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By

George F. Tyson

St. Croix, 1993

Funded in part by a grant from  
 The Virgin Islands Humanities Council,  
 Division of State Programs,  
 National Endowment for the Humanities.

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St. Croix, 1953

National Endowment for the Humanities  
Division of State Programs  
The Virgin Islands Humanities Council  
Funded in part by a grant from

ST. GEORGE PLANTATION, U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS  
DURING THE PERIOD OF DANISH RULE (1734-1917)

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The documentation, which relates primarily to the period of Danish rule (1734-1917), is extremely rich. In addition to presenting a nearly complete record of ownership and population size, it sheds considerable light on numerous other aspects of plantation history, including population composition, estate expansion, structures, land use, productivity, profitability and indebtedness.

This historical study summarizes the informational content of the records that have been found and copied. However, it represents only a start, because several critical and time-consuming tasks remain to be undertaken before the work of historical reconstruction can be considered complete. One task involves reconstructing the life history of St. George laborers

ST. GEORGE PLANTATION, ST. CROIX, U.S. VIRGIN ISLANDS  
DURING THE PERIOD OF DANISH RULE (1734-1917)

By

George F. Tyson

I. INTRODUCTION

St. George plantation is located in Prince's Quarter on the Island of St. Croix, United States Virgin Islands. In Spring 1992 the Board of Directors of the St. George Village Botanical Garden asked the author to undertake archival research in Copenhagen, Washington D.C. and St. Croix for the purpose of locating and copying primary source documentation necessary for reconstructing the history of St. George plantation during the period of Danish rule (1734-1917). The research was carried out in the Summer of 1992. A total of four weeks was spent examining and copying archival material found in the Danish Rigsarkivet and the U.S. National Archives. Another week was spent researching material in the St. Croix Recorder of Deeds office and the Whim Museum library.

From the large body of records examined, 87 documents, totaling over 200 pages were copied and a complete transcription was made of the material relating to St. George in the Danish land tax records. All of this reproduced documentation, which is listed in Appendix 1, has been deposited at the St. George Village Botanical Garden library, where it can be consulted by interested researchers. Additional research at the Danish Royal Library, the Danish National Museum, the Danish National Maritime Museum and on St. Croix unearthed copies of six historic maps depicting St. George, as well as several paintings and photographs depicting the plantation and its owners. Copies of these graphic materials have been incorporated into this study.

The documentation, which relates primarily to the period of Danish rule (1735-1917), is extremely rich. In addition to presenting a nearly complete record of ownership and population size, it sheds considerable light on numerous other aspects of plantation history, including population composition, estate expansion, structures, land use, productivity, profitability and indebtedness.

This historical study summarizes the informational content of the records that have been found and copied. However, it represents only a start, because several critical and time-consuming tasks remain to be undertaken before the work of historical reconstruction can be considered complete. One task involves reconstructing the life history of St. George laborers

using the voluminous census data that have already been collected. Another is preparing a full history of the plantation's debt, using documentation that was too vast to be copied during the research period. A further task is collection of information from local informants using oral history techniques.

Finally, research work should be done on the entire plantation complex for which the settlement site at the St. George Village Garden served as the industrial and residential center. During the period of Danish rule St. George, like most other Crucian plantations, was progressively enlarged by annexation of adjoining plantation grounds. The property originated on tract No. 27 Prince's Quarter, a standard 150-acre (147 U.S. acres) plantation ground laid out by Danish surveyors in 1736. This property was named "St. George" by owner John Heyliger Pz. around 1771. To this parent tract was added in the 1770s an adjacent 150-acre plantation ground, Prince's Quarter No. 22, that Heyliger named "Sally's Fancy." In 1815 another neighboring property, Hope estate, comprising 150 acres, was added by Peter Oxholm. Finally, in 1852 three other properties (Mint, Mountain and Waldberggaard), totaling 300 acres, were annexed by Frederik Oxholm. These six plantation grounds, aggregating 750 acres, were worked as a unit until 1948. The research conducted and reported on herein focused solely on St. George and on Sally's Fancy after its annexation to St. George. It did not extend to Sally's Fancy before its annexation to St. George, nor to Hope, Mint, Mountain or Waldberggaard before or after their annexation. Each of these properties had an independent history prior to, and to some extent after, their annexation. The history of St. George should incorporate the history of all other properties with which it was so long affiliated.

## II. OWNERSHIP AND DEVELOPMENT HISTORY, 1735-1807

The records consulted make possible the reconstruction of a complete chain of title for St. George during the period 1735-1963. Prior to 1917 the main source of information was the St. Croix land tax records (Rigsarkivet 1741-1755; 1758-1915; NARS 1751-1915). Supplementary information was found in records at the St. Croix Recorder of Deeds Office; in the U. S. National Archives (NARS 1875); and in a reliable printed source (Hatchett 1859). Title transfers after 1917 were traced from the Prince's Quarter Register Book at the St. Croix Recorder of Deeds Office (1931-). It should be noted that the information found in these primary sources differs in many respects from that presented in Christensen (1974) and Kesler (1980). Table 1 summarizes the ownership history of St. George. It is followed by a discussion of each owner and their contribution to plantation development.

Table 1: St. George Plantation Owners, 1737-1963

| Period     | Owner   |
|------------|---|
| 1737-1748  | Joachim Melchoir Magens   |
| 1748-1749  | Peter de Windt  |
| 1749-1753  | Mogens Andersen & Lorentz Grundel                                     |
| 1753-1757  | Mathias Taarling & widow  |
| 1757-1769  | William McDougall   |
| 1769-1786  | John Heyliger Pz.   |
| 1786-1807  | John Heyliger Pz. heirs   |
| 1807-1815  | Royal Danish Debt Commission  |
| 1815-1827  | Peter L. Oxholm   |
| 1827-1852  | Royal Danish Debt Commission (rented to Frederik and Waldemar Oxholm) |
| 1852-1863  | Frederik Oxholm   |
| 1863-1873  | Henry C. Ratcliffe and George Walker                                  |
| 1873-1897  | Alexander Fleming   |
| 1897-1921? | George Latimer  |
| 1921?-1931 | West India Sugar Company  |
| 1931-1940  | George Latimer  |
| 1940-1951  | John Albert Fleming Sr.   |
| 1951-1963  | Various - unnamed investment group                                    |
| 1963-      | Lakeside Manufacturing Company  |

Sources: Rigsarkivet 1734-1750, 1741-1755, 1758-1915, 1759; NARS 1751-1915; St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1931-1963.

The first owner was Jochim Melchoir Magens, who acquired Tract No. 27 Prince's Quarter on January 5, 1737. Magens, a Dane who owned a plantation on St. John (later known as "Rustenburg"), purchased the property, along with Tract No. 26, for purely speculative purposes, for he made no attempt to settle or to develop it during 12 years of ownership (Rigsarkivet 1741-1755). On June 11, 1748 he sold the No. 27 Prince's Quarter to Peter de Windt. On October 27, 1749 de Windt sold the still uninhabited property to Mogens Andersen, who transferred half title to Lorentz Grundel. Shortly after this transaction Andersen sold off his sugar plantation at No. 5 West End Quarter (later known as Campo Rico), which he had been farming since 1745, and moved his 28 slaves onto his new acquisition for the purpose of clearing the forest cover and planting sugarcane (Rigsarkivet 1741-1755; 1759).

A highly reliable 1750 map (Figure 1) shows Andersen's settlement site as consisting of a dwelling house and five small slave houses. The 1750 settlement appears to have been situated at the same location as today's Botanical Garden ruins. It was



Figure 1. Map of St. George, 1750.

surrounded by sugarcane fields, but lacked a sugar mill. Andersen probably had his cane ground and processed at a neighboring estate, either Plessens to the east, Hogensborg to the west or Diamond to the south. However, by 1754, as shown by Beck's map of St. Croix (Figure 2), an animal mill had been constructed on the property, which by that date had been acquired by another Dane, Mathias Taarling.

