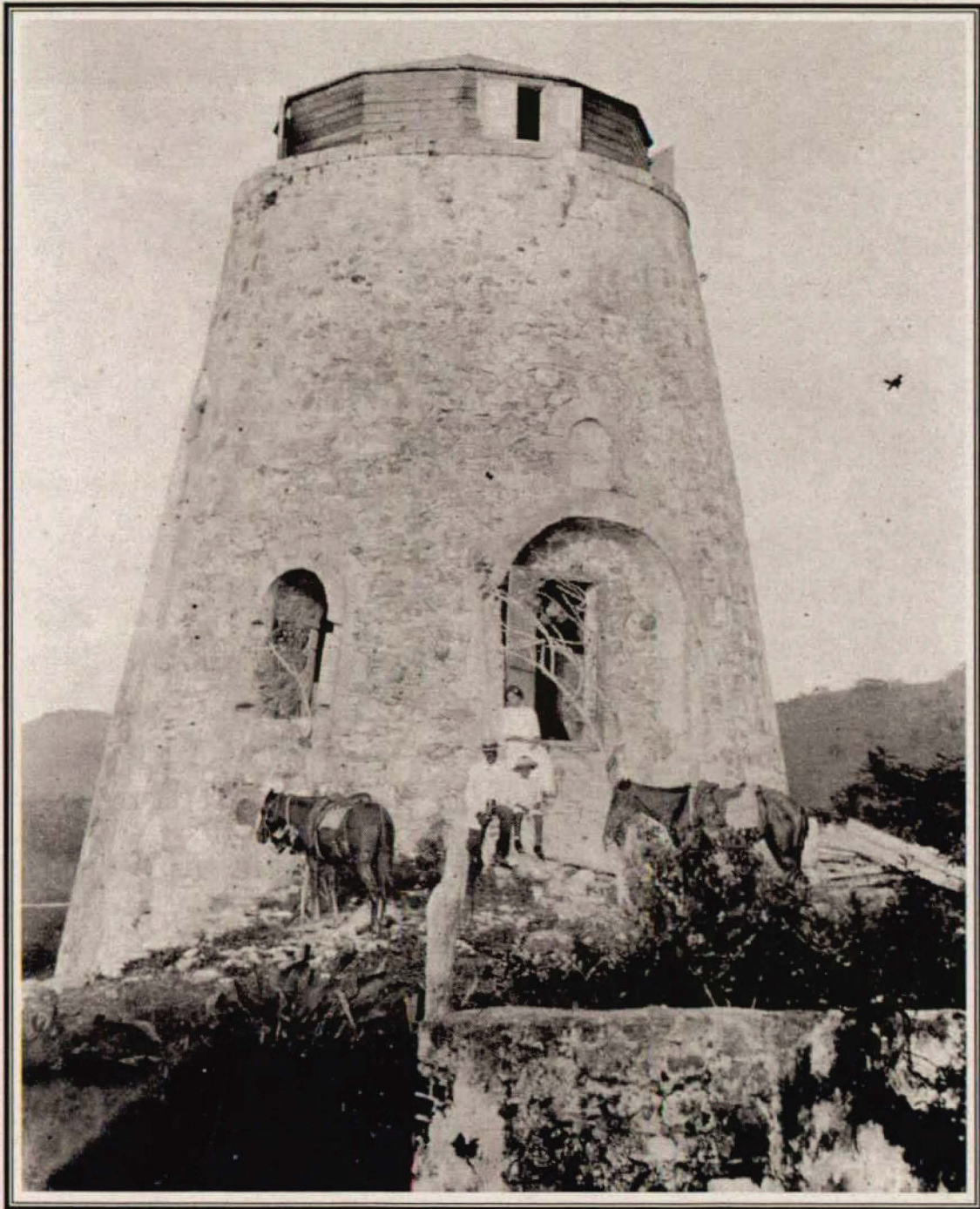


ANNABERG

An Updated Survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex
Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, USVI

With Overviews of Contributing Sites Within The Annaberg Historic District



Researched, written, and compiled for the National Park Service
by David W. Knight
Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center, 2001

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March 6, 2002

Dear Colleague:

We are pleased to enclose a copy of "An Updated Survey of the Annaberg Factory Complex, Virgin Islands National Park." Based on archival research in Danish archives and field work, the study contains much new information on this important resource within the National Park. The study is part of the Cultural Resource Stewardship division's ongoing efforts to survey and document cultural resources within the southeastern National Parks.

