding by the formal colonization of St. Jan in 1718, indicating that, at least unofficially, it was sanctioned by the VGK. Armstrong further notes that the area in question, close to the shore, was not among the first land grants, "in recognition that it had already been settled by long-term, *in-situ* residents" (*ibid*: 41). Given the tenuous hold of the Danes on the island during the initial years of settlement, the logic of allowing already established plantations to continue without interference from the Company is sound.

The artifact assemblages and built environment revealed several interesting characteristics about the Jansen plantation which have important implications for the context of the rebellion. The study area included the remains of three structures with associated middens. Locus 1, designates an extant (although destroyed and rebuilt on several occasions) two-story structure measuring 7 meters x 16 meters, served as both the planter residence and storehouse during the early settlement era. Locus 2 had the archaeological remains of a wattle-and-daub house, measuring 4 meters x 4 meters, with indications that it also was a two story building. Remains of a third structure, Locus 3, cap what appear to be trash middens and post-date 1733.

Armstrong sees “little differentiation” among material culture between planter and slave at this site. The differentiation of material culture between slaves and planters becomes much more evident during the height of sugar agriculture. This indicates that the marginal frontier plantation created familial-type kin ties between the planter and the slave, who had to rely on each other equally to survive both the demanding natural environment as well as the instability of the political environment. These close relationships may have influenced the enslaved population on the Jansen properties against joining the rebellion in 1733 (Armstrong et al. 2005:42-52). The Gandys, Durloes and Jansens were all established families among the St. Thomas plantocracy prior to, or in conjunction with, the settlement of St. Jan. It is conceivable that this familial-type relationship between planter and enslaved was one type of plantation society that could be found throughout St. Jan, and was not an outlying system. If so, this could account for why the participating rebels were primarily from the Company and Company-related plantations, and were not represented as heavily from the family owned plantations.

During the initial uprising this plantation saw significant fighting between Jansen’s family and enslaved inhabitants against the rebel forces. Armstrong and his team identified a distinct burn lens that capped pre-1733 materials, and therefore was most likely caused during events in the rebellion (Armstrong et al 2005:51). It is unknown if the fire damage identified in archaeological excavations occurred on November 23, 1733, or later, on February 10, 1734, when the North Shore was burned by King Claes. The shoreline structures were rebuilt on the original foundations following the rebellion. In subsequent decades, Jansen properties were consolidated with other adjacent properties,

and both factory works and primary planter residences were removed to the interior of the island, and to higher elevations.

The National Park Service has continued excavations in the area investigated by Armstrong et al for salvage purposes.<sup>137</sup> During April, 2004, interns under the direction of VINP archaeologist Ken Wild excavated Unit 35 in Armstrong Locus 2, which contained historic materials associated with the early settlement site. Among these were the floors of the original structure with associated burning from the rebellion event, whether in November of 1733 or February 1734. At the request of VINP, in 2006 I conducted artifact analysis on the materials recovered from Unit 35. The assemblage consisted of early eighteenth century domestic artifacts that support the interpretations offered by Armstrong et al (2005). Also at the request of VINP, I conducted an excavation adjacent to Unit 35 on the Cinnamon Bay beach. This unit, 50 centimeter x 50 centimeter, was located near the “surf shop” where sporting equipment could be rented by tourists, and was eroding rapidly due to heavy foot traffic, revealing historic materials, primarily ceramics dating to the mid to late eighteenth century.

The history of archaeological investigations at Cinnamon Bay supports the hypothesis that the early settlement, from 1680s through the rebellion, was geographically located close to the shore. This would have been a calculated risk for the families that depended on the marginal island for their existence. At the shore, while they would have had greater access to flat lands for agriculture and the sea for transportation and communication, they also would have been vulnerable to attack from a number of groups with their own vested interest in the island. It is probable that the Gandys, and

---

<sup>137</sup> Extensive excavations for utility line placement were conducted by a team led by Dr. Emily Lundberg during the summer of 2010. The report was not available at the time of this writing, however, conversations with people involved indicate that the majority of the material recovered was from a prehistoric context and may not be relative to this study.

then the Jansens, weathered these risks due to the very nature of their size; a small, familial plantation carried less of a temptation for pillage than larger operations.

After the 1733 slave rebellion, although the shoreline buildings appear to have been continually used, at least the planter residence/warehouse, the property did follow the same pattern we see elsewhere on island, with planter dwellings moving to the interior of the island, and often to a higher elevation.

#### *Adrian Runnel's Widow*

The Runnels', or more accurately, the Runnels' Widows, had an extensive enclave of properties clustered in the Durloe Bay Quarter. In 1733, Adrian Runnel's widow, Elizabeth, owned two adjacent plots, one in Caneel Bay Quarter (#11) and the other in nearby Durloe's Bay Quarter (#12); later these two properties are consolidated and known as Adrian Plantation. Both plantations had relatively high numbers of enslaved people, although only the Durloe's Bay plantation had enslaved people who took part in the rebellion. Although the properties are documented separately in the *landlisters*, and the enslaved population was presumably counted separately as well, the two properties were operated as a single entity (Kellar 2004:72). There is no evidence to suggest that the Adrian plantation was adversely affected during the rebellion, either from previous archaeological excavations, or from documentary evidence such as the Øttingen survey.

The popular history of the rebellion has made Adrian Estate/Plantation a special location for the rebellion. Anderson's character Kanta used Adrian as the headquarters for his rebel group during the conflict.<sup>138</sup> However, nothing in the historical documents

---

<sup>138</sup> Anderson seems to have followed Westergaard (1917) and Larsen (1928) in identifying Adrian as a location of rebel headquarters. However, Larsen does not provide references for her research, and Westergaard has come under heavy criticism in recent years from US based and Danish scholars who question many of his assertions. The current research found no evidence that occupation of this property by rebel forces occurred.

indicates this was actually the case, or that the rebel leadership came from the Runnel's properties.

Portions of this site related to later temporal components of the slave village were part of a doctoral dissertation by Elizabeth Kellar of Syracuse University. Interestingly, Kellar identified the curation of certain types of artifacts that oral history on modern St. John might indicate were related to the slave rebellion. Kellar, who investigated slave identity through consumer choice, hypothesized that many of the older European-style ceramics were pieces or forms associated with the looting that took place on St. Jan during the rebellion and were subsequently curated by the enslaved population for decades. While this is an intriguing idea, it bears greater investigation and scrutiny through the systematic archaeological survey of sites directly associated with the rebellion, and systematic oral history studies.

#### *Anna Delicat's Heirs*

Members of the Delicat family owned three plantations in the Caneel Bay Quarter. That belonging to Anna Delicat (#10) is today known as Catherineberg, famous for its nineteenth century windmill. Late in the eighteenth century the property was known as Jochumsdal, possibly after Jochum Delicat, the original owner of the property. Although this plantation had a significant enslaved population, numbering thirty-five individuals, none were identified as being part of the rebellion. This plantation did experience damage to the cookhouse, warehouse and magazine according to the Øttingen survey. This plantation is interesting for the fact that NPS archaeologist Kenneth Wild hypothesizes that the original plantation was dismantled to build Catherineberg, which today is a stop on the commemorative event held for the 1733 Slave Rebellion.



### *Abraham Beaudwyn's Estate*

Peter Bay, located in the Caneel Bay Quarter, was named for Pieter de Buyck, the original owner of (#3). A Dutch settler, he died in 1730, and his wife promptly married Abraham Beaudwyn.<sup>139</sup> The property was sold to Jasper Jensen in 1735 (Edwards 1987). Jansen was the son of Daniel Jansen and Adriana de Windt; his mother retained ownership of the two adjacent plantations, (#1) and (#2), and all three were subsequently combined to form the Cinnamon Bay Estate (Knight 1999:15-16). Edwards hypothesized that this plantation lacked structures simply because of the fact that there was no damage suffered during the rebellion. However, this was a cotton plantation, and cotton plantations typically had less of a built environment than contemporary sugar plantations did. Also, at the time of rebellion, this was a small operation, with only four enslaved people recorded and the Beaudwyn's living off island, so in all probability there were even fewer man-made structures than would be expected for a cotton plantation of this time. Whether early eighteenth century structures did in fact exist requires further archaeological investment.

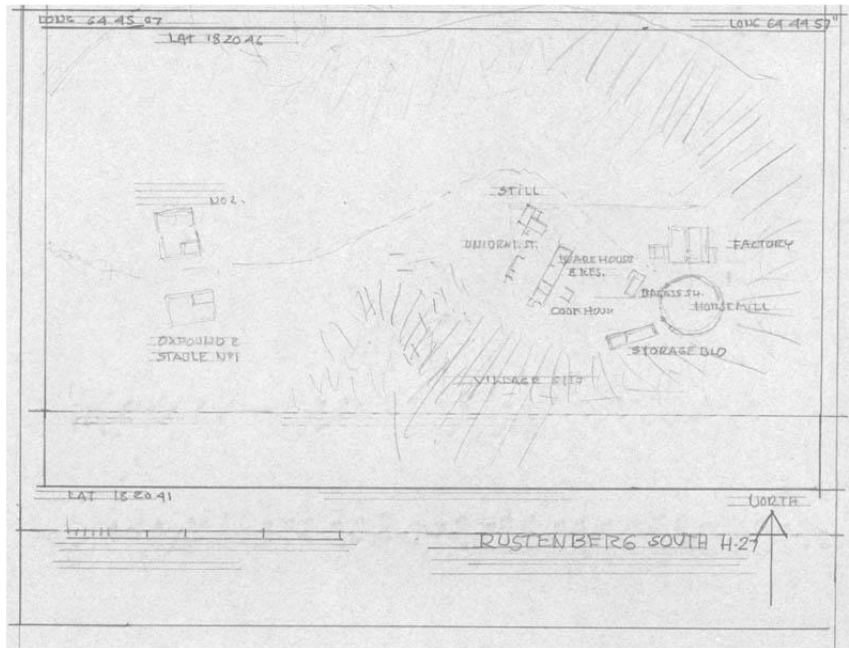
### *Jacob Magens*

Jacob Magens received a land grant for the estate (#7) that was later to become known as Rustenberg in 1718 (Edwards 1990; Figure 14). Magen's himself died early, but his widow, Maria, was a Beverhoudt, and so had an extensive familial network on island. During the rebellion this plantation suffered damage to the cookhouse and warehouse. None of the twenty-five enslaved people living on this property were reported as participating. Located 150 yards south of Center Line Road, Rustenberg was surveyed

---

<sup>139</sup> Alternate spellings include Boudwyn.

by Aushermann et al in 1981-82. The extant ruins of an extensive early eighteenth century sugar plantation are comprised of the factory, an animal mill<sup>140</sup>, warehouse, bagasse<sup>141</sup> shed, and the residence house with storage.



**Figure 14. Rustenberg Plantage. Frederik Gjessing. Year Unknown. Courtesy of the National Park Service.**

#### *Eric Bredahl<sup>142</sup>/Claus Thonis<sup>143</sup> Plantation*

Eric Bredahl was the governor of Danish West Indies who first managed to establish a permanent settlement on St. Jan, despite repeated attempts by the Spanish and British to dislodge the Danes. As part of his efforts, Bredahl claimed one of the earliest private plantations, (#9). What is notable is that Bredahl established a plot in Caneel Bay Quarter, not in the "shadow of Frederiksvaern" which he himself established at the behest

<sup>140</sup> An animal mill was a round platform around which horses or oxen walked, turning gears that turned rollers, crushing sugar cane.

<sup>141</sup> Bagasse was the waste after all the sugar had been extracted from the cane. Dried, bagasse became a valuable fuel source on islands with strained forests such as St. Jan.

<sup>142</sup> Alternate spelling includes Bredahl.

<sup>143</sup> Alternate spellings include Tonis, Thonnis, and Joris.

of the VGK for whom he worked. This plantation did not report any damage in the wake of the rebellion.

Archaeologically the site, today known as L'Esperance, has high potential. Architecturally the buildings are unique in the use of exotic building stone, most likely from the Leeward Islands (Aushermann et al. 1981:314). If the ruins visible on the landscape are associated with Bredahl, he built his plantation to be defensible, at a relatively high elevation and inland, away from the beach. This most likely indicates Bredahl's wariness of attack from foreign nations. This property also benefitted from one of the only permanent springs on island during the early settlement era, good soil conditions and relatively high precipitation (Brewer and Hammerstein 1988:74).

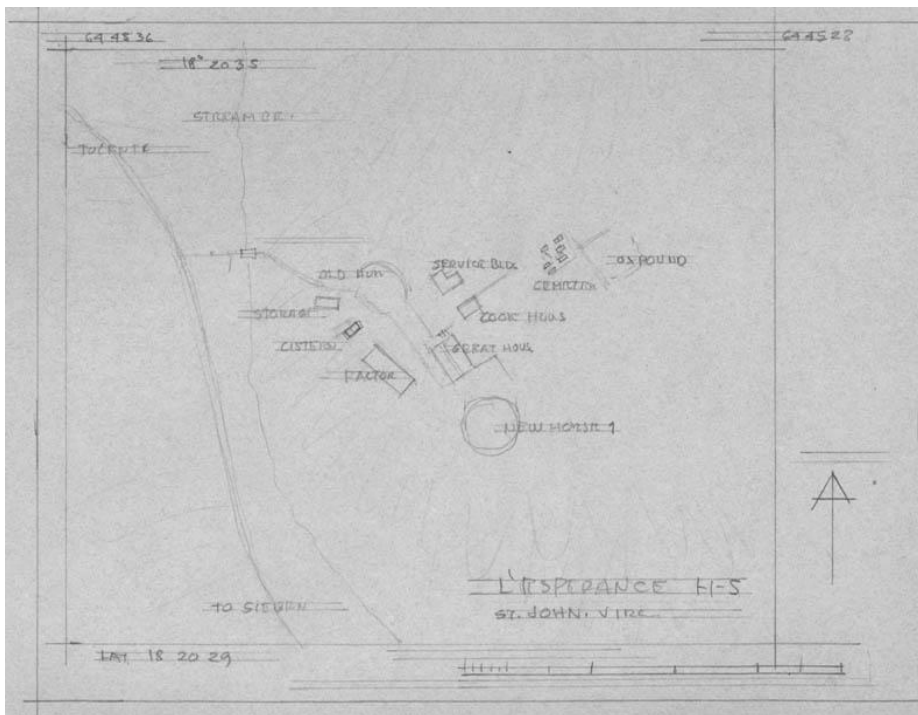


Figure 15. L'Esperance Plantage. Frederik Gjessing, year unknown. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

## Durloe's Bay Quarter



Figure 16. The Plantations of Durloe's Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and landlister number.

Table 7. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of Durloe's Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and landlister number.

Landlister Number	Planter	Number of Enslaved	Number of Identified Rebels	Plantation Status
12	Adrian Runnel's widow	46		Abandoned
13&14	Jannes Beverhoudt & Wife	46		unknown
15	Isacq Gronwald	16		Abandoned
16	Isaac Runnels' Widow	33	2	Damaged
17	Abraham Runnels' Heirs	21		Abandoned
18	Pieter Durloe (Hawks Nest Plantage)	96	1	Damaged
	<b>Total</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>3</b>	

Durloe's Bay Quarter contained only six plantations and may have been bounded less by geography than by familial relations.<sup>144</sup> Although this Quarter had one of the highest enslaved populations on island, only three of 258 enslaved individuals were identified as taking part in the insurrection. Two of the six plantations that were located in this Quarter experienced damage during the conflict; however, one of these was Pieter Durloe's plantation, which was headquarters for the Civil Corp headed by Beverhoudt, and so was directly targeted by the rebel forces.

#### *Isaac Runnels' Widow*

Taken up by Isaac Runnels in 1721, Susannaberg (#16) was named for his bride, Susanna Beverhoudt, Captain Jannis' daughter, who would be widowed by 1731 at the age of twenty-five. Today Susannaberg is privately owned, but retains ruins of the early settlement era plantation, along with the foundation of the early house that lies below the extant dwelling overlooking Jumbie Bay. While there has been much historical and architectural research conducted on later eras of Susannaberg Estate, no archaeological work has been conducted on the property relating to the 1718-1733 period. Aushermann et al surveyed and mapped the property as part of the 1981-82 St. John Sites Report, and noted a "stone-lined hand dug 100 foot deep well which evidently has never gone dry" (*ibid* 168). The cookhouse, warehouse and magazine were reported as damaged in the Øttingen survey.

---

<sup>144</sup> Durloe's Bay Quarter was subsequently subsumed into the larger geographic area of Caneel Bay Quarter.

By 1733 the Beverhoudts were a dominate family on St. Jan, owning six of the 102 plantations, totaling approximately 750 acres.<sup>146</sup> The family had significant influence beyond these holdings as well, as they had intermarried with several other prominent families on the island, and Danish Officials (some of these marriages are discussed above). Among these early plantations established by the Beverhoudts was the early estate in Little and Big Cruz Bay, (#13 & #14).<sup>147</sup> Estate Beverhoutsberg was built along Battery Ghut and is currently privately owned, so little is known about this property archaeologically. There was no damage reported to the plantation in the Øttingen survey. Aushermann et al conducted an architectural survey in 1981-82, identifying several structures on the plantage including an animal mill, animal pen, factory, warehouse, and what was identified as a "physicians house" (*ibid* 405; figure 17). This property is associated with Johann van Beverhoudt, the captain of the Civil Guard during the rebellion and one of the few Beverhoudts who maintained a permanent residence on island. Beverhoudt maintained a significantly large enslaved population totaling forty-six individuals at this plantation alone, although none were implicated in the rebellion.<sup>148</sup> The landlisters indicate that this enslaved population also moved widely across the island as they were the labor force not only here but at other plantations as well, such as (#30) in

---

<sup>145</sup> Jannes also identified as Jannis and Johanne in historic and modern documents.

<sup>146</sup> For this study, plantations #13 and #14 are counted as a single plantation. While not contiguous, these six plantations were relatively close together and were all located in the Durloe and Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarters. By 1733 the Beverhoudts had significantly intermarried with other prominent families such as the Delicats, Runnels and Durloes, each of whom owned substantial amounts of land on St. Jan, so the influence of the Beverhoudts was probably quite substantial.

<sup>147</sup> In the *landlisters* Jannis Beverhoudt is listed as owning 2 plots, but they have the same exact information and verbal description of location. My best analysis is that 13 and 14 were the same plantation, and may have resulted from two smaller plots being consolidated into one of standard size.

<sup>148</sup> Taken together, all 6 Beverhoudt family plantations had a total known enslaved population of 123 individuals. Not a single rebel was identified as coming from a Beverhoudt plantation. While not all the Beverhoudt's resided on St. Jan during the early settlement period, several did, including Captain Jannis. Each of the properties also had at least one mesterknegt with the exception of Captain Jannis's estate, although he had several grown sons. This may indicate that the Beverhoudt's maintained a supervisory presence over their enslaved population.

408

FENCE

PROPERTY LINE

ANIMAL PEN RUINS

WIRE FENCE

PAVED TERRACE

WAREHOUSE

PHYSICIAN'S HOUSE

SUGAR FACTORY

Illegible

CISTERN

APPROXIMATE SCALE 1"=200'

NORTH

BEVERHOUTSBERG - SAINT JOHN - U.S.V.I. - VIRGIN ISLANDS PLANNING OFFICE - 5/78

*Pieter Durloe's Plantage*<sup>149</sup>

<sup>149</sup> Today this property is known as Caneel Bay. Historically this Bay, or region of the island, was also known as Klein Caneel, meaning “little cinnamon”.

1732 landlister recorded him as residing at his Durloe Bay plantation for that tax year. Despite this, he was off island when the rebellion erupted, and did not return until the Danes retained control of the island. The planters, led by Durloe's son-in-law Captain Jannis van Beverhoudt, garrisoned Durloe's north shore plantation, using it as their headquarters in the fight against the rebels. While we know from the Governor's Order Book that the plantation suffered damage, none was reported in the Øttingen survey.

Much of Durloe's success came from the convenient geography of his plantation. Located on the north shore, Charlotte Amalie is a direct shot by boat. The property was a successful sugar producing plantation, owing to the relative flatness of the area. Durloe also had the good fortune, or the calculating foresight, to claim ground that had been previously cleared by the Native Amerindian population that inhabited the island prior to European occupation of the Caribbean (Norton, et al. 2011a; Tyson 1984). During the rebellion the manager's house and sugar works sat on a small knoll overlooking flat land on all sides with the slave village below the works to the northwest.



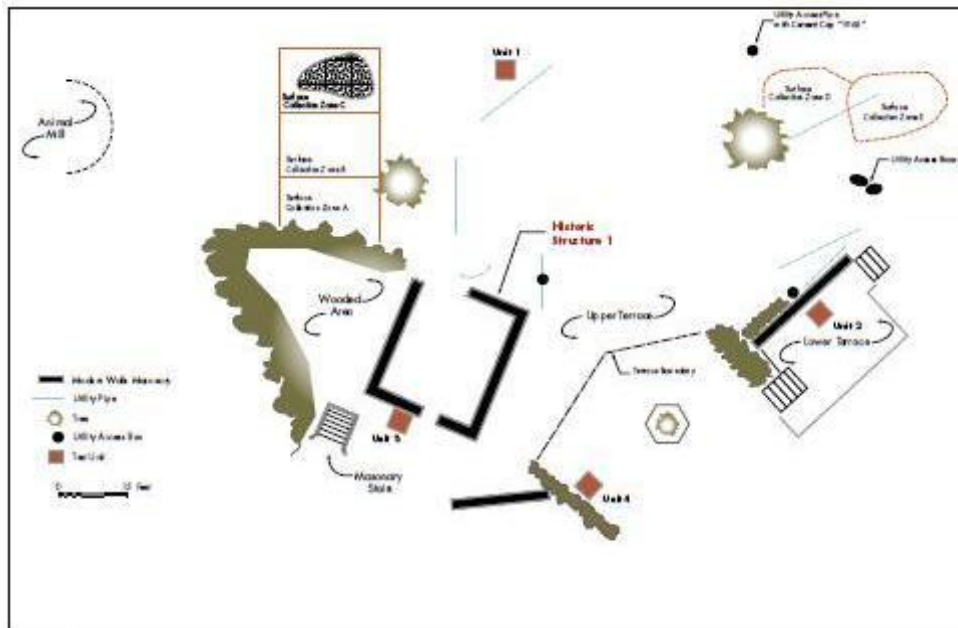


Figure 18. Manager's Villa Site Plan, Caneel Bay Resort. Norton et al 2011.

Today, the Durlow plantation is an exclusive resort called Caneel Bay. Established by Laurence Rockefeller and granted a special lease when the VINP was created in 1956. This has created a unique set of preservation issues for the property. Limited work has been conducted at the site, most focusing on the prehistoric component. During May, 2010 the author and a crew of four field techs conducted Phase II archaeological excavations on the knoll where the original manner house stood (Norton et al. 2011; Figure 18). A total of 21 shovel test pits, measuring 1.5 feet in diameter, plus four 4 foot x 4 foot units were excavated, recovering a total of 1,842 artifacts. The date range of the artifact assemblage was late eighteenth to late nineteenth century, 1780-1860, putting it outside the current study's timeframe. No early eighteenth century component was identified. It is presumed that further testing on a broader range of the property could reveal information for the early settlement era. One feature which was identified during the survey was a set of rubble masonry stairs measuring 11 feet 2 inches in length, north-south, 6 feet wide and 6 feet tall. The staircase lay just feet from the carefully manicured

grounds of the resort, covered in night-blooming cerius, but has gone unrecorded since the early twentieth century. The staircase is oriented 20 degrees off north, the same orientation as a nearby structure, historic structure #1, and faced the factory works and the slave village. It was built in the traditional Danish “welcoming arms” style, with the banisters flaring outward at the opening of the stairway. This staircase represents the remainder of the dwelling that existed at the time of the rebellion, and was the entrance to the house in which the planters barricaded themselves in 1733-34.

#### *Abraham Runnels’ Heirs*

Denis Bay property, (#17) was first inhabited by the Runnels family in 1728, a prominent Dutch family that held several properties along the North Shore in the Caneel Bay Quarter. It is believed that the Bay is named for the *mesterknecht* Dennis Silvan, who owned his own plantation in French Bay, and was also employed as *mesterknecht* for the Company plantation in Coral Bay. While little is known about Dennis, he is unique in that reportedly he had a run in with rebels in the early hours of November 23, 1733 and survived. Abraham Runnels’ widow, Susanna Runnels, the owner of this plantation, as well as an adjacent parcel, Susannaberg Plantation (#11), eventually married a Beverhoudt, Jan, after the rebellion (Edwards 2000).

Today the Denis Bay ruins are dominated by mid-nineteenth century masonry slave village that has been well preserved. However, it has been speculated that an early eighteenth century component lies below these visible ruins (Brewer and Hammerstein 1988:70). In 2000 an archaeological assessment of the property was conducted by Cultural Resources Assessment Group. This assessment utilized magnetometers and resistivity measurements to locate archaeological features, as well as two 1meter x1meter

excavation units. The survey was able to identify foot paths between historic structures, the edge of buildings, and garden terraces, but dates for these features were not provided. In modern times much of this site has been compromised by extensive development of dwellings.

### Lameshure Bay Quarter



Figure 19. The Plantations of Lameshure Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and *landlister* number.

**Table 8. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the Lameshure Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and *landlister* number.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
52	Gouvert Marche	12	2	Damaged
53	Johannes Uytendahl	7		Damaged
54	Conrad Verstech's widow (Jan Jansen de Windt)	5		Abandoned
55	Thomas Bordeaux	22	3	Damaged
56	Andreas Hammer's widow	6		Abandoned
57	Maria Simson	11	1	Damaged
58	Jesaias Valleaux	29		Damaged
59	Jasper Jansen			Unknown
60	Lieven Marche	10		Damaged
61-63	Cornelius & Jochum Coop	19		Damaged
	<b>Total</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>6</b>	

Lameshure Bay was an area where the rebels and possible maroon groups were reported as living during the conflict. Even today, with modern vehicles, Lameshure Bay can be difficult to access and is most easily approached via boat. In 1733, with the number of plantations that were built close to the shore, this may have posed a logistics problem for the rebels who inhabited part of Lameshure Bay Quarter during the rebellion, and would have wanted to keep the Civil Corp from accessing this portion of the island. While seven of the ten plantations complexes that existed in this quarter were damaged, all were along the coast and not in the interior. As Lameshure quarter is adjacent to Coral Bay Quarter, many of those damaged were also adjacent to plantations targeted in the Coral Bay Quarter. Of the 120 enslaved individuals who lived in this Quarter in 1733, only six were identified as rebels.

### *Coops' Plantations*

In 1733 Jochum and Cornelius, as well as Cornelius' son, who was also his namesake, owned three plantations that were adjacent to each other in the southwest corner of the island in Lameshure Bay. While the landlisters maintain the individual identity of each of the properties for tax purposes, the Coops ran all three as a single entity, focusing on cotton cultivation with a single enslaved labor force. Apart from this, not much is known about the Coops. Cornelius the elder died by 1731, leaving his property in the hands of his brother, Jochum. Prior to the rebellion Jochum reported a long list of slaves who died from various causes; this high mortality rate may indicate a more harsh work environment for the slaves at Coop's than at other plantations.<sup>150</sup> In 1738 the Coop complex was consolidated with the property of Andreas Hammer (#56) (Knight 2000; Tyson 1986). The warehouse and magazine were reported damaged during the rebellion in the Øttingen survey.

Today known as Estate Concordia and under private ownership, the property has undergone some archaeological survey related to development projects, although the property was altered without the benefit of archaeological reconnaissance for a subdivision in the 1960s (Lundberg 1986). Lundberg's survey identified a number of historic structures, charcoal production sites, graves, and historic artifacts related to a portion of the site.<sup>151</sup> While Lundberg's research was inconclusive as to when the site dates, she notes that the historic site is highly significant for its potential for archaeological research.

---

<sup>150</sup> The 1732 landlisters record a long list of slaves who died while laboring for the Coops; in his translations Anderson has a side note in the margins calling Jochum Coop a "bastard".

<sup>151</sup> Lundberg identifies an NPS survey by Roy Reeves (pg 12), done on the portion of the site that sticks into NPS property. I have not been able to locate a report for that particular survey.

### *Lameshure Bay Estates*

The area of Lameshure Estate was investigated by Master's students in the Department of History at the University of Copenhagen Laurah Thatt and Jonas Pedersen in 2007 under the direction of NPS archaeologist Ken Wild in the VINP International Internship Program. In this program history students conduct archival research on a specific topic for a semester, then spend a month on St. Jan conducting correlating field research, specifically archaeological reconnaissance. Thatt and Pedersen discussed the four settlement-era plantages that, combined, created today's Lameshure Estate. These included the plantages of Gouvert Marche (#52), referred to as Great Lameshure 1 by Thatt and Pedersen, and Yawzi Point by the National Park Service; Johannes Uytendahl (#53), referred to as Little Lameshure by Thatt and Pedersen; Jasper Jansen (#59),<sup>152</sup> referred to as Great Lameshure 2 by Thatt and Pedersen; and the plantage of Lieven Marche (#60), also called Cabrit Horn.

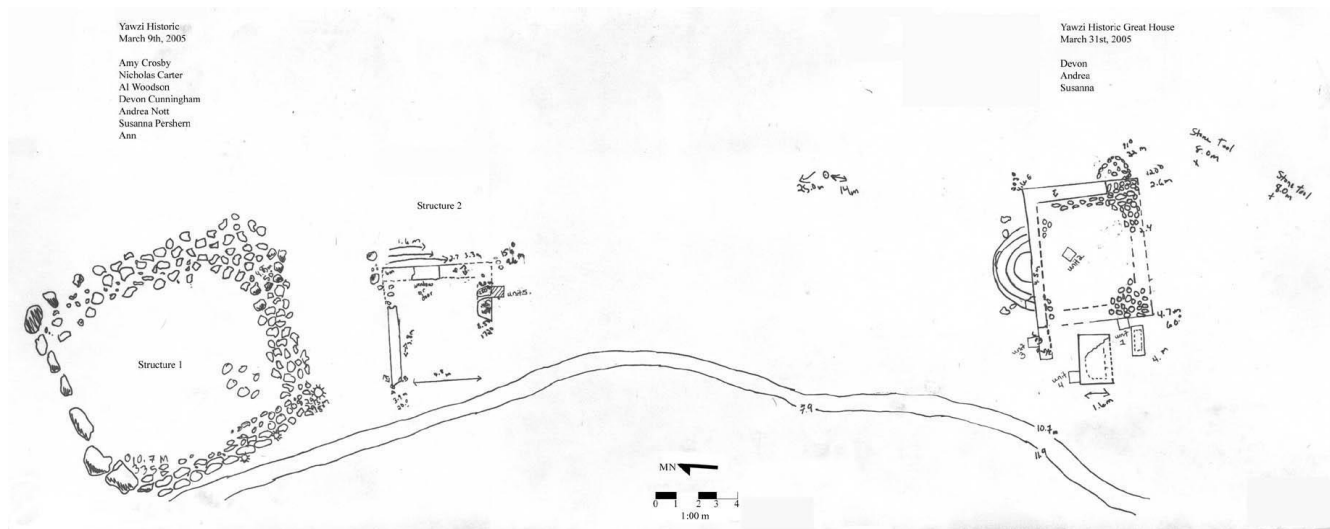
#### Gouvert Marche

This plantage, (#52), was settled early, in 1720, but changed hands several times before Marche purchased the property in 1732, just prior to the rebellion. A small cotton plantation, Marche lived on island with his family, along with twelve enslaved laborers, two of whom were later implicated in the rebellion. Thatt and Pedersen conducted limited archaeological reconnaissance at the site, including five shovel test pits and a surface

---

<sup>152</sup> Jasper Jansen is listed as the owner of plantation (#59) in the 1733/36 *landlisters*. However, Thatt and Pedersen (2007:23) propose that Jansen purchased this plantation in 1735. Given the quality of archival research the two conducted specifically on the history of these four properties, I am inclined to comply with their chronology. The discrepancy is most likely due to the fact that the 1733 *landlister* was completed in 1736, and the sale in 1735 was wrapped into the final document. It is unknown how common this was for this particular *landlister*. If this is true, then, according to Thatt and Pedersen, Jacob Magens' heirs co-owned the plantation at the time of the rebellion. Jansen only owned the plantation for two years, when it quickly changed hands to an Alexander David in 1737, who relinquished the property in 1739. It is unclear who owned the property between 1739-55, when it was purchased by Mathias Bowe. Thatt and Pedersen identified no archaeological signature of the plantation during their month on St. John in 2008. The frequent turnover in ownership may indicate the turmoil that St. Jan was under in the years subsequent to the slave rebellion.

collection. While many of the artifacts recovered dated to the early eighteenth century, those recovered nearest the house dated later, to the mid-eighteenth century, suggesting that the dwelling is not the original. Also interesting, the staircase to the planter's house is not the customary "Danish Welcoming Arms" design with outwardly-flaring banisters; the stair-case is a broad, convex staircase that is unique to the DWI (figure 20). During survey, Thatt and Pedersen identified a rock pile roughly in the shape of a square building, but the purpose was undetermined. This may be the location of the early eighteenth century dwelling and bears more investigation. The status of the plantation as a result of the rebellion is unknown. Marche, or his family members, do reclaim the plantation as his widow later consolidates this plantage with that of Johann Uytendahl.



**Figure 20. Site plan of the Gouvert Marche plantation, today known as Yawzi Point. Courtesy National Park Service.**

### Johannes Uytendahl

Prior to the rebellion, Johannes Uytendahl is an absentee landowner, leaving an unnamed *mesterknecht* to oversee his seven enslaved laborers to work the small cotton plantation, (#53), on their own. It is unknown what the plantation experienced during the conflict, although it does not appear that any slaves participated. Uytendahl took advantage of the

offer to settle St. Croix at the close of the conflict. It is probable that he took his enslaved population with him as his son (also named Johannes Uytendahl) reclaimed Little Lameshure in 1734, working the property without enslaved labor. In 1759 the Uytendahl Family slaves are implicated in the St. Croix conspiracy to rebel, as are the slaves of the de Windt Family and the Rogier Family, two groups with whom the Uytendahls were heavily intertwined, and whom had significant ties to rebellion-era St. Jan.<sup>153</sup>

The original settlement-era dwelling is interpreted by the National Park Service as being part of what is today Park Ranger housing at Lameshure Bay (figure 21).<sup>154</sup> The original structure has been modified through various additions. The “basement level” of the house is thick, rubble-masonry walls, and originally would have had a wooden-super structure over the top. Like similar structures on St. Jan, it may have doubled as a warehouse/residence for the *mesterknecht* and the small group of enslaved people. The plantation house does retain a “Danish Welcoming Arms” staircase.

A more probable alternative settlement-era dwelling is also on site, located near later eighteenth and nineteenth century factory ruins (figures 22 and 23). Identified as a “residence” by previous survey, the structure also fits the rubble-masonry style and size of dwelling/warehouse of the period.<sup>155</sup> It is also located near factory structures and adjacent to the shore line, fitting the pattern of plantation structures being built near the shore-line. During mapping and survey of the structure in 1998, the Caribbean Volunteers

---

<sup>153</sup> The de Windts also had a plantation on St. Jan at the time of the rebellion, (#70) in Little and Big Cruz Bay. The de Windt’s were absentee owners, maintaining property on St. Thomas. The family maintained a fairly substantial enslaved population of 30 individuals, although none were implicated in the uprising.