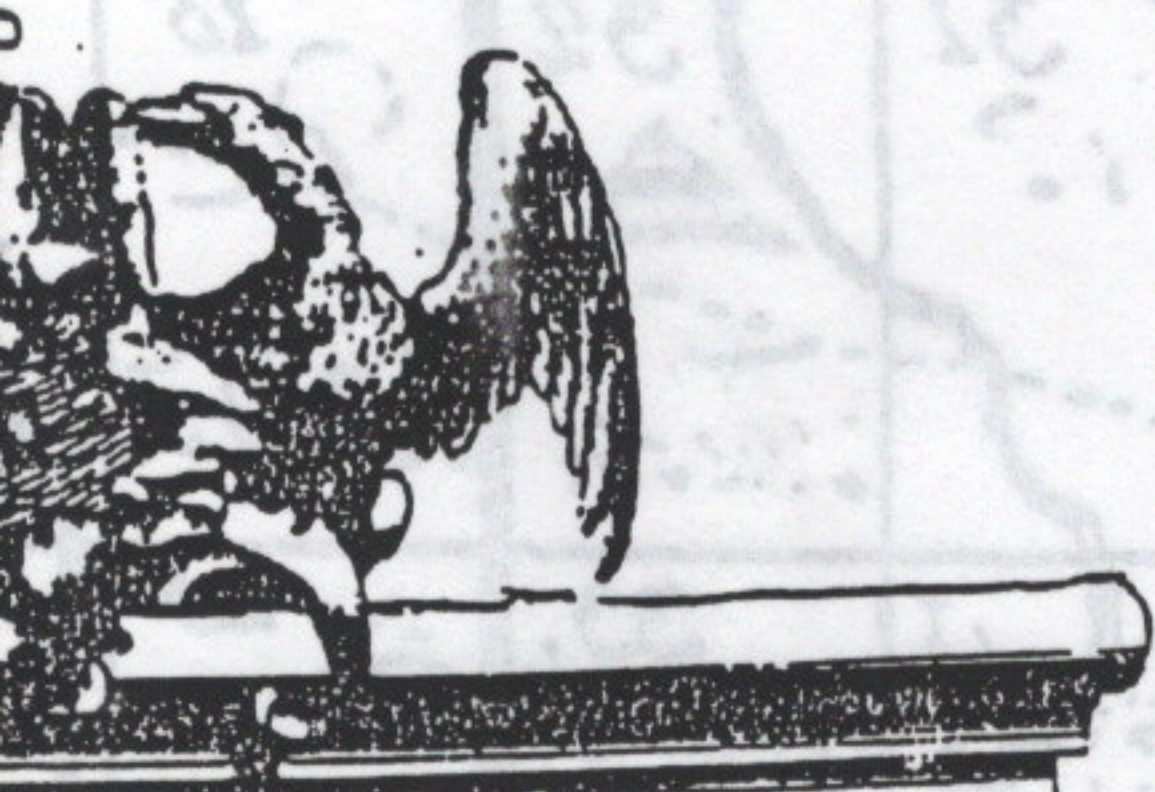
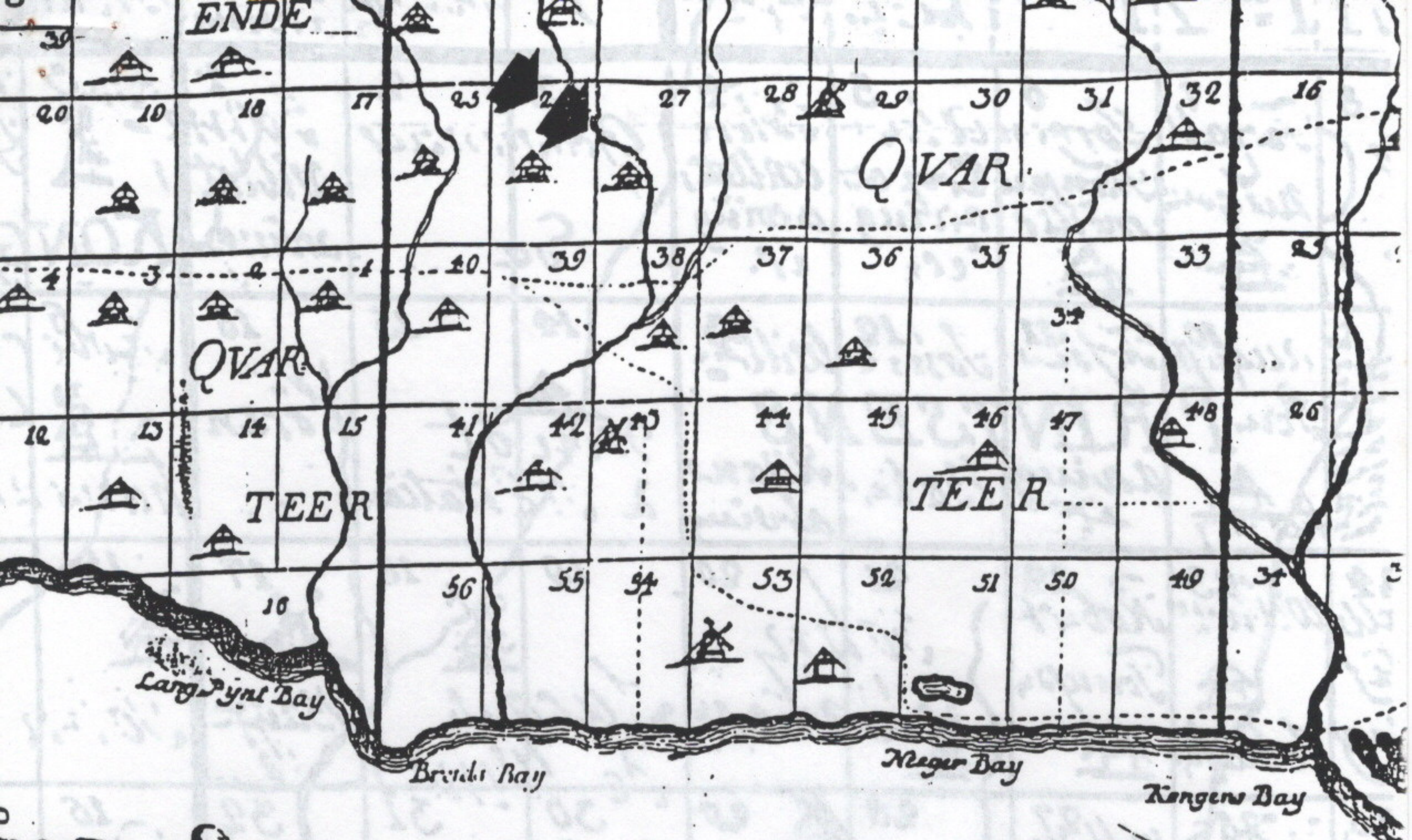
Taarling, a former St. Thomas merchant, who had recently taken up residence in Christiansted, purchased Tract 27 in August 1753. During the next four years he invested heavily in his new plantation. Among other things, he significantly augmented the slave labor force, which almost tripled from 26 to 73 workers. Most likely he also constructed the sugar mill.

When Taarling died in 1757 his widow and heir, Neltia von Beverhoudt, married Captain William McDougall. The couple took up residence on the plantation with their children, who included Maria, Johannes and Peter Taarling, the underage offspring of Neltia and Mathias Taarling. As long as they were underage, the Taarling children were recorded in the tax records as part of McDougall's household. When they came of age, as Maria did in 1760, and her brothers in 1766, they were recorded under their own name, together with the domestic slaves belonging to them.

Neltia von Beverhoudt died in December 1767 and ownership of the plantation, valued at 69,935 Danish Rigsdalers or 80,000 Piastres (local West Indian currency, hereafter abbreviated Ps.), was divided between her husband and children following payment of Ps. 55,022 in outstanding debts (Rigsarkivet 1768). In 1769 William McDougall, on behalf of the heirs, sold Prince's Quarter No. 27 to John Heyliger Pz. The Taarling children then moved to Anna's Hope plantation in Company Quarter, while Captain McDougall used his share of the proceeds to purchase Morning Star plantation in Queen's Quarter. A picture of William McDougall, while owner of Morning Star, hangs in the West India exhibit at the Danish National Museum.

A 1767 map of St. Croix (Figure 3) showed No. 27 Prince's Quarte under McDougall's ownership. Sugar cane was still being ground by an animal mill. An inventory of the unnamed plantation at Prince's Quarter No. 27, prepared in 1768 as part of Neltia McDougall's probate, showed that its entire 150 acres had been completely cleared and that 100 acres were planted in sugar cane. The inventory listed the assets shown in Table 2.





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**FLOOB MOLTKE**  
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 bet Bregentved,

*Sueker Plantaerern*

| <i>Planters Namen</i> | <i>Planters Nummer</i> | <i>Planters Quartier</i> | <i>Planters Quartier</i> |
|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. ... Payer.         | 1                      | 37. ...                  | 1. ...                   |
| 2. ...                | 2                      | 38. ...                  | 2. ...                   |
| 3. ...                | 3                      | 39. ...                  | 3. ...                   |
| 4. ...                | 4                      | 40. ...                  | 4. ...                   |
| 5. ...                | 5                      | 41. ...                  | 5. ...                   |
| 6. ...                | 6                      | 42. ...                  | 6. ...                   |
| 7. ...                | 7                      | 43. ...                  | 7. ...                   |
| 8. ...                | 8                      | 44. ...                  | 8. ...                   |
| 9. ...                | 9                      | 45. ...                  | 9. ...                   |
| 10. ...               | 10                     | 46. ...                  | 10. ...                  |
| 11. ...               | 11                     | 47. ...                  | 11. ...                  |
| 12. ...               | 12                     | 48. ...                  | 12. ...                  |
| 13. John Smith        | 13                     | 49. ...                  | 13. ...                  |
| 14. ...               | 14                     | 50. ...                  | 14. ...                  |

Figure 2. Map of St. George, 1754.