Sincerely,

Kirk A. Cordell,
Chief, Cultural Resources Stewardship

Enclosure

ANNABERG



(Photograph by Fritz Henle, 1974)

The ruins of the once grand *Annaberg* sugar factory stand in bold testament to a time when sugar was king. But to fully grasp the broader context and importance of this site, it is necessary to look beyond the finely cut coral keystones and carefully laid ballast brick, and explore the complex tapestry of lives and events that mark this spot as a unique and eloquent monument to our common human heritage. For amidst these crumbling walls echo a multitude of voices, and each has its own tale to tell. For some, the story begins in the sweltering jungles of West Africa; for others, on a cold and rocky Northern European coast; for still others, it begins on these very shores. Some sought wealth and opportunity; others, escape from strife or ethnic persecution. The majority found only enslavement and misery; few, very few, endured.

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Funded through a cooperative agreement between the
Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation and the National Park Service

This report would not have been possible without
the able assistance of the following individuals:

Laurette de Tousard Prime, Archival Research Associate and Primary Editor
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of the Virgin Islands National Park on St. John

**Cover photograph: Carl and Amy Francis pose with their son Earl in front of their home
in "Francis' Castle" (the old Annaberg windmill tower) circa 1916
(Royal Library Photograph Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark)**

SURVEY METHODS AND OBJECTIVES

In accordance with a National Park Service contract dated November 10, 2000, historian David W. Knight and resource specialist Laurette de T. Prime, of the Virgin Islands Historical & Genealogical Resource Center (VIH&GRC), assisted by independent contractors, volunteers, and NPS personnel, conducted a cultural resource survey of the *Annaberg Historic District* in the Virgin Islands National Park, St. John, United States Virgin Islands. The objective of the survey was to update all existing data on the district, as well as to locate and document any previously unidentified sites, structures, collections, reports, publications, or primary archival materials that could contribute to a greater understanding of the history of the district for interpretive and management purposes.

Over the course of the survey, numerous site visits and ground reconnaissance missions were mounted in an effort to thoroughly canvas as much of the district as possible. During this phase of the project, previously identified cultural resources were inspected and verified against existing documentation. Newly located resources were documented and recommendations made for their inclusion in the district. Contemporary and historic maps, land survey documents, and aerial images were also scrutinized at this time, and a number oral interviews carried out.

The archival research phase of the project began with the identification and review of many thousands of pages of primary documents, a large number of which were photocopied or microfilmed for translation and further interpretation. Among the archives utilized were the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet), United States National Archives II, British Public Records Office, and the von Scholten Collection. Additionally, records held in government repositories throughout the Virgin Islands, such as the Office of the Recorder of Deeds and Office of the Tax Assessor were likewise accessed. Published sources, photographs, and illustrations were gathered from a variety of sources that included both private and public collections, among them being the Danish Royal Library, British Library, Boston Public Library, Barbados Historical Society Library, St. Croix Landmarks Society Library, Enid M. Baa Library, and the National Park Service repository on St. John.

Table of Contents

Foreword	Page 1
Historical Background	Page 5
Introduction to The Annaberg Historic District	Page 11
Section 1: The Isaac Constantin Plantation, circa 1721 - 1779	Page 13
Section 2: Estate Annaberg, circa 1779 - 1956	Page 19
Sugar Production on Estate Annaberg, 1722 - 1867	
Historical Context	Page 27
Industrial Development and Sugar Production on the Isaac Constantin Plantation, 1722 - 1736	Page 29
The Transitional Period, 1737 - 1797	Page 33
James Murphy's Expanded Annaberg Factory Complex	Page 34
Nineteenth Century Modifications To The Annaberg Factory Complex	Page 42
How Sugar Was Made At The Annaberg Factory	Page 44
An Updated Survey Of The Annaberg Factory Complex	Page 47
Contributing Features Associated With The Annaberg Factory Complex	Page 53
Section 3: The Annaberg School House, circa 1847 - 1861	Page 83
An Updated Survey Of The Annaberg School	Page 87
Section 4: Betty's Hope and the Francis Boiling House, 1723 - 1874	Page 89
Section 5: The Mary's Point Plantation, 1721 - 1774	Page 93
Section 6: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House, 1797 - 1916	Page 95
Section 7: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Cemetery, 1808 - 1821	Page 98
Section 8: The Leinster Bay Industrial Complex, circa 1797 - 1899	Page 100
Section 9: The Leinster Bay Guard House, circa 1838 - 1848	Page 103

Additional Sites Associated The Annaberg Historic District

1B: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Gift Lands	Page 106
2B: The Mary's Point Watch House	Page 108
3B: Estate Brown Bay	Page 108
4B: Estate Munsbury	Page 109