<sup>154</sup> NPS archaeologist Kenneth Wild verbally identified the basement of the Park Ranger house as the original 1718-1733 structure during my tenure with the NPS in 2008.

<sup>155</sup> The site map provided by the NPS is undated and does not have an author. However, stylistically it resembles site plans created by Frederik Gjessing in the 1970s and 1980s, although this property does not appear in the Aushermann et al (1981-82) survey of properties. This map (figure 19) identifies the “residence” discussed, an identification that was reaffirmed through the CVE mapping of the site.



Expedition noted a “wooden plate” (figure 23), indicating where a wooden super-structure would have sat on the rubble-masonry first floor.

Archaeological excavations of the Lameshure Bay complex have been undertaken by NPS personnel at various times, with ambiguous results. Ceramic artifact analysis, depending heavily on South’s Mean Ceramic Date Formula and Visual Bracketing Tool estimated the age of the site to fall between 1780 and 1820 despite the “other periods of known occupation” (Wild, et al. 1989:63). It was determined that South’s ceramic analysis with its heavy reliance on British ceramic types was not appropriate for archaeological sites in the DWI, but no new determination of date was provided (Wild, et al. 1989; Wild 1988).<sup>156</sup> These reports also specify that the Uytendahl plantation was burned during the 1733 rebellion, although there was no archaeological evidence recovered to support this assertion, and it is not upheld by the current study’s historical documentary analysis.

Thatt and Pedersen (2007) did not conduct any archaeological investigations at the Uytendahl plantation in 2007 due to the previous work that had been completed.<sup>157</sup> The authors did discuss the fact that a “number” of early European ceramic sherds recovered from the site, including:

“three pieces of metropolitan slipware sherds ca. 1672 (they predate the Danish occupation). The investigations also recovered one piece of red refined stoneware sherd, 19 pieces of brown salt-glazed stoneware, and

---

<sup>156</sup> Norton et al (2011) did use the Mean Ceramic Formula with great success at Caneel Bay. The authors did not rely solely on British ceramics or South’s 1966 date ranges for the British ceramics that were present in making the necessary age determinations.

<sup>157</sup> Thatt and Pedersen discuss that they did not conduct excavations because of the 1988, 1989, and 2008 surveys conducted on site. A reference to the 2008 report is obviously a typographical error; however, no report on excavations at Lameshure besides the two that have been previously cited has been identified, so it remains unclear to what they were referring.

five Westerwald sherds. All of these ceramic types went out of production in 1775” (*ibid*:31).

However, neither the authors nor the 1988 or 1989 reports indicate where these early European manufactured ceramics were found on site, and their relation to the existing structural ruins or the remaining ceramic assemblage.

Given the current evidence, it is probable that the “residence” is the original 1718-1733 structure, and what is referred to as “the great house,” or the modern day Park Rangers House, was in actuality a structure that was created upon Uytendahl’s reclamation of the plantation post-1734.<sup>158</sup>

---

<sup>158</sup> Dr. Laurence Babbitts, who visited St. John in 2003 observed that the basement structure of the Lameshure Bay Great House, or Park Ranger House, is built similar to structures that are garrisoned in anticipation of attack, and noted this may be a result of the 1733 Rebellion. (Personal Communication, Austin, TX 2011).

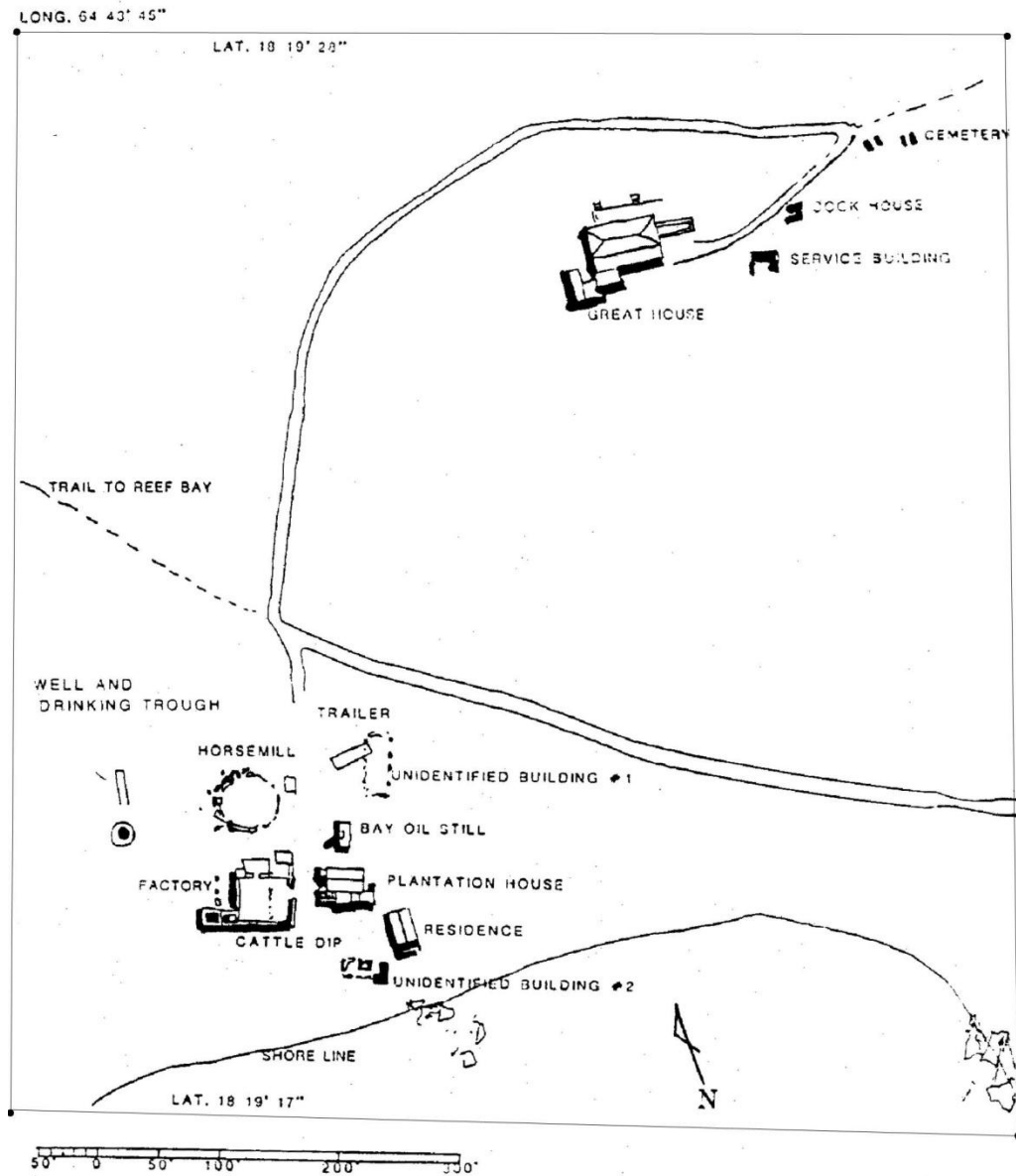


Figure 21. Lameshure Bay site map. Probably Gjessing, year Unknown. Courtesy National Park Service.

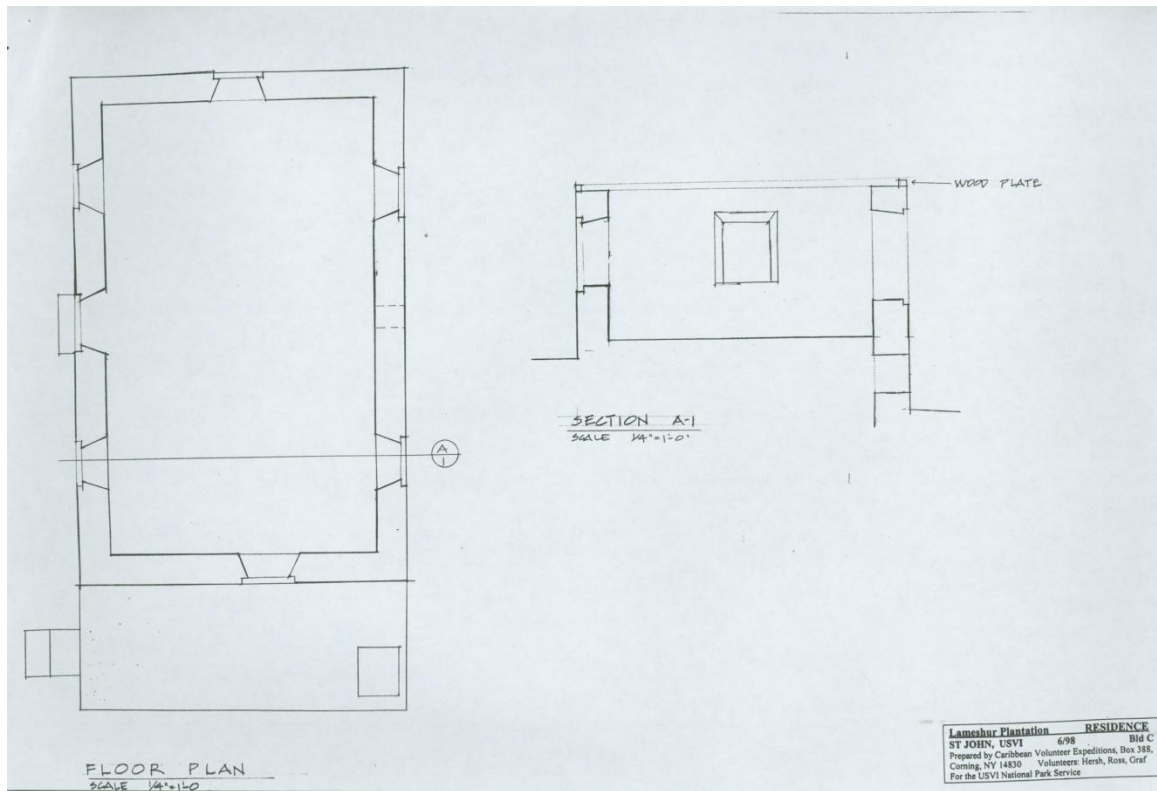


Figure 22. Floor Plan Lameshure Residence. Caribbean Volunteer Expedition (1998).

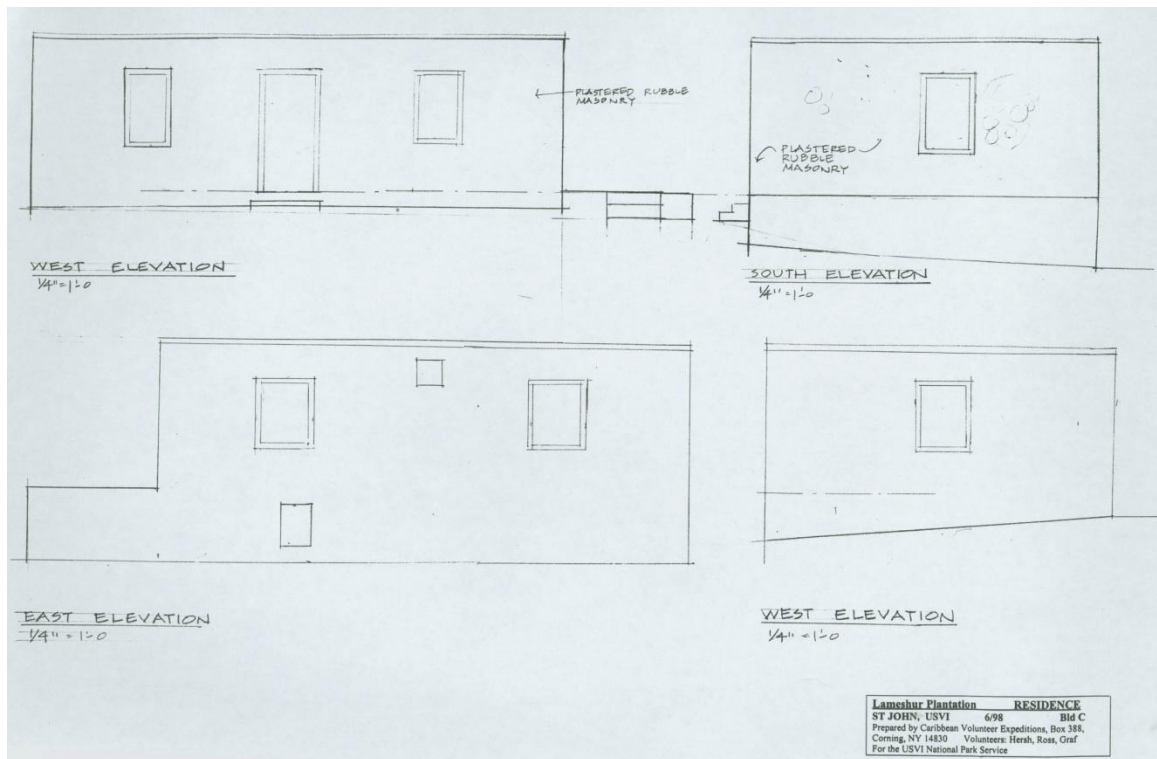


Figure 23. Lameshure Residence. Caribbean Volunteer Expedition (1998).

### Leiven Marche

Plantation (#60) was owned by Leiven Marche, Gouvert's brother, by 1728 at the latest.

Today the property is known as Cabrit Horn. Thatt and Pedersen (2007) excavated four shovel test pits in 2007.<sup>159</sup> The authors describe working in

“three Zones, two of which are new discoveries that were found during our stay on St. John. Since some of the structures are new findings that haven't yet been fully investigated by the National Park Service, we cannot disclose any further information on the location of zone 2 and 3. The Zones are located near the top of the Cabrit Horn ridge, which stretches all the way through the plantation. Zone 1 is on top of the ridge and peninsula, and the two others are a little downhill. Zone 1 is the Great House. Zone 2 is the Surface Structural Scatter. Zone 3 is the crypts” (Thatt and Pedersen 2007:36).<sup>160</sup>

The authors continue to describe Zone 1 as the remains of a “great house” similar to structure 2 at Yawzi Point. The ruins consist of the foundation of a structure measuring roughly 10 meters x 5 meters, with a single entrance. They further specify that “among other artifacts the excavation produced were Agateware (1740-1775), El Moro Ware (1730-1770) and Creamware (1762-1775)” (ibid 2007:37), concluding that the occupation of the structure dated from 1765-1775.

Zone 2 is described as the ruins of a similar building that consists of a diffuse brick scatter. Artifacts recovered from this zone

“included: Westerwald stoneware (1714-1740) and Chinese export porcelain (1550-1775). The artifacts recovered: suggests this structure probably predates the main house and possibly was dismantled in the mid 18<sup>th</sup> century” (Thatt and Pedersen 2007:37-38).

---

<sup>159</sup> The authors refer to the excavations at Cabrit Horn intermittently as shovel test pits, test units, and shovel test units, so it is unknown whether these excavations measured 32 cm sq or 50 cm sq.

<sup>160</sup> The crypts date to the late eighteenth century and so is outside this time period of study.

While the National Park Service only provides the sparsest locational information, it is likely that these are the same structures identified in the Aushermann et al (1981-82) survey of Cabrit Horn. This survey identifies two buildings, approximately 10 feet apart, although Aushermann et al reported that each building measured 10 feet by 18 feet, with entrances in the gabled end of the buildings. Enough of the structures remained during the 1981-82 survey that the authors determined the structures were rubble-masonry foundations that supported a wattle-and-daub super structure that may date to the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>161</sup> The recovery of early ceramic artifacts by Thatt and Pedersen suggest that there may be earlier levels of occupation. Aushermann et al conclude that these structures represented the “modest residence of an independent farmer or fisherman” (*ibid* 1981-82:329).

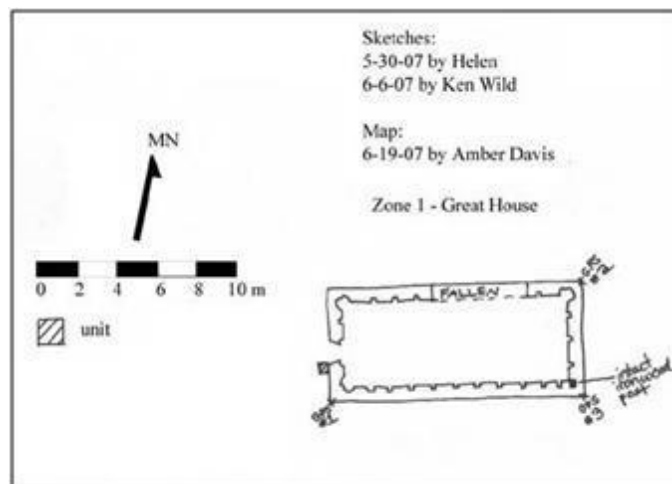


Figure 24. "Great House" structure, zone 1, Cabrit Horn. Courtesy National Park Service.

<sup>161</sup> While Aushermann et al (1981-82) did provide a map of the site, it is badly deteriorated and illegible.

## Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter<sup>162</sup>



Figure 25. The Plantations of Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and *landlister* number.

<sup>162</sup> This Quarter is also referred to as Little and Great Cruz Bay Quarter.

**Table 9. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and *landlister* number where available. The properties marked with \* lack locational information or valid *landlister* numbers for 1733/36. The plantations of Girard, de Clery and Girard, and Engel Beverhoudt's Widow were all numbered as 29; the alphabetical designations are therefore mine.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
19	Jannes Charles	23	1	Abandoned
20	Jannitie Reins	8		Unknown
21	Gloudi Beverhoudt's widow	5		Abandoned
22	Isack Matheusen's Widow Maria Mathias	11		Abandoned
23	Jannis & Isacq Salomons	7		Abandoned
24	Pieter Søfrensen	6		Abandoned
25	Francis Gonsel	5		Abandoned
26	Jannitje Hally's widow's heirs (Pieter Cramieux)	7		Abandoned
27	Daniel Halley's Heirs			Unknown
28	Abraham Elias	1		Abandoned
29 A	Johannes Girard	3	1	Abandoned
29 B	Robbert de Clery & Jannes Girard	8		Abandoned
29 C	Engel van Beverhoudt jr.'s widow	56		Abandoned
30	Johanne Beverhoudt			Unknown
31	Diderich Salomon (H)	15		Damaged
32	William Zitzema	12		Abandoned
33	Adrian van Beverhoudt	16		Damaged
34	Willem Zitzema			Unknown
35	Johanne de Windt	30		Abandoned
36	Gerhardus Moll the Minor			Unknown
*	Pieter Cramieux' Widow	1		Abandoned
*	Isack Salomons	7		Abandoned
*	Jacques Boyferon's heirs	3		Abandoned
*	Jean Papillaut	1		Unknown
	<b>Total</b>	<b>225</b>	<b>2</b>	

Little and Big Cruz Bay was the most densely populated quarter on the island, having both the highest number of individual plantations, as well as one of the largest enslaved populations and one of largest free populations. As previously noted, the free



population in this quarter is probably under counted. Interestingly, although Cruz Bay Village did not come into being as such until the mid-eighteenth century (Knight 2010a), the landlisters indicate that individuals who did not own plantations were already living in this quarter before that time, and there was an area referred to as “Cruz Bay Village”. What that looked like is not clear, and could simply have been sailors and other semi-permanent individuals renting rooms from a local widow. This bears more investigation in the future to truly understand the nature of early settlement era St. Jan and the frontier Caribbean. It is in this quarter where we also see small plantations, below the 1000 *fod* limit, first taken up late in the 1720s by *mesterknegts*.

Of the 225 enslaved individuals identified for the Quarter, only two were listed as taking part in the rebellion. The experience of this Quarter during the rebellion calls into question some popular notions of the rebellion, such as the assertion that the plantations of slaves who refused to take part in the rebellion were targeted by rebels; of the twenty properties, only two reported damage to the *VGK* at the culmination of the conflict. These two plantations were along the north shore, and so most likely were part of King Claes' attack on Schønnemann.

#### *Diedrich Salomon's Plantage*

Diedrich Salmon's plantage (#31), like many other early sites from the settlement era, was situated on top of a prehistoric component. The plantation did not report any damage as a result of the rebellion. In 2000 New South Associates conducted a Phase I archaeological investigation for the proposed creation of the Pond Bay Club development (Wheaton 2000). This survey consisted of 20 shovel test pits, at which time an eighteenth century historic site, called Estate Chocolate Hole, was identified. Located 50 meters

west of Chocolate Hole East Road, the site measures approximately 30 meters x 10 meters in size. Interestingly, no post-1775 ceramics were identified, this site dates strictly to 1720-1775. Wheaton interpreted the artifacts, the ceramic assemblage of which contained six colonoware sherds, as a workers or enslaved village. This site presents high potential for future research, particularly in cross-comparison with Base Hill Site in French Bay discussed above.

*Adrian van Beverhoudt*

The Beverhoudts acquired parcel (#33) in Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter by 1728, when the widow Anna Maria von Holten married Adrian Beverhoudt. The estate was a cotton producing plantation, and was reported to have one of the most impressive planter dwellings in the Danish West Indies; it remained in the Beverhoudt family well into the nineteenth century.

A visit to the site by the author in 2009 revealed a tightly clustered complex of ruins, at least five separate rubble-masonry constructed structures. The plantation was reportedly damaged during the rebellion, although none was reported in the Øttingen survey (Soltec Inc 2004).

In 2004, Soltec International conducted a phase II archaeological survey of the property due to the possible impact of a new housing development. Thirty four Shovel test pits and five test units, measuring 1 meter square, were excavated.<sup>163</sup> Soltec (2004) reported that the area around the ruins had been repeatedly cleared, causing “accelerated erosion” of the soils. The artifact assemblage revealed continuous occupation from the

---

<sup>163</sup> While Soltec (2004) provides the depth measurements to which each test unit was excavated, the report neglects to mention the dimensions of the units. Because the report calls them “standard test units” it is safe to assume that they are 1 meter square.

early eighteenth through the twentieth centuries. This site is also unique in that it is one of the few coffee plantations that existed on St. Jan, although coffee was probably introduced after the early settlement era.

### Maho Bay Quarter

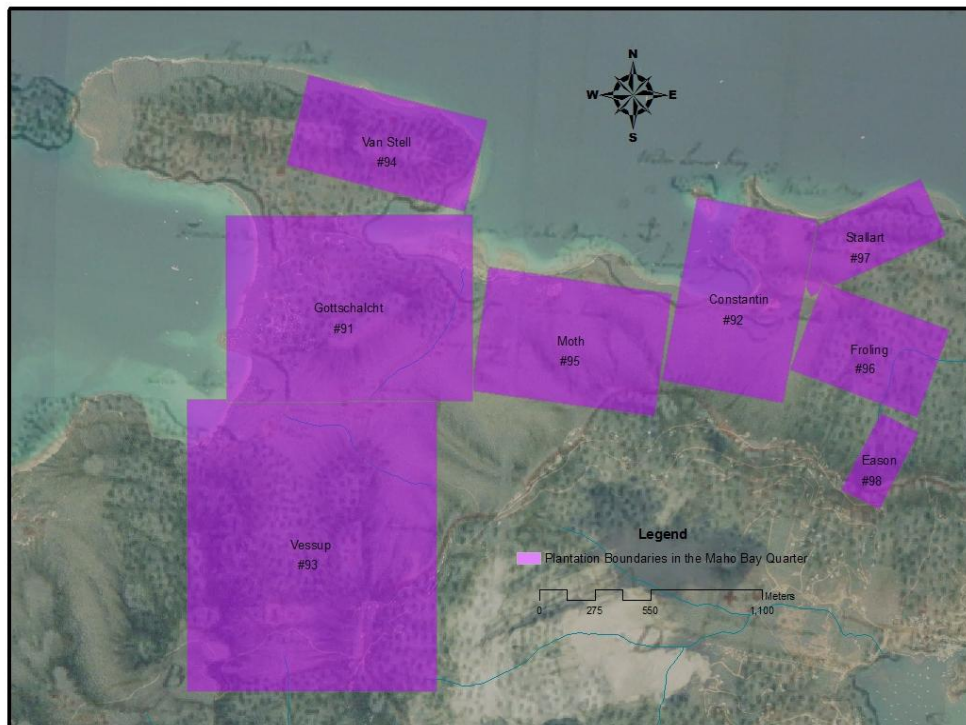


Figure 26. The Plantations of Maho Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and *landlister* number.

**Table 10. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the Maho Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and landlister number.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
91	Christopher William Gottschalk's Widow	14	2	Damaged
92	Isach Constantin's widow	15		Damaged
93	Willem Vessup	27		Damaged
94	Jacob & Liven van Stell	35		Abandoned
95	Frederick Moth	15	2	Abandoned
96	Pieter Frøling	19	4	Damaged
97	Cornelius Stallart's heirs	29		Damaged
98	William Eason	5		Abandoned
	<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>8</b>	

Geographically, Maho Bay is one of the most interesting quarters on the island. Situated along the North Shore, it has easy access to both St. Thomas and Tortola, as well as to other British Virgin Islands that lay relatively nearby. However, because it is situated in the northeast, it is still sheltered from direct contact with Charlotte Amalie, which had more direct access to Little and Big Cruz which was situated in the northwest part of the island. This made Maho an ideal place for illicit activities, as is evidenced by William Vessup, as well as the cotton trade that was bypassing the *VGK* and going directly to the British.<sup>164</sup>

Maho also contains some of the best valley flatlands for agricultural purposes, as well as some of the most rugged points on island. There has been little archaeological investigation of this area due to drawn-out legal battles over land ownership. However, as of 2008, the Trust for Public Lands had finally acquired the bulk of Maho Bay, and started the process of turning this over to the National Park Service.

---

<sup>164</sup> By 1733, Vessup was a fugitive accused of murder. He was also suspected of trading with the rebels during the conflict.

During the 1733 St. Jan slave rebellion, five of the eight plantations in this quarter, including the largest plantation on island, that of William Vessup, experienced damage as reported in the Øttingen survey. The damage was extensive, as several of the plantations reported damages to several buildings. This may be due in part to the fact that much of Maho Bay was settled in 1721, and so the plantations had adequate time to establish elaborate complexes.

### *Vessup Estate*

In many ways William Vessup epitomized the frontier lifeways that dominated St. Jan during the first half of the eighteenth century. Vessup being among the first planters to establish a plantation on St. Jan, Vessup's property was the largest physical landholding by 1733, dwarfing even the Company plantage.<sup>165</sup> Vessup himself has long been a character of interest for students of St. Jan history; wanted for murder of a fellow planter, Vessup absconded to Eustatius, but made frequent trips back to his property on St. Jan, which continued production in his absence. The documents indicate that many of the St. Jan planters tolerated his visits, to the chagrin of the governor and other officials on St. Thomas. His role during the rebellion remains unclear. During the trials of the slaves accused of participating in the rebellion Vessup is implicated in aiding the rebels through the sale and trade of arms and gun powder. If so, then Vessup was playing both sides as he also offered to help the planters in quelling the rebellion; Vessup's plan included offering to assist the rebels in escaping the island on his boat, but then taking them immediately to Charlotte Amalie and turning them over to authorities. Gardelin, who had a deep distrust of Vessup, declined his offer, and believed early rumors that he

---

<sup>165</sup> Initially the Company held more land than any private landholder, but by 1733 the governors and other officials had continuously carved out plantations for company employees under the justification that the economic investment for the company in the Coral Bay plantation was too costly for too low a yield.

was aiding the rebels. Despite Vessup's problems with the Company, he seems to have gone unprosecuted for his alleged crimes. Whatever Vessup's real relationship with the rebels, his cookhouse, still, magazine and warehouse were all reported by Øttingen as damaged.

There has been almost no archaeological reconnaissance of the Vessup Estate. The property has laid outside of NPS properties until recently. Aushermann conducted an architectural survey in 1982, filing some documents with the SHPO. In 2005 Soltec International conducted a preliminary archaeological reconnaissance of the estate, drawing information from Aushermann and a pedestrian survey. At that time Soltec International identified a set of historic ruins "along the spine of Mamey Peak" (2005:16) as the site of the Manager's house and kitchen, with factory ruins and the remains of the animal mill just down slope. Historic documents suggest that the early eighteenth century site of the Vessup Estate was closer to the seashore, facilitating Vessup's trade, which was often illicit. It also aided the Spanish in raiding his holdings and kidnapping enslaved workers. While these ruins have not yet been located archaeologically, they may correspond to the site of a lime kiln first excavated by the author in July 2008, and continued by NPS personnel in December of that year (Riser, et al. 2009). The artifact assemblage from this limited investigation indicates a mid-eighteenth century occupation date. There are more ruins, as of yet uninvestigated, in close proximity to the lime kiln site, which may be related to the early settlement era, including a boiling bench that has been incorporated into a modern house porch (Soltec Inc.2005). Vessup plantation would also fit the pattern of plantations moving to higher elevations in the wake of the 1733 slave rebellion.

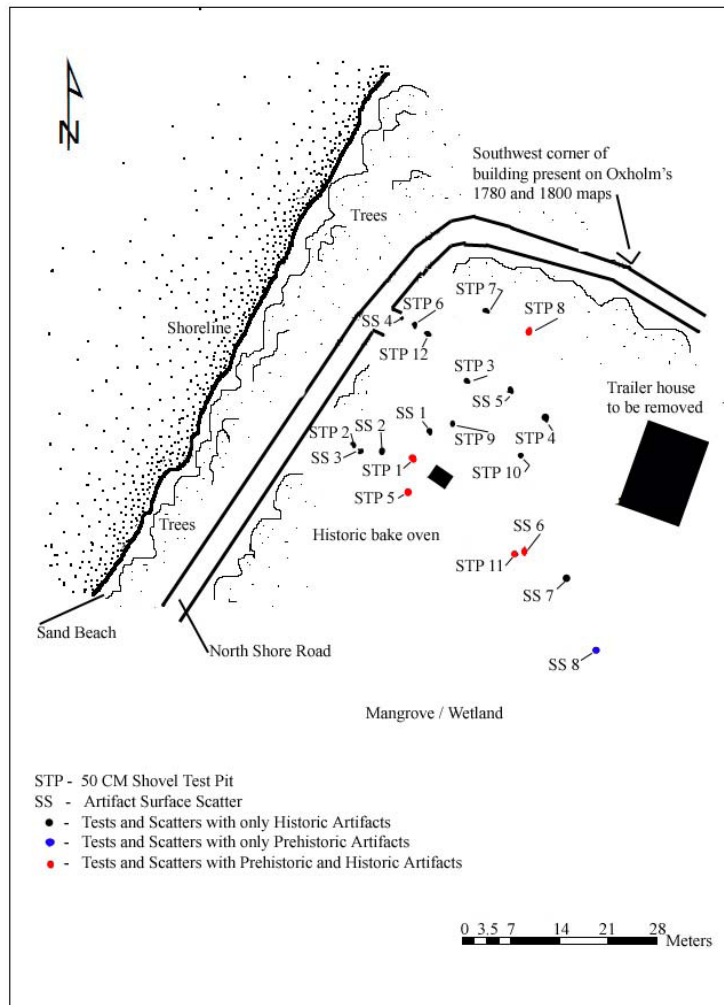


Figure 27. Maho Bay Project plan view. Riser et al (2009).

### *Isach Constantin's<sup>166</sup> Widow Plantage*

The Constantin family was absentee, moving back to St. Thomas in 1730. Isach died in 1732, so it was Giertrude, also absentee, who oversaw the property during the revolt which reported damage to the cookhouse, still, warehouse and magazine. In 1736

<sup>166</sup> Alternate spellings include Jacq; Isach's widow is referred to as Giertrude Sarah Baset, or Moseth.

the property was reclaimed. Later it was consolidated with other plantations, and the ruins at Annaberg built on the cliffs overlooking Waterlemon Bay.

Little archaeological work has been conducted on the ruins of the Constantin plantation (#92), which is overshadowed by the Annaberg Plantation ruins to the west. First identified by David Knight (2001) during research on the late eighteenth century Annaberg, the ruins consist of a dwelling house, a boiling bench, and two slave cabins. Constantin, like many of his fellow planters in the neighboring French Quarter, were part of the French Huguenot refugees who settled on the island. Constantine had first settled on St. Thomas, but took up a plantation on St. Jan when his St. Thomas property was finally measured, and he lost substantial amounts of cultivable land to his neighbors. There is no available documentation for this property from the NPS, who currently owns the property.

#### *Frederik Moth Plantation*

Frederik Moth Plantation (#95) is known today as Frederiksdal, named for both Moth and for the King of Denmark, Frederik IV, who reigned during Moth's ownership of this parcel (Ausherman 1982:121). Today the property is under ambiguous ownership, so there has not been a conclusive archaeological survey completed by the NPS or any private companies. There are extensive ruins associated with Frederiksdal, including structures that have been identified as slave dwellings (Figure 28). There was no damage reported as having occurred at Moth's plantation as a result of the rebellion. Moth himself immediately left St. Jan at the culmination of the rebellion to lead the new settlement slated for St. Croix.