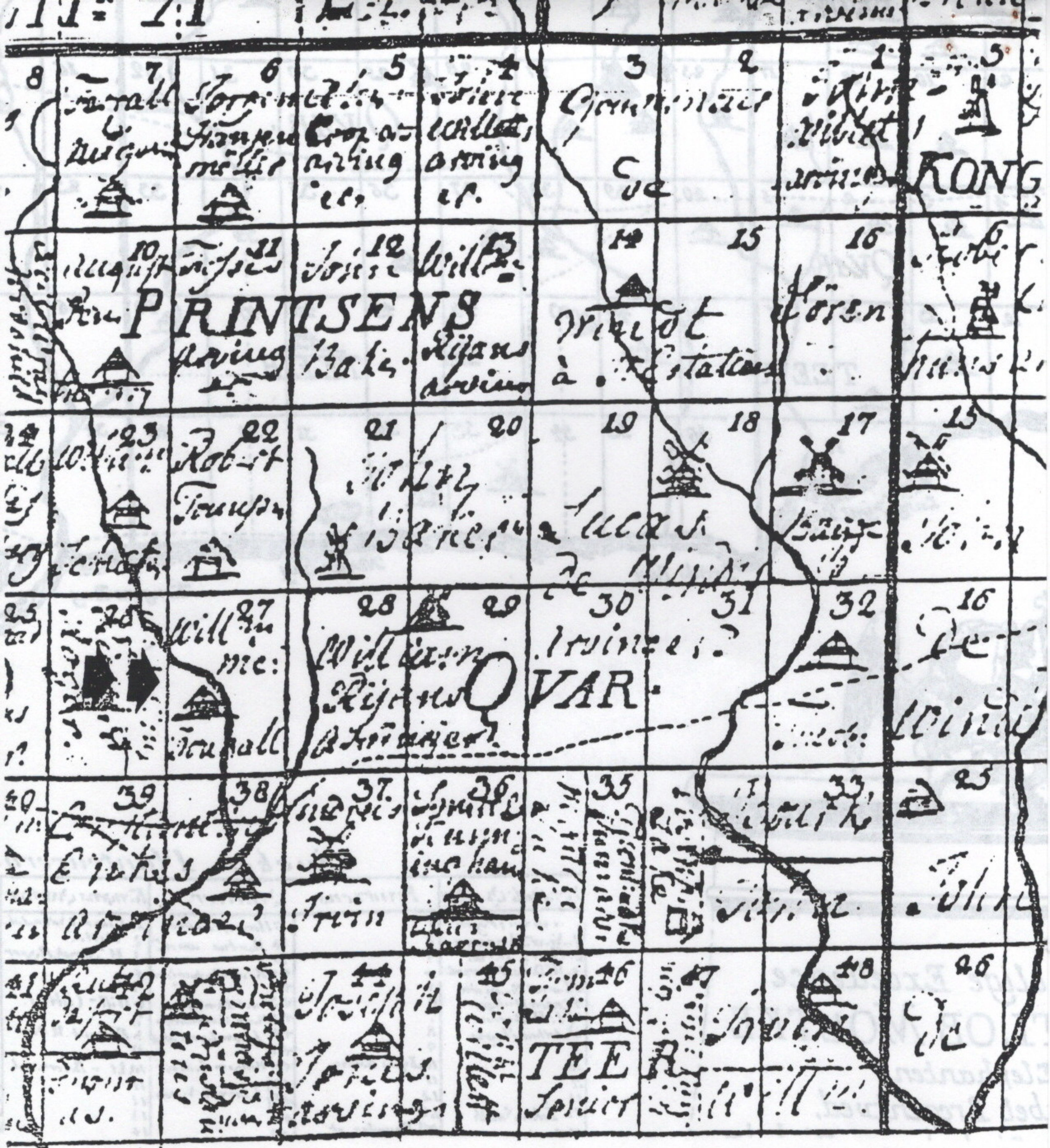


Figure 3. Map of St. George, 1767

Table 2: Inventory of unnamed plantation, Prince's Quarter 27, in 1768.

| Item                                    | Danish rigsdalers |
|---|-------------------|
| 1 plantation, in bush                   | 20,000            |
| Clearing 150 acres                      | 6,000             |
| Holing & planting 150 acres             | 3,000             |
| 100 acres in sugar cane                 | 5,000             |
| Dwelling House                          | 3,000             |
| Pigeon and small house                  | 400               |
| Stable                                  | 150               |
| Old mule stable                         | 60                |
| Magoss House                            | 60                |
| Boiling House with 8 kettles            | 5,000             |
| Curing House                            | 800               |
| Still House & barrels                   | 120               |
| Overseer's House                        | 1400              |
| Kitchen                                 | 200               |
| Animal Mill                             | 800               |
| One 300 gallon still with barrel & hose | 1200              |
| One 150 gallon still with barrel & hose | 500               |
| 20 negro [slave] houses                 | 200               |
| 14 mules                                | 1540              |
| 4 horses                                | 200               |
| 7 bulls                                 | 350               |
| 4 cows                                  | 140               |
| 1 calf                                  | 15                |
| 2 carts                                 | 200               |
| 26 men slaves                           | 4850              |
| 21 women slaves                         | 4370              |
| 10 children slaves                      | 890               |
| 19 house slaves                         | 5520              |
| 1 golden box and case                   | 500               |
| furniture and other accessories         | 600               |
| <b>Total:</b>                           | <b>69,935</b>     |

Source: Rigsarkivet 1768

The new owner, John Heyliger Pz., was a member of a prominent Dutch family based in St. Eustatius. Born in 1736, he was the son of Peter Heyliger Sr., founding father of the large Heyliger clan on St. Croix. In 1775 he married Sarah Kortright, daughter of Lawrence Kortright and Hannah Aspinall of New York, and sister-in-law of James Monroe, third President of the United States. John and Sarah Heyliger (see Figure 4) produced a single child, Sarah, born on St. Croix in 1776, the year that John Heyliger sent a letter to the new Continental Congress supporting

Danish  
rigsbatalers

Item

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Figure 4. John and Sarah Heyliger  
(Courtesy: Whim Museum)

the American Revolution (Tyson 1977: 27-28). The family lived on St. George in 1777, but departed St. Croix the following year to take up residence in Copenhagen. They took with them four domestic slaves: Jamco, Joe, Bet and Clarisa (Rigsarkivet 1772-1818). Later the family moved to New York, where young Sarah married John Durant. John Durant was the son of Thomas Durant. Thomas Durant was an American merchant who traded with St. Croix and at one time owned Mount Washington plantation in Northside Quarter A (Hoff 1980; Rigsarkivet 1915).

During the first decade of his tenure, John Heyliger Pz. made several notable improvements to his plantation, which he named "St. George." He doubled its size by annexing an adjacent 150-acre plantation, known as "Sally's Fancy", at Prince's Quarter 22. He more than doubled the size of the slave labor force, which grew from 60 in 1769 to 158 in 1780. He added several new structures, including a windmill, a slave hospital and 24 new slave houses. In 1778 the improved property, which was producing some 250 hogsheads of sugar per annum on 240 acres of caneland, was appraised at Ps. 189,400 (Rigsarkivet 1778), which was roughly twice as high as a decade earlier. To effect these improvements Heyliger borrowed Ps. 110,630 from the Dutch firm of Ter Borch on July 23, 1771 (Rigsarkivet 1774-1786).

When John Heyliger died in 1786, his estate reverted to his wife and daughter. During their tenure, the plantation debt mounted steadily. In 1798 Madame Sarah Heyliger, accompanied by Sarah and Thomas Durant, arrived in St. Croix and moved onto St. George. They had undoubtedly come in order to reverse their fortunes by taking control of plantation management from resident agents. Madame Heyliger died in 1799. Her grave is probably among those found in the St. George cemetery. John and Sarah Durant continued to live on St. George through 1804, during which time Sarah gave birth to three children (Rigsarkivet 1772-1818).

By August 1807 the Heyliger heirs had amassed a debt on St. George and Sally's Fancy amounting to over Ps. 240,000. The creditors forced a sale at public auction, and the property was acquired for Ps. 35,000 by the Danish Debt Liquidation Commission, the primary creditor. Shortly after the British occupation of St. Croix began in December 1807, the British Prize Agents, Thomas Cochrane Johnstone and James Craven, tried to seize as prizes St. George and all other plantations belonging to the Debt Liquidation Commission. The newly appointed British Governor Harcourt overruled this action, and appointed a new Commission in May 1808. The disgruntled Prize Agents took the issue to court in England; but the court upheld General Harcourt (Rigsarkivet 1808-1809).

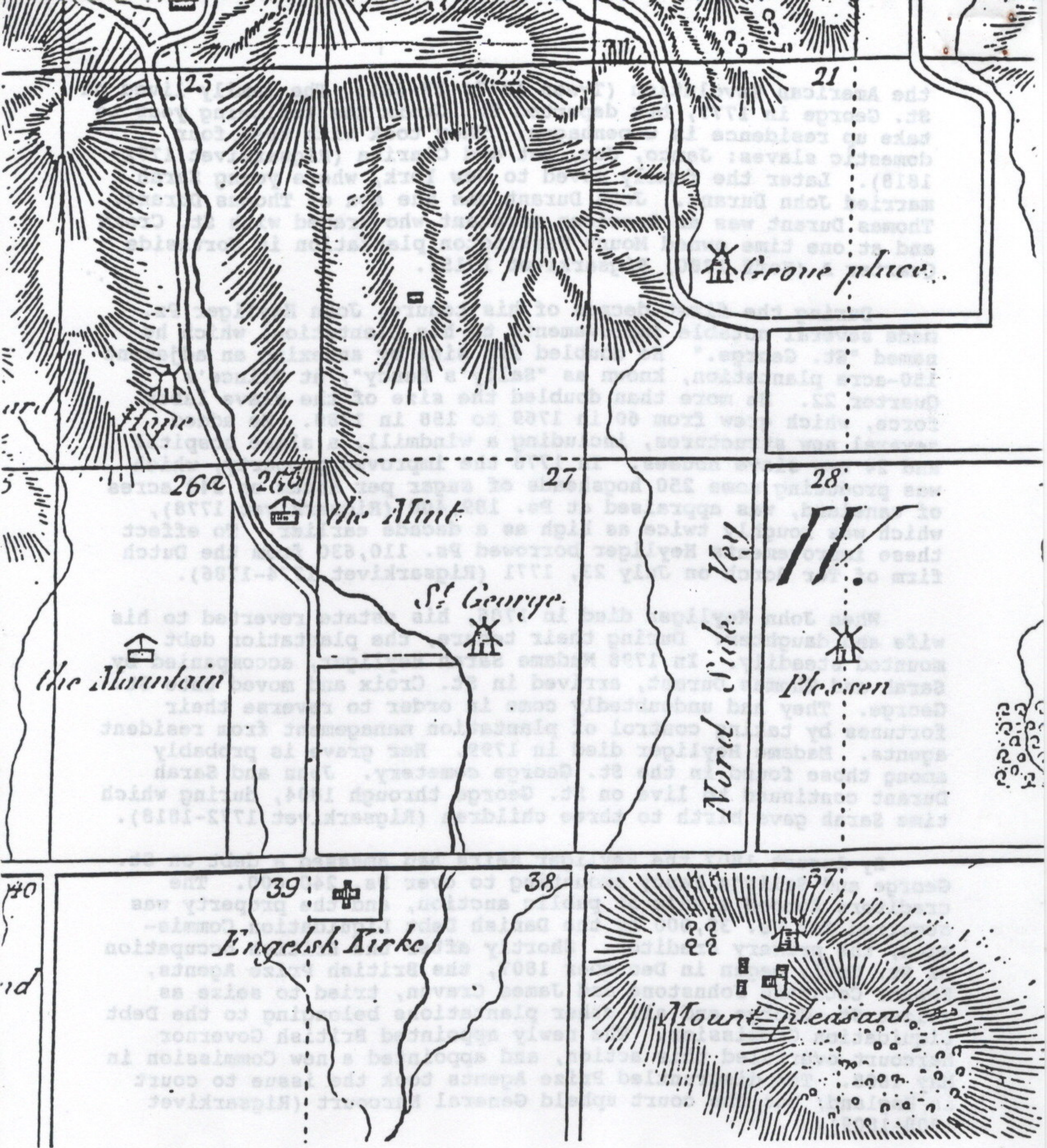


Figure 5. Map of St. George, 1794.