A Summary Of The Annaberg Historic District Page 110

Finding Balance; Slavery And Resistance At Annaberg Page 115

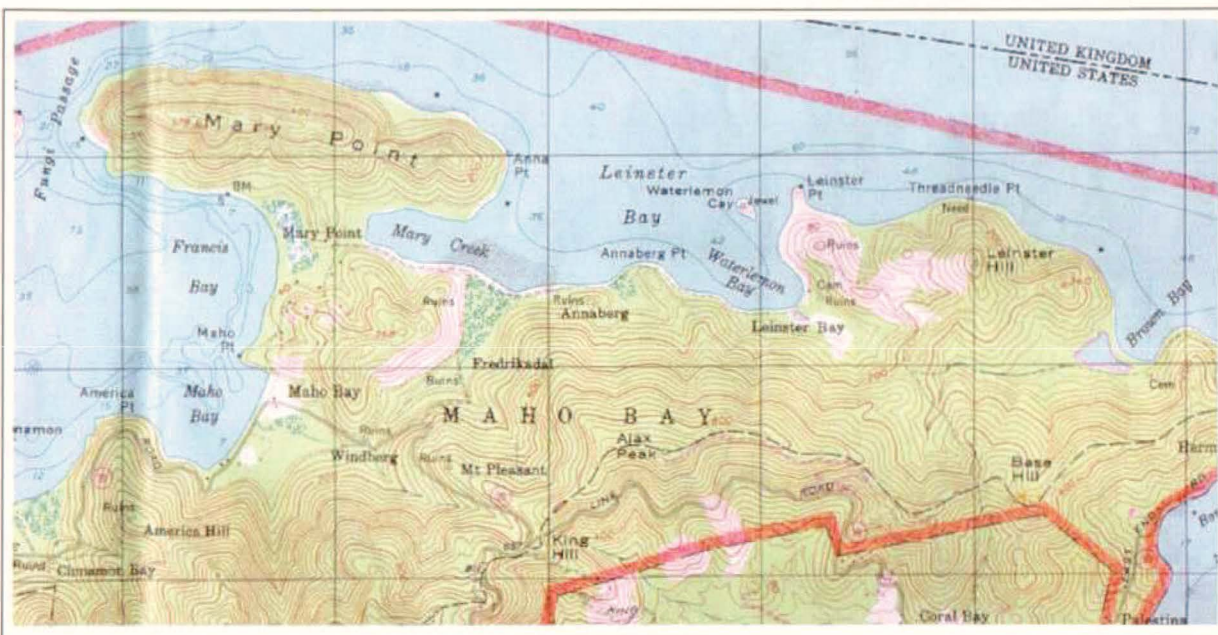
The Case of Joe Popp	Page 116
The Mass Desertion of 1840	Page 118
The George Francis Story	Page 120

Bibliography Page 125

Primary Sources Page 129

**A Select Bibliography Of Articles, Reports, And
Published Sources With References To Estate Annaberg** Page 133

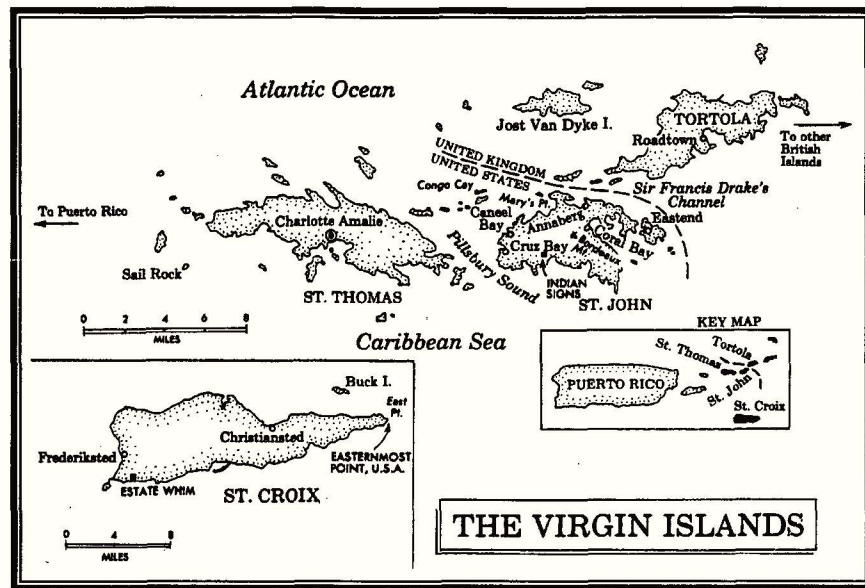
Appendix Page 135



The Annaberg Historic District

Top: Detail from USGS photo, 1954 Middle: Detail from USGS topo map, 1982 Bottom: Detail from Oxholm map, 1880





FOREWORD

Centered at approximately 18° North latitude and 65° West longitude, in the extreme northwest portion of the Caribbean island chain commonly referred to as the Leeward Islands, the Virgin Islands effectively represent the demarcation point between the Greater (to the west) and Lesser (to the east and south) Antilles. Mostly volcanic in origin, the one hundred or so islands, islets, cays, and rock outcroppings that form the Virgins are divided into three basic groups: the Spanish Virgin Islands, situated directly east of the United States Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, of which they are a part; the United States Virgin Islands, lying east of the Spanish Virgin Islands; and the British Virgin Islands, lying roughly to the north and northeast of the U. S. Virgin Islands.