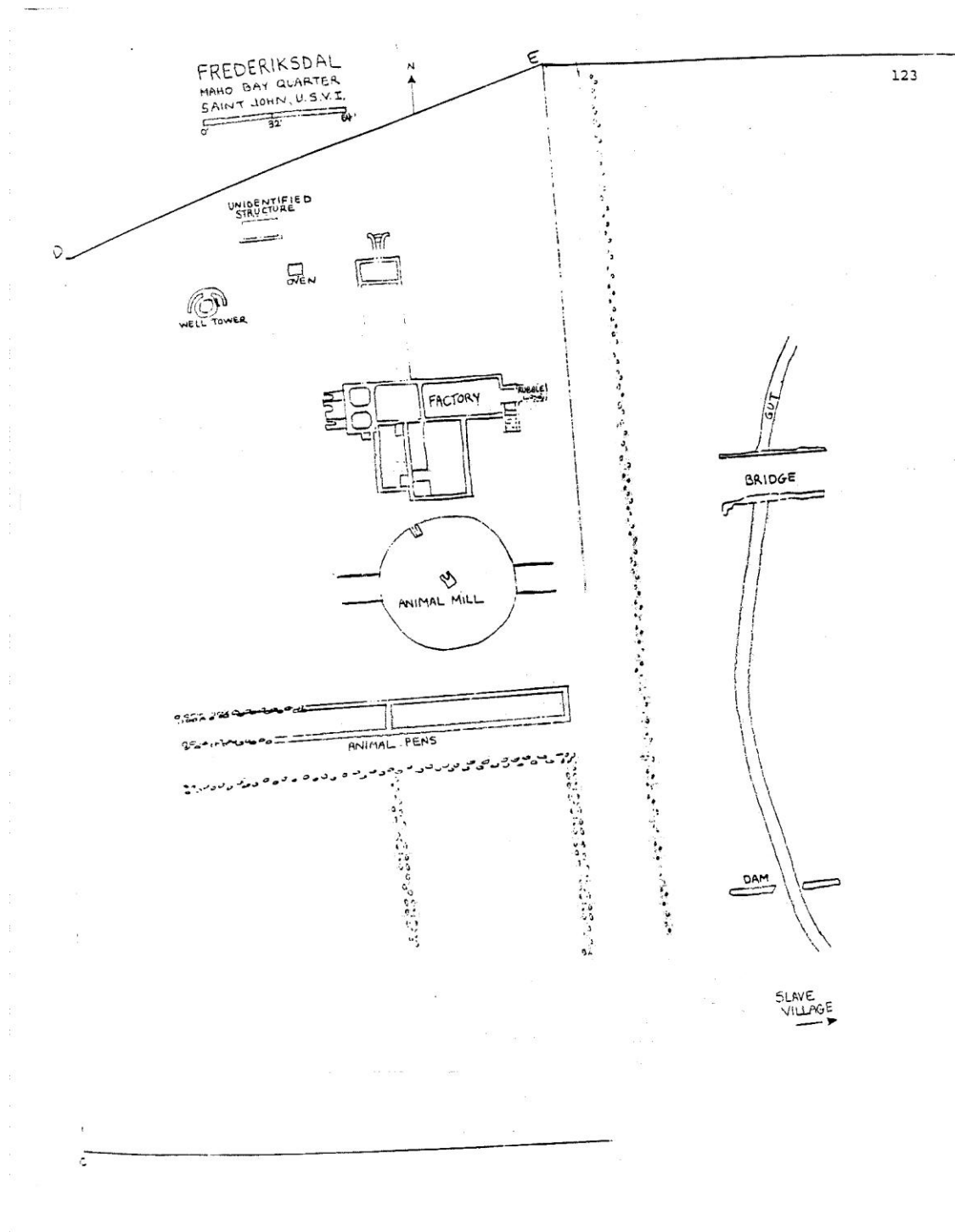


Figure 28. Frederiksdal Plantation. Aushermann et al (1981-82). Digitally enhanced by Author.

## Reef and Fish Bay Quarter



Figure 29. The Plantations of Reef and Fish Bay Quarter, labeled by owner's surname and *landlister* number.

**Table 11. The number of enslaved individuals and rebels associated with the plantations of the Reef and Fish Bay Quarter. Plantations are identified by property owner and *landlister* number.**

<b>Landlister Number</b>	<b>Planter</b>	<b>Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Number of Identified Rebels</b>	<b>Plantation Status</b>
35	Johannes de Windt	30		Abandoned
36	Gerhardus Moll the Minor			Unknown
37	Johannes de Windt (Ditlif Madsen)			Unknown
38	Johannes van Beverhoudt			Unknown
39	Elisabeth (Boel) Friis (Durloe)	8		Damaged
40	Jacob Delicat	12		Damaged
41	Jannis Runnels	7	1	Abandoned
42	Willum Baerentz			Unknown
43	Jochum Stolley	19		Damaged
44	Willum Baerentz			Unknown
45	Anthony Kambek	7		Damaged
46	Pieter Durloe (Sieben)			Unknown
47	Capt. Frederik Moth-Christian Krabbe	13		Damaged
48	Gerhard Moll's widow (the Elder)	31		Damaged
49	Willum Baerentz	21		Damaged
50	Willum Baerentz			Unknown
51	Lieven Kierving	0	0	Unknown
	<b>Total</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>1</b>	

Today much of the Reef and Fish Bay Quarter is part of the Virgin Islands National Park. Like other areas of the Park, the early settlement era of this quarter remains unknown archaeologically. The interpretation for this section of the island is instead dominated by nineteenth and twentieth century sugar plantations known from historical sources, as well as the Reef Bay petroglyphs. While the well-documented official interpretation encouraged by the National Park Service of the petroglyphs is that they are related to the pre-Columbian Taino occupation of the island; oral history on the island by some West Indians instead relates the petroglyphs to the African leadership of the rebellion.

Prior to the rebellion there was a lot of land speculation occurring in this area, with plantations changing hands and individuals, such as William Baerentz, buying up large, contiguous plots in the years leading up to the rebellion. For Baerentz in particular this meant that a centralized enslaved population was moved over broad areas to work several pieces of land. While this has been discussed for Beverhoudt, this same practice was utilized by Durloe, who moved his laborers between Durloe's and Reef and Fish Bay Quarters. Interestingly, there were very few rebel fighters who came from these plantations, despite the potential for increased communication and mobility across the island.

The plantations for which there is documentation indicate that this area suffered moderate damage during the rebellion, with seven of the seventeen plantations, roughly 41%, identified in the Øttingen survey.

#### *Johann van Beverhoudt*

In 1731 Johann van Beverhoudt purchased a large, landlocked property (#38) from two planters, Lucas Volkers and Jan van Hermall, who co-owned the cotton plantation. By 1733 the Beverhoudts would account for seven of 106 plantations on island, totaling 750 acres. Little is known about the Fish Bay property, however, particularly in the early settlement era.

Today the area is owned by the Island Resources Foundation at Fish Bay. In 2003 a limited archaeological investigation was conducted by Dr. Dave Davis and his field school from Tulane University (2003). During that time Davis located the ruins of three historic structures, one of which Pishko identifies as the original early settlement era dwelling house of Volker and Hermall (Pishko 2003). The rubble-masonry structure

measures 19 feet x 42 feet, and as of 2003 still retained its marl floor. This property reported no damage as a result of the rebellion.

*Widow of Gerhard Moll the Elder*

Early archaeological and historic architectural surveys indicate that this site dates from the second half of the eighteenth century (Ausherman 1982; Brewer and Hammerstein 1988). However, archaeological survey and historic documentary investigations completed by NPS archaeologist Kenneth Wild have indicated evidence of earlier occupation extending back to at least 1730 (Wild, et al. 1989). This hypothesis supports the *landlisters* which indicate that this parcel of land (#48) was owned by Gerhard Moll's Widow during the 1733 rebellion. However, no early plantation structures have been identified. A substantial enslaved population, thirty-one individuals, labored on the plantation at the time of the rebellion, and it experienced damage during the conflict. Apart from this, little is known about this property, and, like many others associated with the rebellion, it requires more archaeological investigation. There was no damage reported related to the rebellion.

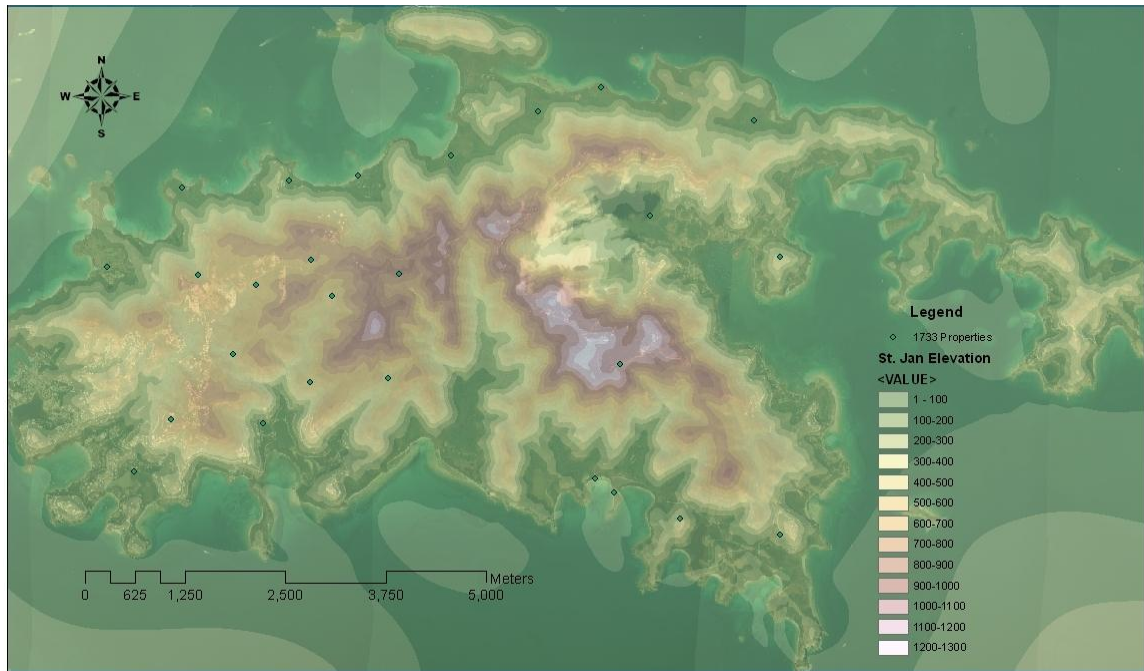
## Conclusion



**Figure 30. 1733 plantation complexes archaeologically surveyed. All related structural remains of these sites have been located with GPS.**

The plantation sites related to the early settlement period of St. Jan that have been investigated archaeologically can be seen in Figure 30. While seemingly disparate, these sites provide valuable information on the social structure of St. Jan during this time period, 1718-1733. The archaeology reveals a trend in structure type for the island in which small masonry structures with wooden super-structures were built, which by and large served a multitude of purposes. As can be extrapolated from research conducted at Cinnamon Bay (Armstrong 2003b; Armstrong, et al. 2005), these structures served as both dwellings and storage structures for the individuals laboring on these plantations. Significantly, they seem to have served as dwelling spaces for both free and enslaved. This is supported by the fact that there has been only one identified slave village for this

period of time, that at (#18) Pieter Durloe's.<sup>167</sup> This practice of “familial” living would have had significant consequences for both the conditions that facilitated the rebellion, who participated, and the course the action of the rebellion took.



**Figure 31. Elevation of the archaeologically surveyed 1733 properties.**

As discussed previously, St. Jan terrain is very rugged. The 7 mile by 3 mile island juts out of the sea, rising to a height of 1273 feet above sea level at Bourdeaux Hill. The mountainous terrain is folded into deep ghuts and valleys, all of which was covered, in the early eighteenth century, with a thick canopy of vegetation year round. The elevation for the island was calculated from topographic data recorded in 100 foot contours by VINP personnel, and converted to raster map using the spline interpolation function. Of the twenty-six properties discussed (twenty-five plantations and Frederiksvaern) that have been archaeologically surveyed, as well as recorded via GPS, 50% of the properties

<sup>167</sup> Durloe had one of the largest enslaved populations of the time. It can be assumed that Beverhoudts also had a slave village due to the number of enslaved people that they had, although one has not been identified either archaeologically or in historic documents. While not archaeologically located, it can also be assumed that a slave village existed at the Company Plantage.

were located between 0-100 feet above sea level, being built adjacent to the shore. A cumulative viewshed analysis was conducted using the Esri ArcGIS v.10.0 spatial analyst extension. Viewshed was calculated based completely on topography; ground-truthing of viewshed indicates that although topography may be conducive to a viewshed, vegetation actually obscures lines of site. The ability to see neighboring buildings would have been heavily dependent on the amount of maintained fields between neighboring plantations. As discussed previously, while the island was completely accounted for from a land-deed perspective, much of the island was under-developed. Therefore, the 100 foot interval elevation, the lack of precision of the GPS data, and the inability to take vegetation into account provide data that indicate larger viewsheds than would actually be possible. Even with this liberal calculation, the data indicates that the twenty-five archaeologically surveyed plantations were largely isolated from both known structural remains and even lines of site to possible built environments. Sixteen of the plantations were completely isolated, unable to see other archaeologically recorded structural remains. These plantations also had limited visibility to adjacent population boundaries, and would have been unlikely to have a line of site to nearby plantation complexes. Interestingly, nearly all the recorded plantations were adjacent to properties that lacked an owner-resident; even if viewsheds were possible, it is unknown whether there would have been a substantial plantation complex, or dwelling inhabited by a free person, to even view.

While the plantations were largely visually isolated from one another, 52%, or thirteen, of the plantations were situated in such a way that many of them had viewsheds that extended out to sea. This provided the ability to survey for foreign ships or



privateers, both of which were known to harass plantations on St. Jan during the early settlement years.

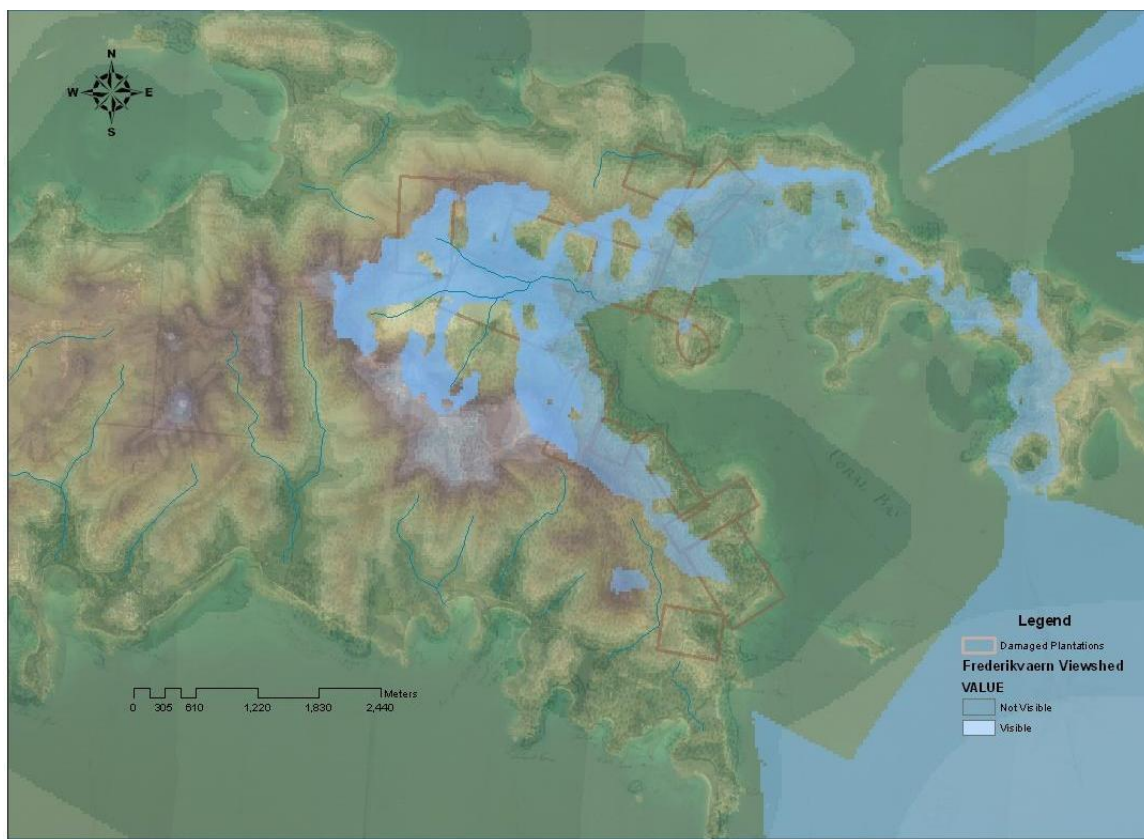
There are interesting trends for the plantations that did have viewsheds that extended to neighboring properties. Jannis Beverhoudt (#13&14) in Durloe's Bay Quarter had a viewshed that extended into (#38) Reef and Fish Bay Quarter, which was also owned by Beverhoudt. While it is currently unknown whether there were structures on this property in 1733, if there were it is expected that they would not have been substantial as Beverhoudt and his family are recorded as having resided at their property (#14). The landlisters also indicate that Beverhoudt moved his enslaved plantation from (#13 & 14) to (#38) to work the fields. From Beverhoudt's property (#38) there were potential viewsheds into neighboring Beverhoudt Family-owned properties (#33) in Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter. The Beverhoudts may have maintained a much more sophisticated surveillance system of the family properties and enslaved population than their neighbors. This may account for the lack of rebels originating from Beverhoudt properties.

Diedrich Salomon's plantation, (#31) in Little and Big Cruz Bay also had a relatively large viewshed with the potential to surveil, or be surveilled by, a number of neighbors. Salomon had a population of fifteen enslaved laborers, but did not have any identified rebels who originated from his plantation. While it is unknown what the property experienced during the course of the conflict, Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter experienced the least amount of damage from the conflict of any of the Quarters. The large number of plantations in relatively dense proximity, as well as the potential for

large areas with overlapping viewsheds may account for the lack of both rebel soldiers and damage.

The Lameshure Bay Quarter plantations, Uytendahl (#53), Gouvert Marche (#52) and Lieven Marche (#53), also had overlapping viewsheds, which is not surprising considering the family ties. These plantations also each had views of Lameshure Bay and incoming marine traffic. However, this small group of plantations was visually isolated from the remainder of the island.

The plantation located at the highest point of the island, Bourdeaux (#55) in Lameshure Bay, did not in fact enjoy a large viewshed, due to the steep terrain and exaggerated valleys and ghuts surrounding the plantation. Unsurprisingly Pieter Durloe's plantage (#18) in Durloe's Bay had a substantial viewshed around the small knoll on which the property was located, as well as a large viewshed out into the surrounding bay. Durloe was well situated for defense. As with the other plantations near sea level, Durloe was in all probability more concerned with outside attack prior to the rebellion. This is supported through documentary evidence that Durloe maintained cannons that were pointed out to sea.



**Figure 32. The Frederiksvaern viewshed.**

The most substantial viewshed on island appears to have been from the peak of Fortsberg Hill, where Frederiksvaern was located. From the vaern, there was the potential to view all of the plantations in the Coral Bay Quarter that were adjacent to the shore, as well as some in French Quarter. Frederiksvaern had clear lines of site to the Company Plantage (#71), and of the entire bay, as the location was chosen for defense of the island from foreign attack. Thirteen of the plantations damaged by rebels during the revolt fall within the Frederiksvaern viewshed. It is possible that even with thick vegetation obscuring the buildings within the individual complexes, soldiers could have potentially identified flames or smoke from the fires that were set to these same structures during the course of the rebellion. This indicates that the rebels attacked the vaern first not only to dispose of

the soldiers and hold the military space of the island, but as a way to obscure the planters from identifying subsequent actions as individual plantations were attacked. As will be discussed below, the bulk of the rebel actions was concentrated in the eastern end of the island, particularly in Coral Bay Quarter. This may also be why rebels avoided occupying plantation dwellings in the area they occupied during the months of the conflict; not only would there be more potential traffic to the built environments of the plantations, they may have been avoiding the potential for surveillance, and so located their camps in the ghuts and valleys of the island.

The rebels who participated in the rebellion came largely from the Coral Bay and French Quarters, and focused their initial efforts on clearing and securing the properties on the eastern half of the island. The probable locations of the rebel camps in the bush of St. Jan are also located in the eastern half of the island. While the 1733 St. Jan slave rebellion had implications for the entirety of the island, it was an action that seems to have been focused on displacing the Danish political authority and gaining control of the Coral Bay area. Even the planters seem to have realized this, as Beverhoudt was ready to secede that Quarter of the island to the rebel forces as early as January of 1734. While the north shore of the island, a largely “civilian” area that was inhabited by families from diverse socio-economic back grounds and various European countries, was also targeted by rebels, the majority of the action took place during the opening day of the conflict, and was centered on Durloe’s plantation, where the Civil Corp was stationed during the conflict. The north shore experienced the most significant amount of damage at the hands of the rebels when the surrender negotiations between Schønnemann and King Claes fell apart in February of 1734. By this time, the plantations were all abandoned. King Claes,

far from staging another battle, was destroying property in a way visible to the enemy who resided mostly on St. Thomas.

Modern St. John sees the rebellion in everything and in nothing; certain sites are given historical significance with the rebellion without direct historical or archaeological association. Although historical documentary evidence has provided locations where rebellion activity was located, to date only two previous archaeological investigations have undertaken the recovery of such evidence as a specific research goal prior to this study (Armstrong 2003b; Norton, et al. 2011b). Instead, when possible evidence is recovered, it is interpreted *ad hoc*, after the fact, often with little substantiating evidence. Much of this is due to the ephemeral nature of the archaeological record for a relatively short event.

This chapter discussed the previous archaeological survey conducted on the island of St. John relevant to the period of 1718-1733, drawing on a variety of sources. While the built environment of this time period has been separated from that of later periods, very little related to the actual event of the 1733 St. Jan rebellion has been archaeologically recovered. The current study has provided a foundation which can identify 1733 sites, and a theoretical position from which to interpret material culture that is uncovered. While it has been difficult thus far to tease out what happened during the months of the rebellion, the real significance will be in the ability to identify the long term changes that this event precipitated. Those changes are discussed in Chapter 6.

## **Chapter 6: Ruptures and Conjunctions**

### *Introduction*

As discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2, on November 23, 1733, a small group of enslaved Africans hailing from the eastern half of St. Jan, which was dominated by the Company plantation as well as plantations owned by Danish officials, initiated an armed conflict against the *VGK*. During the course of the opening days of the conflict the rebels managed to drive the Europeans from the island and occupy Frederiksvaern. The planters formed a small militia group, the Civil Corp, which was headquartered along the north shore in Pieter Durloe's plantage. This group was lead by Captain Jannes van Beverhoudt, a Dutch planter. Planters and some enslaved people who were not part of the Civil Corp escaped to St. Thomas, where the government of the Danish West Indies was located, and from where operations against the rebels were directed by Governor Phillip Gardelin. Almost immediately the plantocracy floundered against the rebels, beset by infighting and lack of resources. The rebels, concealing themselves in the bush, waged a guerilla war on the Danes, and scavenged for resources on the island and, presumably, through inter-island trading with English privateers. The Danish also sought foreign assistance. First they too relied on English privateers, mercenaries willing to fight the rebels for a reward, and finally resorted to requesting aid from the French in Martinique. Lead by de Longueville, the French arrived in April 1734, after the rebels had experienced siege-like conditions for nearly six months. The French were moderately successful in killing or capturing Afro-Caribbean people on St. Jan and bringing the rebellion to a close. While the Danes considered the rebellion to have officially ended with the trials and executions of those the French had taken prisoner, there were still pockets of resistance that continued through August 1734.

In Chapter 5 I illustrated key characteristics of the early settlement period of the island through archaeological survey that illuminated conditions for this rebellion in 1733. As was discussed in the previous chapter, the individual plantation complexes were largely isolated, due both to topographical constraints on construction and agriculture on eighteenth-century St. Jan, as well as by the culture of the settlement which emphasized individual properties as opposed to a more thoroughly conceived island complex. Further complicating the situation were the antagonistic relationships with foreign nations. This required a landscape that balanced tensions between access to, and protection from, the sea. The geographical concept of viewsheds has thus become integral to understanding how this landscape was perceived and utilized by the various inhabitants.

The ruptures that precipitated the rebellion were not sudden. As presented in the documentary analysis in Chapter 4, the ruptures in St. Jan society were not caused just in the weeks or even months preceding the rebellion. The acts of violence, death and marronage that the historic documents hint at illustrate that these ruptures were deep and had long roots on the island.<sup>168</sup> The conditions that allowed for both the cognitive space as well as the actual action of rebellion were related more to the chaotic and divergent structures established by the *VGK* in the early settlement period. These ruptures were challenged through the rebellion, and then became rearticulated and reinforced at the culmination of the conflict.<sup>169</sup> Viewshed continues to be critical in understanding how the landscape was perceived and utilized during the months of the rebellion. As will be

---

<sup>168</sup> It can be argued that the very nature of the trans-Atlantic slave trade was a rupture that, despite its long history, never experienced a period without structural incongruities and warring ideologies, and was in fact in a constant state of rearticulation.

<sup>169</sup> This chapter is modeled after Sewell, William (2005) Chapter 8: Historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille. In this chapter Sewell provides ten characteristics that inform a theoretically robust conception of the category of event. When appropriate, and when the information is available, each of these characteristics has been incorporated in to the current analysis.

discussed in this chapter, the activities related to the rebellion had geographic importance, and illuminate who was involved in the rebellion and the relationships between rebels, non-rebel enslaved, and the free inhabitants of the Danish West Indies. Those enslaved individuals engaged in the rebellion hailed from and targeted specific locations on the island. During the conflict viewscapes remained integral to the negotiation between concealment on the landscape, and using viewsheds to communicate with the island at large.

For this study, I focus on the manifestation of those re-articulations and reinforcements as they can be seen in the archaeological record, particularly the built environment. Therefore, I emphasize the dynamic landscape of St. Jan. This chapter will look more closely at the landscape in the immediate aftermath of the event- how the Rebels and the Civil Corp defined and moved through the various territories. Finally, in this chapter I will discuss how this historical archaeological study has revealed the variation of people involved in the rebellion, and the complexity of social relationships on island. These relationships, and the complexity inherent in them, shaped the reaction to the rebellion over a long period of time, and are reflected in the subsequent built environment of St. Jan. This chapter will end with a discussion of how the landscape continued to evolve through the eighteenth century in response to the new social order that was established out of the rebellion.

### *The Structural Re-Ordering*

One of Sewell's key propositions is that "Historical events rearticulate structures" resulting in "cultural transformations" (Sewell 2005:256). Sometimes this results in the creation of new structures, sometimes this means that what results is the "[reproduction



of] the traditional cultural categories” providing these categories with “new values out of the pragmatic context” from which they occurred (Sahlins 1981; 1985:125). The occurrence of the St. Jan rebellion in 1733 reshaped how life was lived on that island and in the Danish West Indies in general. Events can both rearticulate structures and strengthen pre-existing structures. The 1733- St. Jan slave rebellion had the consequence of solidifying the colonial hold the Danish had on the island. Whereas prior to the rebellion the island was a frontier society with little law and order, it moved closer to being an agricultural polity under European control, more similar in nature to the polities established by the European super-powers of the time; Spain, England, and France.

Places are imbued with significance by the people who live within and move through them. Likewise, events are imbued with significance, by both those who participated in and were affected by them, and by descendent groups in memorialization. It only makes sense, therefore, that events occur in specific places, and that “the actions that determined how structures were transformed were highly concentrated in space” (Sewell 2005:259). Boundaries become important foci of collective violence, as political contention revolves around strict definitions of us-them, and, along with it, the oversimplification of identity markers. In conflict, boundaries become a visible division and script, to some extent, the negotiations both across and within boundaries (Tilly 2003:32). My analysis of the 1733- St. Jan Slave Rebellion identifies that the rebels and the Civil Corp had specific areas of control during the conflict, as well as specific areas of contention, such as the Company Plantage and the water pots associated with it. These boundaries were partially contingent on the viewsheds of the island, meaning that there

was a tension for both sides between protection/concealment, advantageous ground, and the ability to exhibit for the enemy to convey various symbolic messages.

A popular view of the rebellion assumes that the conflict was an island-wide event. In this case island-wide means both that enslaved people from all over the island participated in the event, and that the entire island was equally affected. I argue that the rebellion was not an island-wide event defined in this way. First, only 8% of the enslaved population participated in the rebellion (110 out of 1435 enslaved people). Of those that did participate, about 78% came from the eastern end of the island, Coral Bay and French Quarter. Coral Bay produced the highest total number of rebels, seventy participants, accounting for 64% of the entire rebel force. French Bay had a much smaller total number of enslaved people, but of that number a full 25% were rebellion participants, accounting for 14% of the total rebel force. None of the other quarters matched Coral Bay and French Quarter in either percent of the enslaved population participating in the rebellion or the percent of rebels to come from a specific quarter (see Table 12 and Figure 33).

The rebellion was also not island-wide in terms of action. It appears from the spatial analysis that the rebels remained largely in the Coral Bay area of St. Jan (Figures 34-35). The reasons for this may have been two-fold; first, because a majority of the rebels came from the eastern end of St. Jan, the area that they would have been most familiar with, it posed a strategic benefit from both a tactical point of view in terms of engaging with the Danish to remain there, as well as the added benefit of known food and water provisioning sources. Studies of battlefields, archaeological, social, or military,

note the high level of importance of “home bases” and operational territories to those on the ground (Bleed and Scott 2011). Secondly, the historic documents claim that Runnel’s

**Table 12. The total number of enslaved and the number of rebels that participated in the rebellion by Quarter.**

<b>Quarter</b>	<b>Total Number of Enslaved</b>	<b>Total Number of Rebels</b>	<b>Percent of the population of the Quarter that were rebels</b>	<b>Percent of the rebels that came from the Quarter</b>	<b>Number of plantations in Quarter</b>	<b>Percent of Plantation Damaged</b>
<i>Caneel Bay</i>	192	4	2%	4%	11	64%
<i>Coral Bay</i>	298	70	23%	64%	13	77%
<i>Durloe’s Bay</i>	258	3	1%	3%	6	50%
<i>French Quarter</i>	64	16	25%	14%	14	14%
<i>Lameshure Bay</i>	121	6	5%	5%	10	70%
<i>Little and Big Cruz Bay</i>	225	2	9%	2%	24	8%
<i>Maho Bay</i>	159	8	5%	7%	8	62%
<i>Reef and Fish Bay</i>	118	1	1%	1%	17	41%
<i>Total</i>	<i>1435</i>	<i>110</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>NA</i>	<i>103</i>	<i>NA</i>



**Figure 33.** The population density of the island at the time of the rebellion, evenly distributed within each plantation unit. Each dot represents a single individual. Notice the rebel population is clustered in Coral Bay and French Quarters.

enslaved laborer Quasi was supposed to instigate and lead the violent action on the north shore, and failed to do so. Whether this particular case is apocryphal or not, the rebels failed to recruit a high volume of north shore participants with a detailed knowledge of the geography and resources and so the strategic advantage over the western portion of the island. This may have lead the rebels to concentrate their efforts to gain and keep control of Coral Bay, a more realistic goal than island wide control.

Furthermore, the war for control over the island really was focused on who was going to control Coral Bay. A majority of the identified rebels came from plantations from this quarter, and from those that were held by people associated with the Company. Of the 110 identified rebels, they came from just twenty-six plantations, with 25% of the rebels from a single plantation, Suhm's in Coral Bay. Of the twenty-six plantations that

produced a rebel, seventeen were damaged in the course of the conflict, seven were abandoned, and one was damaged, but remained occupied by the Civil Corp, while the status of the remaining plantation is unknown. Of the seven plantations that were abandoned but produced rebels, it is not always clear whether the properties were abandoned because of the conflict but the owner maintained claim, or whether, as in the case of some, the owner had absconded island and abandoned not only his property but slaves as well.

The fact that the St. Jan rebellion began, or is purported to have begun, at Fortsberg, as opposed to one of the plantations, has important implications for my analysis. The commencement of the rebellion by taking the fort was a tactical, military move. For all the vaern's short-comings, it was the defensive structure on island; it was the location from which the island would be warned of an impending attack, either internally or externally; it was the location where the soldiers were stationed and concentrated; and it was the location that would have had the best probability for acquiring weapons and munitions. By striking at the vaern first, the rebels were effective in disabling the communication between the planters and facilitating subsequent attacks on individual plantations.<sup>170</sup> This decision may also have been based on the fact that the viewshed analysis for Frederiksvaern indicates that there was a substantial visibility of the Coral Bay and French Quarters from the fort (Figure 41).

The Frederiksvaern viewshed had the potential to surveil thirteen plantations in the Coral Bay and French Quarters, and is the best viewshed on the island. While the

---

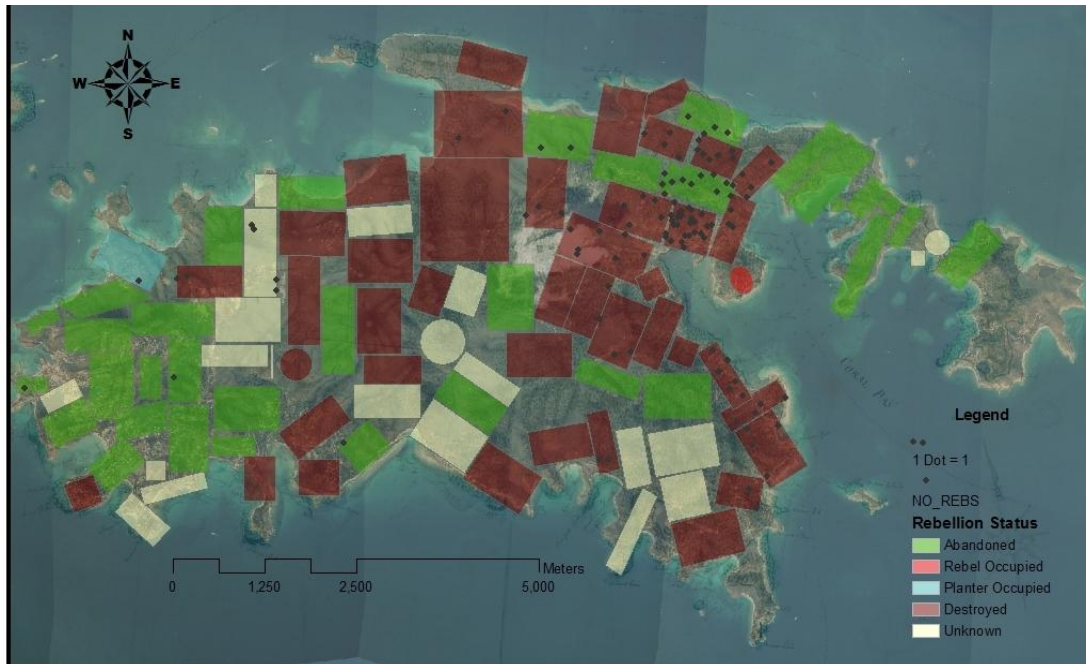
<sup>170</sup> Protocol on St. Jan for notification of an attack on the island was for the soldiers at the vaern to fire three cannon shots. Each plantation was to subsequently fire its own shots, signaling the neighboring plantation, and so on until all the properties on island were aware that there was a potential threat to their security. The planters, their sons and *mesterknechts* were to then congregate at the vaern and prepare to defend the island.

exact number of built complexes that could be seen from the vaern in 1733 is currently unknown, it can be assumed that even if the built environment of the individual plantations could not be immediately seen from the top of Fortsberg Hill, the smoke or flames from the destruction of these buildings could have been seen in the daylight. Occupying Frederiksvaern as their first act of war meant that the rebels cut off the primary location from which an adequate defense could be launched. It must have been a blow to the rebel cause when the *VGK* was able to re-occupy the vaern approximately 36 hours later.

While the damage to various plantations is sometimes interpreted as having been motivated by the rebels seeking revenge against their enslaved brethren who refused to join the freedom fight, it is not supported by the evidence. The heaviest damage to property was experienced by the Coral Bay and French Quarters, the same areas of the island from which a majority of the rebels came. Little and Big Cruz Bay, which had one of the lowest number of rebels, also suffered the least damage during the rebellion. This can be explained by tactics and logic rather than revenge. Because Frederiksvaern was also located in Coral Bay Quarter, many of the skirmishes between the Civil Corp and the rebel forces took place in the area.