The Debt Liquidation Commission retained title to St. George until the British occupation ended in 1815, at which point the plantation was transferred to Peter L. Oxholm, then Governor General of the Danish West Indies (Figure 6). The circumstances of this transaction are unclear. According to the land tax records (Rigsarkivet 1758-1915), Oxholm took possession of the property in 1815. And according to the records of the Debt Liquidation Commission, on December 15, 1815 his obligation to the Commission for St. George and Sally's Fancy amounted to Ps. 201,500 (Rigsarkivet 1805-1826). However, according to other official sources (Hatchett 1859; NARS 1875), Oxholm purchased St. George and Sally's Fancy on November 20, 1820 for Ps. 200,000.

Peter Oxholm retained ownership until his death in 1827. At that time his debt to the Debt Liquidation Commission stood at nearly Ps. 300,000, an increase of fifty percent since he took possession of the property. In 1829, following the completion of Oxholm's probate, the Commission purchased St. George at public auction for a mere Ps. 1,000 (Hatchett 1859; NARS 1875). The Commission then rented the property to Oxholm's sons, Waldemar and Frederik, at an extremely low rate. This sweetheart deal, which prompted complaints in both the islands and in Denmark, allegedly derived from the strong connections the Oxholm family had with the Danish King and Governor Peter von Scholten (Dahlerup 1908-1912: 12,48).

The Oxholm brothers rented St. George and Sally's Fancy until September 1852, when Frederik von Oxholm purchased the property, along with the adjoining Hope, Mint, Mountain and Waldberggaard plantations, for \$74,650.00 (Hatchett 1859; NARS 1875). Frederik retained title until July 20, 1863, when St. George and its associated estates were sold to Henry C. Ratcliffe and George Walker.

During its long proprietorship the Oxholm family made several major improvements to the property. They increased the operational size of the holding from 300 acres to 750 acres, through amalgamation with estates Hope (in 1815), Mountain, Mint and Waldberggaard (in 1852). Such property enlargements were typical of the period. The Oxholm brothers also sought to cut costs and increase productivity through technological innovations. Between 1827 and 1831 they built a water mill for crushing cane together with a reservoir and aqueduct with 39 arches that ran for 6000 ft. along the Mint Gut. In 1846 they added a steam engine and then made related improvements to the sugar factory. Between 1827 and 1836 they built 33 stone cottages and 4 stone row houses to accommodate a slave labor force that their father had increased from 65 to 187 between 1822 and 1824.

Despite these improvements, the value of St. George depreciated dramatically during the period of Oxholm ownership. In 1863 Ratcliffe and Walker purchased the property in equal shares for

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Peter Oxholm died in 1875. At the time his debt was nearly Pa. 300,000, the possession of the plantation for a mere fraction for a mere commission then received by Frederik, at an which prompted complaints allegedly derived from the Danish side with the Danish records (Rigsarkivet 1755-1915: 12, 48).

The Oxholm first purchased the plantation in 1815. In 1853, when St. George and Sally's Vancy were purchased the plantation and the plantation was divided into two parts. The plantation was divided into two parts in 1853, when St. George and Sally's Vancy were purchased the plantation and the plantation was divided into two parts.

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Figure 6. Peter Lotharius Oxholm





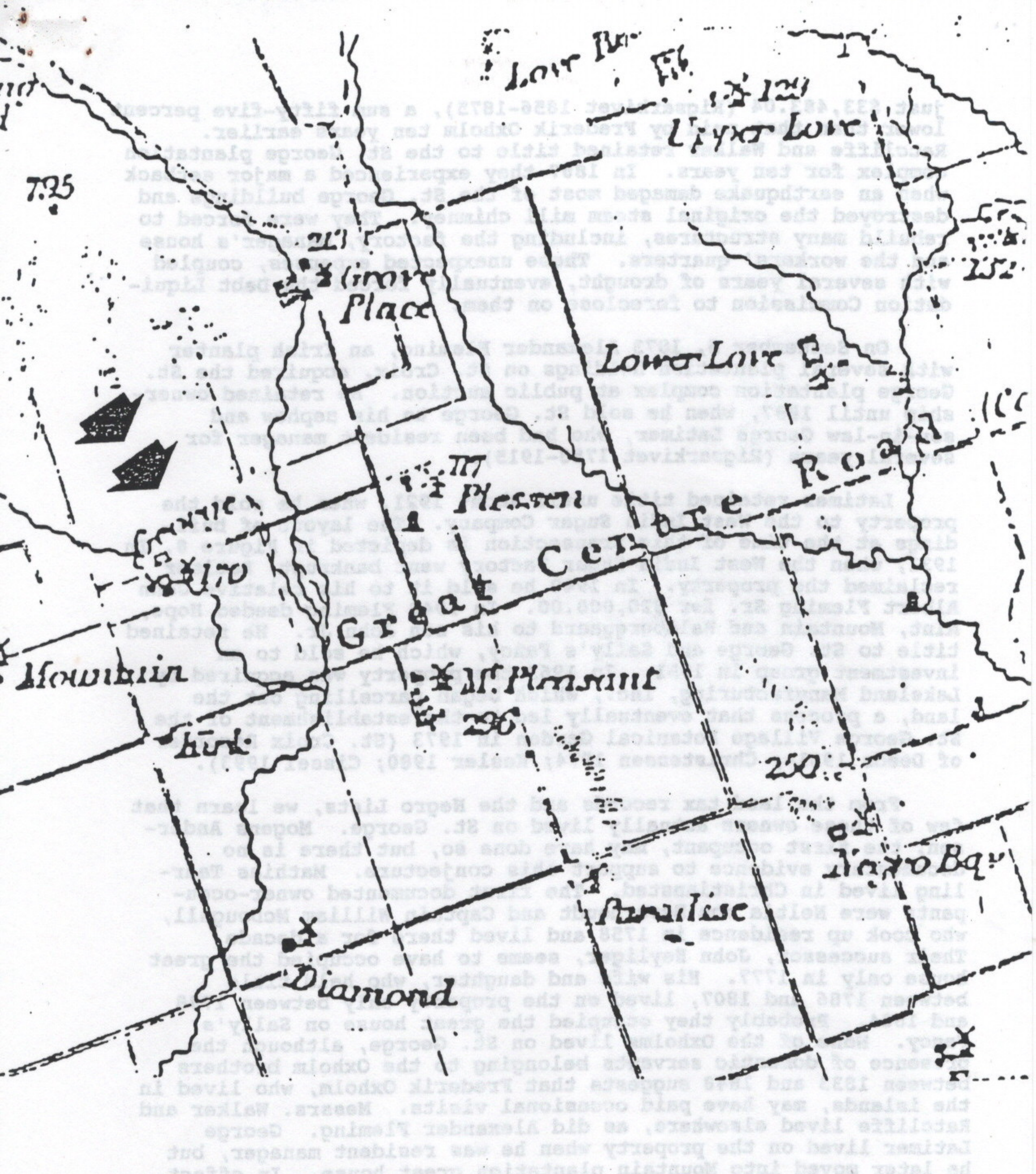


Figure 7. Map of St. George, 1856.

just \$33,483.04 (Rigsarkivet 1856-1875), a sum fifty-five percent lower than that paid by Frederik Oxholm ten years earlier. Ratcliffe and Walker retained title to the St. George plantation complex for ten years. In 1867 they experienced a major setback when an earthquake damaged most of the St. George buildings and destroyed the original steam mill chimney. They were forced to rebuild many structures, including the factory, manager's house and the workers' quarters. These unexpected expenses, coupled with several years of drought, eventually forced the Debt Liquidation Commission to foreclose on them.

On September 5, 1873 Alexander Fleming, an Irish planter with several plantation holdings on St. Croix, acquired the St. George plantation complex at public auction. He retained ownership until 1897, when he sold St. George to his nephew and son-in-law George Latimer, who had been resident manager for several years (Rigsarkivet 1758-1915).

Latimer retained title until about 1921, when he sold the property to the West India Sugar Company. The layout of buildings at the time of this transaction is depicted in Figure 8. In 1931, when the West India Sugar Factory went bankrupt, Latimer reclaimed the property. In 1940 he sold it to his relative John Albert Fleming Sr. for \$20,000.00. In 1948 Fleming deeded Hope, Mint, Mountain and Waldberggaard to his son John Jr. He retained title to St. George and Sally's Fancy, which he sold to an investment group in 1951. In 1963 the property was acquired by Lakeland Manufacturing, Inc., which began parcelling out the land, a process that eventually led to the establishment of the St. George Village Botanical Garden in 1973 (St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1931-; Christensen 1974; Kesler 1980; Cissel 1993).

From the land tax records and the Negro Lists, we learn that few of these owners actually lived on St. George. Mogens Andersen, the first occupant, may have done so, but there is no documentary evidence to support this conjecture. Mathias Taarling lived in Christiansted. The first documented owner-occupants were Neltia von Beverhoudt and Captain William McDougall, who took up residence in 1758 and lived there for a decade. Their successor, John Heyliger, seems to have occupied the great house only in 1777. His wife and daughter, who held title between 1786 and 1807, lived on the property only between 1798 and 1804. Probably they occupied the great house on Sally's Fancy. None of the Oxholms lived on St. George, although the presence of domestic servants belonging to the Oxholm brothers between 1833 and 1848 suggests that Frederik Oxholm, who lived in the islands, may have paid occasional visits. Messrs. Walker and Ratcliffe lived elsewhere, as did Alexander Fleming. George Latimer lived on the property when he was resident manager, but he later moved into Mountain plantation great house. In effect, therefore, St. George was owned by a series of absentee proprietors, who relied on resident managers to administer the plantation on their behalf.