The primary focus of this report is a geographical land district located within the boundaries of the Virgin Islands National Park on the island of St. John in the U. S. Virgin Islands, known as *Estate Annaberg*, #9 in the Maho Bay Quarter. This parcel began as a modest 150 (Danish) acre agricultural land grant, formally deeded to a French Huguenot refugee, Isaac Constantin, by the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company on April 27, 1723 (see Section 1, Page 13). Over the course of the first century of its existence, the boundaries and acreage associated with this property were shifted to such an extent that it is difficult to accurately

ascertain the bounds of the early colonial land grant. It is apparent, however, that the imposing ruins of the Annaberg sugar factory complex -- now stabilized and maintained by the NPS, and currently proposed for National Historic Landmark status -- do indeed stand within the limits of the original *Constantin* holding; but they do not represent the first plantation complex constructed on this property. Ground surveillance conducted in association with the research for this report in May of 2001 located the remains of a site believed to be the original *Constantin* plantation, situated on a low promontory overlooking Water Lemon Bay somewhat east of the Annaberg factory ruins. This finding, which is clearly supported by archival documentation, leads us to conclude that the site we know of as the Annaberg sugar factory reflects a later stage of development within the bounds of what once was the Isaac Constantin property. During this subsequent developmental phase, the original residential and industrial complex on the *Constantin* plantation was dismantled and abandoned, and a new complex was constructed on the far western boundary of the property. This relocation, which occurred in the early part of the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, was carried out in an effort to expand, upgrade, and centralize the administrative and industrial heart of the plantation, after the acquisition of additional lands that formerly belonged to the neighboring *Betty's Hope* (aka: *Dewindtsberg*) plantation (see Section 4, Page 90). It was at this time that the newly built facility, along with its expanded field system, was christened *Annaberg* (see Section 2, Page 19).

Sometime in or about 1790, the lands associated with *Annaberg* were again expanded by the purchase of the *Mary's Point* plantation, which lay on a peninsula north of *Betty's Hope* (see Section 5, Page 94). With the assimilation of the grounds previously belonging to *Betty's Hope* and *Mary's Point*, *Annaberg* had developed into a substantial 465-acre sugar and livestock plantation, worked by some seventy enslaved laborers. But, the property was to experience one last period of transformation before it would reach the apex of its development.

In 1796, the already merged *Annaberg* and *Mary's Point* estates, along with the portion of the former *Betty's Hope* plantation that adjoined the two parcels, became the property of a wealthy Irish-born merchant and slave trader, James E. Murphy. In the year prior to taking over *Annaberg*, Murphy also purchased the neighboring *Smith Bay* plantation, which he renamed *Leinster Bay* (See Section 8, Page 101). Immediately following these acquisitions, construction began on a state-of-the-art sugarworks and a tower windmill on the *Annaberg* property, and a

grand estate house, befitting Mr. Murphy's wealth and prominence, on a ridge-top above Water Lemon Bay (see Section 6, Page 96).

Soon after the turn of the nineteenth century, with the estate house on the *Leinster Bay* property completed, and the new sugarworks and windmill on *Annaberg* in full operation, James Murphy again set out to expand his land holdings. In 1803 he acquired the *Munsbury* (aka: *Frederiksberg & Frederiksdahl*) plantation that lay on *Annaberg's* southern boundary, and in 1807 he purchased the *Brown's Bay* estate east of *Leinster Bay* (see boundaries on page 4).