Not all parts of the built environment were equally targeted for destruction. Late in 1734, Øttingen was ordered to create a survey of the damage caused to individual planters as a result of the rebellion. That survey recorded the damage caused to mills, cookhouses, stills, warehouses and magazines. Interestingly, Øttingen's survey neglected to identify damage caused to dwellings, those of either the planters or the enslaved population, or other types of outbuildings that one may expect to find on a working

plantation. Of the 102 properties that existed at the time of the rebellion, forty-two experienced damage. Of these, the majority were in Coral and Maho Bay Quarters (Figure 34), with a relatively large number of plantations in Lameshure Bay Quarter also experiencing damage. These forty-two plantations had a combined total of 100 structures which were damaged: five mills; fifteen cookhouses; nine stills; thirty-five warehouses; and thirty-six magazines. The disproportionately large number of warehouses and magazines is indicative of two things. First, warehouses and magazines may have been more ubiquitous among the plantations which focused on a variety of agricultural types (sugar, cotton, provisions), but all of which would have needed storage. Second, the disproportionate targeting of such structures may have been tactical from the rebels point of view; they may have raided these structures for supplies they could use, then burned them in an effort to deprive the planters of any leftover goods as well as the buildings themselves.



**Figure 34.** Indicates the status of individual plantations by the culmination of the conflict, compared with the plantations where the rebels originally resided. As can be seen, there is a significant correlation between home plantation and rebel damage during the conflict.

A majority of the plantations, seventy-three of the 102, did not have a slave who participated in the rebellion as an identified rebel soldier.<sup>171</sup> Of these seventy-three plantations, twenty-four sustained damage during the conflict, twenty-nine were abandoned, and twenty have an unknown status. By and large, my analysis indicates that the bulk of the rebels, as well as the bulk of the damage, both came from and were sustained on the eastern half of the island, indicating that the slaves did not target the plantations of slaves who refused to join them, but targeted the plantations from which they came and had the most interaction.

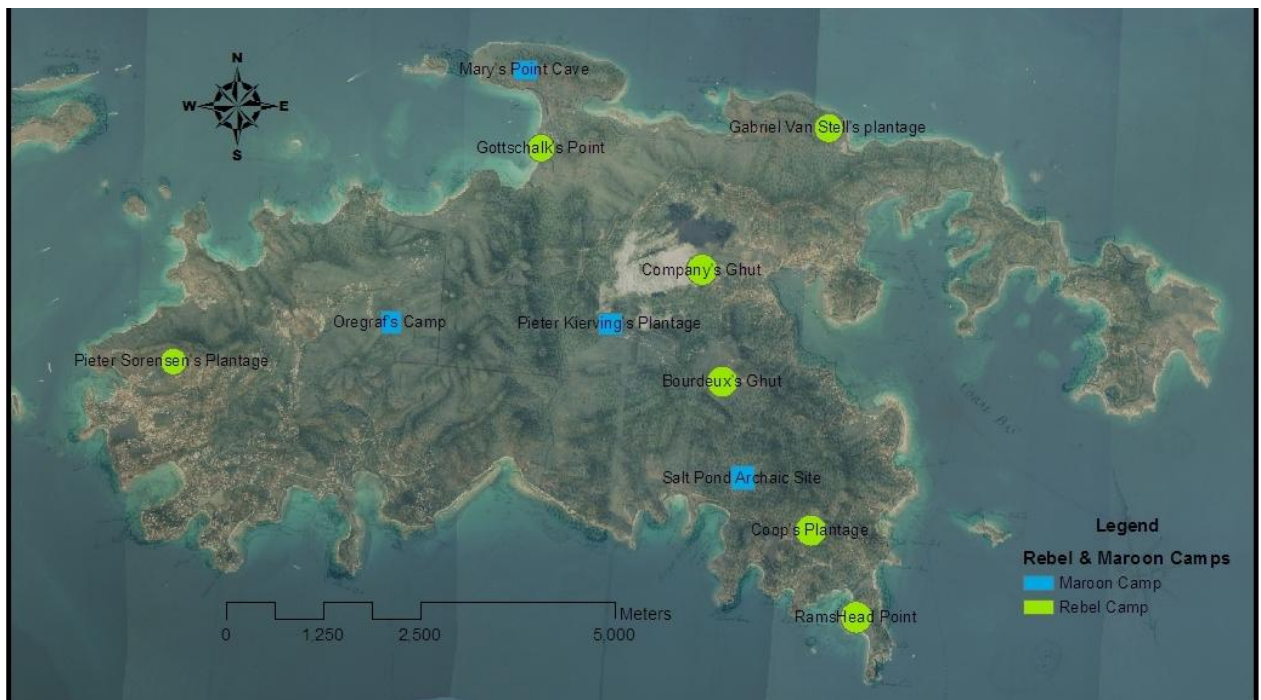
To test this hypothesis, a Moran's  $I$ <sup>172</sup> spatial autocorrelation test was run, providing a Z- score<sup>173</sup> measuring both feature locations and feature values

<sup>171</sup> There were 105 plantations at the time of the rebellion, but three lack spatial information in the *landlists*, and are otherwise ignored in the historic documents. The 106<sup>th</sup> property is Frederiksvaern.

<sup>172</sup> A Moran's  $I$  value calculates whether or not one can reject the null hypothesis, whether the features are randomly distributed across a study area.



simultaneously. In this case the null hypothesis states that the rebels are randomly distributed across properties that sustained damage during the course of the rebellion. The Z-score for the spatial autocorrelation was a standard deviation of 3.28, indicating that there was less than 1% likelihood that this clustered pattern of rebels and damaged properties could be the result of random chance. Statistically speaking, it is likely that the rebels were directly targeting the properties on which they themselves were enslaved, and targeting the planters who controlled the properties.



**Figure 35. Estimated locations of Rebel and Maroon Camps.**

Figure 35 illustrates the rebel spaces as teased from the historic record. It indicates that the rebels, enslaved people bound to plantations on the eastern half of the island, rebels who destroyed the plantations of their enslavement, kept to those areas. This is the space

<sup>173</sup> A Z-score is a measure of standard deviation.

with which they were the most familiar. All of the identified rebel camps are located near ghuts, meaning probable locations of water.<sup>174</sup> Those that are not located near water are on the shore, in areas that may be conducive to escape via the marine underground (Hall 1992) or trade with clandestine traders, particularly for those located on "Gottschalk's Point" (#1), a property that is adjacent to Vessup's plantation, where it was purported that Vessup was aiding the rebels.

Figure 35 also indicates areas that I have identified as possible maroon locations. Whether they are directly related to the people and activities of the 1733- St. Jan slave rebellion requires further archaeological investigation. A possible maroon camp at Kierving's plantation, (#8), was noted in the historic documents in the months leading up to the rebellion. Kierving's was abandoned by the owners prior to November 23, 1733. Site (#9) is located on top of a well-known prehistoric site, Salt Pond Archaic. In 2007 NPS archaeologist Ken Wild identified historic ceramics that he interpreted as being used by maroons (Wild 2008). Likewise, in 2006 NPS interns identified historic ceramics in Mary's Point cave. Located with the historic European ceramics were locally manufactured sherds (Wild 2008). While the official interpretation by the NPS archaeologist is a prehistoric site with historic period contamination, it is very likely that the locally manufactured sherds are not of prehistoric origin, but were locally manufactured Afro-Caribbean sherds. Mary's point cave fits the characteristics for a maroon site (Norton and Espenshade 2007).

Along with my co-author Christopher Espenshade, I developed a GIS based predictive model for maroon settlements that determined the ideal criteria for maroons to

---

<sup>174</sup> Ghuts are gorges or gullies that are pathways for water. While most are seasonal, historically they were less seasonal than they are today, and would have been the most advantageous place for catching water, particularly in the rainy season.

find both concealment and access to the social and natural resources necessary for survival (2007). These criteria included:

“1. Site locations will have been selected with concealment in mind...; 2. Site locations would have been chosen with defensibility in mind...; 3. ...Maroon refuge sites would not have been located on the landforms targeted by normal archaeological survey...; 4. ...Maroons would have made a concerted effort to reduce their signatures on the landscape...; 5. Depending on the amount of interaction between the refuge Maroons, enslaved African Caribbeans, freedmen, and others (e.g. pirates), the Maroons may have had limited material possessions...; 6. Due to lack of building materials and risk of loss to slave hunters, the Maroons likely utilized indestructible, ready-made rock shelters or caves for many of their sites...” (Norton and Espenshade 2007:6-7)

We propose that, for many recorded maroon sites, concealment and defensibility meant that the sites were located in topographically extreme areas, often away from water sources which would possibly give them away to slave hunters, or increase the possibility of accidental interaction with unfavorable people.

Interestingly, site (#7), an identified "rebel" site, fits more closely with the characteristics of maroon sites; it is also a geographic outlier that is significantly far away from other rebel camps on the eastern half of the island. It is most likely that in the chaos of the conflict, enslaved people who had either previously marooned themselves, or who were refugees from the conflict, settled here, and subsequently were identified as rebels. This may also be the case for site (#4), on Bordeaux's Mountain, which was a site that was very difficult to access as well as being removed from water sources, and may in fact have been a better established maroon site. It is this camp that French *Commandant* Longueville raided in April 1734, noting substantial dwellings containing men, women

and children. Longueville reported killing up to twenty-five people with little to no opposition (Caron and Highfield 1981; Longueville 1734 [1994]).

Also fitting the characteristics of a maroon site is the camp of Niels Øregraf. Guanche, a man bound to Moth's plantation, reported that he was removed from his plantation in the opening days of the conflict by Øregraf, who was the *mesterknekt*, and forced to build a camp in the secluded interior of the island for the duration of the rebellion. Øregraf himself owned a small plantation in Coral Bay which suffered damage during the conflict. At the time of the rebellion he did not own any slaves himself. It is also unclear to what extent Øregraf's plantation had been developed; he did have a magazine that he reported burned. How many other free employees or indentured servants may have taken to the interior, either forming their own maroon camps or joining already existing ones, should be a subject for future historical and archaeological research.

As discussed in Chapter 5, the spatial analysis for the archaeologically surveyed 1733- sites indicates that there was a high degree of the isolation for the built plantation complexes (Figure 36). Far from being a plantation system, the plantations operated in an *ad hoc* fashion, which both facilitated the conditions for the rebellion, and proved to be an obstacle for the plantocracy to put the rebellion down. Throughout the rebellion the planters, Civil Corp, and Danish authorities squabbled over the financial responsibility for the conflict, with the Danish authorities requisitioning food, slaves, and munitions from the planters to fight the rebels, and the planters, including the Civil Corp, demanding that the *VGK* assume the financial responsibility. In the end the *VGK* allowed a two-year tax amnesty at the culmination of the event to allow the planters to rebuild.

The second half of the decade, therefore, saw a flurry of activity as the planters and the V GK reinvested capital into rebuilding St. Jan.

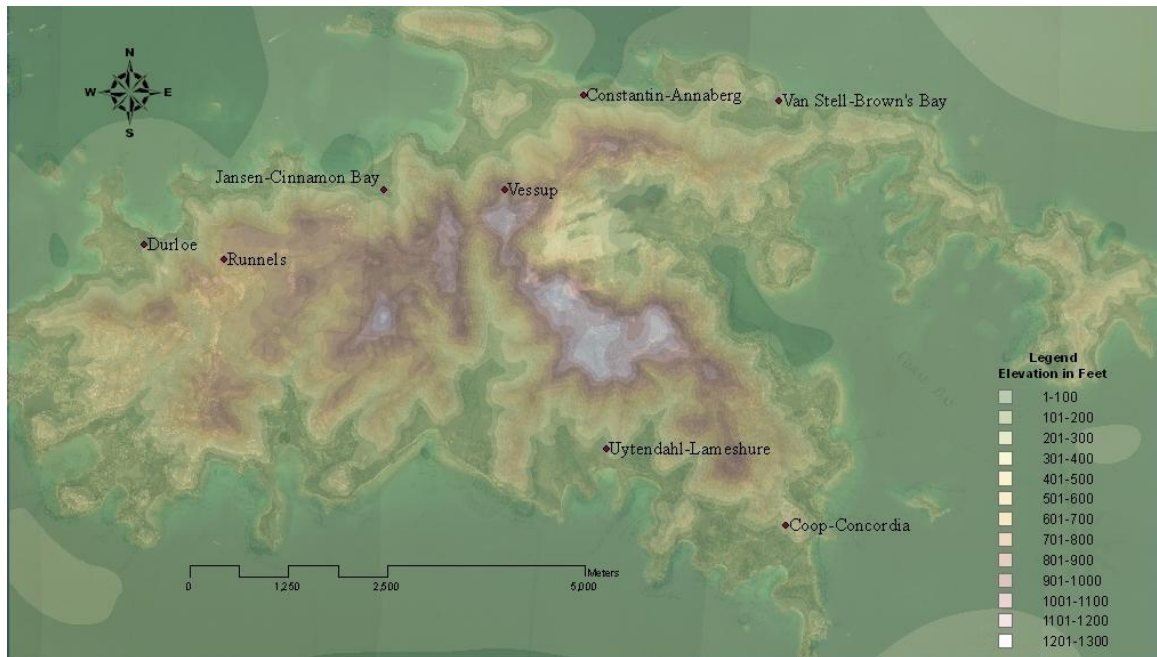
Unfortunately, much is unknown about this period of time. The four year period between the 1736- *landlister* and 1739 is undocumented as the *landlisters* were suspended until 1739 due to post-rebellion reconstruction.<sup>175</sup> Tyson (1984) indicates that the five years between the rebellion and the resumption of the *landlisters* were productive, resulting from an influx of Company capital to private planters, and sees a distinct growth in population during that time, specifically in the enslaved population. Based on my own population calculations, there was actually a loss of population of nearly 130 individuals between 1733 and 1739.<sup>176</sup> The high volume of enslaved laborers during this time period was probably due to the temporary movement of laborers from St. Thomas as opposed to the investment in new laborers through the slave trade, and cannot be considered new St. Jan residents.<sup>177</sup>

---

<sup>175</sup> The 1736- *landlister* was not an accounting of the plantations in 1736, but was the completion of the 1733 pre-rebellion tax survey, which had been started in 1733 but suspended due to the outbreak of the conflict. It is also unclear exactly what constitutes the 2 year tax amnesty since the *landlisters* are suspended for nearly four years. It is likely that the initial attempts at re-creating the 1733 tax lists as well as the post-rebellion conditions were met with lack of cooperation by the planters who were historically uncooperative with Company attempts to record the conditions of the island.

<sup>176</sup> While Tyson (1986) does revise the 1733 population numbers of St. Jan upwards from those of Westergaard (1917) and Fog Olwig (1985), Tyson's numbers are within the same range as the previous authors.

<sup>177</sup> The *landlisters* are replete with instances of planters, especially those who resided on St. Thomas, moving enslaved laborers back and forth between the two islands prior to 1733. During the rebellion, as parts of the island were deemed inhabitable, planters were already moving laborers between the islands to salvage what they could of the growing season. This was especially true of the Company plantage on Coral Bay, which attempted to move laborers during the first week of the conflict.

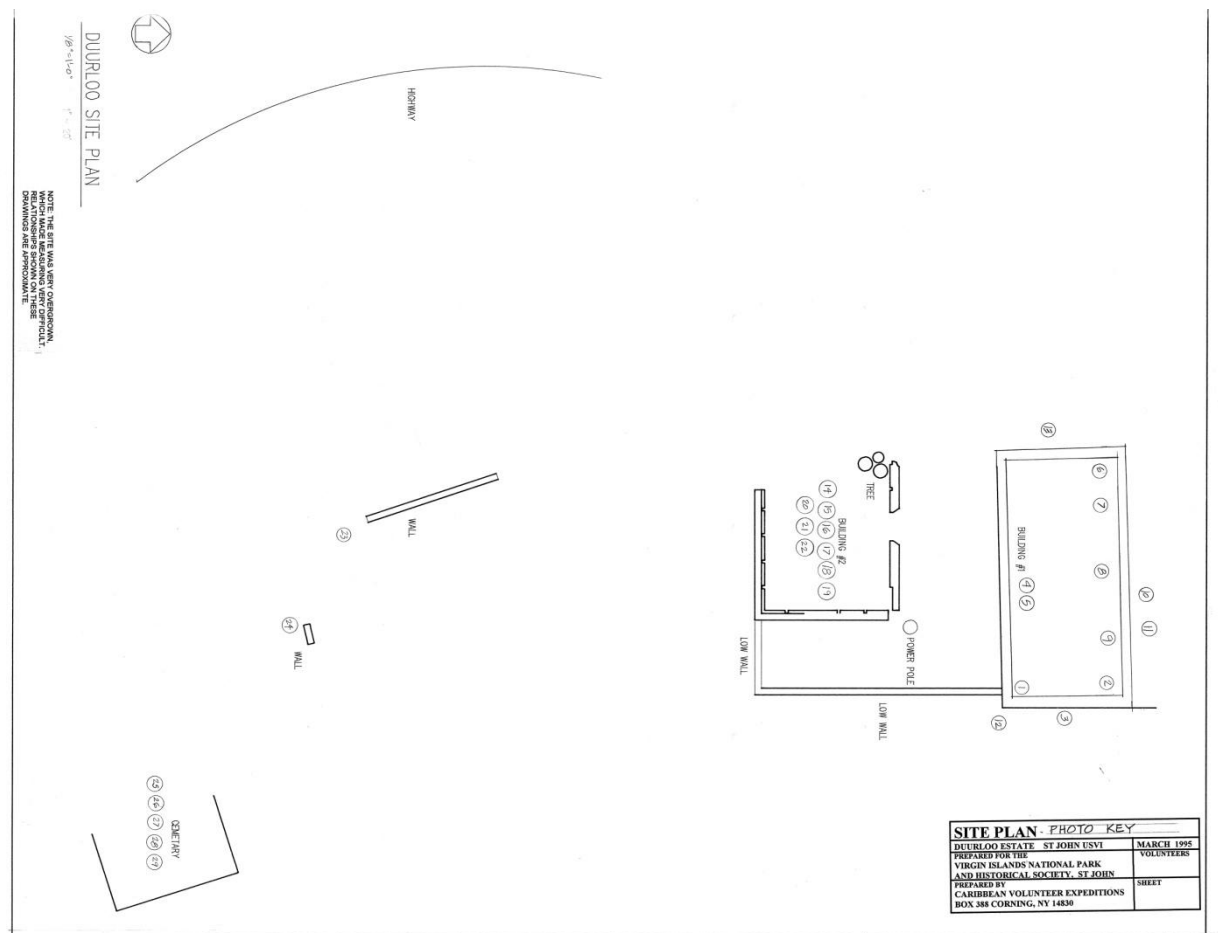


**Figure 36. Eight of the 26 plantations 1733 plantations that shifted their built structures after the slave rebellion.**

Despite this flurry of reinvestment, 1740 was the first year that the island experienced consolidation, a movement toward larger properties, which was to last through the 1760s. By 1760 the number of plantations fell below the 1733 level to eight-three properties, eighty-one of which occupied 98% of the land surface (Tyson 1985:24-25). Part of this restructuring included the relocation of built plantation structures within plantation boundaries. Among the properties that were re-ordered included those belonging to Daniel Jansen, Pieter Durloe, William Vessup, Susanna Runnels, Gabriel Van Stell, and Johannes Uytendahl, each of which will be discussed below.

Pieter Durloe retained ownership of the Durloe Bay property. During rebuilding in the 1730s the main house was moved to a higher elevation above Hawksnest, where it was surrounded by gardens, outbuildings and a family cemetery. The Hawksnest ruins

(Figure 37) consist of two rubble-masonry structures.<sup>178</sup> Structure 1 is 12 meters x 6 meters, with masonry built platform on both its southern and northern walls for a basement/store-room roof/ground- floor surface. The bottom most floor of this structure has a wide, low doorway in its southern wall. Structure 2, immediately to the south of Structure 1, is 6 meters x 6 meters, consisting of rubble-masonry post in ground construction walls that are 80 centimeters high with a beveled top where a wooden super-structure would have sat.



**Figure 37. Post-1733 Durlloe House. Caribbean Volunteer Expedition, 1995. Courtesy of the National Park Service.**

<sup>178</sup> Alternately named the Duerloe House in the NPS ASMIS database, and referred to in later historic documents as Hawksnest. There is also another set of ruins on island, located adjacent to the shore at Hawksnest Bay, which are referred to in NPS ASMIS database as Hawksnest.

I visited the site in June 2008, accompanied by NPS archaeologist Ken Wild, for yearly site inspection and maintenance. At that time a pedestrian survey revealed a very diffuse ceramic scatter including delft, creamware, feance and Chinese porcelain. Similar to ceramic artifact from many of the historic sites on St. John, the ceramic sherds were less than 2 centimeter square. Archaeological excavations have not been conducted at this site. Durloe's agricultural structures remained at the original site near the shore, overlooking the slave village, while the dwelling where the Civil Corp were garrisoned during the rebellion became the overseer's house, eventually referred to historically as the manager's house. The Hawksnest site, removed from the laborers, was placed an additional 100feet above the original complex and had an increased viewshed that incorporated the agricultural buildings as well as a portion of the ridge to the south of the house.

The four plantations along the south shore of St. Jan, owned by Johannes Uytendahl (#60), Gouvert Marche (#52), Lieven Marche (#60), and Jasper Jansen (#59) exemplified the trends seen on the rest of the island. Prior to the rebellion, Johannes Uytendahl was an absentee landowner, leaving an unnamed *mesterknecht* to oversee his seven enslaved laborers and to work the small cotton plantation, (#53), on their own. It is unknown what the plantation experienced during the conflict, although none of the slaves from Uytendahl's plantage were accused of participating. Uytendahl took advantage of the offer to settle St. Croix at the close of the conflict. It is probable that he took his enslaved population with him as his son (also named Johannes Uytendahl) reclaimed Little Lameshure in 1734, without slaves. In 1759 the Uytendahl Family slaves are implicated in the St. Croix conspiracy to rebel, as are the slaves of the de Windt Family



and the Rogier Family, two groups with whom the Uytendahls were heavily intertwined.<sup>179</sup>

Despite the deep roots of the Uytendahl family in the Danish West Indies, this plantation was sold to Gouvert Marche's Widow and consolidated with (#52) by 1755, as indicated in the *Matricals*.<sup>180</sup> Thatt and Pedersen are careful to note that there are "lacunas" in the documentary record; the Uytendahls appear to own the property only until 1737. It is therefore unknown whether the property was occupied by anyone between 1737 and 1755, or when the Marche's actually purchased the property. It is known that 1740 marked the first wave of consolidation after the slave rebellion; it is possible that when the Uytendahls were unable to get the plantation to a profitable level after the rebellion they sold by 1738 or into the early 1740s. Careful analysis of the already excavated artifacts as well as future excavations are recommended for understanding the use of this property in the mid-eighteenth century and how it relates to the early settlement period and 1733 slave rebellion.

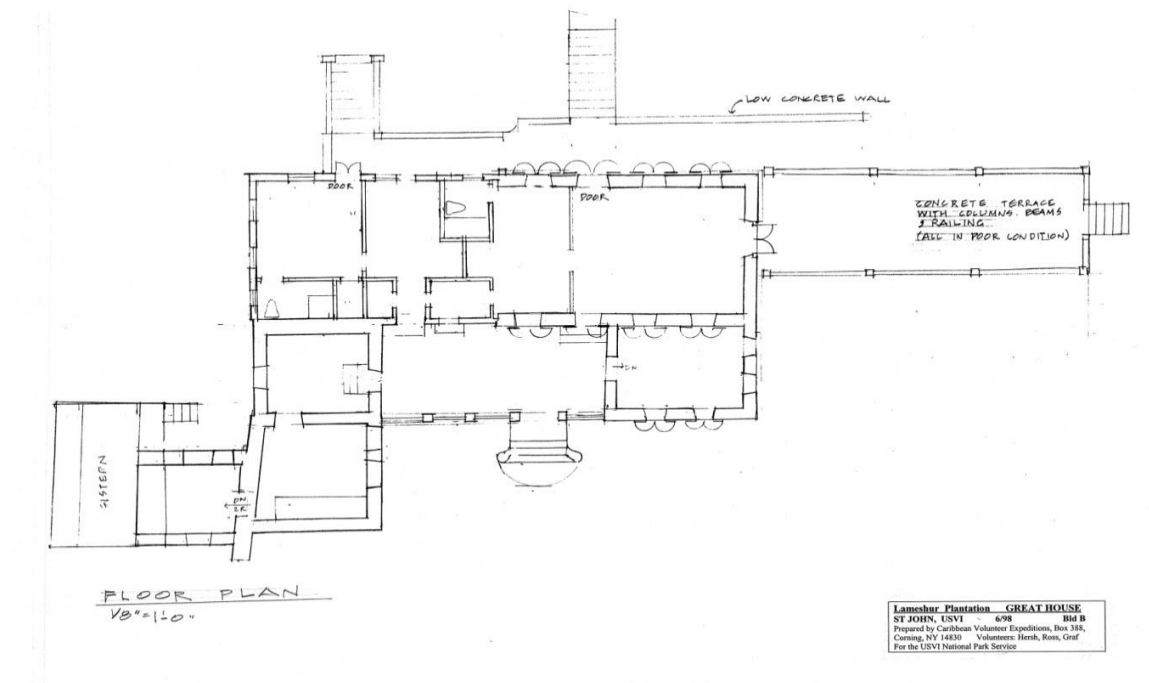
As with Durloe, during post-rebellion consolidation and reconstruction, the planter's dwelling was removed from the factory complex and placed at a higher elevation, overlooking the sugar works (Figure 21). The original post-rebellion dwelling is part of what is today Park Ranger housing at Lameshure Bay (Figure 38). The original structure has been modified through various additions. The "basement level" of the house is thick, rubble-masonry walls, and originally would have had a wooden-super

---

<sup>179</sup> The de Windts also had a plantation on St. Jan at the time of the rebellion, (#70) in Little and Big Cruz Bay. The de Windt's were absentee owners, maintaining property on St. Thomas. The family maintained a fairly substantial enslaved population of 30 individuals, although none were implicated in the uprising.

<sup>180</sup> *Landlisters* were suspended in 1739. There was no land deeds kept until 1755 when tax and census documents called *Matricals* were adopted.

structure.<sup>181</sup> Like similar structures on St. Jan, it may have doubled as a warehouse/residence for the *mesterknekt* and the small group of enslaved people. The plantation house does retain a “Danish Welcoming Arms” staircase.



**Figure 38. Lameshure Plantation Great House. Caribbean Volunteer Expeditions, 1998.**

Similar to Johannes Uytendahl’s plantation, Lieven Marche (#60) was consolidated almost immediately after the rebellion. Anthony Kambek, the owner of nearby plantation (#45) in Reef and Fish Bay, acquired this property, probably in 1736 or 1737 (Thatt and Pedersen 2007:25). Jasper Jansen (#59), the son of the Widow Jansen who owned plantations (#1) and (#2) in Caneel Bay Quarter, appears to have sold his property almost immediately following reclamation during the post-rebellion period, probably in 1736/37 (Thatt and Pedersen 2007:18). The following owner, Alexander

<sup>181</sup> Dr. Laurence Babbitts, who visited St. John in 2001 observed that the basement structure of the Lameshure Bay Great House, or Park Ranger House, is built similar to structures that are garrisoned in anticipation of attack, and noted this may be a result of the 1733 Rebellion. (Personal Communication, Austin, TX 2011).

David, sold the property again after the 1739 *landlister* as it was owned by another individual by the 1755 *matrical*.

Jansen, whose death in 1737 might explain the sale of the Reef & Fish Bay Quarter plantation, was an active participant in consolidation. In the immediate years, if not months, following the rebellion, Jansen appears to have purchased the Beadwyn parcel (#3) that was adjacent to his mother's holdings, plantations (#1) and (#2) (Knight 1999). The Jansen family consolidation of their north shore properties focused on sugar production. While the shoreline structures apparently remained in use, sugar works and the planter's dwelling house were shifted to the interior of the island, although not to a significantly higher elevation.

Interestingly, Willum Vessup also relocated his plantation subsequent to the rebellion. Prior to the event, Vessup was a fugitive for murdering a fellow planter. In the years that he was avoiding trial at the hands of the *VGK* he was administering his plantation and activities- many of which were probably illegal- from his shoreline plantation. During the rebellion, while Vessup was accused of aiding the rebels by providing them supplies in exchange for slaves, Vessup used the rebellion as an opportunity to ingratiate himself with the Danish authorities by aiding the Civil Corp in quelling the rebellion. It appears to have worked since after the rebellion Vessup reclaimed his property on St. Jan without being prosecuted. While Aushermann et al (1982:173) identify the Mamey Peak Vessup Estate as Vessup's original plantation complex, the historic documents clearly indicate that Vessup's works were on the shoreline, although currently not identified archaeologically. Also according to Aushermann, Vessup was never exonerated, and lived out his life on Tortola while his

family remained on St. Thomas (*ibid*:176). It is unclear who was running the sugar plantation on the spine of Mamey Peak after the rebellion. What is likely is that a more formalized sugar estate was established after the rebellion, either by Vessup and his agents, or by another planter who was able to claim the large estate.

Gabriel Van Stell's plantation (#88) in Maho Bay, was also shifted after the rebellion. Gabriel and his family were murdered during the first day of the revolt, and it appears that Gabriel's brother, Hermanus, took possession of the plantation during the rebellion. As discussed previously, Hermanus made some choices in the wake of the slave rebellion that are counter-intuitive. First, in the opening days of the conflict, as the Civil Corp was organizing, Hermanus ran away, refusing to fight the rebels. Later, as the rebellion was coming to a close and the island was being reoccupied by the plantocracy, Hermanus was found to have rebels working for him at his brother's plantation, where his brother's family had been killed. It is unknown how common a practice this was. In one other documented case Øregraf, a *mesterknekt* for Moth, took one of the slaves bound to Moth, Guanche, with him into the interior of the island where the slave built a house in which the two waited out the rebellion. It is also currently unknown what the fate of these free men was once these abscondings were discovered by the V GK. We do not know how long Hermanus held the plantation at what is referred to historically and today as Brown's Bay. We do know there was a reordering of the plantation. While prior to the 1733 Slave rebellion the plantation complex was located in the interior of the island, off the shore, after the rebellion the plantation dwelling stayed in that location while the agricultural works were located closer to shore (Figure 12). The extant ruins that are a highly trafficked visitor site today date primarily to the end of the eighteenth century;

however, there are remnants of an earlier eighteenth century building over which the extant ruins were expanded (Ausherman et al 1981-82:229). While the owners of the Brown's Bay plantation may not have been capable of realizing the ideal of having the dwelling at a higher elevation due to property boundary and topographical constraints, the separation of the planter from the enslaved and the agricultural works was still realized.

There are also a number of other properties on St. Jan, which, while relatively unknown archaeologically, are still known to have shifted to higher elevation or rearranged their landscape during reconstruction and consolidation, including Runnels (#11) and Magens (#59). Similarly there are the archaeologically documented cases of Chocolate Hole (#31), and Cabrit Horn (#60), plantations that were completely abandoned in the aftermath of the rebellion, and the land consolidated into larger estates.

A spatial analysis of the archaeologically surveyed plantation complexes associated with the settlement era shows that there is no statistically relevant patterning to the sites. Prior to the rebellion we see a pattern of sub-dividing of family properties and the fragmenting into smaller and smaller plots of land, particularly as low-status individuals, such as *mesterknegts*, begin to acquire properties. After the rebellion, there is an effort made to reinvest in the island's infrastructure, and by 1740 the trend shifts from fragmenting properties to the consolidation of properties. With that consolidation there is increased opportunity to reorder the built environment of individual plantations, creating spaces that are more controlled and hegemonic. By 1780, when the first survey of the island is completed, culminating in Oxholm's map (Figure 39), there is a distinct pattern where plantation dwellings were being built on the ridge lines. A spatial analysis shows

that there is increased viewshed for individual properties able to see their neighbors, as well as out to sea. Of the sixty-three plantation properties that were recorded by Oxholm in 1780, only 17% had no direct viewshed to their neighbors, while 83% had a viewshed that encompassed one or more of the their neighbor's dwellings, with 37% of the total having two or more.



**Figure 39. Oxholm map of St. Jan, 1780.**

While individual plantations were re-ordered, there is also a shift in emphasis for the social center of St. Jan. While in the years leading up to the rebellion the social and institutional focus of the island had been on Coral Bay, after the rebellion the social focus shifts to Cruz Bay. The high number of both plantations and people in this half of the island had always been a trend that the *VGK* seemed intent to ignore. After the rebellion, concerned with security, it was the citizens of the island themselves who demanded a

new fortification and who shifted the focus to Cruz Bay village and the north shore of the island.

The focus of the *VGK* was on Coral Bay, the focus for many of the other planters and inhabitants was on the northwest Corner of the island, especially Cruz Bay. In 1736 the planters petitioned the Governor to construct a fort for defense and government in the Little and Big Cruz Bay Quarter. Although the request is granted on paper, it is another thirty-two years before such a structure is completed. In 1765 Frederiksvaern is reported decommissioned, purportedly blown up, and the cannons removed to the newly completed Cruz Bay Battery, Christiansfort (Knight 2010b).<sup>182</sup> Unlike Frederiksvaern, Christiansfort faces inland and was erected primarily as a means to respond to slave revolts. Peter Oxholm was highly critical of both the location and actual structure of the Cruz Bay Battery as he did not consider it strategically defensive as “...it is easily penetrable by enemies since the bay is overlooked by mountains on all sides” (Ausherman 1982:84). Christiansfort seems to have been plagued by similar problems as Frederiksvaern as it was never adequately supplied with ammunition for its twelve cannons. For example, as was the custom, a passing French ship saluted the fort with their cannon in 1914; when the fort failed to respond the ship dropped anchor. The captain of the ship went so far as to go ashore and ask the commander of the fort if France and Denmark were at war. The Danish commander answered no, the fort simply lacked the ammunition to return salute (Low 2010:105). Based on all this information, it

---

<sup>182</sup> Dr. E.L. Towle, an archaeologist, completed a survey of the battery for the National Park Service, most likely during the 1970s. Towle reported that Frederiksvaern showed “at least four distinct mortar strata and...brick types” indicating waves of modifications dating back to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with a likely abandonment of the site in the “third or fourth decade of the nineteenth century”. At the time of Towle’s visit to the battery there were 6 remaining cannons, ranging in size from 6 to 12 pounds, and dating from 1730 to 1830. He reported no evidence of destruction of the Fort, and no obvious evidence of dynamiting was observed by myself during two visits, one in July 2005 and the second in November 2009. The veracity of the complete decommissioning of Frederiksvaern is therefore in doubt.

seems most reasonable that Frederiksvaern and the battery<sup>183</sup> at Coral Bay continued to function as a defensive structure throughout the eighteenth century, although it probably always wanted for adequate resources and staff.<sup>184</sup>

The current Frederiksvaern ruins consist of a rectangular structure 120 ft by 60 ft, with bastions “at the salient corners” (Wright, et al. 1976) and walls up to 35 feet high, depending on the grade of the hill, and vary from 30 to 80 inches thick. Gjessing also identified a small masonry structure 50 feet to the west of the fort.<sup>185</sup> The Battery is 1200 feet to the southeast of the fort, measuring 37feet x 54feet, in a slight trapezoidal shape (Figure 40).