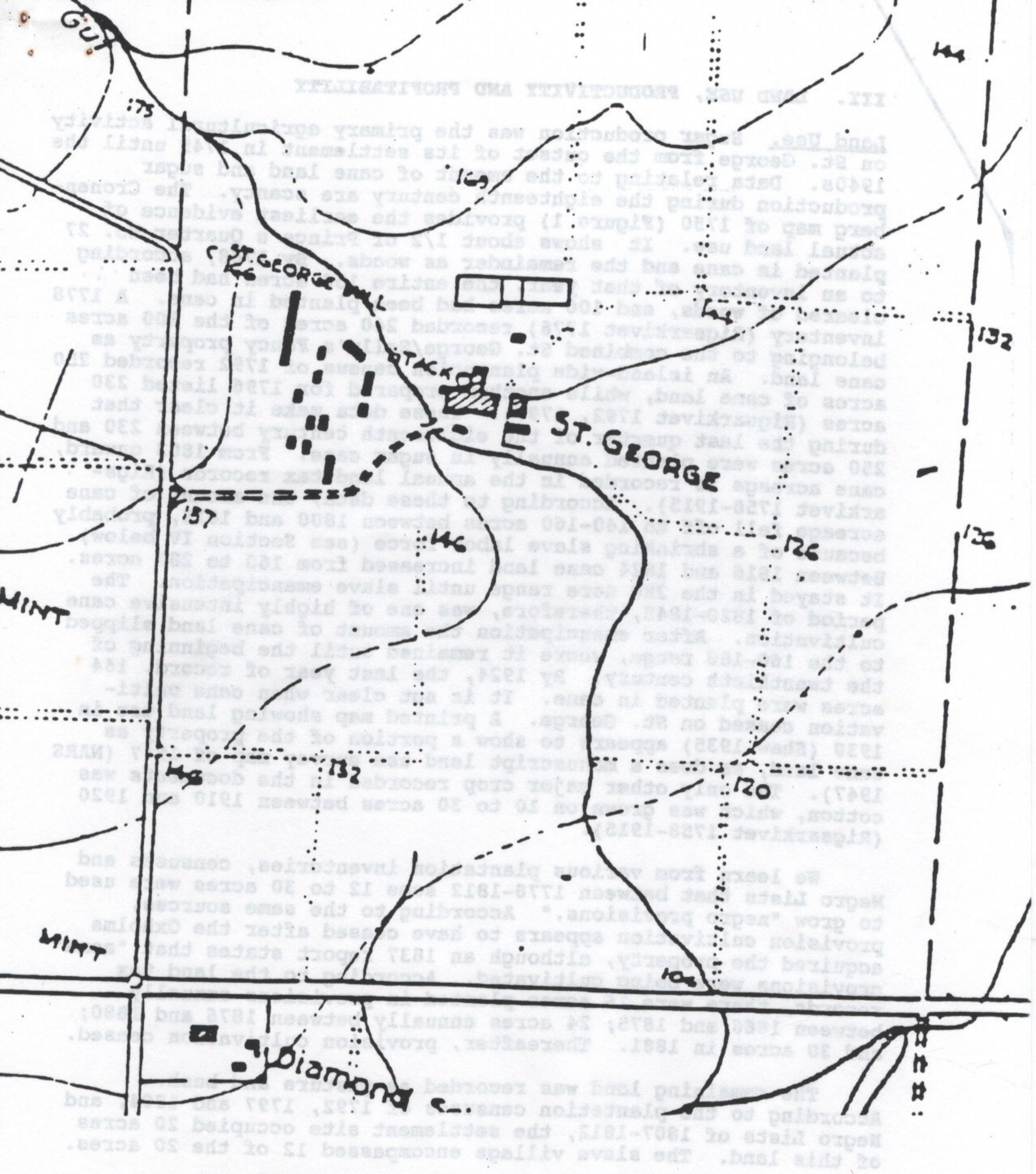


Figure 8. Map of St. George, 1919.

### III. LAND USE, PRODUCTIVITY AND PROFITABILITY

Land Use. Sugar production was the primary agricultural activity on St. George from the outset of its settlement in 1749 until the 1940s. Data relating to the amount of cane land and sugar production during the eighteenth century are scanty. The Cronenberg map of 1750 (Figure 1) provides the earliest evidence of actual land use. It shows about 1/2 of Prince's Quarter No. 27 planted in cane and the remainder as woods. By 1768, according to an inventory of that year, the entire 150 acres had been cleared of woods, and 100 acres had been planted in cane. A 1778 inventory (Rigsarkivet 1778) recorded 240 acres of the 300 acres belonging to the combined St. George/Sally's Fancy property as cane land. An island-wide plantation census of 1792 recorded 250 acres of cane land, while another prepared for 1796 listed 230 acres (Rigsarkivet 1792, 1797). These data make it clear that during the last quarter of the eighteenth century between 230 and 250 acres were planted annually in sugar cane. From 1803 onward, cane acreage is recorded in the annual land tax records (Rigsarkivet 1758-1915). According to these data, the amount of cane acreage fell off to 140-160 acres between 1800 and 1815, probably because of a shrinking slave labor force (see Section IV below). Between 1816 and 1824 cane land increased from 160 to 280 acres. It stayed in the 280 acre range until slave emancipation. The period of 1820-1848, therefore, was one of highly intensive cane cultivation. After emancipation the amount of cane land slipped to the 160-180 range, where it remained until the beginning of the twentieth century. By 1924, the last year of record, 164 acres were planted in cane. It is not clear when cane cultivation ceased on St. George. A printed map showing land use in 1930 (Shaw 1935) appears to show a portion of the property as cane land, as does a manuscript land use survey map of 1947 (NARS 1947). The only other major crop recorded in the documents was cotton, which was grown on 10 to 30 acres between 1910 and 1920 (Rigsarkivet 1758-1915).

We learn from various plantation inventories, censuses and Negro Lists that between 1778-1812 some 12 to 30 acres were used to grow "negro provisions." According to the same sources, provision cultivation appears to have ceased after the Oxholms acquired the property, although an 1837 report states that "some" provisions were being cultivated. According to the land tax records, there were 16 acres planted in provisions annually between 1866 and 1875; 24 acres annually between 1876 and 1880; and 30 acres in 1881. Thereafter, provision cultivation ceased.

The remaining land was recorded as pasture and bush. According to the plantation censuses of 1792, 1797 and 1804, and Negro Lists of 1807-1812, the settlement site occupied 20 acres of this land. The slave village encompassed 12 of the 20 acres.

Pasture land was grazed by herds of livestock, whose numbers in selected years are listed in Table 3. The data indicate that until the end of the nineteenth century livestock was maintained on the plantation primarily to support sugar production operations and, to a lesser degree, as a source of food. By 1890 herds of cattle and sheep were being raised as a supplementary source of income for the owners.

Table 3: Livestock on St. George, Selected Years 1768-1899

| Year | Cattle | Mules | Sheep/Goats | Pigs |
|------|--------|-------|-------------|------|
| 1768 | 12     | 14    | 0           | 0    |
| 1778 | 20     | 36    | 0           | 0    |
| 1792 | 30     | 22    | 9           | 0    |
| 1825 | 46     | 19    | 48          | 0    |
| 1841 | 63     | 37    | 0           | 0    |
| 1865 | 41     | 30    | 40          | 90   |
| 1880 | 30     | 29    | 8           | 83   |
| 1899 | 82     | 29    | 84          | 30   |

Sources: Rigsarkivet 1758-1915, 1768, 1778, 1792, 1826-1838

Productivity. Table 4 records annual sugar production on St. George for various years between 1778 and 1815, when the data are fragmentary, and in aggregates for the entire period 1816-1902 when the data is complete. The aggregated data are broken down by year in Tables 5 and 6. The production data show relatively high yields per acre throughout the entire period. However, yields on St. George/Sally's Fancy/Hope diminished notably during the Oxholm family's tenure (1815-1863) even though 450 acres were added to the property. Yields per acre increased during the last two decades of the nineteenth century for reasons that are unclear.

Table 4. St. George Annual Sugar Production, 1778-1902

| Year(s)   | Average Hogsheads (@ 1500 lbs) | Average Acres of Caneland | Average Hogsheads per Acre | Number of Estates |
|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1778      | c. 250                         | 240                       | c. 1.00                    | 1                 |
| 1786-1796 | 173                            | c. 250                    | c. .69                     | 2                 |
| 1808      | 157                            | 170                       | .92                        | 2                 |
| 1812-1814 | 177                            | 190                       | .93                        | 2                 |
| 1815-1846 | 156                            | 235                       | .66                        | 3                 |
| 1862-1889 | 221                            | 320                       | .69                        | 6                 |
| 1880-1889 | 244                            | 299                       | .81                        | 6                 |
| 1890-1902 | 263                            | 305                       | .86                        | 7                 |

Sources: Rigsarkivet 1778, 1792, 1796, 1806-1826; Hatchett 1859; Quin 1892, 1905.