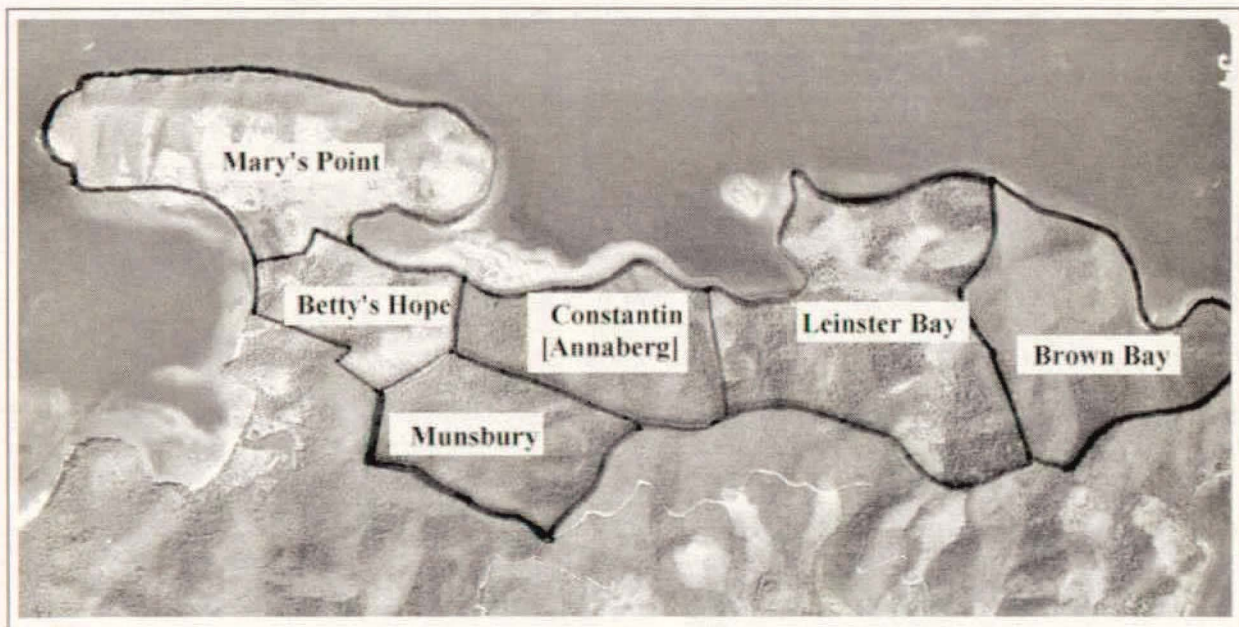
On November 17, 1808, at the age of 51 years, James E. Murphy died on St. John and was buried on a prominent hilltop near his estate house overlooking his vast domain (see Section 7, Page 99). At the time of his death, Murphy's *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation comprised six formerly independent properties with a total land area of nearly 1,300 acres: the largest sugar producing plantation in the history of St. John.

Upon Murphy's death, his land holdings were appraised separately and either sold off to service the accounts of his creditors, or apportioned out among his heirs. The *Leinster Bay* plantation was given over to Murphy's son, Edward C. Murphy, and *Annaberg*, along with *Mary's Point* and *Betty's Hope*, became the property of his daughter, Mary Murphy Sheen. Although accounted for separately for tax and administrative purposes, *Annaberg* (including *Betty's Hope* and *Mary's Point*) and *Leinster Bay*, remained under common family ownership until 1863, and continued to be closely associated well into the twentieth century (see Common Ownership Chart: Appendix I, Chart A).

After total freedom from slavery was declared in the nearby British islands in 1838, worker unrest on St. John greatly increased (see Section 9, Page 104). During this period, attempts were made by the Danish government to ameliorate the situations of the enslaved, and prepare them for an orderly transition into freedom (see Section 3, Page 84), but in 1848 a labor uprising on St. Croix abruptly brought an end to slavery throughout the Danish West Indies. After emancipation the already struggling plantation economy fell into serious decline. Yet, despite continued labor shortages and falling sugar prices, raw sugar, rum, and molasses continued to be produced at the *Annaberg* factory until 1867, when a strong, late season hurricane, followed soon after by a series of devastating earthquakes, damaged the factory buildings on the estate beyond all hope for the economic feasibility of repair.

The last individual to hold undivided title to the combined *Annaberg*, *Betty's Hope*, *Mary's Point*, and *Leinster Bay* estates was George Francis, who, after acquiring *Mary's Point* at auction in 1862, reunited that property with *Annaberg*, *Betty's Hope*, and *Leinster Bay* by his purchase of those properties in 1871. Francis had been born enslaved on the *Annaberg* plantation in 1822, and after emancipation remained on the estate in the position of overseer. Intriguingly, he was in the process of building a new factory on the former *Betty's Hope* site in an attempt to reestablish sugar production on his properties at the time of his death in 1875 (see Section 4, Page 90).

Today, the ruins of the once grand Annaberg sugar factory stand in bold testament to a time when sugar was king. But to fully grasp the broader context and importance of this site, it is necessary to look beyond the finely cut coral keystones and carefully laid ballast brick, and explore the complex tapestry of lives and events that mark this spot as a unique and eloquent monument to our common human heritage. For amidst these crumbling walls echo a multitude of voices, and each has its own tale to tell. For some, the story begins in the sweltering jungles of West Africa; for others, on a cold and rocky Northern European coast; for still others, it begins on these very shores. Some sought wealth and opportunity; others, escape from strife or ethnic persecution. The majority, found only enslavement and misery; few, very few, endured.



Approximate boundaries of the six estates associated with the *Annaberg* plantation circa 1807

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

On March 25, 1718, the governor of the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company colony of St. Thomas, Eric Bredal, accompanied by five soldiers, twenty planters, and sixteen enslaved laborers, landed in Coral Bay to claim the island of St. John in the name of the Danish Crown. After selecting a site for the Company plantation, the governor instructed the planters to indicate the parcels of land that they intended to claim. Their mission accomplished, Bradel and his party beat a hasty retreat back to St. Thomas, where they awaited any repercussions that may have been prompted by their actions. Once it became evident that the Danish claim and occupation of St. John would not be vigorously opposed by the British, who for some time had claimed legitimate possession of the island, the planters moved quickly to establish their new holdings [Larsen, 1986; Bro-Jørgensen, 1966].