In addition to the two vaerns in the late eighteenth century, a small building, Mary’s Point Custom House, was constructed on the north shore. This small enclosure served as a surveillance point not to the interior, but out to sea, and served as a check to the island’s continuing marronage to the British Virgin Islands. The viewshed for these three defensive structures were inadequate for surveilling the interior of the island, and probably left substantial marginal spaces for the enslaved population to exploit (Figure 41).

---

<sup>183</sup> Both Towle and Gjessing report 6 extant cannons, 5 in the battery and 1 lying at the base of the hill in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of these cannons disappeared rapidly during the first decade of the 2000s.

<sup>184</sup> Although the National Park Service attempted inclusion of the fort within the NPS boundaries when the Virgin Islands National Park was established in 1956, Frederiksvaern is currently privately owned by the Samuels Family, who have maintained the property for decades. The Samuels attempt to restrict access to the site by tourists, although trespassing on the site (as well as taking artifacts from the surface) is an open secret on St. John. Although recommended by several archaeologists, Frederiksvaern has never been surveyed archaeologically.

<sup>185</sup> I was unable to identify these ruins during visits in 2005 or 2009. Measurements for the masonry structure have gone unrecorded.



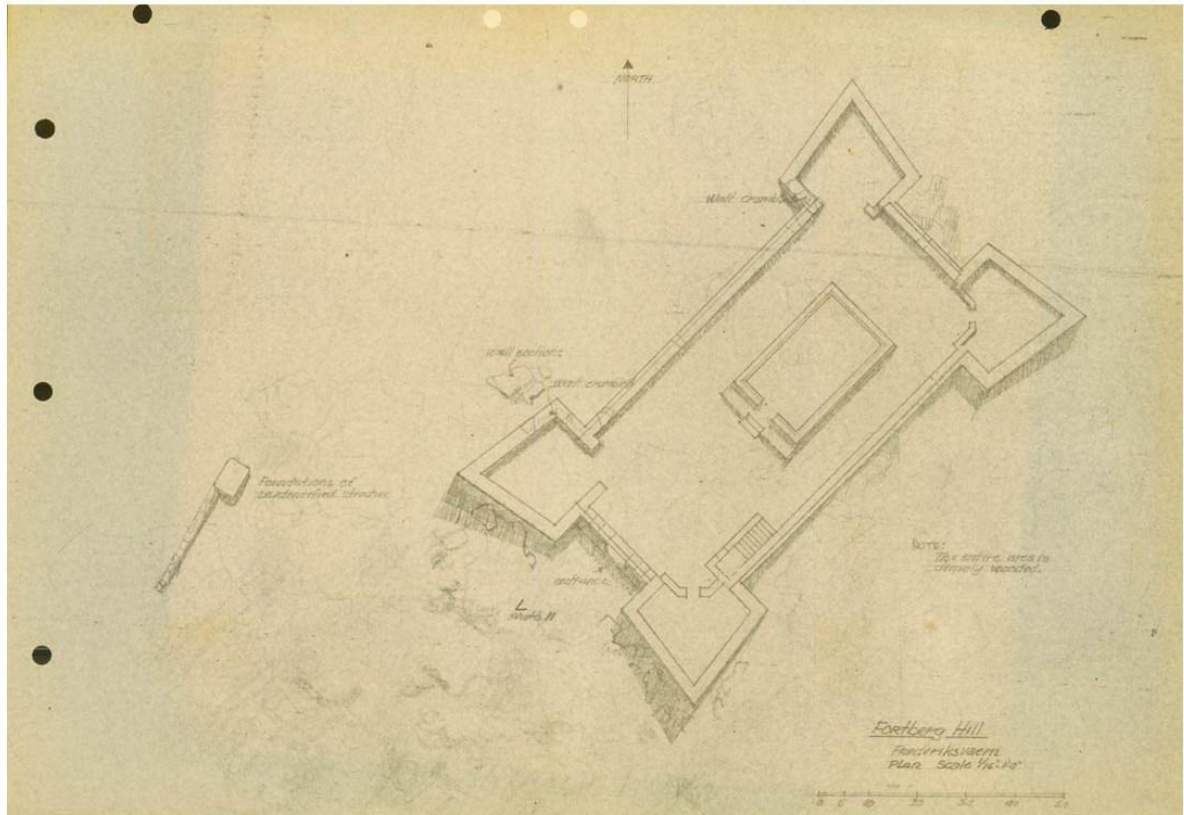


Figure 40. Frederiksvaern in its final, mid-eighteenth construction. Gjessing (1954).



Figure 41. The cumulative viewshed of Frederiksvaern, Christiansvaern, and Mary's Point Custom House.

Although the rebellion was ultimately defeated, the event marked St. Jan as a wild and marginal space within the problematic Danish New World territories. Rebuilding after the rebellion was not just about the physical rebuilding of structures that were destroyed and fields that were abandoned. Rebuilding also would have entailed social rebuilding. Due to the rebellion, St. Jan lost knowledgeable slaves who knew and understood the island; there was the rapid deterioration of the social relationships upon which not only the production of the plantations was reliant but also the basic survival of the people. More than likely, there would have been a demonstrable loss of institutional knowledge, particularly in regards to landscape learning. While the current study does not address these questions, we need to ask how this would manifest in the archaeological record and how we can recover that information during future studies.

There appears to be a model of locating structures that can aid in determining the time period when a structure was built. The pre-1718 structures, such as Cinnamon Bay, were most likely placed near or on the shore. As the island lacked sufficient infrastructure and each plantation was more or less independent, the shore line access was crucial for both attaining supplies and accessing off-island markets. During the settlement era we see a mix of locational spaces. While some plantations maintained this shore-line settlement model, many plantations, such as Bredahl's estate in Little & Big Cruz Bay Quarter were located in the interior, most likely in an attempt to seek protection from foreign harassment, such as from the British and the Spanish, who raided St. Jan plantations and threatened to claim the island by force. After the 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion and the move toward the first wave of consolidation on island we see the built environment of various estates moving into positions of greater surveillance of and separation from their

enslaved populations. These estates appeared to have an ideal about security on island that wasn't always met in reality.

While the St. Jan rebellion had immediate and lasting effects on the island, it also carried with it broader implications for the region and the New World. According to Sewell, the significance of historic events can be seen in the extent of their impact. While “All action by definition takes place in a particular spatial location” the range of effects of action can differ, and some “action taken in some locations has only a local scope, while the scope of other actions is much wider” (*ibid* 260).

The official dates of the rebellion are November 23, 1733 to May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1734. There were significant events that preceded and proceeded these dates; “events are sequences of ruptures that effect transformations of structure” (Sewell 2005:255). The event of the rebellion itself produced other events in the Danish West Indies, and beyond. While the rebellion fizzled to a close, the DWI shifted its energies from the always problematic St. Jan to the newly acquired St. Croix. With the occupation of St. Croix, the Danish administration moved into a more highly structured phase of Caribbean colonialism, in line with the colonial endeavors of Britain and France at the time. St. Croix was handed over to the Danes in September, 1734, “empty” as far as the French authorities in Martinique were concerned (Caron and Highfield 1981; Westergaard 1917). In fact, there were around fifty English families residing on the island along with a population of 400-500 enslaved people (Dookhan 1994; Hall 1992). These families were encouraged to remain on the island by the colonial authorities. The commonly accepted reason has been the idea that the English planters were initially seen by the Company as a potential Yeoman class, specifically a buffer against further slave rebellions (Hall

1992:11). However, these were in all likelihood the same “English from St. Croix” who aided the Danes in quelling the rebellion. Like the other English mercenaries invited to help against the rebels, as payment the English from St. Croix would have been allowed to take back a portion of the captured rebels. Being allowed to remain on island after transfer to the Danish may have been an additional perquisite due to this interaction. What is most interesting is that we do not know how successful they were in terms of how many enslaved people they captured and took with them back to St. Croix, or what effect this had on the culture of the island. It bears future study.

St. Croix carved out space for the European “victims” of the St. Jan Rebellion, a place where they could start over in plantation agriculture. A number of the more successful planters from the Danish West Indies took advantage of this opportunity, including approximately 20% of the St. Jan planters as well as individuals located on St. Thomas involved with the conflict (Dookhan 1994; LL1733STJ 1736; LL1742STX 1742-1754; Westergaard 1938). For example, Øttingen was rewarded a leadership role and land on St. Croix due to his service during the rebellion.<sup>186</sup> Based on the cross referencing of available planter lists provided by Westergaard [1938; 1926], the 1742-46 St. Croix *Landlisters*, and historic maps of St. Croix, it appears that many of the St. Johnian planters settled in the section of the island referred as the Prince’s Quarter (*Printsens Qvarteer*), located in the western half of the island, and according to the St. Croix *landlisters* maintained the close social ties that existed on St. Jan, such as marriage.

St. Croix is notable in the very regimented way that it was settled, particularly in comparison to the free-for-all that characterized St. Jan. Despite this attempt at greater

---

<sup>186</sup> Øttingen does not appear in 1742-46 St. Croix *Landlisters*; it is currently unclear if Øttingen received land, or how he may have used it if he did.

degree of hegemony, St. Croix could not escape the influence of the 1733 rebellion. Many European nations had trouble enticing, cajoling, or even forcing their own citizens to settle the New World colonies; Denmark was no different. The prevailing public attitude towards the Danish West Indies throughout the eighteenth century was one of inescapable death. Instead the *VGK* encouraged foreign planters who may not find a place among their fellow citizens to emigrate to the Danish Virgin Islands. There is intriguing evidence for why the Danish were tolerant of English settlers. A brief entry in the Governor's Order Book in January 1734, in the midst of the rebellion, states simply "We are waiting on assistance from St. Croix" (GOB 1733-34:1171-1184; SPC 1733-1734:1140121,134). The only assistance that could have come from such quarters was from the English squatters. As discussed above, St. Croix was abandoned by the French, leaving only a small group of English families subsisting on the island. Whether these English families were aware of the transfer of the island from French to Danish hands is unknown, but it is assumed that they did not as no discussion was had with Gardelin during conversations about the rebellion. It is reasonable to assume that this relationship between the officials with the *VGK* and the St. Croix English families was a factor in the English remaining on island after the Danes took possession. Regardless of the ultimate justifications, from its initial creation, Danish St. Croix had a heavy English influence. In 1739 the island saw a large influx of experienced planters from the British West Indies who were looking to escape the disruptive Seven Years' War between Britain and Spain, and brought notions of proper British colonial practices with them (Dookhan 1994:71-72). As well as being the center of sugar production for the Danish West Indies, St. Croix

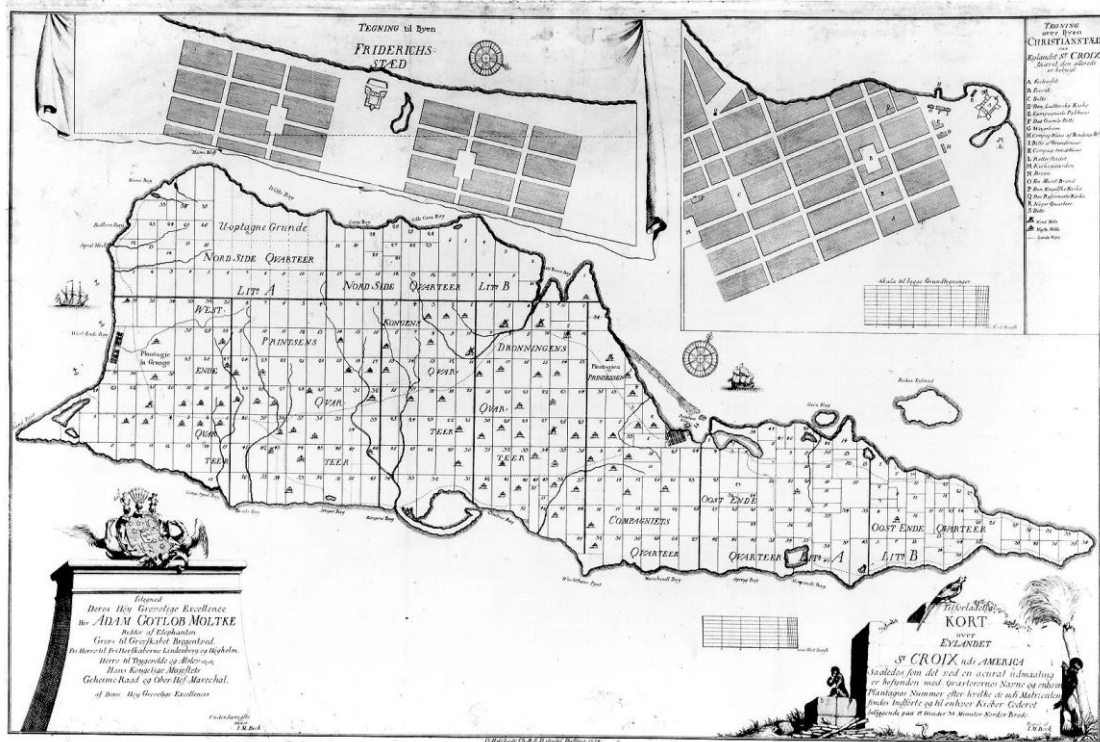
became the cultural capital of the DWI as well. The planters attempted to retain intimate contact with Europe through cultural events and newspapers, in both English and Danish.

While the plantocracy scrambled to claim odd patches of productive land on the smaller island, the founding orders for St. Croix included detailed instructions from Copenhagen to the new Governor Frederick Moth<sup>187</sup> on how the island was to be “taken into possession, surveyed, and settled” (Hopkins 1989:47). As discussed previously, the occupation of St. Croix marked a departure for the Danish, and, according to Hopkins, this “remarkably regular rectangular grid of plantation lots...was without parallel elsewhere in the Antilles or in Denmark and predated the beginnings of the rectangular Federal survey of public lands of the United States by half a century” (Hopkins 1989:47). The visual representations of this order, the shift from laissez-faire settlements to the institutionalization of colonization, were published in 1754 by Jens Michelsen Beck (Figure 42).<sup>188</sup> The map shows the island in its entirety, divided first into quarters, then into neatly plotted and equal sized plantation plots, individually numbered, and complete with icons for sugar mills, both wind and animal powered. Insets with enlargements for the two urban areas of the island, Fredrikstaed and Christianstaed, are also included with fortifications and street plans.

---

<sup>187</sup> Moth owned property on St. Jan at the time rebellion, and had 2 of his 15 slaves implicated in the rebellion.

<sup>188</sup> An earlier map was published in 1750 by Johann Cronenberg and Johann von Jaegersberg. Despite the high quality and the detail, including the use of color, this map seems to have never been distributed or widely used (Hopkins 1989).



**Figure 42. 1754 Beck Map of St. Croix, DWI**

St. Croix was parceled and sold in a regulated manner, an unprecedented plan that Daniel Hopkins describes as “...reminiscent of Thomas Jefferson’s original plan for the division of Public lands in the West and with the remarkably bold metric and administrative reforms of Revolutionary France’s” (Hopkins 1992b:159). To meet this new vision, the Danes went so far as to develop an entirely new unit of measurement, the standardized Danish Acre. This Danish Acre measured 2000x3000 Danish feet, a hybrid between the standard Danish unit of measurement used on the continent and the English acre, which was already being used by the primarily English citizenry of the island to buy and sell parcels in the eighteenth century (Hopkins 1992). While land speculation was rampant on St. Jan in the early settlement years of 1718-1733, land speculation was explicitly forbidden on St. Croix by the *VGK*. Along with the orders to define the new territory through mapping came orders to cultivate.

St. Croix carved out space for the “victims” of the St. Jan Rebellion, a place where they could start over in plantation agriculture. A number of the more successful planters from the Danish West Indies took advantage of this opportunity, including approximately 20% of the St. Jan planters who survived the rebellion (Anderson, et al. 1938-2009; Dookhan 1994; LL1728STJ 1728; LL1742STX 1742-1754; Westergaard 1938). Øttingen, who achieved notoriety for his deception of the rebels during the revolt on St. Jan, was rewarded a leadership role and land on St. Croix. Based on the cross referencing of available planter lists provided by Westergaard (1938; 1926), the 1742-46 St. Croix *Landlisters*, and historic maps of St. Croix, it appears that many of the St. Johnian planters settled in the section of the island referred as the *Printsens Qvarteer*,<sup>189</sup> located in the western half of the island, and, according to the *landlisters*, maintained the close social ties that had previously existed on St. Jan, such as inter-marriage and guardianship of orphaned minors.

The decades of 1730 and 1740 were seen as especially volatile by contemporaries (Carroll 1938 [2004]; Genovese 1979; Linebaugh and Rediker 2000). A series of rebellions took place, what Linebaugh and Rediker refer to as “a Caribbean cycle of rebellion” (2000:198) around the New World, beginning with uprisings in New Orleans in 1730 and again in 1732; South Carolina, Virginia and Bermuda in 1730; South Carolina again in 1733, joined by Jamaica and Dutch Guyana (not to mention St. Jan); revolts occurring in 1734 in the Bahamas, St. Kitts, South Carolina and New Jersey, the latter two said to have been inspired by the St. Jan slave rebellion; St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, Anguilla, Guadeloupe, and Antigua in 1735-36, with the conspiracy in Antigua said to be led by a participant in the St. Jan slave rebellion; Charleston, South Carolina in

---

<sup>189</sup> Princes Quarter



1737 and 1738; Maryland, 1738 and 1739; the Stono Rebellion in South Carolina in 1739, followed by a revolt in Charleston in 1740; and New York City in 1741, which included the alleged participation of the St. Jan rebel who had also been implicated in the earlier Antigua rebellion (Carroll 1938 [2004]; Linebaugh and Rediker 2000:194).

**Table 13. Rebellions related to the St. Jan Rebellion**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Location of Rebellion</b>
1730	New Orleans South Carolina Virginia Bermuda
1732	New Orleans
1733	Jamaica Dutch Guyana St. Jan South Carolina
1734	Bahamas St. Kitts South Carolina New Jersey
1735-36	St. Bartholomew St. Martin Anguilla Guadeloupe Antigua
1737, 1738	Charleston, South Carolina
1739	Maryland Stono, South Carolina
1740	South Carolina
1741	New York City

The 1733 St. Jan rebellion was often cited as directly influencing or inspiring subsequent events over the next decade (Genovese 1979; Lewis 1968; Linebaugh and Rediker 2000). Not only did information about events travel, but as illustrated in the implication of one man in three separate events, people also traveled. While rebel leaders were usually publicly executed as a deterrent to would-be rebels, it was not uncommon

for many of the “foot soldiers” involved in such events to be “exiled,” that is, sold to a new owner and transferred to a different location. Not only did this remove the individual from the site of the crime, it also allowed the authorities to recoup at least some of the costs of suppressing a slave rebellion.

As the memory of St. Jan faded in the global imagination, it remained vivid in the Danish West Indies. Just as it had once been identified as one of the first in a chain in the eighteenth-century conflicts, it also was the mother of all subsequent conflicts in the DWI. While the islands never witnessed a slave rebellion of the scope and magnitude of the St. Jan rebellion, there were two conspiracies for slave revolt that were interrupted in 1742 and 1759 in St. Croix, as well as a revolt in 1848, also in St. Croix, that is identified as spurring then Governor van Scholten to emancipate the Danish Slaves. After emancipation there were collective actions that were related to the labor conditions on the islands in 1878.

Particularly with the 1759 conspiracy on St. Croix, contemporaries noted the similarities they drew with the St. Jan rebellion (Westergaard 1926). In fact, some of the St. Jan planters, or their families, had relocated to St. Croix in the wake of the 1733 rebellion. Some of these same families had slaves who allegedly participated in the 1759 conspiracy. One individual, Lucas van Beverhoudt, was sentenced to exile, along with his slave accused of participating, in the wake of the 1759 incident.

### *Discussion*

Since formal colonization of St. Jan in 1718, daily life had been built on insecurity. This insecurity came from the threat of attack from more powerful European nations fighting for Caribbean domination, from the new climate and severe weather

patterns that caused constant financial and food shortages, and from a colonial administrative authority, sanctioned by the Monarchy, who was ill-equipped to handle the complexity that successful colonization during the trans-Atlantic era required. The *VGK* was not only strapped for resources. They seem to have lacked the fundamental knowledge necessary to interact with the growing population of enslaved Africans within their borders. For the white planters, this insecurity was handled by hedging their bets; they invested in plantations on St. Jan only to the degree that they could then recoup their investment and many continued to live and work on St. Thomas which had greater access to resources. The great irony is that everything was left in the hands of the slaves, and depended on their knowledge and presence.

The enslaved population also had to cope with insecurity. Under the best conditions, life on a Caribbean plantation was short and brutal. *If* the enslaved person survived the journey through the middle passage from Africa to the Caribbean (and by that time the individuals in question had survived the act of enslavement and being held in the trading forts in the first place) and *if* they survived their period of being “seasoned”<sup>190</sup> their first year in the New World then they could look forward to living an additional three to five years as enslaved laborers (Hall 1992).<sup>191</sup>

Karen Fog Olwig (1985) provides detailed descriptions of the labor endured by enslaved peoples on St. Jan in the late eighteenth century. Life for an enslaved person on St. Jan consisted of work days that were at least eleven hours long, literally from sun-up to sun-down. The majority of this work consisted of intense agricultural production in an

---

<sup>190</sup> It is estimated that 33% of *bussals* died in their first year on island (Thatt and Pedersen 2007).

<sup>191</sup> Mortality rates do not exist for the early settlement period of St. Jan, 1718-1733. Statistics show that later in the eighteenth century, for the period 1783-1802, the enslaved population had a -0.3% growth rate (Green-Pedersen 1979:18; Fog Olwig 1985:27)

area with rocky soils of little organic content.<sup>192</sup> The island is hot and humid, while the soils are very dry. The topography is rugged, with the steep mountainous ridges of the island abruptly meeting the beaches and mangrove swamp. The vegetation is dense and often impenetrable. Particularly aggressive plants include poison ash,<sup>193</sup> which contains highly concentrated urushiol on its waxy, thorny leaves, the same irritant found in poison ivy. Catch-n-keep<sup>194</sup> is a bush-like tree whose branches form long tendrils that climb into the canopy hiding among the branches of other trees. It has reverse thorns, which hook into your skin and clothing and cannot be removed without tearing your flesh. The manschineel tree<sup>195</sup> grows along the coast and oozes acid from its leaves when it rains. The manschineel also grows a beautiful, but deadly, fruit that resembles an apple and killed many an old world sailor (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000). There are insects. Sand-fleas plague the beaches, dengue-carrying mosquitoes patrol every inch of the island, scorpions, spiders of various types, and Jack Spaniard wasps, all inhabit the island. St. Jan has always lacked fresh ground water and had to rely on cisterns, water-pots, and the rains for potable water. There are no natural fresh-water ponds or lakes in the DWI. Drought is a nearly yearly occurrence on island. In short, St. Jan is an unforgiving place.

When the enslaved were not eking out a profit for the plantation owners in this marginal landscape, they were laboring in their own provisioning plots, where the bulk of the subsistence was grown (Fog Olwig 1985:18; Hall 1992:78).<sup>196</sup> Documentation shows

---

<sup>192</sup> The USDA Soil Survey describes St. John as “characterized by irregular coastlines, numerous bays, very steep slopes, rubbly guts, and small acreages of watersheds. Almost no areas of coastal plains are in the region because volcanic mountains dominate the topography” (1994:16).

<sup>193</sup> *Comocladia dodonaea*, colloquially called Christmas tree bush due to its resemblance to English Holly Bushes (*Ilex vomitoria*).

<sup>194</sup> *Acacia riparia*

<sup>195</sup> *Hippomane mancinella*

<sup>196</sup> It bears reminding as well that the island, although home to clandestine settlements and used for lumber by various nations, was virtually empty in 1718 when the Danes seized control. It was the labor of the enslaved people that cleared the vegetation, and built the dwellings (for the planters and themselves), cookhouses, mills, and other buildings

that later in the eighteenth through the nineteenth centuries that some slaves were able not only to provision themselves through the cultivation of these plots, but were also able to grow a surplus that then went to market. It is reasonable to assume that this is a practice that began as soon as enslaved people had access to provisioning plots and markets, which occurred during the period of 1718-1733.

The significance of this discussion is not just to illuminate the difficult lives that would have motivated the slaves to resist the plantation system. Even more significant is that this labor intensive life of the enslaved population was also a fundamental part of the structures that existed on St. Jan. The slaves were not only laboring on the landscape for the benefit of the plantation owners, they were also laboring on the landscape for their own benefit. Every activity they were engaged in was tied directly to the island or to the sea immediately adjacent to its shores. Due to the small size of the island, coupled with the diversity of ecological areas, the slaves had to learn, quickly, where on the landscape was the best place for different activities and tasks. In a sense the enslaved laborers on Caribbean islands were developing indigenous knowledge about the ecology of their environment (Erickson 2010), a knowledge base that was largely lacking in the plantocracy.

This type of learning, which was crucial to all colonial endeavors, required not only practical knowledge of and adaptation to the natural environment, but the accumulation and transmission of that knowledge to subsequent residents, whether it be

---

required for the farming endeavors. Building was no small task. The primary type of construction in the early settlement period was rubble masonry, which consisted of a masonry wall composed of stone, coral and brick all held together by lime mortar. Lime mortar had to be made from coral, wood ash and sea water fired in kilns. The stone could be found on the spot where the buildings were constructed, but still had to be cleared and piled. Coral blocks had to be cut from living coral in the shallow areas of the bays and hauled to the building site; bricks were often imported or carried as ballast from supply ships sent from Denmark, and also had to be hauled to the building site. The enslaved population also fetched water, cared for animals, fished, and performed a variety of other tasks that allowed for daily life to continue.

newly arrived adults or native offspring (Rockman 2003). Furthermore, this required the development of social networks for that communal learning and transmission to occur.

While the plantocracy attempted a spatialization of the island, dividing the terrain into prescribed agricultural units, it was a hackneyed attempt at hegemony (Shields 1997). The planters seemed unwilling or unable to exert the presence needed, marking the island as wild and marginal even before attempts at colonization in 1718. The archaeology of the built environment shows that the individual plantations were just that; there was no system developed by the planters, even to the point that the V GK had difficulty laying down centralized roads as planters did not want their own property violated with a public pathway (Westergaard 1917). Instead, plantations maintained private paths to the shore line, where the plantations had access to off-island resources. More importantly, many of the planters, especially the more affluent, chose to live off island, completely removing themselves from the space, despite the ongoing exploitation of the enslaved and the land.

The enslaved, therefore, although legally bound to the plantations, were more practically bound to the land. They knew the island- where to get food, where to get water, where to live without being seen, how best to get from one place to another- better than the planters, who were, in practice, either tied to their plantations, or altogether absent from them. All of this together created an environment where the enslaved of St. Jan were semi-autonomous. For female penal spaces in Australia, Casella (2010) discusses how dominance was created by the authorities through the segregation of spaces, and the restrictions placed on access to various spaces by the inmates (*ibid* 94). It can be argued that a similar, yet nearly diametrically opposite, process was occurring on

St. Jan. Instead of the enslaved laborers being segregated from spaces on the island, it was the free planters who exercised their own self-segregation. The enslaved laborers, on the other hand, moved more freely through the island, creating the necessary pathways to connect the various parts of the island, and in the process reaffirming their connection to it.

The lack of a unified plantocracy added to the insecurity of the slaves, as well as created conditions under which they could conceivably take control of St. Jan. The absence of clearly defined roles between the individual planters and the officials in the *VGK* caused severe tensions between these two groups. The *Det Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni* was plagued throughout its entire existence with lack of adequate resources- cash, man power, education and training- to fully exploit the Danish West Indies to their full advantage. Some of the planters who most blatantly ignore or undermine the interests of the *VGK* were planters who were themselves officials with the *Det Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni*. Even when the Danes were woefully understaffed, such as lacking *mesterknechts* at Coral Bay or soldiers at Frederiksvaern, the few staff they did have often took advantage of their own opportunities- establishing their own plantations, working provisioning plots, or escaping island alongside the enslaved on the maritime underground. This inability of the *VGK* to exert full authority meant greater consequences than just losing money on sugar production. Every maroon hunt reported from 1718 to 1733, and beyond, were completely ineffective; most never occurred despite being called for.

A careful parsing of the historic documentary record and the spatial analysis of the island at the time of the event clearly illustrates that, although affecting the island in

its entirety, this was not an island wide rebellion. I propose that most rebels were from Coral Bay and French Quarters because they knew through their own experiences with the Company, that the *VGK* had only the most tenuous hold on their properties. The officials employed by the *VGK* were inept- stretched too thin to respond effectively. The activities of men like Dennis Silvan and Pieter Krøyer, minor employees in the hierarchy, exemplify the chaotic environment of these quarters. These men were responsible for overseeing daily operation at the Company plantage in Coral Bay. At the same time they owned their own properties and may have also worked for private land owners on the side.

Where the Danes struggled to exercise authority- over the slaves, planters, and the company employees- the Dutch had a competing and well established system. The rebels came primarily from the plantations of the Company and the officials of the *VGK*. Although the largest enslaved population was held by the Dutch planters, relatively few of these slaves join the rebellion, probably because they lacked opportunity. This tension came to the surface during the rebellion when Gardelin and Beverhoudt failed to communicate in an effective way, further hurting the efforts of the Civil Corp.

The social structure that existed on St. Jan at the time of the rebellion also explains why the *VGK* erroneously concluded that it was *bussals* responsible for the uprising. As Tilly notes, the myth that outsiders are the instigators of violent conflict has been persistent for the last two centuries (1989). However, in reality, it is those individuals most familiar with the political, social and physical landscape who have the means and opportunity to invoke change. For the *VGK*, the “outsiders” were newly arrived slaves from Africa, specifically those who had recently arrived on the ship



*Laarburg Galley*. These individuals were identified as “Minas,” Africans from the Danish Trading Fort Christiansborg on the Gold Coast. The idea that the instigators must be Africans, in essence strangers, would have been popular for two reasons, both having to do with the complexity that exists in all human relationships. The first reason was that it might have been difficult for planters to reconcile the humiliated and subjugated individuals whom they “owned” and controlled, with the calculating and dangerous people who had become their enemies. The second reason is that, as discussed above, many of the planters and enslaved lived and worked in intimate proximity to one another, and the planters may have found it inconceivable that they would have been thus betrayed.

Subsequent popular interpretations of the rebellion have further expanded this concept of strangers instigating the rebellion to create a royal lineage of Africans on St. Jan in 1733, including “four African princes..., at least 50 lesser noblemen and one African King” (Anderson 1975:60). It was these individuals, men who understood what power and freedom were, who stood up against the Danes. In *Islands of History* (1985) Sahlins discusses how royal houses are the repositories for collective memories and traditions in the Hawaiian Islands, similar to the way that knowledge and history are institutionalized in the Western world. Far from being just an unverifiable fact, this latter interpretation seems to be an imposition of Western concepts of power onto the past. To Anderson, and others, it may have seemed inconceivable that historically commoners could conceive of so lofty a goal as securing their own freedom.

Sewell and Tilly both comment on the emotional turmoil experienced during events such as armed conflicts. Sewell in particular identifies “emotions” as one of the

characteristics of events that require consideration by social scientists (2005:248). For that reason, I will comment briefly on the emotional state of the rebellion. A more thorough investigation of such a complex topic should be undertaken in the future to fully understand the implications for the unfolding of the rebellion.

Emotions, especially those of historical actors, can be difficult to identify, quantify or explain. Particularly from an archaeological perspective, we rarely recover material culture that provides us with adequate information about emotional states, or what the relationship of emotional states might be from an artifact assemblage. There is slightly more entrée into emotional states if one is dealing with historic documents, but even in that case, if emotions are not specifically stated, inferences can quickly become highly speculative and irrelevant. Sewell, however, makes a strong case for at least recognizing that emotional states can have important consequences for the transformative shape an event takes. For instance, Sewell states that “the emotional tone of action can be an important sign of structural dislocation and rearticulation” (2005:249). If we are to apply this to the 1733 St. Jan rebellion, we can see the heightened anxiety that existed in the months leading up to the rebellion. A great number of slaves had taken maroon in the face of intense, often dangerous labor, and of food and water insecurities. Also at the same time we see violence in the enslaved population on St. Jan; in June 1733, a slave laboring at the plantation of Jasper Jansen was charged with violence against other slaves. Jansen and other St. Jan planters wanted to put the man to death as a punishment. In August 1733, a similar event occurred where two planters, who also happened to be the Co-Captains of the Company plantation, wanted to execute a “violent maroon” by delimbing him. There was disagreement about the appropriateness of these punishments,

and in both cases Gardelin did not allow them to occur. These incidents, especially when taken in concert with all the other conflicts that occur between different groups of people on the island, clearly illustrate the disjuncture of structures as they existed.

Emotions ran high during the event as well. As the rebellion continues, the frustration and desperation can be seen in the planters and Danish officials. In the opening weeks of the revolt, there is an incident where the Civil Corp are concerned because some of the rebels that they had captured on St. Jan and sent to Charlotte Amalie for questioning are released back to their home plantations. On December 13<sup>th</sup> 1733, Gardelin sends a letter of explanation to the Civil Corp defending the actions of the Danish authorities on St. Thomas:

“But while it was found, that they are not altogether free of the suspicion, to be implicated in the Complot, but on the other hand not a single testimony could be found, to sentence them to death...firstly I have not shown untimely pity, but have let Justice have its due course; secondly, your Honor will see for himself, that I could not execute negroes, acquitted by the Court, for if all of them were sentenced simply on suspicion, then no Court would be necessary, and in this way some, who were innocent, would thus be sacrificed” (GOB: 1152).

I do not for an instant imply that the enslaved who were captured by the Civil Corp received fair trials at the hands of Danish, even by contemporary European standards (Foucault 1995). What this does show is that there is a prevailing logic concerned with evidence and proper procedure. This is in stark contrast to the incident of March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1734. By this point in the rebellion the rebel faction had been labeled as “Aminas” and

“Aquambo,” with implications that they were somehow related to the *bussals* who had arrived the previous June on the *Laarburg Galley* from Christiansborg in West Africa. Based on this assumption alone, the Civil Corp, with the sanction of the *VGK*, went to several plantations arrested 31 “Aminas,” enslaved people who had remained on their home plantations, and executed them, without a trial or evidence that they were involved in any way with the conspiracy or act of rebellion. Tilly argues that as violent confrontations escalate, boundaries become increasingly contested and patrolled (2003). In this instance, The *VGK* and Civil Corp was asserting its dominance within its own borders as the vast majority of the individuals targeted in this summary execution came from plantations located on the western half of St. Jan.

To what degree the growing anxiety, anger, and frustration of the plantocracy had on the course of events during the rebellion can only be speculated. What is assured is that the “volatility that characterizes events in general can sometimes result from inherently unpredictable shifts in emotion” (Sewell 2005:250). It is known that gruesome and violent techniques were employed as methods to induce confession, and then as means of punishment and execution. It is also known that a fair number of people lost their lives, and reasonable to assume that not all who were executed participated in the rebellion. Perhaps it was anxiety that caused Schønnemann and his party to leave island prematurely, before King Claes could give them a signal that they had agreed to the terms of surrender. Claes, and the other rebel leaders, must have thought that defeat, or some other threat such as starvation, was imminent months prior to the arrival of the French forces to negotiate a surrender with the Danes as “a colloquial sense of surrender suggests that one surrenders only when one’s back is against the wall” (Wagner-Pacifici 2005:15).