Table 5. St. George Sugar Production, 1815-1861.  
(Includes St. George, Sally's Fancy and Hope; Mint and Mountain are included here from 1847, and Waldberggaard from 1841)

| Year | Pounds  | Year | Pounds  |
|------|---------|------|---------|
| 1815 | 131,616 | 1839 | 291,811 |
| 1816 | 326,390 | 1840 | 220,995 |
| 1817 | 81,045  | 1841 | 220,995 |
| 1818 | 293,708 | 1842 | 167,121 |
| 1819 | 391,745 | 1843 | 247,005 |
| 1820 | 172,210 | 1844 | 268,218 |
| 1821 | 248,271 | 1845 | 404,213 |
| 1822 | 241,371 | 1846 | 338,820 |
| 1823 | 112,716 | 1847 | 985,752 |
| 1824 | 130,005 | 1848 | 890,064 |
| 1825 | 58,348  | 1849 | -       |
| 1826 | 298,793 | 1850 | 432,779 |
| 1827 | 219,232 | 1851 | -       |
| 1828 | 256,203 | 1852 | -       |
| 1829 | 268,064 | 1853 | 324,819 |
| 1830 | 358,009 | 1854 | 271,287 |
| 1831 | 300,626 | 1855 | 458,847 |
| 1832 | 222,093 | 1856 | 358,515 |
| 1833 | 220,383 | 1857 | 119,709 |
| 1834 | 267,245 | 1858 | 296,505 |
| 1835 | 190,152 | 1859 | 196,884 |
| 1836 | 253,215 | 1860 | 245,916 |
| 1837 | 189,828 | 1861 | 417,540 |
| 1838 | 297,324 |      |         |

Source: Hatchett 1862

Table 6. St. George Sugar Production, 1862-1902.<sup>a,c</sup>

| Year              | Acres Taxed As Under Sugar Cultivation | Sugar Produced (Pounds) | Sugar Not Exported (Pounds) |
|-------------------|--|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1862              | 338                                    | 339,264                 |                             |
| 1863              | 330                                    | 250,886                 |                             |
| 1864              | 322                                    | 185,841                 | 432                         |
| 1865              | 338                                    | 266,430                 | 14,871                      |
| 1866              | 338                                    | 374,099                 | 2,039                       |
| 1867              | 346                                    | 427,659                 | 9,132                       |
| 1868              | 346                                    | 306,372                 | 4,971                       |
| 1869              | 346                                    | 274,581                 |                             |
| 1870              | 346                                    | 375,571                 | 3,124                       |
| 1871              | 346                                    | 498,480                 | 12,957                      |
| 1872              | 346                                    | 220,384                 | 2,602                       |
| 1873              | 346                                    | 354,432                 | 6,681                       |
| 1874              | 326                                    | 174,059                 | 800                         |
| 1875              | 316                                    | 478,531                 | 100                         |
| 1876              | 306                                    | 228,456                 |                             |
| 1877              | 306                                    | 276,800                 | 15,440                      |
| 1878              | 306                                    | 468,252                 |                             |
| 1879 <sup>b</sup> | 326                                    | 120,160                 | 37,612                      |
| 1880              | 294                                    | 240,246                 |                             |
| 1881              | 300                                    | 206,500                 | 2,344                       |
| 1882              | 300                                    | 271,000                 | 2,575                       |
| 1883              | 300                                    | 345,492                 |                             |
| 1884              | 300                                    | 433,287                 |                             |
| 1885              | 300                                    | 441,747                 |                             |
| 1886              | 300                                    | 414,576                 |                             |
| 1887              | 300                                    | 444,096                 |                             |
| 1888              | 300                                    | 357,183                 |                             |
| 1889              | 300                                    | 505,647                 | 90                          |
| 1890              | 300                                    | 537,561                 | 13,184                      |
| 1891              | 300                                    | 121,266                 |                             |
| 1892              | 300                                    | 547,767                 |                             |
| 1893              | 310                                    | 330,084                 |                             |
| 1894              | 310                                    | 566,271                 |                             |
| 1895              | 310                                    | 358,218                 |                             |
| 1896              | 310                                    | 395,784                 |                             |
| 1897              | 310                                    | 432,414                 |                             |
| 1898              | 310                                    | 391,141                 | 30,682                      |
| 1899              | 300                                    | 359,205                 |                             |
| 1900              | 300                                    | 207,853                 | 21,166                      |
| 1901              | 300                                    | 508,410                 | 22,235                      |
| 1902              | 300                                    | 379,855                 | 45,766                      |

<sup>a</sup> Includes a total of 860 acres: Estates St. George, 150 acres; Sally's Fancy, 150 acres; Hope, 150 acres; Waldbergaard, 150 acres; Mint, 50 acres; Mountain, 100 acres; Bog of Allan (1893-1898), 110 acres.

<sup>b</sup> The crop of Bog of Allan for 1879 is included here.

<sup>c</sup> Source: Quin 1892, 1905.

Profitability. Accounts of annual income and expenditures were found for 9 years between 1808 and 1862. As shown by the data presented in Table 7, net profits were reported for all but one year. Between 1808 and 1815, annual profits averaged about Ps. 8158, representing an annual return of 4 percent on investment (the plantation was valued at Ps. 200,000 at this time), which was a normal rate of return on a business enterprise in Europe or the West Indies at the time. By mid-19th century, profit margins had fallen appreciably. Indeed, between 1859 and 1862 the plantation was barely breaking even.

Table 7. Profit/Loss for St. George,  
Selected Years 1808-1862

| Year        | Profit/Loss  |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1808        | + Ps. 8,654  |
| 1812        | + Ps. 17,018 |
| 1813        | + Ps. 3,798  |
| 1814        | + Ps. 10,066 |
| 1815 to May | + Ps. 2,300  |
| 1858        | + \$ 1,270   |
| 1859        | + \$ 419     |
| 1861        | - \$ 651     |
| 1862        | + \$ 152     |

Sources: Rigsarkivet 1805-1826; 1856-1870

#### IV. PLANTATION LABORERS

The establishment, expansion and success of sugar production on St. George, as with other Crucian plantations, was made possible through the blood, sweat and toil extracted from a large, resident labor force through various systems of involuntary servitude that persisted into the last quarter of the 19th century. The first plantation laborers were 23 slaves whom Mogens Andersen settled on St. George in 1749. Slavery remained the mode of labor extraction until 1848, when an island-wide slave rebellion compelled Danish authorities to terminate the system and replace it with a contract labor law that established a new form of bondage based on fixed wages.

The slave community started by Mogens Andersen grew slowly for a few years, and then increased sharply from 26 to 73 between 1754 and 1757. It hovered between 70 and 80 persons until the 1770s when, under John Heyliger, it again doubled to a range of 140-160 persons. This latter increase was clearly related to the



addition of Sally's Fancy, which doubled the plantation's acreage. After peaking at 158 persons in 1780-1782, the slave population stabilized at a range of 125-150 persons for the next thirty years.

Prior to 1792 the land tax records classified these workers in aggregate, according to their work capabilities. The slaves were divided into four categories: "capables," "manquerons," children aged 12-16, and children under 12. Capables were those who could perform the primary labor requirements of the plantation. Manquerons were adult slaves unsuited to plantation work because of age or infirmity. The two groups of children were assigned lesser tasks suited to their relative strength. The "negro or slave lists" on which the land tax records were based, as well as the two 18th century plantation inventories of St. George, identify each individual slave by name and sex, making it possible to determine the sexual composition of the slave community. The inventories also list the occupations of some slaves.

More detailed information about the composition of the St. George slave population is provided by three island-wide plantation censuses compiled in 1792, 1797 and 1804. Comparative data from these censuses are presented in Table 8. The most informative source about the organization of the slave labor force is a report prepared in June 1837, which lists each of the 169 St. George slaves by name, age, sex, occupation and physical condition. It showed a total of 63 field workers (31 men, 32 women); 15 male tradesmen; 10 female domestics; 7 boys and 6 girls, ages 13-24, in the "crook" (animal husbandry) gang; 9 males and 11 females, ages 7-11, in the "grass" (gathering grass) gang; 16 children under 7 years of age, not working; and 32 invalids (7 male and 25 female). The male tradesmen consisted of 6 carpenters, 5 masons, 2 coopers and 2 blacksmiths. The female domestics consisted of one sick nurse, 5 house servants, one cook and 3 washers. Most of the invalids were assigned menial tasks, such as cutting grass, tending children, cutting cane tops, and serving as watchmen in the fields.

Between 1809 and 1822 the slave population declined by more than 50 percent, falling from 127 to 65 persons, due primarily to excessively high mortality rates. As this was generally a period of high output and considerable profitability, the conclusion seems inescapable that the Debt Liquidation Commission and General Oxholm were more concerned with extracting maximum returns from the property than with the welfare of St. George's slave inhabitants.

Table 8. St. George Plantation Data, 1792, 1796, 1804

|                          | Year |      |      |
|--------------------------|------|------|------|
|                          | 1792 | 1796 | 1804 |
| Total Slaves             | 138  | 143  | 137  |
| Working Slaves           |      |      |      |
| Field Slaves             | 78   | 107  | 99   |
| Adult male               | 29   | 37   | NA   |
| Adult female             | 26   | 51   | NA   |
| Boys 7-16                | 13   | 9    | NA   |
| Girls 7-16               | 10   | 10   | NA   |
| House Slaves             | 4    | 3    | 10   |
| Males                    | 1    | 1    |      |
| Females                  | 3    | 2    |      |
| Tradesmen (all male)     | 11   | 14   | 12   |
| Non-workers              |      |      |      |
| Children under 7 Years   | 11   | 19   | 16   |
| Boys                     | 5    | 10   | NA   |
| Girls                    | 6    | 9    | NA   |
| Aged or Invalids         | 33   | NA   | NA   |
| Runaways                 | 1    | NA   | NA   |
| Males                    | NA   | 71   | 77   |
| Females                  | NA   | 72   | 60   |
| Creoles                  | 39   | 49   | 66   |
| Africans                 | 99   | 94   | 77   |
| Lawfully Married couples | 4    | 0    | NA   |
| Commonlaw couples        | 31   | NA   | NA   |
| Land use (acres)         |      |      |      |
| Cane land                | 250  | 230  | 194  |
| Provisions               | 10   | 30   | 14   |
| Pasture                  | 20   | 40   | 80   |
| Bush/Unused              | 0    | 0    | 0    |
| Slave village            | 20   | NA   | 12   |

Sources: Rigsarkivet 1792; 1797; 1804  
 NA = Not Available

Between 1822 and 1824 the number of slaves suddenly jumped from 65 to 187 persons. This dramatic increase occurred because Oxholm moved the Hope slaves into the St. George village during these years. The slave population hovered between 160 and 180 persons until 1841 when it began to decline. By 1847 it consisted of 145 slaves belonging to the Crown and 3 domestics belonging to Frederik and Waldemar Oxholm.