Since few documents remain from the era, little is known of the early years of plantation development on St. John. From the earliest existing tax records, compiled in the year 1728, we can deduce that the first nine officially sanctioned private land holdings were taken up in the years 1718 and 1719 along St. John's northwest coast, between what are today known as estates *Caneel Bay* and *Cinnamon Bay* [LD, 1722; SJLL, 1728]. From a letter of report sent by Governor Bredal to the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company home office in Copenhagen, we learn that Peter Durloo, a Dutchman who had left Couração to take up residency on St. Thomas near the close of the seventeenth century, was the first of the Danish-sponsored settlers to occupy a parcel of land on St. John, "as none else dared because of the threat from other nations" [LD, 1720-22].

As cautious as the initial Danish-backed settlers of St. John may have been, it was not long before Durloo was joined by an increasing number of willing colonists. As early as July 1722, Governor Bredal compiled a list of thirty-eight individuals who had taken up properties on the island, and by 1728, when the first tax rolls were compiled, no less than ninety-one agricultural land holdings had been claimed.

But, in order to put the events surrounding the occupation and settlement of St. John into proper perspective, it must be kept in mind that the hundreds of islands, cays, and rock outcroppings that today make up the Virgin Islands were sighted by Columbus's fleet and

claimed for Spain in 1493. The Danish-sanctioned settlement of St. John, therefore, was an event that took place quite late in the process of European colonization in the West Indies. While groundbreaking studies are beginning to shed new light on the prehistoric inhabitants of St. John, next to nothing is known of the nearly 200-year period between the disappearance of the island's Amerindian inhabitants around 1520 [Watts, 1997] and the arrival of the first formally sanctioned Danish-led settlers in 1718: a period of time that is roughly equivalent to the total length of the Danish colonial experience on St. John (1718 - 1917). With such an apparent void in our historical consciousness it is perhaps worthwhile to step back for a moment and consider what we know of events on and around St. John prior to the Danish occupation.

Early European Colonization in the West Indies

History has left us written accounts of what is popularly believed to have been the first contact between the indigenous Taíno people of the Virgin Islands and Europeans. On November 14, 1493, while on his second voyage to the West Indies, Christopher Columbus engaged in a brief but violent skirmish with Indians along the north coast of an island that his native guides referred to as *Ayay* (St. Croix). Heading in a northerly direction after the encounter, Columbus soon came upon a cluster of small but mountainous islands that he named *Las Virgines* (The Virgins). As with all of the many islands Columbus observed, *Las Virgines* and *Ayay* were from that day on presumed by the Spaniards to be conquests, and therefore Spanish domain [Highfield, 1995; Morison, 1939].

After Columbus's voyages the European presence throughout the West Indies grew rapidly. By 1509 (only seventeen years after Columbus' first voyage), Spain's premier colony of Hispaniola was reported to have between 8,000 to 10,000 colonial inhabitants [Watts, 1987]. The Spaniards' intentions in the New World were initially not to trade or establish plantations, but to conquer and extract available natural resources. Prominent on their list, of course, was gold. With the large, well-watered, and potentially ore-rich islands of the Greater Antilles at their disposal, the small and barren islands of the *Las Virgines* group were viewed as unsuitable for exploitation. It is possible, therefore, that while the Spanish had laid claim to the Virgin Islands

as early as 1493, they had relatively little impact on the area in the years immediately following Columbus's arrival.

This situation, however, was soon to change. Between 1508 and 1520, as resources on the island of Hispaniola began to be depleted and the supply of locally available labor rapidly diminished, the Spaniards ventured out to occupy more territories, moving on to create settlements on Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Jamaica. At this time they also began to actively raid and extract the human and natural resources of the smaller islands, such as those of the *Las Virgines* group. It is believed that by 1520 nearly all of the indigenous peoples had been removed from the northern Leeward Islands with the exceptions of St. Kitts and Nevis. And, in the Windward Islands, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Barbados had all been depopulated [Watts, 1987; Newton, 1933].