The three days peace negotiated also suggests that the other rebels were part of the negotiation, or at least aware of it. It was surely anger and distrust on the part of King Claes and his group that caused them to burn the North Shore in retaliation for the failure of the negotiations with Schønnemann.

The high emotional intensity of the conflict had lasting impacts on the island. By way of example was when one of the Company's *Bombas* killed a *bussal* and escaped into the bush at the end of the conflict (This incident itself may have been influenced by the emotional tension between old-order and newly arrived slaves), the plantocracy and enslaved population both panicked, fearing another uprising and made their way to Frederiksvaern. This fear of new rebellions does not leave the citizenry; future rebellion conspiracies emerge in the DWI, (such as the 1742 and 1759 conspiracies on St. Croix) the 1733 rebellion was always invoked, and the alleged plots were put down harshly.

Rituals also play an important, and highly visible, role in communicating symbols of power and defiance in the course of certain kinds of events, such as rebellions. Sewell discusses the importance of ritual to historical events, a theme that again I touch on only briefly here. Rituals in various forms are particularly salient actions which are vital to the unfolding of collective violence (Tilly 2003). Many of these rituals deal directly with bodies, and specifically violence acted out on bodies for various publics to witness as bodies lend themselves to successful symbols of "political ordering" (Verdery 1999). The two primary groups of the 1733 St. Jan Rebellion, the plantocracy and the rebels, each engaged in ritual activities. While the reality the planters knew disappeared amid the conflict, they engaged in formalized and codified treaties with the English and French forces who they asked to come to their aid. In doing so the plantocracy emphasized their

alignment with Western military traditions; even if they could not stop the conflict themselves, they could draw a direct relationship to other European nations with whom they shared a larger world-view. Furthermore, these European groups used normative public displays of torture and execution which were highly ritualized and embedded within a European world view of authority (Foucault 1995). The officials of the Danish West Indies solidified this alignment, particularly with France, through the ritualized trials and executions of captured rebel soldiers. For the Danish, the torture and execution of those accused of rebellious activity was meant to specifically “reflect and reinforce the existing system of inequality” (Tilly 2003:87). As discussed by Foucault, the ritualized punishment and execution of transgressors had less to do with the individual or the specific acts committed by the individual, but in actuality was a ritual of power, the manifestation of the sovereign will over the body of society, illustrating to those witnessing the ritualized violence their proper role (Foucault 1995). Upon capture the rebels became social bodies, the individual identities of which were not important, but constituted symbols in need of punishment in an effort to dissuade others and reaffirm the social and political order of St. Jan.

While one can only imagine what rituals the rebels engaged in at their camps throughout the conflict, they also employed actions that were publicly visible and were meant as symbolic messages to their European enemies. Tilly argues that violent rituals often follow scripts which are understood, if unspoken, by various participants in conflict (2003:101). More than just strategic, the rebels acted the initial steps of the rebellion along what both Europeans and Africans would recognize as the appropriate ritualized steps of subverting the accepted political and social order. They began by taking Fort

Frederiksvaern. It was a strategically logical choice, as that was where the soldiers and the ammunition supply was centered, as well as being a location from which Coral Bay could be surveilled. By first attacking the Fort the rebels could ensure that they cut the planters off from their weapons and supplies. Sewell stresses that “symbolic interpretation is part and parcel of the historical event” (2005:245). The taking of Frederiksvaern also served a symbolic function, as the rebels struck first and successfully at the center of Danish control on the island, followed quickly by attacking the Company plantation. Storming the vaern was a highly symbolic act, striking at the seat of Danish Administrative authority on St. Jan. Given the chronic understaffing of the Fort, it leaves some degree of doubt as to how much of a threat the Fort would have provided if the Rebels had chosen to secure another area first. Striking Frederiksvaern first also leaves little doubt as to the intent of the rebels; beginning at a plantation, even the Company plantation or one of the larger land holdings, could still have been interpreted as an isolated incident against a single planter. To strike the Fort, however, clearly sends the message that the overthrowing of the current political regime is the goal of the rebellion. After securing the Fort, the rebels reportedly “struck the flag,” destroying the symbol of Denmark itself, and the unifying identifier for the Europeans on St. Jan and St. Thomas (Schatz and Lavine 2007).<sup>197</sup>

King Claes’ attack on the north shore was a particularly visible ritualized act of destruction. In retaliation for broken negotiations, King Claes actively attacked property that was within the boundaries of the Civil Corp. Furthermore, his method of destruction,

---

<sup>197</sup> Schatz and Lavine (2007) discuss how individuals who identify with a particular national identity often have greater fealty to a flag as symbol of that identity than to a more abstract notion of “country.” During the eighteenth century, while allowing colonizers from all nations, the Danes insisted that all settlers in the DWI took an oath of allegiance to the King of Denmark and maintain actions that reinforced this loyalty (Larsen 1985;1989).

arson, was highly visible to his enemies at Durloe's plantage and across the bay in St. Thomas. This is what Tilly refers to as "coordinated destruction" that is promoted by a shift to boundary deactivation, where Claes was signaling a diminished acceptance of boundary interactions (Tilly 2003:84).

Like the French and the Danes, the Rebels also engaged in violent rituals in the manipulation of bodies, specifically when they decapitated and then exhibited on spikes the heads of French soldiers. The dismembering of bodies, particularly the bodies of leaders or enemies in combat, is symbolic of political transformation (Verdery 1999:28). In particular, the rebels displayed on pikes within the island's viewshed the heads of two French soldiers killed in battle. As Janes (1999) discusses, severed heads have a geographically and chronologically broad history, although, as with everything, the meanings displayed through the head on a pike is culturally specific, and "while severed heads always speak, they say different things in different cultures" (Janes 1991:24). Within a European context, a head severed from "King's Officers" by the "rabble," indicates that the people are seizing power, in part by committing the act of severing and displaying a head that is usually reserved for the ruler. What the people are indicating to those in power is that "the lesson of the heads is that there has been a fundamental change in social hierarchies and the distribution of power" (*ibid*). Whether this was the intended message of the rebels is not currently clear. What is clear is that the rebels chose to display the heads of vanquished enemies after the arrival of the French forces, as well as the heads of the French forces. In collective action, rebels in particular often "adopt symbol-charged ritual violence to dramatize their opposition to regimes and holders of power" (Tilly 2003:86). In this case the rebels may very well have been telling the French



that the power over the island was indeed theirs in a way they did not feel compelled to announce so directly for the Danes and the Civil Corp. Also intriguing is the report that the rebels displayed the bodies of six of their number who had been wounded in battle at Durloe's and subsequently died. While similar in form to the act of putting their enemies' heads on pikes, this act was much different and may tell us about the practices and affiliation of the rebels under further scrutiny.

These types of rituals are not meant only for the actors' enemies, but also for any third party witness, whatever their role in the conflict may be (Tilly 2003:101). During the course of the conflict the rebels used such ritualized acts to impart not only bold statements about their power over the island to their enemies, but also to the relatively neutral population of enslaved people who remained on island for the duration of the conflict, and who might be persuaded to take sides. The Danes in particular wanted the enslaved population of St. Jan who had not participated in the rebellion to bear witness to the consequences of such action.

In some ways this study has raised more questions than have been answered about who the rebels were and why they participated in the rebellion. The motivations and aspiration of the rebels who participated in the conflict can only be speculated as they themselves left no record and the plantocracy had little reason to record the grievances and claims of their enslaved population. Following Tilly (2003) I take a relational approach to analyzing collective violence events. This means emphasizing negotiated interactions, and the ways in which "variable patterns of social interaction constitute and cause collective violence" (Tilly 2003:7). Political aspirations of participants in such events may be "contradictory, only quasi-intentional" (Verdery 1999:23) and impossible

to reconstruct even from historical documentary sources, much less from an archaeological record. What is not in doubt is that the rebellion was more complicated than a simple wish by the enslaved to mimic the economic model of their European oppressors. Collective violence has a political component where those practicing the violence had particular claims against the ruling party or government concerning their own political identity (Tilly 1989;2003). This is true even in populist movement where the stated claims may be more immediate. The 1733 St. Jan slave rebellion was a form of claims-making by the participants, an agitation for recognition as members of the culture and society, a pseudo-citizenship. The rebels had the right to make this claim through their semi-autonomous role on the island, the economic responsibilities they held, and social connections they had on island and with other islands in the archipelago. The archaeological remains of the built environment illuminate the structure of familial living so common on island which also reinforced the role of the enslaved as pseudo-citizens. This claim for pseudo-citizenry was made largely against the acting governing body, the *Det Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni*, whom in many ways abdicated their responsibilities to the inhabitants of the island, largely enslaved, through incompetent management. Ultimately the *VGK* did not recognize this collective act of claims-making, although it is important to note that the attempts at negotiation with the rebels in February 1734 was a recognition of the power of the rebels position, and the weaknesses inherent in the Danish Company.

As discussed in Chapter 1, during the early eighteenth century there were significant upheavals in West Africa as a result of the ruptures caused by the trans-Atlantic slave trade. These upheavals included the collapse of the Kongolese Empire and

the rise of the Dahomey State. Anderson (1975) and others (Dookhan 1994; Kea 1996; Westergaard 1917) have proposed that because of this socio-political shift between these two groups, the enslavers became the enslaved. Men whom had once ruled vast portions of West Africa were enslaved during the long conflict, and were sent to St. Jan, enslaved alongside the very people they themselves had enslaved. This line of thought further contends that it was these people, the “Minas,” many of whom were of royal lineage, had a more difficult time adjusting to enslavement, and within months of reaching the Danish West Indies hatched a plan for revolt.<sup>198</sup>

While it is generally accepted by scholars that prisoners of war were often sold into slavery, there is little to no documentation to support the claim that royals were routinely enslaved and sold to the Europeans; in fact, it is extremely difficult to find this assertion by Africanist scholars.<sup>199</sup> Given the characteristics of the trans-Atlantic slave trade as well as West African political structures (Adoma Perbi 2004; Law 1989; Manning 1990; Norregard 1966b), it is also highly doubtful that if such a thing were to occur, the enslavers would so readily find themselves on the same small, marginal island as their own victims. In contrast, while discussing the variable availability of male slaves during the trans-Atlantic era, Robertshaw and Duncan note that “it was common for men captured in war to be put to death immediately” (2008:61). Similarly, Law (1989) actually described how, during the rise of the Dahomey state in West Africa during this same time period, the Dahomian King collected the heads of the vanquished as prizes and symbols of his power.

---

<sup>198</sup> There is some support to this interpretation from the historic documents; in the midst of the conflict the Danes themselves identified the perpetrators as “Minas” and executed Minas who remained on plantations in the Civil Corp controlled area of island.

<sup>199</sup> I actually brought up this very point with an Africanist Historian, in the Spring of 2010. When I stated that the master narrative of the revolt asserted that royals and noblemen were enslaved, Smith’s response was “bullshit.”

The difficulty of identifying the ethnicity of the enslaved on St. Jan during the early settlement was also discussed in Chapter 1. While there is some evidence that the Danes procured more slaves of Aquambo identification than other ethnic groups (Green-Pedersen 1971, 1975; Hall 1992), more investigation strictly focusing on the Danish slave trade as well as investigation into the movement of slaves by various nations through Charlotte Amalie should be undertaken before conclusions can be made about who the enslaved people were, what ethnic group they may have descended from, and what the consequences of that identity were on the conditions for rebellion in 1733.

What my analysis indicates is that the rebels were not high-ranking strangers new to the DWI, nor were they plucked evenly from around the island, or even representative of the enslaved population as a whole. Of the twenty-two rebels identified, at least five had held positions as *Bombas* and one had been a sugar-cooker (Appendix I). These were powerful positions within the slave hierarchy, and were given to people who were trusted by and worked closely with the free persons on the plantation. These positions usually conferred a degree of authority over the rest of the enslaved labor population. These would have been people with a broad knowledge of the physical and social environment of the island. They also would have had intricate social networks that allowed them to draw on resources to carry out a revolt. As discussed above, less than 10% of the enslaved population participated in the rebellion in 1733. Of those that did participate, a majority came from the Coral Bay and French Quarters, where the majority of the action of the rebellion was located. This rebellion was a collective action taken largely against the *Det Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni* as a means to challenge that institution's authority over the island. The rebels took advantage of this chaos at a time when the

Company was most vulnerable, after it too had suffered from the severe natural disasters that also affected the daily life of the enslaved.

Although the rebels did make forays to the north shore, such as the two known instances when skirmishes at Durloe's between the rebels and the Civil Corp were reported, and when Claes attacked north shore properties in retaliation for Schønneman's betrayal, the rebels by and large kept to the Coral Bay area of the island. This is a significant point that seemed somewhat lost on Gardelin and the Danish authorities.

Understanding the landscape of St. Jan is vital to understanding the conditions that created an opportunity for rebellion on the island and for seeing how the conflict unfolded. For the enslaved laborers who chose to rebel, they drew on resources and schema developed during their tenure on island. This included knowledge about the structure of the *VGK*, especially their vulnerabilities, and how to manipulate the landscape. The planters, on the other hand, had to resort to other resources, specifically foreign assistance, as the conflict escalated. While the rebels had the advantage on island, ultimately they were defeated as the *Det Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni* was able to draw on historic alliances.

## Chapter 7. Conclusion

The theory of event states that historical events are shaped by particular conditions. For settlement period St. Jan, the primary condition was insecurity. There were severe ruptures in the social fabric on the island of St. Jan in the years leading up to the rebellion in 1733. The small, marginal island had few natural resources to support a substantial colony. Despite being a semi-tropical Caribbean island, the environment of St. Jan was harsh, with periods of drought that were so frequent it is difficult to think of them as abnormal. The enslaved Africans and Afro-Caribbeans who found themselves laboring on the island found themselves in a “Green Hell” (Erickson 2010:104), not only clearing a nearly virgin land to build dwellings and fields, but also learning what resources were useful and how they may be extracted. In many ways, the enslaved Africans were engaging in domestication of the landscape (*ibid* 105) and creating indigenous knowledge. All of this within a socio-political environment where they were enslaved yet bore the brunt of responsibilities from a weak regime that lacked adequate resources. From the moment the first settlers, officially sanctioned by the VGK, formally claimed the island in 1718, the enslaved people that were forced alongside them sought refuge in the dense natural landscape the island provided. Arguably the weakest nation to colonize the Caribbean, the Danish colonies, under control of the *Det Vestindisk-Guineiske Kompagni*, was under constant threat from more powerful nations, and lacked resources to ensure their most basic survival.

The enslaved developed different methods to cope with the insecurities and inequalities of the plantation system, including acts of violence, against other slaves, free-men and themselves. Another method was marronage, simply leaving the plantation, and either living in the interior of the island, or leaving St. Jan altogether along what Hall

calls the “maritime underground” (1985). Marronage was a logical extension of the semi-autonomy that was experienced on St. Jan during the early settlement period. The act of self-emancipation created complete autonomy.

The motivations behind these acts of marronage and violence are left silent in the documentary record. It is easy to assume, as the planters and Danish authorities seemed to, that there was little substance behind the instances of marronage or violence. In their view, these acts were motivated by desperation and stupidity. Alternatively, I would argue that these were instances of claims-making that went unrecognized by those in power, manifesting in violence because of the severe legal status of chattel slavery. While authorities throughout the trans-Atlantic trade era were in a persistent mode of fear of slave insurrections, they were unable to perceive that “violence is seldom if ever an isolated act; it is usually the outgrowth of an antagonistic relationship...” (Novak and Rodseth 2006). As enslaved people, the repertoire of contention available in claims-making would have been severely limited, making collective acts of violence a more frequent choice than in other types of systems (Tilly 2003:45).

There were several cultural concepts of how a slave society could be structured that existed simultaneously on St. Jan prior to the 1733 rebellion. In some ways there were multiple slave societies co-existing in the same space. The morning of the rebellion, there were 106 formally recognized plantations owned by sixty-five families. On such a small island there were significant social entanglements- intermarriages between the families, the owner of one plantation employed as the overseer on another, and the usual tensions and conflicts that land occupation and agriculture create. Some of these plantations, primarily the larger ones, were quite formal, centered on mono-agriculture

and cash cropping. Some of the smaller ones were organized around a more familial structure, with whites and enslaved sharing labor and dwelling space. On at least one plantation there were documented indentured servants living alongside enslaved and free blacks. There were European families without slaves but fairly extensive holdings, and there was one subsistence plantation that consisted entirely of a man and his mulatto son, the physical embodiment of the emerging creole society. So there were several competing types of plantation society all mixing together. Although it is possible for multiple conceptions of slavery to co-exist, there were forms of enslavement that were incompatible with others, providing at least a cognitive space for imagining an alternative political structure on the island. This disjuncture in the definition of what form slavery would take were some of the structural ruptures that created conditions for rebellion.

This rebellion did not occur because the desperation of the enslaved reached a point of explosion. The 1733 St. Jan rebellion occurred because “it took place at a time when political structures were massively dislocated” (Sewell 2005:245). The rebellion occurred because there was a conceptual space where the possibility that the rebels could have both autonomy and authority existed. In many ways the *VGK* had abdicated their responsibilities to the enslaved population of the island. Oversight of the daily activities of the enslaved seems to have been low, yet they were still laboring under harsh conditions that we see in the documentary record was resulting in death for some enslaved people. The enslaved population was also left on its own to procure provisions and water. Ultimately, the rebels would have seen the Danes as weak and, therefore, vulnerable.



This is reflected in the landscape of the island. The historical archaeological analysis of the built environment illustrates a spatially disarticulated society on the eve of rebellion. Foregoing a cohesive infrastructure, it was instead common for plantation complexes to be built negotiating the tensions between individual access to off-island markets, and protection from aggressive attacks by foreign nations. This placed many plantations on the beach with access to the water, usually isolated from their neighbors by the steep topography of the mountains. Due to the harsh conditions on island, many planters and their families chose to live off island, leaving the day to day operations of the plantations in the hands of their enslaved laborers. For those who did remain on island, the margins were narrow, and many lived and worked beside their enslaved laborers. A common dwelling form in early eighteenth century St. Jan was a house that doubled as a storage facility, with all members of the property living within its walls. The lack of an integrated plantation landscape left spaces “betwixt and between” that were used for a variety of purposes by the enslaved and other marginalized people on island.

As Tilly discusses, “violent conflicts arise from struggles over rights, obligations, and place in structures of power” (1989:68). The structural position of the rebels on St. Jan was one of semi-autonomy without authority in many ways: the various factors of absenteeism, inadequate management strategies including the reliance on the enslaved population for the day-to-day management of the plantations, the tensions between planters and the administrative authority, and the self-subsistence strategies of the slaves. Where the Danes, who held legal authority over the island, struggled to exercise that authority- over the slaves, planters, and the company employees- the Dutch had a

competing and better-established system, while other planters chose to follow less formalized models.

The 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion was directly experienced by all the inhabitants of St. Jan for approximately eight months, beginning on November 23, 1733 and eventually fading out in August, 1734. The historic documents show during that time that the rebel force was able essentially to withstand a siege on the island by the *VGK* officials and the Civil Corp, as well as their foreign allies. Although the largest enslaved population is held by the Dutch planters, relatively few of these slaves joined the rebellion, probably because they lacked opportunity. The rebels came primarily from the plantations of the Company and the officials of the *VGK*. The rebels were a small portion of the enslaved population, but well-placed within the broader social network of the island. Prior to French arrival on island the rebel forces were living under siege conditions. While the rebels had some access to supplies through illicit deals with foreign privateers, they were largely cut off from the rest of the world, and lacked any institutional support. The difficulties the rebels, and others living in the interior of the island, were facing was seen in King Claes' willingness to negotiate a surrender with Schønnemann as early as February, 1734, which speaks to the conditions under which they were probably living. We know much more about the various European forces. The Danish officials, lead by Governor Phillip Gardelin, were paralyzed when faced with the attack on the island. The Civil Corp, lead by Captain Jannes Beverhoudt, a planter of Dutch background, was also largely ineffectual. The Civil Corp and the Danish officials were often at odds over how to approach the conflict, and who was responsible for the money and resources needed to reclaim the island. With Danish officials being desperate

for foreign intervention, French troops interceded and brought a last burst of force on a rebel group that was already near the end of its resources. The French, while inarguably hastening the end of the rebellion, arrived after the rebels had been starved, poisoned, hunted, and exhausted. The rebellion did not end so much as fade, as more and more rebels were either captured or killed, committed suicide, or absconded off island, or quietly melted away into the bush. The rearticulations, the normalcy that eventually was accepted in the Danish West Indies took years to achieve, and came in waves. First was the immediate task of rebuilding the factories and replanting the fields. The consolidations and restructuring of the built environment took longer to achieve, and came in fits and starts as the opportunity to consolidate or subdivide properties arose beginning in the 1740s. Sewell proposes that “the intersection of structures that results in cascades of transformative actions is spatial as well as institutional” (*ibid* 259-260). As structures are changed from the occurrence of events, this change is reflected in the locales in which events occurred. During the immediate occurrence of the rebellion, some plantation complexes and individual buildings were drastically changed through arson and other acts of destruction, as well as the social upheaval caused by murder and rebellion; taken together this resulted in a change across the entire island that resulted in long-term shifts in the way that the built environment of the plantations, and the social relationships that took place in these spaces, were constructed. While there was a burst of reconstructive activity in the first years after the rebellion, the plantations quickly consolidated, shifting to a more formalized plantation structure focusing on larger mono-agricultural units. As this shift occurred, the relationships between plantation owners and slaves became increasingly formalized as well, reflected in the built environment.

GIS analysis of the unfolding of the rebellion reveals that the rebels had specific perceptions of the landscape. As most of the rebels lived and worked on the eastern half of the island prior to the rebellion, that area of the island dominated by the inept *VGK*, this is the portion of the island that the rebels focused on, and controlled for much of the conflict. While the rebel forces did make forays into planter controlled areas of the island, it appears that it was usually a tactical decision.

This study also illustrates how viewsheds were important components of landscapes and how they were conceived. The rebels carefully negotiated the use of viewsheds, using both concealment, such as when they occupied Frederiksvaern to deprive the *VGK* of the vaern's viewshed, or in terms of where they camped and their movements across island; and visibility, such as when setting fire to north shore properties and exhibiting bodies for various purposes. As the slaves on island were intimately familiar with the landscape, they were able to manipulate viewsheds to a greater degree than were the Civil Corp and *VGK* during the conflict.

Where archaeological evidence has provided the most insight into the processes of events is in the rearticulation of structures. The 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion serves as "temporal datum" for the island, "to illuminate and demystify the volatility of pre- and post-event conditions" as the ramifications of those conditions cause a shift in how the landscape was conceived by the residents of the island (Beck et al 2007: 844). The plantocracy, in reacting to the event, transformed the landscape. There were various scales of re-ordering that occurred in the Danish West Indies in the wake of the rebellion. After the rebellion the island underwent a period of intense reinvestment by those who chose to remain there; not everyone did. The rebellion resulted in the movement of

people: the death of numerous individuals, both free and enslaved, the movement of planters and free residents off island, and, to a lesser extent, the movement off-island of enslaved people not participating in the rebellion. After the rebellion, some planters took the opportunity to relocate to the newly acquired St. Croix. Those who did remain, or who immigrated to the island after the revolt, conceived of new ways to manipulate the landscape. It is only after the rebellion that planters begin to incorporate viewsheds into their conception of the environment. Several planters moved plantation complexes to higher elevations, where there was the increased ability to surveil their own property while also having a neighbor or two within their viewshed. The social focus of the island also shifted from the somewhat isolated Coral Bay to the more populous Cruz Bay, which had more direct contact with Charlotte Amalie. This geographic repositioning was not an immediate reaction to the slave rebellion, however. The planters were still constrained by their property boundaries as well as with balancing the needs for their security against the logistics of agriculture in such a mountainous region. As plantations were consolidated in various waves throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century, we see subsequent planters attempting to carry out more ideal building practices that more closely reflected idealized perceptions of both surveillance and security.

### *Future Directions*

This study provides a model of how archaeologists can adopt an analysis of event to provide a scalar view of artifact assemblages and to illuminate long term processes of cultural change. It also lays the groundwork for future historical archaeological analysis of collective slave resistance. While the current study is largely regional in nature in that the plantation complexes across the island are studied in relation to each other, this broad

understanding is necessary before investigating the specificity of the experience at the scale of individual plantations or households. With the framework set forth here individual sites can be excavated to determine the change in material culture as these processes unfold, and how that illuminates the relationships and daily lives of subsequent generations of St. Johnians.

This historical archaeological investigation of the 1733 St. Jan Slave Rebellion illustrates that, enslaved African groups in the New World were engaging in contention over issues of autonomy as political agents, although their claims may have gone unrecognized by those in power. These political demands manifested in armed conflict. As has also been illustrated, this had dramatic implications for the island of St. Jan, and the subsequent social re-ordering that took place as seen through the built environment. St. Jan was not unique in experiencing marronage or rebellions. These were common events throughout the trans-Atlantic era. My future investigations of slave rebellions as collective violence will begin with a GIS mapping of all known events between 1522, the first recorded rebellion in the New World, and 1888, when Brazil abolished slavery, the last nation in the Western Hemisphere to do so. Slave rebellions must be analyzed in the context of changing political discourse throughout this period, and drawn into the larger discussion of collective action and violence. Ultimately, these events must also be compared to post-emancipation events. I hypothesize that these events had broader impacts on contemporary political processes than they are often credited with.

Most significant to a thorough understanding of the influences of the rebellion on culture of the DWI is an ethnoarchaeological investigation of the twenty-first century engagements with the memories and interpretation of the rebellion. While there was a

renaissance of interest in the rebellion beginning in the mid-twentieth century, there has always been memory of the rebellion on St. John. In 1946, a new arrival to the island wrote home to his father “The locals still hold a grudge against the Danes, who they say killed their ancestors in a rebellion” (Niwot 2008). The publication of Anderson’s novel in 1975 brought the event to a wider audience, and introduced it to newcomers to the island who did not grow up with stories of the rebellion. Beginning in the 1980s, there was movement by members of the local community to engage more closely with the rebellion. The St. Jan Slave Rebellion has continued to have resonance with the local community into the twenty-first century.

Scholars of Afro-Caribbean history and culture in the Danish West Indies have long focused on researching the rebellion, identifying the rebellion as a characteristic event of the DWI that shaped Afro-Caribbean culture (Adeyemi 2003, 2006; David 2006; Emanuel 2003), as well as developing avenues for public education. Today the rebellion is commemorated in a number of ways. Several plays have been written and performed, as well as books and poems written (Adeyemi 2003, 2006; David 2006; Mills 1983; Unknown 2008). One of the primary ways the rebellion is celebrated is through the annual Commemorative Walk, to revisit, on foot when possible, some of the places on the island that are recognized by the community as being sites where important events occurred during the 1733 rebellion (Figure 43). Since it began in 1985, the Commemorative Walk has been held every Friday after Thanksgiving, relatively close to the actual anniversary of the event, but on a holiday when many Virgin Islanders have the time to attend the event.



**Figure 43. Key Sites Connected to the 1733 Revolt on St. John, Virgin Islands. Adapted from Adayemi (2003:15).**

I was privileged to participate in the walk in 2009, invited to join the group at a small, locally owned Caribbean restaurant called *Spudniks* in Coral Bay. By the time I joined the group the participants had already visited two estates. At *Spudniks* we enjoyed lunch and presentations by local professors and educators, their points emphasized by the rhythms of the African drumming circle. When the group left the restaurant about an hour later, fifty or so people went to Fortsberg hill, where the single defensive structure that existed at the time of rebellion is located, and where the rebellion is supposed to have started. Coral Bay, located on the leeward side of the island, is dry, even in the best of times. The road leading up the hill is unpaved and open- we made the trek in the middle of the afternoon with the unforgiving Caribbean sun beating down on us, tripping across the boulders and breathing in heavy, red dust. At the top, in the ruins of the site where the



rebellion is supposed to have happened, libations were poured and words of thanks sent to long deceased ancestors who struggled for freedom- Akwamu, Amina, Igbo, Harriet Tubman, Rosa Parks- the rebellion has become an “undeniable link [to] the ancestors of present day Crucians, St. Thomians and St. Johnians to the great struggles for freedom in the Caribbean and worldwide” (Emanuel 2003:13).

“This kind of ‘looking back’ is not necessarily about accurately recalling past events as truthfully as possible; it is rather about the making of meaningful statements about the past in the given cultural context of a present” (Holtorf and Williams 2006:238); in this case, it is reasserting an African-descended, West Indian presence onto a landscape that has been dominated by white slave owners in the past, and institutional land holders such as the National Park Service, in the present. The emphasis on Catherinesberg is a case in point. Constructed in the late eighteenth century, the windmill post-dates the rebellion by several decades. The architecture is unique, however, in that the interior of the windmill is naturally cool year round. The participants in the commemorative walk use this as a focal point to discuss the talents of the enslaved on St. Jan, the masons and craftsmen who could build such an incredible structure (Morris 2007).

The rebellion commemorators are also in the process of constructing their own monuments to the rebels; I argue that the St. John slave rebellion drastically altered the physical and cultural landscape of the island. The rebels did not erect their own monuments, or have monuments erected for them. Although the rebels burned and destroyed the plantation houses and rum stills, the landscape of rebellion was erased by the victorious planters and restructured by their response to the event. The movement of

the participants through the various spaces mark specific locations on the landscape as important, creating sacred spaces on which to anchor interpretations of the past. One of the multitude of purposes of the commemorative walk is to redefine the built environment- saying to the participants, at first glance you may see the power of the white planter, but let me show you the resistance of the black slave, which is just as powerful.

Today the descendant communities on St. John relate to the landscape when identifying themselves with the Rebellion. The descendants use the local landscape and its related oral history to distinguish themselves, with pride, from people not from St. John. Fog Olwig has discussed extensively how identity is closely linked to the land on St. John, both historically and in the contemporary society (1985; 1999). For many St. Johnians, the land is the tangible link to the community; property provides the ability to be self-subsistent as well as to rise to prominent positions within the community through providing opportunities for other family and community members. For St. Johnians this has included creating community spaces such as schools. The West Indian population also has a close connection to locations on the landscape that are imbued with historical importance, and often view these spaces as directly related to their family's personal history whether there is a documented connection or not. In part because of the highly mobile nature of Afro-Caribbean peoples even after emancipation in the West Indies, property ownership and shared historical experiences associated with particular localities provide a venue for greater claims to authentic citizenship.

The St. John slave rebellion has become a political memory for the West Indian population of the island, a focal point around which contemporary grievances against the

park and the Virgin Islands legislature have been constructed. However, the history of the St. John slave rebellion is punctuated with episodes of both remembering and forgetting. Understanding how the rebellion is viewed, and invoked, by various groups on St. John, including the National Park Service, local St. Johnians, and interloping continentals, will reveal the social dynamics of the contemporary island.