The numerous plantation inventories and Negro Lists which identify St. George slaves by name make it possible to reconstruct the life histories of nearly all the working people who lived on the plantation between 1768 and 1846. The biographical information is unfortunately limited by gaps in the data and by the narrow interests of Danish authorities and the Crucian plantocracy. Nonetheless, it provides us with a glimpse into the lives of individuals otherwise ignored by the historical record. Of the hundreds of slaves who lived and labored on St. George between 1768 and 1847, the lives of seven are recounted below. Their rudimentary life stories represent a compelling and essential counterbalance to those of the plantocrats.

**Titus.** Titus was an African, born in either 1779 or 1800, the year he arrived on St. George. He may have been born aboard the slave ship that carried his unknown mother to St. Croix. Between 1780 and 1790 he was listed among the children under 12. During this period he was baptized into the Catholic Church. Between 1791 and 1798 he was listed among the 12 to 16 year-olds. He was kept in this age bracket beyond his actual age perhaps because his owner paid less tax on slaves under 17. In 1800 he was classified as an adult field slave. In 1818 he was working as a field slave on Hope plantation, which had been annexed to St. George in 1815. By 1825 he was back on St. George, but was listed as an "invalid" with no value. In 1837 he was classified as a "palsied" watchman, a position usually assigned to old and/or infirmed males of reliable character. In 1846, on the eve of emancipation, he was still listed as invalid. It is not known if he lived to become free in July 1848.

**Luca.** Luca was an African introduced as an adult to St. George in 1779 and immediately placed in the cane fields. She may have been the mother of Titus. She labored in the fields until at least 1815. In 1807 and 1815 she was valued at Ps. 400, which was average for women fieldhands. By 1825 she had become an invalid with zero worth to the plantation. In 1835 she was listed as incapable of work, but with a "good" disposition. She must have died in 1836, for she does not appear in the plantation censuses of 1837, 1841 or 1846.

**Netta.** Netta was a creole who first appeared on St. George as a child in 1779, but she was not born on the estate. Between 1779 and 1790 she was classified as a child under 12, so it can be assumed that she was born about 1778. In 1794 she was classified

as a field slave and she continued working in the fields until the 1820s. In 1808 her value was Ps. 450. In 1815 it had fallen to Ps. 300. By 1825 her worth to the plantation was only Ps. 50. In 1835 she was an invalid whose character was rated just "so-so." In 1837 she was cutting cane tops, but her character was "indifferent" and she had to be sent to the fort for refusing to work. This corrective measure appears to have had the desired effect because in 1841 her character was rated "good" and she was working in the small gang. In 1843 she died of an unspecified "disability." Netta had one child during her long lifetime on St. George.

**Jupiter.** Jupiter was a creole, born on St. George on May 22, 1779. He was baptized into the Lutheran Church. Like most young slaves, he probably started working at the age of six and was assigned more demanding jobs as he grew older and stronger. In 1796, at the age of 17, he was classified as a field slave. Before then he was classified only as a child or adolescent (age 12-16). Between 1800 and 1807 Jupiter was promoted to carpenter. In the inventories of 1807 and 1815 he was listed as a carpenter with the relatively high value of Ps. 1000. In 1825 his occupation was not recorded, but his value had decreased to Ps. 400, clearly indicating that at age 46 he was past his working prime. In 1835 he was working as a carpenter, but by 1837 he had become a watchman. In 1841 and 1846 he was classified merely as an invalid. It is not known if he lived to become free in July 1848.

**Cornelius.** Cornelius was a creole, born on St. George in 1769. In 1778 he was classified as a child with the relatively low value of Ps. 250. By 1785 he was identified as being "capable," but his work was unspecified. In 1794 he was working as a field slave. Two years later he had been promoted to the position of mason. In 1807 he was still a mason, but was "ruptured" and had the relatively low value of Ps. 400. He still worked as a mason in 1825 with a value of Ps. 500. By 1829 his worth had fallen to Ps. 250. In 1835 he was working as a domestic. By 1837 he had become an invalid and had been sent back into the fields, where he worked in the small gang. In 1838 he died of "old age and strong drink."

**Mina.** Mina was an African who was purchased and brought onto St. George in 1775. In 1778 she was classified as an adult field slave with the average value of Ps. 400. In 1790 she was baptized into the Lutheran Church. Mina labored in the canefields at least until 1812 and probably longer. In 1812 she was one of the most valuable women on St. George, with a worth of Ps. 700. She is not recorded in the inventory of 1815, possibly because she had been moved to Hope estate. She was back on St. George in 1825, but her value had shrunk to zero. In 1835 she was working with the children on the small gang and continued to do so until

1846. It is not known if she lived to become free in July 1848. During her lifetime on St. George she, like many African women, bore no children.

Eve. Eve was a creole born on St. George in 1790. In 1795 she was baptized into the Lutheran Church. By 1808 she had become a field slave with the relatively high value of Ps. 600. She continued working in the fields into the 1820s. Her working capacity remained high until at least 1825, when she was still valued at Ps. 600. By 1829 her worth had decreased to Ps. 250. Her occupation in 1829 was not recorded, but in 1835 she was working as a domestic and her character was rated as "good." In 1837 she was employed as a washer, but she was "unhealthy" and deemed "not efficient." By 1841 she had been returned to the canefields as a member of the "Big Gang." Five years later she was again working as a house servant. Most likely she lived to become a free woman in July 1848. She bore no children during her life on St. George.

After emancipation population figures on St. George were recorded annually in the matriculs between 1852 and 1902, and in island-wide censuses compiled in 1850, 1855, 1857, 1860, 1870, 1880 and 1911. The figures in these two data sets do not agree. The census registers, which must be considered more reliable, consistently enumerate more residents than do the matriculs. Despite their discrepancies, however, the two data sets agree with respect to broad trends. Initially emancipation had no negative impact on the size of the resident St. George labor force. It held steady until about 1855, then increased to about 180 persons in 1860. Following a sharp drop in 1864-1865, the size of the work force reached a highly irregular plateau that fluctuated between 75 and 125 resident laborers for the next 65 years. The Danish census of 1911 recorded 95 workers living on St. George. A population distribution map based on the U.S. census of 1930 showed 100 residents (Shaw 1935). An informal census of rural inhabitants on St. Croix estimated that there were 30 families living on St. George in 1942 (NARS 1942). Table 9 presents data relative to the size and composition of the St. George labor force between 1850 and 1911.

Table 9. Size and Composition of St. George Labor Force, Selected Years, 1850-1911.

| Year | Total | Males | Females | Immigrants | Cruzans | Africans | Europeans | US |
|------|-------|-------|---------|------------|---------|----------|-----------|----|
| 1850 | 144   | 72    | 72      | 0          | 139     | 2        | 3         | 0  |
| 1855 | 147   | 78    | 69      | 0          | 146     | 0        | 1         | 0  |
| 1857 | 156   | 73    | 83      | 0          | 151     | 2        | 3         | 0  |
| 1860 | 183   | 88    | 95      | 0          | 180     | 1        | 3         | 0  |
| 1870 | 156   | 78    | 79      | 5          | 149     | 0        | 2         | 0  |
| 1880 | 140   | 70    | 70      | 20         | 118     | 0        | 1         | 1  |
| 1911 | 95    | 56    | 39      | 21         | 74      | 0        | 0         | 0  |

Source: Rigsarkivet 1835-1911

## V. PLANTATION STRUCTURES

Detailed information relating to the history of past and present plantation structures on St. George can be culled from 13 inventories and 15 reports prepared between 1768 and 1923. The inventories, which list all major structures along with other capital assets, including slaves, were prepared primarily in conjunction with mortgages, probates or title transfers. The reports, which are usually more detailed, were prepared by inspection teams for the Debt Liquidation Commission. While relatively numerous, these documents are highly uneven in their coverage. The years 1825-1849 are intensively treated by 18 documents, several of which contain considerable detail. By contrast there are only two 18th century inventories which cover just 10 years (1768-1778). The period between 1850 and 1923 is covered in only five documents, four of which deal with the five years between 1868 and 1873.

The inventories and reports are not always complete. Occasionally some minor structures are omitted. Thus, a lime kiln listed in inventories of 1826 and 1831 is not cited in the inventory of 1829. A new rainwater cistern built at the manager's house in 1839 is not mentioned in any subsequent inventory, even though it is standing today. As in this case some structures drop out of the inventories, never to reappear. Sometimes this means they are too insignificant to record. Sometimes it means that they have become ruinate or have been recycled into other structures. Sometimes they disappear; but are later replaced with a new structure, as in the case of the overseer's house, which existed in 1768, was not recorded between 1778 and 1815, and is again cited in the 1825 inventory.

Table 10 summarizes the information about plantation buildings presented in the major inventories and reports dating between 1768 and 1923. What follows is a brief history of each structure identified in those records and discussed in other sources. It should be emphasized that the account is incomplete. We know that St. George buildings were damaged and destroyed by hurricanes in 1899, 1916 and 1928, as well as the labor insurrection of 1878, but any alterations caused by these events are not reflected in the discussion that follows.

### A. The Great House complex

A. 1. A great house existed on St. George in 1768. In 1778 it stood on a stone foundation and measured 42 ft x 38 ft. Presumably it was built of wood, which was typical of this early period. It is not clear whether this was the same building shown on the 1750 map, but given its small size, most likely it was. The great house is cited in all of the records through 1849. However, by 1836-1837, if not earlier, it was uninhabited.



Reports of 1841-1846 state that it was in bad repair. It is not cited in the 1869 inventory or any subsequent document. It is likely that it was destroyed by the earthquake of 1867 which caused considerable damage to St. George structures. In 1778 there was also a dwelling house with associated service buildings on Sally's Fancy. This complex was used until 1815, when it seems to have been abandoned in favor of the dwelling house on Hope estate. The St. George great house is cited on all inventories through 1849. It is unclear if the dwelling house listed in the 1849 inventory was at Hope or St. George.