Between 1519 and 1521, two earthshaking occurrences took place that were to have a profound effect on the course of Spanish colonial history in the Caribbean: Hernan Cortez's expedition into Mexico redirected the focus of Hispanic colonization and expansionism to the American continents; and Magellan's navigation of the Capes opened a new ocean (the Pacific), finally making the long-sought prospect of global seaborne commerce a reality. Spain now began to dream on a grander scale, and the small and relatively unproductive islands of the West Indies diminished in importance. While the bigger islands were retained, they largely became provisioning and transshipment points for Spanish ships navigating between continental American and Spanish mainland ports, their arable grounds converted to agriculture and grazing to support colonial ventures elsewhere. While the Spanish doggedly defended their rights to the possession of all of the islands in the West Indies for the remainder of the sixteenth century, by the turn of the seventeenth century it was becoming increasingly evident that Spain could no longer afford the manpower and resources required to uphold her far-flung claims of sovereignty over the region. Thus, a window of opportunity was created, allowing other expansionist-minded nations to gain inroads into what had previously been exclusively Spanish territory.

A diversity of peoples soon sought to capitalize on the void left by Spain's diminishing influence in the region. British, French, Dutch, Portuguese, expatriate Spaniards, the surviving native peoples and their mixed race descendants, the Black Carib, all now joined in the fray, struggling amongst themselves for control over a share in the opportunities for trade and agriculture in the West Indies. Among the earliest arrivals in this second wave of European

colonial migration were the Dutch, who successfully occupied Aruba in 1596. The English and French soon followed suit, jointly occupying St. Christopher in the 1620s [Newton, 1933; Watts, 1987; Rogoziński, 1992].

The First Danish Attempt to Establish a Colony in the Virgin Islands

It was not until 1665, while the Dutch and English stood on the verge of open warfare for the second time in just over a decade, that a group of Copenhagen-based merchants (mostly Dutch) put forth to the Danish Crown a plan to colonize the island of St. Thomas with a multinational citizenry under the protection of a neutral Danish flag. By May of that year the Crown granted its approval, and a small colonizing force set out from Copenhagen led by the Danish colony's newly appointed Governor, Capt. Erik Nielsen Smit.

But claims of peaceful neutrality could not protect the Danish-led settlers from harassment by both British and French forces in the Caribbean. After only nineteen months, the first attempt to establish a Danish West Indian colony had ended in failure. Kjeld Jansen Slagelse, the Lutheran minister who had assumed command of the colony upon the death of Erik Smit, returned to Denmark with a handful of Danish survivors. Other colonists dispersed to various islands throughout the West Indies [Bro-Jørgensen, 1966; Knox, 1852; Westergaard, 1917; Dookhan, 1994].

Successful Danish Occupation and Colonization Within the Virgin Islands

Upon his accession to the Danish throne in 1670, Christian V granted yet another group of wealthy Copenhagen merchants the right to form a company to engage in colonization and commerce in the West Indies. Four months later, the newly crowned King concluded negotiations with the British, securing a "treaty of alliance" that insured that any legitimate colonial objectives of Denmark would not be opposed by British forces. The stage was thus set for Denmark's second attempt to establish a mercantile colony on the small and still officially unoccupied island of St. Thomas in the Virgin Islands.

On October 20, 1671, Jørgen Iversen, the appointed governor of the proposed Danish West Indian settlement, along with a handful of Company employees, a Lutheran clergyman, and a colonizing force comprised largely of indentured servants and imprisoned laborers, set out aboard the ship *Færo* for the journey to the Caribbean. Plagued by difficulties from the outset of their voyage, the colonists did not drop anchor off the southern coast of St. Thomas until the night of May 25, 1672. Over the course of the seven-month voyage, seventy-seven of the expedition's members had died and another nine had deserted. Of the one hundred and four souls that came ashore on that day, only twenty-nine were to survive the first seven months of the colony's occupation. As for Company officials, Iversen alone remained to bring order and leadership to his country's fledgling New World foothold [Bro-Jørgensen, 1966; Knox, 1852].

Despite considerable hardships the Danish settlers persevered, and in time the critical period of initial occupation was behind them. As word of St. Thomas's successful settlement spread, persons from throughout the region, eager to escape the deprivations of war and ethnic persecution, chose to seek new opportunity under the Danish flag of neutrality. Among the first of these emigrants to arrive was a small contingent of Dutch refugees, who, only a few weeks after the Danes' arrival, had been expelled from the neighboring island of Tortola by occupying British forces at the outbreak of the Third Dutch War (1672-1678) [Dookhan, 1994; Bro-Jørgensen, 1966]. By the time the first census of the Danish West Indian colony was compiled in 1686, eighty-three plantations had been established by settlers of Dutch, French, German, Danish, English, Irish, and Creole West Indian backgrounds [STLL, 1686].