## Appendix I. Inhabitants of St. Jan and Participants in St. Jan Slave Rebellion

Name	Ethnicity	Legal Status	Quarter of Residence	Property of Residence/Notes	Role in Rebellion
Abraham	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Stayed on STJ during rebellion; provided information about rebels to the Civil Corp
Acra Gibe	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Captured in August 1734, sentenced to be buoyed
Akra	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Performed guerilla attacks June 1734
Alencamp, Christian F	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Soldier	Killed at the vaern November 23, 1733
Andersen, Jens	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Suhm's <i>Mesterknegt</i>	Killed November 23 1733
Andreas	African-Descent	Enslaved	Maho Bay	Moth	Rewarded for loyal behavior by Danish
Apinda	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Henningsen	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733
Asari	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Rebel
Aubst, Frederich	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Company <i>Mesterknegt</i>	Killed November 23 1733
Augustus, Friderik	Danish	Unknown	Maho Bay	Moth's <i>Mesterknegt</i>	Killed November 23 1733
Baerentz, Willum	Danish	Free	Reef & Fish Bay Quarter	Plantation Owner	Member of the Civil Corp.
Beker	English	Unknown	Maho Bay	Moth's <i>Mesterknegt</i>	Killed along with children November 23 1733
van Beverhoudt, Jannis	Dutch	Free	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Plantation owner	Lead Civil Corp against the rebels.
Bødker, Cornelius	Danish	Free	French Quarter	Company Doctor	Member of Civil Corp
Borgensen, Swend	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Company <i>Mesterknegt</i>	Killed November 23 1733
Bredahl, Eric	Danish	Free	St. Thomas/Caneel Bay	Plantation owner. Governor of DWI 1716-1724; Established St. Jan colony	Did not participate in rebellion

Breffu	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Krøyer	Rebel; commits suicide April or May 1734
Bremer	Danish	Free	St. Thomas	Danish Official, Sergeant	Temporarily lead Fredriksvaern January 1734
Callundborg, Christian	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Soldier	Killed at the vaern November 23, 1733
Castan, Piere	French	Free	French Quarter	Plantation owner	Wife and Child killed November 23 1733; Slaves go maroon in August 1734
Charles, Johannes	English	Free	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp; accused of mistreating men during rebellion
Christian	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Krøyer	Rebel
Claes	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Friis	Rebel
Coffi	African-Descent	Enslaved	Reef & Fish Bay	Baerentz	Began with the rebel forces, deserted to the Civil Corp in the opening days of the conflict
Coffi	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Horn	Rebel
Coffy	African-descent	Enslaved	Maho Bay	Gottschalk; <i>Bomba</i>	Called to Christiansvaern for examination August 1733.
Contompa	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Suhm	Rebel
de Cooning, Lambrecht	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Plantation Owner	
Cramwieux, Jannes	French	Free	Little & Big Cruz Bay.	Jannitje Halley's <i>mesterknegt</i> . Accused of abusing his slaves, beating and starving one to death October 1733.	
Creutzer, Johann	Unknown	Free	French Quarter	Plantation Owner	
Crommelin	Unknown	Free	Reef & Fish Bay Quarter	Carsten's <i>mesterknegt</i>	Slave owner; slaves go maroon in June 1734
Doudes	English	Free	Upisland	Privateer	Trades with rebels.
Durloe, Pieter	Dutch	Free	Durloe's Bay	Plantation Owner	Off island; plantation is used as headquarters for the Civil Corp
Emmanuel	African-descent	Free	Cruz Bay Village		Conducts maroon hunts; becomes Company Mesterknegt during rebellion

Emmanuel	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown	Ms. Ebraer; <i>Bomba</i>	Accused of criminal activity September 1733
Friderik	African-Descent	Enslaved	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Beverhoudt	Rewarded for loyal behavior by Danish
Friis, Ditlif	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Plantation owner; Company accountant	Had a number of unreported slaves go maroon prior to the rebellion
Frøling, Pieter	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Plantation owner. Lieutenant, Supervising Officer of Frederiksvaern	Derelect. Fled island November 23, 1733 for Tortola. Held in Christiansvaern, STT for duration of conflict.
Gabriel, Jan	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Soldier	Escaped Frederiksvaern and alerted STT about the attack
Gardelin, Phillip	Danish	Free	St. Thomas	Governor from 1733-1736	Directed the Colony's forces against the Rebels.
Goliath	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Rebel
Gottschalk, Christopher	Unknown	Free	Maho Bay		
Guanche	African-Descent	Enslaved	Maho Bay	Moth	Sought refuge at Durloe's; hid in interior of island with Øregraf
Hally	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Acted as an intermediary between Rebels and Danish
Holm, Eggert Lorentzen	Danish	Free	Copenhagen	Captain of the <i>Laarburg Gally</i>	
Horn, Johan	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Company Book Keeper	Member of the Secret Privy Council
Høyk	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Plantation owner; Corporal, Second in command of Frederiksvaern	Killed at the vaern November 23, 1733
Jacq	African-Descent	Enslaved	Reef & Fish Bay		Accused of menacing, thievery and conspiracy August 1733
Janeke	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Horn	Rebel; captured by French April 22 or 23, 1734; executed May 1734
Jansen, Daniel	Danish	Free	Caneel Bay	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp
Jansen, Jasper	Danish	Free	Lameshure Bay	Plantation Owner	
Jantje	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Rebel
January	African-Descent	Enslaved	French Quarter	Bødker	8 year old child; Was supposedly captured by the Civil Corp after being stabbed by the rebels; provides information about the rebels to the Danes

Jaquo	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Company plantage	Abandoned, maroon refugee; harassed by rebels
Jeni	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Rebel
Jenk	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Rebel
Juni	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Søedtmann	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733
Kanta	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Company; <i>Under Bomba</i>	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733
King Claes	African-Descent	Enslaved	Durloe's Bay	Suhm; <i>Bomba</i>	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733; Negotiated unsuccessful surrender with Danish
Knudsen, Claus	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Soldier	Killed at the vaern November 23, 1733
Krøyer, Pieter	Danish	Free	French Quarter	Plantation Owner; Company <i>Mesterknegt</i> ; married to Gardelin's daughter.	Had a number of unreported slaves go maroon prior to the rebellion; Killed along with wife and child November 23, 1733.
Lieman, Jasper	Unknown	Unknown			Attacked by rebels in June 1734
Lind, Andreas	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Soldier	Killed at the vaern November 23, 1733
de Longueville, Chevalier	French	Free	Martinique	<i>Comandanten</i> , French Military Official	Engages Rebels in final weeks of battle; given credit for ending the rebellion
Mabu	African-descent	Enslaved	St. Thomas		Accused of Conspiracy August 1733.
Maddox, John	African-Descent	Free	St. Christopher	Ship's Captain	Attempts to capture rebels during March 1734
Mars	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Rebel; killed in March 1734
Mingo	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Rebel
Mingo Tameryn	African-Descent	Free	St. Thomas	Leader of the Free Black Corp	Lead creole forces against Rebels.
Moth, Friderik	Danish	Free	St. Thomas/ Maho Bay	Plantation Owner. Governor of DWI from 1724-1727; 1734 becomes Governor of St. Croix in 1734	

Nortche	African-Descent	Enslaved	French Quarter	Lambrecht	Abandoned, maroon refugee, possible kidnapping victim; tortured by Danes into confession, which she never does
Olson, Einert	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Company <i>Mesterknecht</i>	appointed June 1734
Øregraf, Niels	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Plantation owner and Durloe's <i>Mesterknecht</i>	Hid in interior of island for duration of rebellion with enslaved man Guanche
Øttingen	Danish	Free	St. Thomas	Danish Official, Sergeant	Lead Frederiksvaern soldiers and slaves during the rebellion
Picaro	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Krøyer	Maroon in bush during conflict
Phillip	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Company	Rebel; captured by French April 22 or 23, 1734; executed May 1734
Pieter	African-Descent	Enslaved	French Quarter	de Cooning	Abandoned, maroon refugee; harassed by rebels
Pierro	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Rebel
Prince	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Company	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733; captured by French April 22 or 23, 1734; executed May 1734
Printz Van Juff	African-Descent	Enslaved	Durloe's Bay	Susanna Runnels	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733; Possible rebel leader
Quahi	African-Descent	Enslaved	Unknown		Rebel
Quasi	African-Descent	Enslaved	Durloe's Bay	Susanna Runnels	Accused of conspiracy; fights for planters
Revir, Jan	African-Descent	Unknown	Martinique	French soldier	Placed with Civil Corp during French engagement on St. Jan
Robbensen, John	English	Free	Durloe's Bay	Plantation Owner; accused murderer.	Fugitive; Proposed to aid Danes
Runnels, Johannes	Dutch	Free	Reef & Fish Bay	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp
Runnels, Susanna	Dutch	Free	Durloe's Bay	Plantation Owner	Deserts island.
Samba	African-Descent	Enslaved	Durloe's Bay	Durloe; Sugar-Cooker	Rebel; captured April 1734, escapes. Fate unknown.
Sara	African-Descent	Enslaved	French Quarter	Castan's Slave	Unknown



Schønnemann, Jacob	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Danish Official	Member of the Secret Privy Council; Had served in Africa for the VGK; negotiated unsuccessful surrender with Rebels
Sipio	African-Descent	Enslaved	Durloe's Bay	Runnels	Rebel
Søedtmann, Johan	Danish	Free	Coral Bay		Killed along with step-daughter Helena November 23 1733
Sorensen, Peder	Danish	Free	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp
van Stell, Gabriel	Danish	Free	French Bay	Plantation Owner	Killed along with wife and child November 23 1733
van Stell, Hermanus	Danish	Free	St. Thomas/French Quarter	Gabriel Van Stell's Brother	Failed to report for duty with Civil Corp; Allows rebels to go back to work on deceased brother's property
Suhm, Hendrik	Danish	Free	Coral Bay	Plantation owner. Governor from 1727-1733; Lead Fort Christiansvaern on West Coast of Africa	Had a number of unreported slaves go maroon prior to rebellion; Killed November 23, 1733.
Susanna	African-Descent	Enslaved	French Quarter	Lambrecht	Abandoned, maroon refugee, possible kidnapping victim
Sylvan, Dines	English	Free	French Quarter	Company <i>Mesterknecht</i>	Harassed and robbed by rebels November 23, 1733; fled to Tortola
Tallard	English	Free	Tortola	Ship's Captain	Attempts to capture rebels during January-February, 1734
Thambsen	Danish	Free	St. Thomas	Early official in young St. Jan colony	Did not participate in rebellion
Thensen, Jans	Danish	Free	St. Thomas	Company Secretary	
Thoma	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Company	Attacked Frederiksvaern November 23, 1733
Till, Jan Fridirik	Danish	Unknown	Coral Bay	Soldier	Killed at the vaern November 23, 1733
Tørner, Timotheus	English	Free	French Quarter	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp
Trumph	African-Descent	Enslaved	Reef & Fish Bay Quarter	Baerentz	Accused and possibly tried on charges of saying rude and harassing things.
Uytendahl, Johannes	Danish	Free	St. Thomas/Reef & Fish Bay	Plantation Owner	
Vantje	African-Descent	Enslaved	Maho Bay	Moth	Rebel

Vessup, Willem	Danish	Free	Maho Bay	Plantation Owner; accused murderer.	Fugitive accused of murder; May have aided Rebels; proposed to aid Danes
de Windt, Johannes	Dutch	Free	Lameshure Bay	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp
Zezar	African-Descent	Enslaved	St. Thomas	Møgensen	Rewarded for loyal behavior by Danish
Zytzema, William	Jewish	Free	Reef & Fish Bay	Plantation Owner	Member of Civil Corp
	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Company; <i>Bomba</i>	Maroon in bush during conflict
	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Horn; <i>Bomba</i>	Rebel
	African-Descent	Enslaved	Coral Bay	Friis; <i>Bomba</i>	Rebel

## Appendix IIA: GIS Attribute Table- Description of Fields

Attribute tables for ArcGIS are usually coded excel files. The following is the key to the attribute table used in the current study.

**FID** The identification number automatically coded to each feature, in this case the plantation complexes, by the software.

**LL\_NO**: the *landlister* number for each individual property as it appears in the 1733/36 *landlister*.

**QUART**: The Quarter the property is located in according to the 1733/36 *landlister*.

**OWN**: The Owner of the property as indicated in the 1733/36 *landlister*.

**YR\_EST**: The year the property was granted a land deed according to 1728-1733/36 *landlister*.

**OWN\_RES**: Indicates the planter's and/or the planter's family primary place of residence.

1= on island

2= off island

3= probable off island

4= unknown

5= lives on island, but on a different property

**FREE**: Indicates the number of free people residing on the property.

**CROP**: Indicates the primary crop grown.

1= sugar

2= cotton

3= sugar and cotton

4= subsistence

5= unknown

**CULT**: Indicates whether the property was under cultivation.

1= cultivated

2= fallow

**MK**: Indicates whether the property had a *mesterknecht*, or overseer, in residence.

1= yes

2= no

3= unknown

**MK\_NAME:** Indicates the name of the *mesterknegt*.

**ENSL:** Indicates the number of enslaved residing on the plantation.

**INDENT:** Indicates the number of indentured servants on the plantation.

**NO\_REBS:** Indicates the number of rebels who were from the plantation.

**REB\_STAT:** Indicates what affects of the rebellion were on the plantation, emphasizing the built environment.

1= abandoned by owners and largely ignored by rebels during the rebellion.

2= Rebel occupied.

3= Planter occupied.

4= damaged

5= unknown

The Øttingen survey looked at specific structures on St. Jan at the close of the rebellion, including Mills, cookhouses, magazine, warehouses, and stills. For each of these categories of structures, if there was a known adverse affect, the structure was coded “1,” otherwise, it is left blank and the status is unknown.

## Appendix IIB: GIS Attribute Table- 1733/36 Landlisters

FID	LL_NO	QUART	OWN	YR_EST	OWN_RES	FREE	CROP	CULT	MK	MK_NAME
0		Coral Bay	Frederiksvaern	1718						
1	24 (23)	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Jannis Salomons	unknown	2	0	2	1	1	Samuel Lordik
2	46	Reef & Fish Bay	Pieter Durloe	1718	2	0	1	2	2	
3	20	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Jannitie Reins	1725	1	4	2		2	
5	8	Caneel Bay	Jacob Magen's heirs	1721	2	0	1		2	
6	5	Caneel Bay	Hans Pieter Dooris	1718	2	0	5		2	
7	4	Caneel Bay	Jochum Delicat junior's widow	1718	1	1	5	2	2	
8	9	Caneel Bay	Eric Bredahl- Claus Thonis	1721	2	0	1	1	1	Thonis
9	56	Lameshure Quarter	Andreas Hammer's widow	1724	2	0	1	2	3	
10	63	Lameshure Quarter	Cornelius Coop the Younger	1724	2	0	1			
11	62	Lameshure Quarter	Jochum Coop	1724	2	0	1		1	
12	61	Lameshure Quarter	Cornelius Coop	1724	2	0	1	1	2	
13	68	Coral Bay	Niels Pedersen Øhregraef	1729	4	4	2	2	3	
14	98	Maho Bay	William Eason	1725	1	3	2	2	3	
15	87	French Quarter	Michel Hendricksen-Pieter Krøyer	1724	1	2	2	1	2	
16	97	Maho Bay	Cornelius Stallart's heirs	1725	4	0	2	1	1	Cleghorn's Son
17	96	Maho Bay	Pieter Frøling	1721	5	1	1	1	2	
18	92	Maho Bay	Isach Constantin's widow	1721	4		1	1	1	John Tufton
19	95	Maho Bay	Frederick Moth	1721	2	0	1	1	1	Beker
20	93	Maho Bay	Willem Vessup	1721	2	0	1	3	1	
21	94	Maho Bay	Jacob van Stell	1721	1	3	1	1	2	

FID	LL_NO	QUART	OWN	YR_EST	OWN_RES	FREE	CROP	CULT	MK	MK_NAME
22	91	Maho Bay	Christopher William Gottschalck's Widow	1721	4		1	1	1	
23	89	French Quarter	Pieter Krøyer	1725	1	2	2	2	2	
24	88	French Quarter	Gabriel van Stell widow	1723	1	3	2	2	2	
25	90	French Quarter	Piere Castan	1725	1	3	2	2	2	
26	89/90	French Quarter	Soldier's plot	unknown	5	0	4	1	2	
27	86	French Quarter	Joseph Dreier	1728	1	4	2	1	1	
28	85	French Quarter	Richard Allen	1728	1	4	5	1	2	
29	84	French Quarter	Dennis Silvan	1729	4	0	2		2	
30	83	French Quarter	Joh. Jac. Creutzer	1725	4	0	2	1	2	
31	82	French Quarter	Timotheus Tørner	1725	1	2	5	1	2	
32	81	French Quarter	Johannes Minneback	1725	1	3	2	1	2	
33	80	French Quarter	Nicolay Creutzfelt	1728	4	0	4	2	2	
34	79	French Quarter	Berent Langemach's heirs	1728	2	0	2	1	2	
35	78	French Quarter	David Bourdeaux's widow	1726	2	0	2	1	2	
36	77	Coral Bay	Reymer Volcker's Est.	1728	2	0	2	2	2	
37	76	Coral Bay	Jacob Schønnemann	1728	2	0	5	1	2	
38	75	Coral Bay	Lorentz Hendrichsen	1728	1	8	2	2	2	
39	73	Coral Bay	Cornelius Bødker	1726	1	1	2	2	2	
40	74	Coral Bay	Hendrick Suhm	1728	2	0	2	1	3	
41	72	Coral Bay	Johan Reimert Sødtnann	1726	1	4	2	1	2	
42	71	Coral Bay	The Glorious Danish West Indies and Guinea Company	1718	1		1	1	1	Jean Cartier; Dines Sylvan; Christen Kielsen
43	70	Coral Bay	Pieter Frøling	1725	5	0	2	2	3	

FID	LL_NO	QUART	OWN	YR_EST	OWN_RES	FREE	CROP	CULT	MK	MK_NAME
44	69	Coral Bay	Jochum Schagt's widow (Corporal Høch)	1727	1	5	2	1	2	
45	67	Coral Bay	Johan Horn	1725	2	0	2	2	3	
46	66	Coral Bay	Augustus Vossi's widow's heirs (Lambrecht de Cooning)	1725	2	0	2	1	1	
47	65	Coral Bay	Fiscal Friis (Ditlif Nic Friis)	1725	2	0	2	1	1	
48	64	Coral Bay	Andreas Henningsen	1725	2	0	2	2	3	
49	58	Lameshure Quarter	Jesaias Valleaux	1724	1	3	2	1	2	
50	57	Lameshure Quarter	Maria Simson	1725	2	0	1	1	2	
51	55	Lameshure Quarter	Thomas Bourdeaux	1729	2	0	1	1	1	
52	54	Lameshure Quarter	Conrad Verstech's widow (Jan Jansen de Windt)	1725	2	0	2	1	1	
53	51	Reef & Fish Bay	Lieven Kierving	1721	2	1	1	2	3	Reef Parrot
54	49	Reef & Fish Bay	Willum Baerentz	unknown	4	0	1	1	1	
55	50	Reef & Fish Bay	Willum Baerentz	1721	4	0	1		2	
56	47	Reef & Fish Bay	Capt. Frederik Moth- Christian Krabbe	1725	4	0	1	1	1	
57	45	Reef & Fish Bay	Anthony Kambek	1724	1	2	2	1		
58	48	Reef & Fish Bay	Gerhard Moll's widow	1721	2	0	1		1	
59	44	Reef & Fish Bay	Willum Baerentz (Svenningesen)	1721	4	0	2	2	2	
60	43	Reef & Fish Bay	Jochum Stolley	1721	1	2	2	1		
61	42	Reef & Fish Bay	Willum Baerentz (Torstensen)	1721	4	0	2	2	2	

FID	LL_NO	QUART	OWN	YR_EST	OWN_RES	FREE	CROP	CULT	MK	MK_NAME
62	41	Reef & Fish Bay	Jannis Runnels	1726	1	2	2	2	2	
63	40	Reef & Fish Bay	Jacob Delicat	1726	1	3	2	1	2	
64	39	Reef & Fish Bay	Elisabeth (Boel) Friis (Durloe)	1721	4	0	2	1	3	
65	38	Reef & Fish Bay	Johann van Beverhoudt	1721	5	0	2	1	2	
66	36	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Gerhardus Moll the Minor (Giert Spt de Windt)	1721	3	0	2	1	3	
67	21	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Gloudi Beverhoudt's widow	1720	1	4	1	1	1	
68	22	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Isack Matheusen's widow Maria Mathias	1725	1	3	2	1	2	
69	37	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Ditlief Madsen (de Windt)	1727	2	0	2		3	
70	35	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Johanne de Windt	1726	2	0	2	2	1	
71	34	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Willem Zitzema	1725	5	0	5	1	3	
72	33	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Adrian van Beverhout	1728	2	0	2	1	1	
73	32	Little & Big Cruz Bay	William Zitzema	1725	1	5	1	1	2	
74	31	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Diderich Salomon (H)	1725	1	2	2	1	2	
75	30	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Johannes Beverhout	1725	5	0	5	1	3	
76	29	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Engel van Beverhoudt jr.'s widow	1724	2	0	2	1	1	Jannca (Johannes) Girard
77	29	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Robbert de Clery & Jannes Girard	1732	1	1	2	1	2	
78	29	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Johannes Girard	1723	1	6	2	1	2	
79	27	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Daniel Halley (H)	1724	2	0	2	1	2	
80	26	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Jannitje Hally's widow's heirs (Peter Cramieux)	1724	2	0	2	1	1	
81	25	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Francis Gonsel	1722	1	3	2	1	2	



FID	LL_NO	QUART	OWN	YR_EST	OWN_RES	FREE	CROP	CULT	MK	MK_NAME
82	24	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Pieter Søfresen	1720	1	2	3	1	2	
83	19	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Jannes Charles	1721	1	3	1	1	2	
84	15	Durloes Bay	Isacq Gronwald	1721	1	2	2	2	1	Joseph Drier
85	18	Durloes Bay	Pieter Durloe (Hawks Nest Plantage)	1721	2	0	5	1	1	Niels Øregraf
86	16	Durloes Bay	Isaac Runnels (W)	1721	2	0		1	1	
87	17	Durloes Bay	Abraham Runnels' (H)	1721	2	0	1	1	1	
100	60	Lameshure Quarter	Lieven Marche	unknown	1	3	2	2	2	
88	13&14	Durloes Bay	Jannes Beverhoudt & Wife	1721	1	11	1			
89	12	Durloes Bay	Adrian Runnel's widow	1725	2	0	2		2	
90	11	Caneel Bay	Adrian Runnel's widow	1718	2	0	1		2	
91	10	Caneel Bay	Cornelius Delicat's widow's heirs	1718	3	0	1	1	1	
92	7	Caneel Bay	Jacob Magen's heirs	1721	2	0	1	1	1	Cracowitz
93	6	Caneel Bay	Jen Vlack's heirs	1721	3	0	1	1	1	
94	3	Caneel Bay	Abraham Baudewyn (de Buyck)	1719	3	0	3	2	1	
95	2	Caneel Bay	Widow Daniel Jansen	1722	1	2	2		2	
96	1	Caneel Bay	Widow Daniel Jansen	1718	1	2	1	1	2	
97	59	Lameshure Quarter	Jasper Jansen	1725	4	0	2	2	2	
98	52	Lameshure Quarter	Gouvert Marche	1720	1	3	2	1	2	
99	53	Lameshure Quarter	Johannes Uytendahl	1721	2	0	2	1	1	
101	23	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Isack Salomons	1721	1	5	2	1	2	
102	28	Little & Big Cruz Bay	Abraham Elias	unknown	2		5	2		
103		Little & Big Cruz Bay	Hendrich Piettersen	unknown	1	2	4		2	
104		Little & Big Cruz Bay	Jacques Boyferon's heirs	unknown	1	1	5	2	2	

FID	LL_NO	QUART	OWN	YR_EST	OWN_RES	FREE	CROP	CULT	MK	MK_NAME
105		Little & Big Cruz Bay	Jean Papillaut	unknown	2	0	5		2	
106		Little & Big Cruz Bay	Pieter Cramieuw widow	unknown	5	0	5	2	2	
107	94	Maho Bay	Didrich van Stell	1721	1	2	1	2	2	
108	94	Maho Bay	Lieven van Stell	1721	1	5	1	1	2	

FID	ENSL	INDENT	NO_REBS	REB_STAT	MILL	CKHSE	STILL	WRHSE	MAG	DWELL	MOYR_EFF
0				2							11/1733
1	7			1							
2	0			4				1	1		
3	8										
5	0										
6											
7	4			4				1	1		
8	27			1							
9	6			1							
10											
11	0										
12	19			4				1	1		
13				4				1	1		
14	5	4		1							
15	9			1							
16	29			4				1	1		
17	19		4	4	1	1			1		
18	15			4		1	1	1	1		
19	15		2	1							11/1733
20	27			4		1	1	1	1		03/1734

FID	ENSL	INDENT	NO_REBS	REB_STAT	MILL	CKHSE	STILL	WRHSE	MAG	DWELL	MOYR_EFF
21	35			1							
22	14		2	4		1		1	1		
23	1		8	4				1	1		11/1733
24			3	1							11/1733
25	10		5	4				1	1		11/1733
26				1							
27	3			1							
28	3			1							
29											11/1733
30	9			1							
31	6			1							
32	19			1							
33				1							
34	4			1							
35				1							
36				1							
37	7		6	1							
38			4	4					1		
39	7		5	4				1	1		11/1733
40	25		28	4				1	1		11/1733
41	51		3	4				1	1		11/1733
42			7	4	1	1	1	1	1		
43	1			1	1	1	1		1		
44	1			4			1		1		
45	5		4	4	1	1	1	1	1		
46	10		4	4				1	1		

FID	ENSL	INDENT	NO_REBS	REB_STAT	MILL	CKHSE	STILL	WRHSE	MAG	DWELL	MOYR_EFF
47	15		7	4				1	1		
48	10		2	4				1	1		
49	29			4				1	1		
50	11		1	4		1	1				
51	22		3	4	1	1	1				
52	5			1							
53	0			1							
54	21			4		1	1	1	1		
55	0										
56	13			4				1	1		
57	7			4				1	1		
58	31										
59	0			1							
60	19			4				1	1		
61	0			5							
62	7		1	1							
63	12			4				1	1		
64	8			4				1	1		
65	0			1							
66	0			4				1			
67	5			1							
68	11			1							
69	0										
70	30			5							
71	0			1							
72	16			1							

FID	ENSL	INDENT	NO_REBS	REB_STAT	MILL	CKHSE	STILL	WRHSE	MAG	DWELL	MOYR_EFF
73	12			1							
74	15			5							
75	0			4		1		1	1		
76	56			1							
77	8			1							
78	3		1	1							
79	0										
80	7			1							
81	5			1							
82	6			1							
83	23		1	1							
84	16			1							
85	96		1	3							11/1733
86	33		2	4		1		1	1		02/1734
87	21			1							
100	10			1							
88	46										
89	46										
90	36		4								
91	35			4		1		1	1		02/1734
92	25			4		1		1			02/1734
93	13			4				1	1		02/1734
94	4			1							
95	6										
96	42			4		1		1	1		11/1733
97	0			5							

FID	ENSL	INDENT	NO_REBS	REB_STAT	MILL	CKHSE	STILL	WRHSE	MAG	DWELL	MOYR_EFF
98	12		2	4				1	1		
99	7			4				1	1		
101	7			1							
102	1			1							
103											
104	3			1							
105	1										
106	1			1							
107				4				1			
108				1							

**Appendix III. Slave Rebellions in the New World. *This list is not exhaustive.***

Country/Region	Year	References
Hispaniola	1522	Williams-Meyers 1996; Genovese 1979
Santo Domingo	1522	Andrews 2004
Colombia	1530	Andrews 2004
Mexico	1537	Andrews 2004
Cuba	1538	Andrews 2004
Mexico	1546	Andrews 2004; Genovese 1979
Colombia	1548	Andrews 2004
Colombia	1550	Andrews 2004
Venezuela	1552	Andrews 2004; Genovese 1979
Cuba, Honduras, Colombia,	1533-1552	Andrews 2004
Mexico	1570	Andrews 2004; Genovese 1979
Colombia	1598	Andrews 2004; Genovese 1979
Mexico	1608	Andrews 2004; Genovese 1979
Bermuda	1609	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Barbados	1647	Beckles 1984
Barbados	1649	Westergaard 1926; Beckles 1984
Virginia	1663	Kilson 1964; Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Jamaica	1669	Genovese 1979
Mexico	1670	Andrews 2004; Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1672	Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1673	Kopytoff 1978
Jamaica	1673	Genovese 1979
Barbados	1675	Beckles 1984
Virginia	1675	linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Jamaica	1678	Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1682	Genovese 1979

Jamaica	1685	Genovese 1979
Barbados	1687	Westergaard 1926
Virginia	1687	Kilson 1964
Jamaica	1690	Kopytoff 1978; Westergaard 1926; Genovese 1979
Virginia	1691	Kilson 1964
Barbados	1692	Westergaard 1926; Beckles 1984
New York	1708	Kilson 1964
South Carolina	1711	Kilson 1964
New York	1712	Kilson 1964; Genovese 1979
South Carolina	1720	Kilson 1964
Virginia	1722	Kilson 1964
Bermuda	1730	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Louisiana	1730	Kilson 1964; Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
South Carolina	1730	Kilson 1964; linebaugh & rediker 2000
The Bermudas	1730	Westergaard 1926
Virginia	1730	linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Guiana	1731	Genovese 1979
Louisiana	1732	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Venezuela	1732	Andrews 2004
Dutch Guyana	1733	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Jamaica	1733	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Jamaica	1733	Genovese 1979
South Carolina	1733	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
St. John	1733	Anderson 1975; Williams-Meyers 1996; Schuler 1970
Jamaica	1734	Genovese 1979
New Jersey	1734	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Pennsylvania	1734	Kilson 1964
St. Kitts	1734	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Anguilla	1735-36	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000



Guadeloupe	1735-36	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
St. Bartholomew	1735-36	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
St. Martins	1735-36	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Antigua	1736	Westergaard 1926; linebaugh & rediker 2000
Georgia	1736	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
South Carolina	1737	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Maryland	1738	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
South Carolina	1738	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Maryland	1739	Kilson 1964; linebaugh & rediker
South Carolina	1739	Kilson 1964; Olwell 1989; Wax 1982; Genovese 1979
South Carolina	1740	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
New York	1741	Genovese 1979; Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Jamaica	1742	Schuler 1970
Massachusetts	1747	Linebaugh & Rediker 2000
Venezuela	1749	Andrews 2004
Saint-Domingue (Haiti)	1759	Westergaard 1926
St. Croix	1759	Westergaard 1926
Jamaica	1760	Genovese 1979; linebaugh & rediker
Guiana	1762	Genovese 1979
Guiana	1763-1764	Schuler 1970; Genovese 1979
Guiana	1767	Genovese 1979
Guiana	1772	Genovese 1979
Guiana	1773	Genovese 1979
Georgia	1774	Kilson 1964
Guiana	1774-75	Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1776	Geggus 1987
North Carolina	1776	Kilson 1964
Colombia	1781	Andrews 2004
Brazil	1789	Schwartz 1992

Martinique	1789	Paquette & Engerman 1996
Guadeloupe	1791	Paquette & Engerman 1996
Haiti	1792	Williams-Meyers 1996
Virginia	1792	Kilson 1964
Virginia	1792	Kilson 1964
Guadeloupe	1793	Paquette & Engerman 1996
Virginia	1793	Kilson 1964
Guiana	1794-95	Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1795	Geggus 1987
Louisiana	1795	Kilson 1964
Louisiana	1795	Andrews 2004
Venezuela	1795	Andrews 2004
Cuba	1795-1799	Andrews 2004
Grenada	1795-1797	Geggus 1987
Jamaica	1798	Geggus 1987
Colombia	1799	Andrews 2004
Virginia	1799	Kilson 1964
Virginia	1800	Kilson 1964
Guiana	1803	Genovese 1979
Georgia	1810	Kilson 1964
Louisiana	1811	Kilson 1964; Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1815	Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1815	Geggus 1987
Barbados	1816	Matthews 2000; Matthews 2006; Beckles 1984; Geggus 1987
Barbados	1816	Geggus 1987
South Carolina	1816	Kilson 1964
Virginia	1816	Kilson 1964
Georgia	1819	Kilson 1964
South Carolina	1822	Kilson 1964; Genovese 1979

Barbados	1823	Matthews 2000; Beckles 1984
Demerara	1823	Matthews 2006
Guiana	1823	Genovese 1979
Jamaica	1824	Genovese 1979
Georgia/Maryland	1826	Kilson 1964
South Carolina	1826	Kilson 1964
Kentucky	1829	Kilson 1964
Jamaica	1831-32	Geggus 1987; Matthews 2006; Delle 1998; Blackburn 1988; Taylor 1885; Matthews 2000; Beckles 1984
Virginia	1831	Kilson 1964; Williams-Meyers 1996
Brazil	1807-1835	Andrews 2004; Schwartz 1992; Genovese 1979
Mississippi	1835	Kilson 1964
Missouri	1836	Kilson 1964
Louisiana	1837	Kilson 1964
Louisiana	1840	Kilson 1964
Louisiana	1840	Kilson 1964
Georgia	1841	Kilson 1964
Maryland	1845	Kilson 1964
Kentucky	1848	Kilson 1964
Georgia	1849	Kilson 1964
Missouri	1850	Kilson 1964
Texas	1851	Kilson 1964
Louisiana	1853	Kilson 1964
Jamaica	1865	Delle 1998

## References Cited

- Adeeko, A.  
2005     *The Slave's Rebellion: Literature, History, Orature*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Adeyemi, S.  
2003     *The 1733 Revolt: African Resistance on St. John V.I*. Sele Adeyemi, St. Thomas.  
  
2006     *Engaging Freedom's Journey: Virgin Islands Africans' Struggle for Self Determination and Empowerment (1644-1993)*. Djenne Publishing House, Richmond.
- Adoma Perbi, A.  
2004     *A History of Indigenous Slavery in Ghana from the 15th to the 19th Century*. Sub-Saharan Publishers, Legon.
- Agorsah, E. K.  
2003     Tracking Down the Maroons: Archaeo-geography of Marronage in the Caribbean. Paper presented at the International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.
- Allen, S.  
2001     *"Zumbi Nunca Vai Morrer": History, The Practice of Archaeology and Race Politics in Brazil*. Dissertation, Brown University.
- Anderson, J.  
1975     *Night of the Silent Drums*. Charles Scribners Sons, New York.
- Anderson, J. R., S. C. Edwards and C. Pishko  
1938-2009     Private Collection. Private Collection.
- Anschuetz, K., R. Wilshusen and C. Scheick  
2001     An Archaeology of Landscapes: Perspectives and Directions. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9(2):157-211.
- Aptheker, H.  
1943 [1969]     *American Negro Slave Revolts*. International Publishers, New York.
- Aristotle  
350 B.C.E.     Politics. vol. 2009. The Internet Classics Archive.
- Armit, I., C. Knusel and R. Schulting  
2006     Warfare and Violence in Prehistoric Europe: An Introduction. *Journal of Conflict Studies* 2(1):1-11.
- Armstrong, D.  
1990     *The Old Village and the Great House: An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.  
  
2003a     *Creole Transformation: From Slavery to Freedom*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.  
  
2003b     The Shoreline Settlement at Cinnamon Bay, St. John, USVI: A Small Estate Established Before Formal Colonization and Burned During the Slave Rebellion of 1733. Paper presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology.
- Armstrong, D., M. Hauser and D. Knight  
2005     *Historical Archaeology of Cinnamon Bay Shoreline Estate: Explorations of a Small Cotton Estate and its Transformation in an Emerging Danish Sugar Economy, St. John, United States Virgin Islands (National Park Site Designation: VIIS 191)*. Syracuse University Archaeology Research Center.
- Armstrong, D., M. Hauser, D. Knight and S. Lenik

- 2008a Maps, Matricals, and Material Remains: An Archaeological GIS of Late-Eighteenth-Century Historic Sites on St. John, Danish West Indies. In *Archaeology and Geoinformatics: Case Studies from the Caribbean*, edited by B. Reid, pp. 99-126. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 2008b Variation in Venues of Slavery and Freedom: Interpreting the Late Eighteenth-Century Cultural Landscape of St. John, Danish West Indies Using an Archaeological GIS. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* Published Online:1-18.
- Armstrong, D., M. Hauser, S. Lenik and K. Wild  
 2007 Estate Consolidation, Land Use, and Ownership: A GIS Archaeological Landscape Survey of St. John, Danish West Indies (1780-1800), with a Particular Focus on Annanberg Plantation. Paper presented at the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica.
- 2007 Estate Consolidation, Land Use, and Ownership: A GIS Archaeological Landscape Survey of St. John, Danish West Indies (1780-1800), with a Particular Focus on Annanberg Plantation. *Paper presented at the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, Kingston, Jamaica.*
- Ausherman, B.  
 1982 St. John Sites-Report 1981-82. State Historic Preservation Office, St. Thomas, USVI.
- Barret, J.  
 1999 Chronologies of Landscape. In *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape*, edited by P. Ucko and R. Layton, pp. 21-30. Routledge, London.
- Bastian, J.  
 2003 *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost Its Archives and Found Its History*. Libraries Unlimited, Westport.
- Beck, R., D. Bolender, J. Brown and T. Earle  
 2007 Eventful Archaeology: The Place of Space in Structural Transformation. *Current Anthropology* 48(6):833-860.
- Beckles, H.  
 1987 *Black Rebellion in Barbados: The Struggle Against Slavery, 1627-1838*. Carib Research and Publications, Inc., Bridgetown.
- Bevan, A. and J. Conolly  
 2002-2004 GIS, Archaeological Survey and Landscape Archaeology in the Island of Kythera, Greece. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 29(1/2):123-138.
- Bilby, K.  
 1997 Swearing by the Past, Swearing by the Future: Sacred Oaths, Alliances and Treaties Among the Guianese and Jamaican Maroons. *Ethnohistory* 44(4):655-689.
- Bjorn, C.  
 2000 Modern Denmark: A Synthesis of Converging Developments. *Scandinavian Journal of History* 25(1-2):119-130.
- Blanton, D.  
 2003 The weather is fine, wish you were here, because I'm the last one alive: "learning" the environment in the English New World Colonies. In *Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes: The Archaeology of Adaptation*, edited by M. Rockman and J. Steele, pp. 190-200. Routledge, London.
- Bleed, P. and D. Scott  
 2011 Contexts for Conflict: Conceptual Tools for Interpreting Archaeological Reflections of Warfare. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 6(1):42-64.
- Bly, A.  
 1998 Crossing the Lake of Fire: Slave Resistance During the Middle Passage, 1720-1842. *The Journal of Negro History* 83(3):178-186.
- Bodenhamer, D.