A. 2. Service Buildings. Several service buildings, in various combinations, were located close by the great house. These included:

Kitchen. A kitchen with oven is first cited in the 1778 inventory; but it must have existed in 1768. It is cited in the next inventories of 1807-1808. However, between 1808 and 1825 this old kitchen seems to have been dismantled and a new one built into the stable. The new kitchen is not cited in inventories after 1831, undoubtedly because it fell into disuse along with the great house. A new kitchen built next to the manager's house in 1836-1837 may have used some material from this structure.

Stable. A stable existed in 1768. In 1778 it had stalls for eight horses. In 1807-1808 there was a stable and sick house. It is not clear if this was a new building, or whether the sick house had been added to the old stable. The 1807 stable continued in use through 1831. It is not mentioned in the reports of 1836-1837. The report of 1838 lists a "new stable," which is recorded through 1849. It was severely damaged in the earthquake of 1867 and not rebuilt. However, a new stable had been built by 1923. Thus, several different stables seem to have existed on St. George between 1768 and 1923. Until 1831 the stable was in close proximity to the great house. After that date its location cannot be determined from the historical records.

Sickhouse. This building was originally part of a large 66 ft x 16 ft structure built between 1769 and 1778. This structure, which also contained storerooms, seems to have disappeared by 1807; although it may have been the "sick house"/horse stable listed in that year. The sick house adjoined the horse stable between 1807 and 1815. No sick house is cited in the 1825-1826 inventories. However, a new hospital, with store and cart rooms below it, was built between 1826 and 1829. It is cited in the records through 1849. It was severely damaged by the earthquake of 1867 and never rebuilt.

Privy and pigeon house (the two are frequently associated in eighteenth century inventories). This structure is cited only in the inventories of 1768 and 1778, but it must have been among the "outhouses" cited in the inventories between 1807 and 1831.



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Small house. One other structure may have been associated with the old great house. This was a "new" 2-room house in the garden built in 1837. It is possible that the "garden" was associated with the uninhabited great house. But it also may have been associated with the manager's house, which had become the de facto great house by that date. This small building is not recorded in any document after 1837.

## B. The Industrial Complex

Sugar Mills. St. George was one of the few estates on St. Croix to have four different mills for crushing cut sugar cane: an animal mill, a windmill, a water mill and a steam mill.

Animal Mill. An animal mill was built on St. George between 1750 and 1754. It is cited in all the inventories between 1768 and 1826, after which it is no longer recorded.

Windmill. A windmill was constructed between 1769 and 1778. It is recorded on every inventory through 1849, when it was described as being not in good order. It was probably damaged in the 1867 earthquake and subsequently dismantled, for it reappears in no subsequent document.

Water Mill. A water mill for grinding sugar cane was constructed between 1829 and 1831. It was built into a "watermill house" and had associated reservoirs and an aqueduct running for 6000 ft with 39 arches. This mill, a rare type on St. Croix, functioned for only a decade or so. The drought of the early 1840s impeded its operation, and by 1846 it was described as being not in good order. By 1849 it was not valuable enough to be listed in an inventory. It was severely damaged by the 1867 earthquake and fell into ruin.

Steam Mill. A steam mill was erected at the north end of the boiling house in 1846. It was damaged in the 1867 earthquake and rebuilt by 1869. It is not clear what sort of chimney went with this mill. The only reference comes from the 1869 inventory, which lists an "iron sugar mill complete under wooden shed."

The Sugar Works. The sugar factory consisted of a boiling house, curing house and still house, which are first recorded in the 1768 inventory, although they must have existed by 1754, when an animal mill had been built on St. George. The 1778 inventory cites these as two buildings: the boiling house, measuring 60 ft x 23 ft with 9 boiling kettles (two sets), and the curing and still house measuring 80 ft x 24 ft. It is possible that these two structures were joined in the form of a T-shaped or L-shaped building, both of which were typical of the period. The works are mentioned in every inventory between 1768-1923, though clearly they underwent considerable alteration in both size and

arrangement during this long period. In PRICELESS HERITAGE (pp. 23-24), Ben Kesler claims that St. George had 3 sets of works. However, it appears that St. George probably had just one, and certainly no more than two sets. The set of works constructed in the 1750s probably functioned until 1867. It was severely damaged by the earthquake of 1867 and rebuilt with new measurements: the boiling house measuring 113 ft x 24 ft, and the curing/still house measuring 74 ft x 41ft. Clearly the original buildings were modified by post-earthquake reconstruction, but it is unlikely that a new set of works was built on a new location.

Associated with the sugar works were the following specialized buildings:

Magoss House, which existed in 1768 and 1778. This structure seems to have fallen into ruin, for it does not appear in the records of 1807-1831. A new magoss house is listed in the 1836 report. It is recorded through 1849. By 1869 it had disappeared, probably because it had been severely damaged by the earthquake of 1867. No new magoss house was erected.

Blacksmith shop, which was built in 1826. It is cited in all but one of the records between that date and 1846. It is not cited in 1849, possibly an oversight, because it was severely damaged in the 1867 earthquake. By 1873 the smith shop had been rebuilt and it was still being used in 1923.

Cooper shop. This structure is recorded in the 1778 inventory; but is not mentioned in any subsequent document.

Overseer's House. An overseer's house and associated kitchen, located close by the works, existed in 1768. By 1778 it had disappeared or been converted into the cooper's shop. No overseer's house is recorded on the property between 1778 and 1815. By 1825 one had again been erected near the works. By 1836 it had an associated kitchen and possibly a rainwater cistern. It was damaged by the 1867 earthquake, but had been rebuilt, with 2 rooms and a kitchen, by 1869. The same house was occupied in 1923.

Manager's House. The manager's house dates between 1815 when it is not listed, and 1825 when it is first recorded. By 1829, if not earlier, it also had associated "outhouses". An associated rainwater cistern was constructed in 1839. In 1869 it had a flat roof and a cistern, having been repaired after the 1867 earthquake. It was still inhabited in 1923.

### C. Workers' Village

A slave village came into existence on St. George in 1749 and is recorded in every inventory through 1923. Between 1768 and 1807 the number of houses grew from 20 to 56. These were probably of wattle and daub construction, with thatched roofs. In 1825-1826 there were just 36 structures (four of them still under construction) even though there were 32 more slaves than in 1807-1808. This suggests that larger stone houses had replaced most of the old wattle and daub structures. In 1829 there were 17 stone houses with four more under construction and just two old thatch houses. Construction of stone housing continued until 1836, when there were 33 large stone houses and four new row houses. In 1849 there were still 33 stone houses with a total of 79 rooms. Damage caused by the earthquake of 1867 led to new construction. By 1869, 20 of the old stone houses had been rebuilt and there were 10 new frame houses. Thirty-seven kitchens were attached to these houses. Between 1873 and 1923 the village was further modified, so that in the latter year there were 13 houses with 57 rooms.

It is not clear if the post-1807 village was on the same location as the original village. Frequently the shift from wattle and daub to stone was accompanied by a relocation, usually not far, of the village site.

### D. Other structures

Animal Pens. Pens for holding estate livestock essential to the sugar production process were first recorded in the inventory of 1778, which listed 1 mule pen and 1 sheep pen. Mule and cattle pens constructed of stone were recorded on every inventory between 1807 and 1829. Between 1829 and 1831 a new set of pens was constructed. In 1836 these were 150 ft in length and had sheds. Pens were recorded in all other inventories between 1836 and 1923.

Lime Kiln. A lime kiln is first recorded in the 1825 inventory, although one probably existed before that date. In 1837 a new "draw lime kiln" was built; but no lime kiln is recorded after that date. Nonetheless, Frances Christensen (1974) remembered one on the property in the early twentieth century at the same location where ruins of one are found today.

Water Mill. A stone well with fan mill and pump is first recorded on the 1807 inventory. This "fan mill" (not to be confused with the water mill for grinding cane) is cited in every document through 1837. The 1836 report stated that it was no longer in use, and it is not listed in any document after 1837.

APPENDIX I

Documents relating to St. George plantation deposited in  
the St. George Village Botanical Garden Library in February 1993.

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- Annual Land and Head Tax returns, 1742-1915
- Annual Return of Estate Laborers 1852-1902
- Annual Return of Livestock & Buildings 1865-1899
- Negro Lists: 1772-1774, 1776, 1777, 1779, 1780, 1784-1787,  
1790-96, 1798-1800, 1807, 1812, 1818
- Slave Schedules: 1808, 1837
- Slave Vaccination List: 1824
- Census Registers: 1835, 1841, 1846, 1850, 1855, 1857, 1860, 1870,  
1880, 1911
- Inventories 1768\*, 1778\*, 1807\*, 1808\*, 1815\*, 1825\*, 1826\*,  
and Reports: 1829(2)\*, 1831\*, 1836, 1837 (June)\*, 1837 (July),  
1837 (Nov.), 1838 (June), 1838 (Dec.), 1839 (April), 1839  
(Aug.), 1841, 1843, 1846 (Feb.), 1846 (Dec.), 1849, 1868, 1869,  
1873, 1923. (\* includes slaves by names)
- Debt Payment Accounts: 1773-1774, 1858-1859
- Operating Accounts: 1808-1809, 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815, 1825,  
1858, 1859, 1861, 1862
- Crop Accounts: 1815-1861, 1862-1889, 1890-1902
- Correspondence: Letters to Royal Loan Commission by Messrs.  
Walker & Radcliffe: July-August 1863, Oct. 1863, 1868, 1869,  
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1830- St. George & Sally's Fancy File. Box 2446, Record Group 55.  
1849 Inventory List Est. St. George & Hope. Box 2427, Record Group 55.  
1869 Inventory taken upon St. George, Sally's Fancy, etc. Box 332, Record Group 55.

- 1873 Appraisalment of Estates St. George & Hope, etc.  
Box 816, Record Group 55.
- 1875 Plantagesalg foregaaede siden 1870 paa St. Croix.  
Box 344, Record Group 55.
- 1916-1924 St. Croix Matriculs. Record Group 55.
- 1942 Estimated Rural Settlement of St. Croix. Record  
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