- 2008 History and GIS: Implications for the Discipline. In *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship*, edited by A. K. Knowles, pp. 219-234. ESRI Press, Redfield.
- Bolender, D. (editor)  
2010 *Eventful Archaeologies: New Approaches to Social Transformation in the Archaeological Record*. State University of New York, Albany.
- Boulon, R.  
2008 Chief Resource Management, Virgin Islands National Park, edited by H. Norton, pp. personal conversation about the nature of St. John geology and sedimentology as related to historic agricultural practices., St. John.
- Bourdieu, P.  
1997 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by N. Rice. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bowman, G.  
2001 The Violence of Identity. In *The Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, edited by B. Schmidt and I. Schroder, pp. 25-46. Routledge, London.
- Brewer, D. and S. Hammerstein  
1988 Archaeological Overview and Assessment Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, edited by N. P. Service. Southeast Archaeological Center.
- Cameron, C.  
2008 Introduction: Captives in Prehistory as Agents of Social Change. In *Invisible Citizens: Captives and their Consequences*, edited by C. Cameron, pp. 1-24. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.  
2011 Captives and Culture Change. *Current Anthropology* 52(2):169-209.
- Camp, S.  
2002 'I Could Not Stay There': Enslaved Women, Truancy and the Geography of Everyday Forms of Resistance in the Antebellum Plantation South. *Slavery and Abolition* 23(3):1-20.
- Campbell, A.  
1943 St. Thomas Negroes- A Study of Personality and Culture. *Psychological Monographs* 55(5):62.
- Carney, J. and R. Voeks  
2003 Landscape Legacies of the African Diaspora in Brazil. *Progress in Human Geography* 27(2):139-152.
- Caron, A.  
1978 *Inventory of French Documents Pertaining to the USVI 1642-1737*. Department of Conservation and Cultural Affairs.
- Caron, A. and A. Highfield  
1981 *The French Intervention in the St. John Slave Revolt of 1733-34*. The Bureau of Libraries, Museums and Archaeological Services, Department of Conservation and Cultural Affairs.
- Carroll, J. C.  
1938 [2004] *Slave Insurrections in the United States 1800-1865*. Dover, Mineola.
- Casella, E. C.  
2010 Landscapes of Punishment and Resistance: A Female Convict Settlement in Tasmania, Australia. In *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism*, edited by R. Preucel and S. Mrozowski, pp. 93-103. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Chacon, R. and R. Mendoza (editors)  
2007 *North American Indigenous Warfare and Ritual Violence*. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Chambers, D.  
2001 Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The Slave-Trade and the Creation of African 'Nations' in the Americas. *Slavery and Abolition* 22(3):25-39.

- COIn1733STJ  
1733 VGK Inventory No. 523. In *Virgin Islands National Park, Historic Documents Collection*.
- Conolly, J. and M. Lake  
2006 *Geographical Information Systems in Archaeology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Curtin, P.  
1969 *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.
- David, J.  
2006 Three Queens Chautauqua Series: Act I Queen Breffu, pp. Live Stage Performance. Per Ankh, Inc, Cruz Bay.
- Davis, D.  
2003 *Report of Archaeological Reconnaissance at Fish Bay, St. John, U.S.V.I.* Island Resources Foundation at Fish Bay.
- De Cunzo, L. A. and J. Earnstein  
2006 Landscapes, Ideology and Experience in Historical Archaeology. In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, edited by D. Hicks and M. Beaudry, pp. 255-272. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- deB Kilson, M. D.  
1964 Towards Freedom: An Analysis of Slave Revolts in the United States. *Phylon* 25(2; 2nd Qtr.):175-187.
- DeCorse, C.  
1993 The Danes on the Gold Coast: Culture Change and the European Presence. *The African Archaeological Review* 11:149-173.
- Delgado de Torres, L.  
2003 Reformulating Nationalism in the African Diaspora: The Aponte Rebellion of 1812. *The New Centennial Review* 3(3):27-46.
- Delle, J.  
1998 *An Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing Coffee Plantations in Jamaica's Blue Mountains*. Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology. Plenum Press, New York.
- Delpuech, A.  
2001 Historical Archaeology in the French West Indies: Recent Research in Guadeloupe. In *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean* edited by P. Farnsworth, pp. 21-59. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Dookhan, I.  
1994 *A History of the Virgin Islands of the United States*. Canoe Press, Kingston.
- Edwards, I. B.  
2000 An Archaeological Geophysical Survey of the Proposed Denis Bay Historic District, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, edited by Ecoscience. Cultural Resources Assessment Group (LLC).
- Edwards, S. C.  
1987 A History of Peter Bay Estate, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. The InterGate Company, Inc.  
1990 A History of Sans Souci and Guinea Gut Plantations St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. Garrow and Associates, Inc.
- Ejstrud, B.  
2007 Maroons and Landscapes. Institute of History and Civilization.
- Eltis, D.

- 2010 A Brief Overview of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database. vol. 2010.
- Emanuel, G.  
2003 A Review and Summary of the 1733 African Slave Revolt Its Accomplishments and Current Importance. In *The 1733 Slave Revolt African Resistance on St. John V.I.*, edited by S. Adeyemi. Sele Adeyemi, St. Thomas.
- Erickson, C. L.  
2010 Amazonia: The Historical Ecology of a Domesticated Landscape. In *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism*, edited by R. Preucel and S. Mrozowski, pp. 104-127. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Evans, T. and P. Daly (editors)  
2006 *Digital Archaeology: Bridging Method and Theory*. Routledge, London.
- Fage, J. D.  
1982 Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History. In *Forced Migration*, edited by J. E. Inikori. Africana Publishing Company, New York.  
1995 *A History of Africa*. Third ed. Routledge, London.
- Figueroa, W.  
2010 The History of Puerto Rico.
- Fitts, R.  
1996 The Landscapes of Northern Bondage. *Historical Archaeology* 30(2):54-73.
- Fog Olwig, K.  
1985 *Cultural Adaptation and Resistance on St. John: Three Centuries of Afro-Caribbean Life*. University Presses of Florida, Gainesville.  
1999 The Burden of Heritage: Claiming a Place for West Indian Culture. *American Ethnologist* 26(2):370-388.
- Foucault, M.  
1995 *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison*. Translated by A. Sheridan. Vintage Books, New York.
- Fox, R.  
1993 *Archaeology, History, and Custer's Las Battle: The Little Big Horn Reexamined*. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Frachetti, M.  
2006 Digital Archaeology and the Scalar Structure of Pastoral Landscapes: Modeling mobile societies of prehistoric Central Asia. In *Digital Archaeology: Bridging method and theory*, edited by T. Evans and P. Daly, pp. 128-147. Routledge, London.
- Garnsey, P.  
1996 *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*. Cambridge University Press, New York.
- Geier, C., L. Babits, D. Scott and D. Orr (editors)  
2011 *Historical Archaeology of Military Sites: Method and Topic*. Texas A&M Press, College Station.
- Geier, C. and S. Potter (editors)  
2000 *Archaeological Perspectives on the American Civil War*. University Press of Florida, Gainesville.
- Genovese, E.  
1979 *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.
- Giddens, A.



- 1984     *The Constitution of Society*. University of California Press, Berkeley.
- Gjessing, F.  
1969     Observations on architecture of the Reef Bay Estate and Fortberg Hill, St. John, Virgin Islands. National Park Service.
- GOB  
1733-34   Governor's Order Book. In *Anderson, Stevens, and Pishko: Private Collection*, St. John.
- Gobel, E.  
2002     *A Guide to Sources for the History of the Danish West Indies (U.S. Virgin Islands), 1671-1917*. University Press of Southern Denmark, Copenhagen.
- Goodchild, M.  
2008     Combining Space and Time: New Potential for Temporal GIS. In *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship*, edited by A. K. Knowles, pp. 179-198. ESRI Press, Redfield.
- Green-Pedersen, S. E.  
1971     The Scope and Structure of the Danish Negro Slave Trade. *Scandinavian Economic History Review* 19:149-197.  
  
1975     The History of the Danish Negro Slave Trade 1733-1807. *Revue Francaise d'Histoire d'Outre-mer* 62(226-227):196-218.
- Gregory, I.  
2003     *A Place in History: A Guide to Using GIS in Historical Research*. Oxbow Books, Oxford.
- Hall, N. A. T.  
1985     Maritime Maroons: "Grand Marronage" from the Danish West Indies. *The William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Series* 42(4):476-498.  
  
1992     *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Hanson, L. H.  
1969     A Study of Artifacts Recovered from Two Construction Trenches Through the Cinnamon Bay Site, St. John Island, Virgin Islands National Park, edited by S. A. Center. National Park Service, Department of the Interior.
- Hardesty, D.  
2003     Mining Rushes and Landscape Learning in the Modern World. In *Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes: The Archaeology of Adaptation*, edited by M. Rockman and J. Steele, pp. 81-96. Routledge, London.
- Haviser, J.  
2001     Historical Archaeology in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. In *Islands Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*, edited by P. Farnsworth, pp. 60-81. University of Alabama, Tuscaloosa.
- Hernaes, P. O.  
1998     *Slaves, Danes and African Coast Society*. No. 6 Trondheim Studies in History. University of Trondheim, Trondheim.
- Herneas, P.  
1995     *Danish Slave Trade from West Africa and Afro-Danish Relations on the Eighteenth Century Gold Coast*. University of Trondheim Press, Trondheim.
- Herskovits, M.  
1941     *The Myth of the Negro Past*. Beacon Press, Boston.
- Hicks, D.  
2007     *'The Garden of the World': An Historical Archaeology of Sugar Landscapes in the Eastern Caribbean*. Studies in Contemporary and Historical Archaeology 3. ArchaeoPress, Oxford.

- Hirsch, E.  
1995 Landscape: Between Place and Space. In *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, edited by E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Holloway, J.  
2010 The Slave Rebellion Website. New World African Press.
- Holtorf, C. and H. Williams  
2006 Landscapes and Memories. In *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, edited by D. Hicks and M. Beaudry, pp. 235-254. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Honychurch, L.  
1997 Crossroads in the Caribbean: A Site of Encounter and Exchange on Dominica. *World Archaeology* 28(3):291-304.
- Hood, J. E.  
1996 Social Relations and the Cultural Landscape. In *Landscape Archaeology*, edited by R. Yamin and K. Metheny, pp. 121-146. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Hopkins, D.  
1989 An Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Map of the Danish Sugar-Plantation Island St. Croix. *Imago Mundi* 41:44-58.  
  
1992a An Early Map and the Cadastral Survey of St. Croix, Danish West Indies 1734-41/A Cartographic Cul-De-Sac. *Cartographica* 29(3&4):1-18.  
  
1992b The Eighteenth-Century Invention of a Measure in the Caribbean: The Danish Acre of St. Croix. *Journal of Historical Geography* 18(2):158-173.  
  
2001 The Danish Ban on the Atlantic Slave Trade and Denmark's African Colonial Ambitions, 1787-1807. *Itinerario* 25(3-4):154-184.
- Horvath, E.  
1991 Archaeological Investigations Conducted at Lind Point, Mary Point, Cinnamon Bay and Trunk Bay, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, Virgin Islands National Park, edited by S. A. Center. National Park Service, Department of the Interior.
- Inc, S. I.  
2004 Phase II Testing and Evaluation, Bellevue Archaeological Site, Estate Bellevue, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. Reliance Housing Foundation Inc. .
- Ingersoll, T.  
1994 "Release us out of this Cruell Bondegg": An Appeal from Virginia in 1723. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series; 51(4):777-782.
- Ingold, T.  
1993 The Temporality of the Landscape. *World Archaeology* 25(2, Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society):152-174.  
  
2011 *Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description*. Taylor & Francis, Inc., London.
- Inikori, J. E.  
1976 Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Rejoinder. *Journal of African History* XVII(iv):607-627.  
  
1981 Introduction. In *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*, edited by J. E. Inikori. Africana Publishing Company, New York.
- International, S.  
2005 Preliminary Archaeological Records Search and Reconnaissance Estate Abraham Fancy, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. Prepared for William Karr and Associates.

- Janes, R.  
1991 Beheadings. *Representations* 35(Special Issue: Monumental Histories):21-51.
- Kea, R.  
1996 "When I die, I shall return to my own land": an "Amina" Slave Rebellion in the Danish West Indies, 1733-1734. In *The Cloth of Many Colored Silks: Papers on History and Society Ghanian and Islamic in Honor of Ivor Wilks*, edited by J. Hunwick and N. Lawler, pp. 159-193, Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Kellar, E.  
2004 *The Construction and Expression of Identity: An Archaeological Investigation of the Laborer Villages at Adrian Estate, St. John, USVI*, Syracuse University.
- Keller, A.  
1903 Notes on the Danish West Indies. *Annales of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 22:99-110.
- Knight, D.  
1999 A Documentary History of the Cinnamon Bay Plantation 1718-1917, edited by C. B. A. Project. Virgin Islands Historical and Genealogical Resource Center.  
2000 An Introduction to Estate Concordia: A Brief Documentary Overview, edited by S. J. H. Society. Little Nordside Press.  
2001 Annaberg: An Updated Survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex, Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, USVI, edited by N. P. Service. Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center.  
2010a A Timeline of the Establishment of the Town of Cruz Bay, St. John. *St. John Historical Society Newsletter* XI(2).  
2010b A Timeline of the Establishment of the Town of Cruz Bay, St. John. *St. John Historical Society* XI(2).
- Knowles, A. K.  
2008 GIS and History. In *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship*, edited by A. K. Knowles, pp. 1-26. ESRI Press, Redfield.
- Knowles, A. K., A. Hillier and R. Balstad  
2008 Conclusion: An Agenda for Historical GIS. In *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS are Changing Historical Scholarship*, edited by A. K. Knowles, pp. 267-274. ESRI Press, Redlands.
- Kopytoff, B. K.  
1978 The Early Political Development of Jamaican Maroon Societies. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 3rd Series; 35(2):287-307.  
1979 Colonial Treaty as Sacred Charter of the Jamaican Maroons. *Ethnohistory* 26(1):45-64.
- Kroeber, C.  
1996 Theory and History of Revolution. *Journal of World History* 7(1):21-40.
- Kvamme, K.  
1990 One-Sample Tests in Regional Archaeological Analysis: New Possibilities through Computer Technology. *American Antiquity* 55(2):367-381.  
2003 Geophysical Surveys as Landscape Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 68(3):435-457.
- La Rosa Corzo, G.  
2003 *Runaway Slave Settlements in Cuba: Resistance and Repression*. Translated by M. Todd. Envisioning Cuba. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.  
2006 Arqueologia del Cimmaronaje: Utiles Para la Resistencia. Paper presented at the 71st Annual Meeting, Society for American Archaeology, San Juan, Puerto Rico.

- Larsen, L. C.  
 1985 Annotated List of Letters of The Danish West Indian Governors Relating to St. John 1716-1733. Virgin Islands National Park Archives, Historic Documents Collection.  
 1989 Documents Relating to the Early Settlement of St. John, 1718-1730. Virgin Islands National Park.  
 1991 *The Danish Colonization of St. John 1718-1733*. Virgin Islands Resource Management Cooperative.
- Law, R.  
 1989 'My Head Belongs to the King': On the political and Ritual Significance of Decapitation in Pre-Colonial Dahomey. *The Journal of African History* 30(3):399-415.  
 1991 *The Slave Coast of Africa 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Lenski, N.  
 2008 Captivity, Slavery, and Cultural Exchange between Rome and the Germans from the First to the Seventh Century CE. In *Invisible Citizens: Captives and their Consequences*, edited by C. Cameron, pp. 80-109. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Leone, M., P. Potter and P. Shackel  
 1987 Toward a Critical Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 28(3):283-302.
- Lewis, G.  
 1968 *The Growth of the Modern West Indies*. Modern Reader, New York.  
 1972 *The Virgin Islands: A Caribbean Lilliput*. Northwestern University Press, Evanston.
- Linebaugh, P. and M. Rediker  
 2000 *The Many Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Beacon Press, Boston.
- LL1728STJ  
 1728 Rigsarkivet, det vestindisk-guineiske kompagni, Landlister for St. John 1728. vol. Box no. 446.
- LL1730STJ  
 1730 St. Jan Landlister. In *Anderson, Stevens and Pishko: Private Collection*, St. John.
- LL1731STJ  
 1731 St. Jan Landlister. In *Anderson, Stevens and Pishko: Private Collection*, St. John.
- LL1732STJ  
 1732 St. Jan Landlister. In *Anderson, Stevens and Pishko: Private Collection*, St. John.
- LL1733STJ  
 1736 St. Jan Landlister. In *Anderson, Stevens and Pishko: Private Collection*, St. John.
- LL1742STX  
 1742-1754 Rigsarkivet, det vestindisk-guineiske kompagni, Landlister for St Croix 1742-1754. vol. Box no. 849.
- Llobera, M.  
 2001 Building Past Landscape Perception with GIS: Understanding Topographic Prominence. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 28:1005-1014.  
 2006 What You See is What You Get?: Visualscapes, visual genesis and hierarchy. In *Digital Archaeology: Bridging method and theory*, edited by T. Evans and P. Daly, pp. 148-167. Routledge, London.
- Lockley, T. J.

- 2009     *Maroon Communities in South Carolina: A Documentary Record*. University of South Carolina Press, Columbia.
- Longueville, C. d.  
1734 [1994]     Letter on the St. John Rebellion. In *The Kamina Folk: Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies*, edited by G. Tyson and A. Highfield, pp. 25-28. Virgin Islands Humanity Council.
- Lovejoy, P.  
1982     The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis. *The Journal of African History* 23:473-501.  
  
1983     *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge  
  
1989     The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature. *The Journal of African History* 30(3):365-394.
- Low, R. H.  
2010     *St. John Voices: A Documentary Anthology of Daily Life on St. John 1718-1956*. Eden Hill Press, Chilamark.
- Lundberg, E.  
1986     *Estate Concordia Cultural Resources Survey: Report of Phase I Fieldwork for Estate Concordia Resort, including Nanny Point, St. John, USVI*. Estate Concordia Resort.
- Manning, P.  
1990     *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades*. African Studies Series 67. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Maris-Wolf, E.  
2002     *Between Slavery and Freedom: African Americans in the Great Dismal Swamp 1763-1863*, College of William and Mary.
- Martin, G.  
2004     *Past Futures: The Impossible Necessity of History*. University of Toronto Press, Toronto.
- Mayer, C.  
2006     Making Use of Distances: Estimating Parameters of Spatial Processes. In *GIS and Archaeological Site Location Modeling*, edited by M. Mehrer and K. Wescott, pp. 147-166. Taylor & Francis, Baton Rouge.
- McIntosh, S. K. and I. w. a. c. b. Thiaw  
2001     Tools for Understanding Transformation and Continuity in Senegambian Society: 1500-1900. In *West Africa During the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by C. DeCorse, pp. 14-37. Leicester University Press, London.
- Meillassoux, C.  
1982     The Role of Slavery in the Economic and Social History of Sahelo-Sudanic Africa. In *Forced Migration*, edited by J. E. Inikori, pp. 74-99. Africana Publishing Company, New York.  
  
1991     *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Meltzer, D.  
2003     Lessons in Landscape Learning. In *Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes: The Archaeology of Adaptation*, edited by M. Rockman and J. Steele, pp. 222-241. Routledge, London.
- Messick, D., J. Joseph and N. Adams  
2001     Tilling the Earth: Georgia's Historic Agricultural Heritage- a Context, edited by G. D. o. N. Resources. New South Associates, Inc.
- Metheny, K., J. Kratzer, A. Yentsch and C. Goodwin

- 1996 Method in Landscape Archaeology: Research Strategies in a Historic New Jersey Garden. In *Landscape Archaeology*, edited by R. Yamin and K. Metheny, pp. 6-31. University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Mills, T.  
1983 Mainland, Local Revolutions Compared. *The Virgin Islands Educational Review: Special Issue 250th Anniversary Slave Revolt of 1733* 1(8):1.
- Mitchell, P.  
2005 *African Connections: Archaeological Perspectives on Africa and the Wider World*. AltaMira, Walnut Creek.
- Morris, A.  
2007 Grueling Fortsberg Hike Commemorates St. John Revolt. In *The Daily News*, Charlotte Amalie.
- Nathan, M.  
1904 The Gold Coast at the End of the Seventeenth Century under the Danes and the Dutch. *Journal of the Royal African Society* 4(13):1-32.
- Niwot, T.  
2008 The Jumbies who live in Tamarind Trees, edited by H. Norton, Cruz Bay, St. John.
- Norregard, G.  
1966a *Danish Settlements in West Africa*. Boston University Press, Boston.  
1966b *Danish Settlements in West Africa: 1658-1850*. Translated by S. Mammen. Boston University Press, Boston.
- Norton, H. and C. Espenshade  
2007 The Challenge of Locating Maroons Refuge Sites at Maroon Ridge, St. Croix. *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology* 7:1-17.
- Norton, H., C. Espenshade, W. Catts and C. Pishko  
2011a *Phase II Archaeological Investigations of Caneel Bay Managers House, St. John, USVI*. New South Associates, Inc.  
2011b Phase II Archaeological Research, Planned Improvements to the Manager's Villa, Caneel Bay Resort, St. John, US Virgin Islands. New South Associates, Inc.
- Novak, S. and L. Rodseth  
2006 Remebering Mountain Meadows: Collective Violence and the Manipulation of Social Boundaries. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 62(1):1-25.
- Okabe, A. (editor)  
2006 *GIS-Based Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences*. Taylor & Francis, Boca Raton.
- Olwell, R.  
1989 "Domestick Enemies": Slavery and Political Independence in South Carolina, May 1775-March 1776. *The Journal of Southern History* 55(1):21-48.
- Orser, C.  
1998 The Archaeology of the African Diaspora. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27:63-82.
- Orser, C. and P. Funari  
2001 Archaeology and Slave Resistance and Rebellion. *World Archaeology* 33(1):61-72.
- Ortner, S.  
2001 Commentary: Practice, Power and the Past. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(2):271-278.
- Pannet, P.  
1733 [1994] The Conspiracy of the Amina Negroes on St. John. In *The Kamina Folk: Slavery and Slave Life in the Danish West Indies*, edited by G. Tyson and A. Highfield. Virgin Islands Humanity Council.

- Pauketat, T.  
2009 Wars, Rumors of Wars, and the Production of Violence. In *Warfare in Cultural Context: Practice, Agency, and the Archaeology of Violence*, edited by A. Nielsen and W. Walker, pp. 244-262 The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Pishko, C.  
2003 A Brief History of Estate Fish Bay. St. John Historical Society.  
2005 Browns Bay. St. John Historic Society.  
2010 Personal Communication, edited by H. Norton, St. John.
- Postma, J.  
2003 *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.  
2003 *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Preucel, R.  
2007 *Archaeologies of the Pueblo Revolt: Identity, Meaning, and Renewal in the Pueblo World*. University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.
- Price, R. (editor)  
1979 *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.
- Rask, J.  
2009 [1708-1713] *Two Views from Christiansborg Castle: A Very Truthful Description of a Journey to and From Guinea*. Translated by S. A. Winsnes. Sub-Saharan Publishers, Legon.
- Rathbone, R.  
1986 Some Thoughts on Resistance to Enslavement in Africa. In *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, Resistance and Marronage in Africa and the New World*, edited by G. Heuman. Frank Cass London.
- Ray, G. and B. Brown  
1995 The Structure of Five Successional Stands in a Subtropical Dry Forest, U.S. Virgin Islands. *Caribbean Journal of Science* 31(3-4):212-222.
- Ray, G., F. Dallmeier and J. Comiskey  
1998 The Structure of Two Subtropical Dry Forest Communities. In *Forest Biodiversity in North, Central and South America, and the Caribbean: Research and Monitoring*, edited by F. Dallmeier and J. Comiskey. Man and the Biosphere. vol. 21. UNESCO, Paris.
- Riser, L., K. Wild and M. Wigal  
2009 *Report on Archaeological Investigations Conducted for the Installation of a Parking Lot at Great Maho Bay, Virgin Islands National Park*. Virgin Islands National Park.
- Robertshaw, P. and W. Duncan  
2008 African Slavery: Archaeology and Decentralized Societies. In *Invisible Citizens: Captives and their Consequences*, edited by C. Cameron, pp. 57-79. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Rockman, M.  
2003 Knowledge and Learning in the Archaeology of Colonization. In *Colonization of Unfamiliar Landscapes: The Archaeology of Adaptation*, edited by M. Rockman and J. Steele, pp. 3-24. Routledge, London.
- Rodney, W.  
1970 *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

- 1982 African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade. In *Forced Migration*, edited by J. E. Inikori, pp. 61-73. Africana Publishing Company, New York.
- Roopnarine, L.  
2010 Maroon Resistance and Settlement on Danish St. Croix. *Journal of Third World Studies* XXVII(2):89-108.
- Sahlins, M.  
1981 *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*. University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor.  
1985 *Islands of History*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.  
2004 *Apologies to Thucydides: Understanding History as Culture and Vice Versa*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Saitta, D.  
2007 *The Archaeology of Collective Action*. The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Sayers, D., P. B. Burke and A. Henry  
2007 The Political Economy of Exile in the Great Dismal Swamp. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 11(1).
- Schatz, R. and H. Lavine  
2007 Waving the Flag: National Symbolism, Social Identity, and Political Engagement. *Political Psychology* 28(3):329-355.
- Schroder, I. and B. Schmidt  
2001 Introduction: Violent Imaginaries and Violent Practices. In *Anthropology of Violence and Conflict*, edited by B. Schmidt and I. Schroder, pp. 1-24. Routledge, London.
- Schuler, M.  
1970 Ethnic Slave Rebellions in the Caribbean and the Guianas. *Journal of Social History* 3(4):374-385.
- Schwartz, K. and J. Mount  
2006 Integrating Spatial Statistics into Archaeological Data Modeling. In *GIS and Archaeological Site Location Modeling*, edited by M. Mehrer and K. Wescott, pp. 167. Taylor & Francis, Baton Rouge.
- Scott, D., L. Babits and C. Haecker (editors)  
2007 *Fields of Conflict: Battlefield Archaeology from the Roman Empire to the Korean War*. Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport.
- Scott, J.  
1996 Criss-Crossing Empires: Ships, Sailors and Resistance in the Lesser Antilles in the Eighteenth Century. In *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*, edited by R. Paquette and S. Engerman, pp. 128-146. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Sewell, W.  
2005 *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Shields, R.  
1997 Spatial Stress and Resistance: Social Meanings of Spatialization. In *Space and Social Theory: Interpreting Modernity and Postmodernity*, edited by G. Benko and U. Strohmayer, pp. 186-292. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- Singer, G.  
1996 *St. John: Off the Beaten Track*. Sombrero Publishing Company, St. John.
- Singleton, T.



- 2001a An Americanist Perspective on African Archaeology: Toward an Archaeology of the Black Atlantic. In *West Africa During the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by C. DeCorse, pp. 179-184. Leicester University Press, London.
- 2001b Slavery and Spatial Dialectics on Cuban Coffee Plantations. *World Archaeology* 33(1):98-114.
- Snead, J.  
2008 War and Place: Landscape of Conflict and Destruction in Prehistory. *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* 4(1-2):137-157.
- SPC  
1733-1734 Secret Privy Council Correspondence, St. Jan. In *Anderson, Stevens, and Pisko: Private Collection*, St. John.
- Stahl, A. B.  
2001 Historical Process and the Impact of the Atlantic Trade in Banda, Ghana, c. 1800-1920. In *West Africa During the Atlantic Slave Trade*, edited by C. DeCorse, pp. 38-58. Leicester University Press, London.
- Tacon, P.  
2010 Identifying Ancient Sacred Landscapes in Australia: From Physical to Social. In *Contemporary Archaeology in Theory: The New Pragmatism*, edited by R. Preucel and S. Mrozowski, pp. 77-91. Wiley-Blackwell, Oxford.
- Thatt, L. and J. M. Pedersen  
2007 Eighteenth Century Lameshure Bay Estates Virgin Islands National Park, NPS.
- Thomas, J.  
2001 Archaeologies of Place and Landscape. In *Archaeological Theory Today*, edited by I. Hodder. Polity, Cambridge.
- Thomas, T. and B. Devine  
2005 *Island Peak to Coral Reef: A Field Guide to the Plant and Marine Communities of the Virgin Islands*. University of the Virgin Islands.
- Thornton, J. K.  
1991 African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion. *The American Historical Review* 96(4):1101-1113.
- Tilley, C.  
1990 ClaudeLevi-Strauss: Structuralism and Beyond. In *Reading Material Culture*, edited by C. Tilley, pp. 3-81. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Tilly, C.  
1989 Collective Violence in European Perspective. In *Violence in America*, edited by T. R. Gurr, pp. 62-100. vol. 2. 2 vols. Sage Publications, Newberry.  
2003 *The Politics of Collective Violence*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Tilly, C., L. Tilly and R. Tilly  
1975 *The Rebellious Century: 1830-1930*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge.
- Trouillot, M.-R.  
1995 *Silencing the Past: Power and Production of History*. Beacon Press, Boston.
- Tyson, G.  
1984 A History of Land Use on St. John, 1718-1950 (Preliminary Report), edited by V. I. N. Park. The Division of Social Sciences College of the Virgin Islands.  
1986 Report on the Historical Background on Lameshure, Concordia and Mollendal, edited by N. P. Service. Southeast Archaeological Center.
- Unknown  
2008 1733 Slave Insurrection on St. John. vol. 2008. Wikipedia.

- USDA  
1994 Soil Survey of the United States Virgin Islands, edited by U. S. D. o. Agriculture.
- van Dantzig, A.  
1982 Effects of the Atlantic Slave Trade on some West African Societies. In *Forced Migrations*, edited by J. E. Inikori, pp. 187-201. Africana Publishing Company, New York.
- Vandkilde, H.  
2006 Warfare and pre-State Societies: An Introduction. In *Warfare and Society: Archaeological and Social Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by T. Otto, H. Thrane and H. Vandkilde, pp. 105-112. Aarhus University Press, Aarhus.
- Verdery, K.  
1999 *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Verhagen, P.  
2006 Quantifying the Qualified: The Use of Multicriteria Methods and Bayesian Statistics for the Development of Archaeological Predictive Models. In *GIS and Archaeological Site Location Modeling*, edited by M. Mehrer and K. Wescott, pp. 191-216. Taylor & Francis, Baton Rouge.
- Wade, R.  
1964 The Vesey Plot: A Reconsideration. *The Journal of Southern History* 30(2):143-161.
- Wagner-Pacifici, R.  
2005 *The Art of Surrender: Decomposing Sovereignty at Conflict's End* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Wax, D.  
1982 "The Great Risk We Run": The Aftermath of the Slave Rebellion at Stono, South Carolina, 1739-1745. *The Journal of Negro History* 67(2):136-147.
- Weaver, P.  
1990 Tree Diameter Growth Rates in Cinnamon Bay Watershed, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands. *Caribbean Journal of Science* 26(1-2):1-6.
- Westergaard, W.  
1917 *The Danish West Indies 1671-1917: Under Company Rule*. The MacMillan Company, New York.  
1926 Account of the Negro Rebellion on St. Croix, Danish West Indies, 1759. *The Journal of Negro History* 11(1):50-61.  
1938 A St. Croix Map of 1766: With a Note on its Significance in West Indian Plantation Economy. *The Journal of Negro History* 23(2):216-228.
- Wheatley, D.  
1995 Cumulative Viewshed Analysis: a GIS-based method for investigating intervisibility, and in archaeological application. In *Archaeology and Geographic Information Systems: A European Perspective*, edited by G. Lock and Z. Stancic, pp. 171-185. Taylor & Francis, London.
- Wheatley, D. and M. Gillings  
2002 *Spatial Technology and Archaeology*. Taylor and Francis, London.
- Wheaton, T.  
2000 A Phase I Archaeological Survey of Parcels No. 488D, 488E, and 488F, Chocolate Hole, St. John, U.S.V.I. New South Associates.
- Wiessner, P.  
2009 Warfare and Political Complexity in an Egalitarian Society: An Ethnohistorical Example. In *Warfare in Cultural Context*, edited by A. Nielsen and W. Walker, pp. 165-189. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson.

- Wild, K.  
2008      ASMIS edited by V. I. N. Park. National Park Service.
- Wild, K., D. Breit, R. Dailey, D. Frantz, S. Hammerstein, E. Horvath, B. Manzano, R. Reaves and G. Tyson  
1989      Archaeological Investigations Conducted Along Lameshure Road, St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands,  
edited by N. P. Service. Southeast Archaeological Center.
- Wild, K., E. Horvath, D. Potter and A. Repp  
1991      1987-89 Archaeological Investigations Conducted Along the North Shore Road, St. John, U.S.  
Virgin Islands., edited by S. A. Center. National Park Service, Department of the Interior.
- Wild, K. and R. I. Reaves  
1986      Archaeological Investigations Conducted Along the North Shore Road, St. John, U.S. Virgin  
Islands., edited by S. A. Center. National Park Service, Department of the Interior.
- Wild, K. J.  
1988      *A Problematic Approach to Ceramic Dating of Historic Plantations on St. John, U.S. Virgin  
Islands.*, Florida State University.
- Wilkie, L. and P. Farnsworth  
2005      *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition.* University Press of Florida,  
Gainesville.
- Williams-Meyers, A. J.  
1996      Slavery, Rebellion, and Revolution in the Americas: A Historiographical Scenario on the Theses of  
Genovese and Others. *Journal of Black Studies* 26(4):381-400.
- Williams, E.  
1970      *From Columbus to Castro: The History of the Caribbean.* Vintage Books, New York.
- Wright, R., A. Hillary, T. Richards and M. Proskauer  
1976      National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form- Fortsberg, Coral Bay, U.S. Virgin Islands,  
edited by N. P. Service. Department of the Interior.
- Yamin, R. and K. Metheny (editors)  
1996      *Landscape Archaeology.* University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville.
- Yentsch, A.  
1996      Introduction: Close Attention to Place- Landscape Studies by Historical Archaeologists. In  
*Landscape Archaeology*, edited by R. Yamin and K. Metheny, pp. xxiii-xlii. University of Tennessee Press,  
Knoxville.

## **Curriculum Vitae**

NAME OF AUTHOR: Holly Kathryn Norton

PLACE OF BIRTH: Fredricksberg, Virginia

DATE OF BIRTH: September 19, 1978

### **GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:**

Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina

University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina

Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

### **DEGREES AWARDED:**

Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology, 2002, University of South Carolina

Master of Arts in Anthropology, 2009, Syracuse University

### **AWARDS AND HONORS:**

Anthropology Student of the Year, 2002, University of South Carolina

Outstanding Teaching Assistant, 2011, Syracuse University

### **PROFFESIONAL EXPERIENCE:**

Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, 2004-05, Syracuse University

Graduate Assistant, African American Studies, 2005-06, Syracuse University

Teaching Associate, Department of Anthropology, 2006-07, Syracuse University

Teaching Assistant, African American Studies, 2009, Syracuse University

Teaching Assistant, Department of Anthropology, 2009-10, Syracuse University

Adjunct Professor, Sociology and Anthropology, 2010, SUNY Cortland