Although during the closing years of the 1600s occasional attempts were made by St. Thomas settlers to venture forth and establish themselves on the nearby islands of St. John and Crab Island (Vieques), Danish West Indies Company authorities appear to have been little inclined to risk armed confrontation to expand their colonial holdings. It was, therefore, not until after the turn of the eighteenth century that soil and resource depletion, along with the dynamics of a growing population, forced the island's administrators to seek new and more fertile lands upon which the unfortunate planter might gain his fortune, and the successful ones extend theirs. In 1717, when the decision was made to formally extend the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company's colonial holdings in the Virgin Islands, it was the nearby island of St. John that

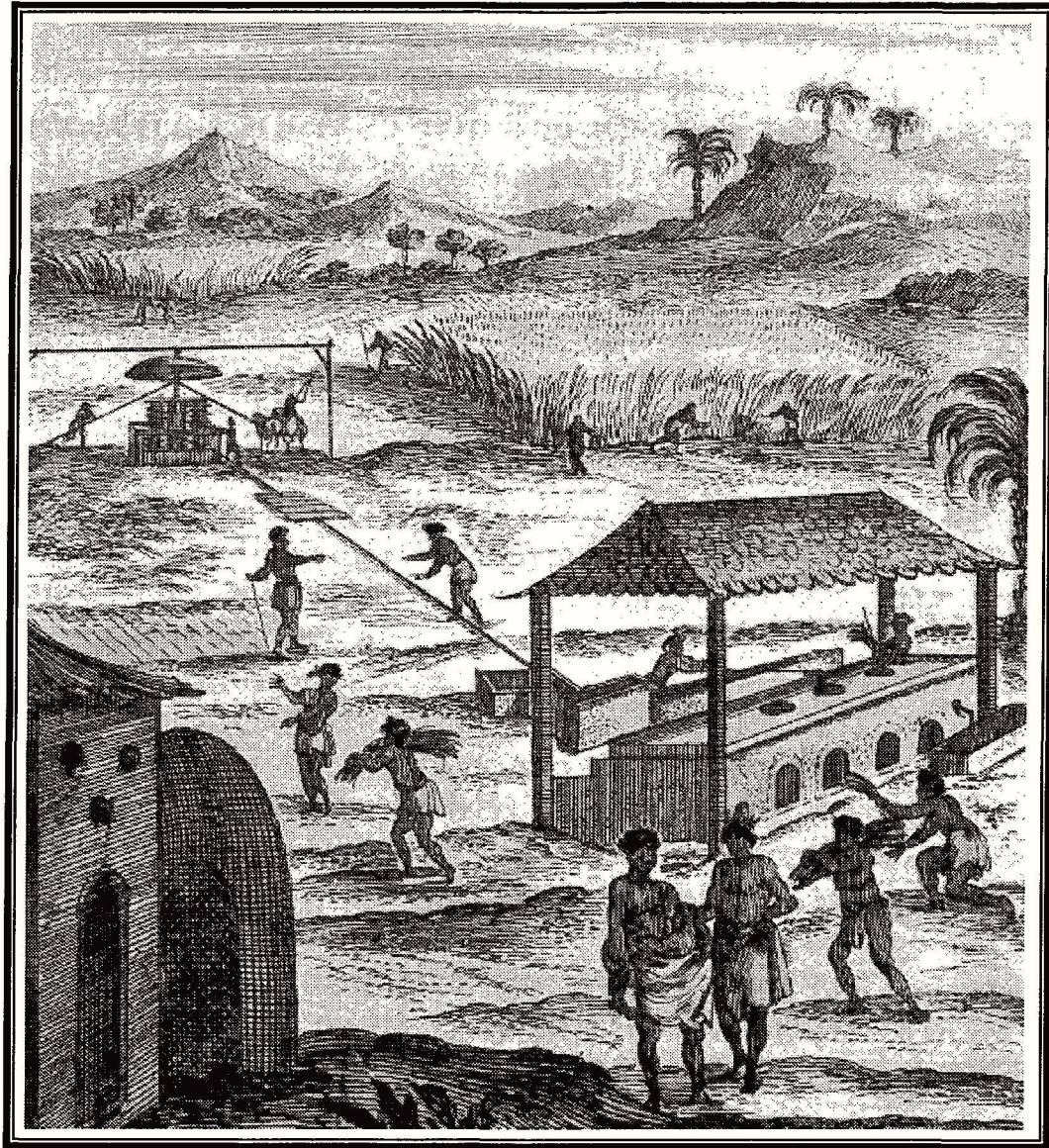
became the stage for this endeavor [STLL, 1686, 1688, 1691-1718; Bro-Jørgensen, 1966; Larsen, 1986; Westergaard, 1917].

INTRODUCTION TO THE ANNABERG HISTORIC DISTRICT

Currently, nine historically significant sites or properties associated with the *Annaberg* plantation have been identified within National Park Service land holdings on St. John. Four of these lie in the bounds of what is today *Estate Annaberg* (which includes a portion of the former *Dewindtsberg* plantation known as *Betty's Hope*); four are situated in *Estate Leinster Bay*; and one is located on *Estate Mary's Point* (which was an integrated element of the *Annaberg* plantation from 1790 until 1863). It is clear from the documentary record that it would be impossible to properly interpret the historic significance of any one of these sites without a deeper understanding of its relationship to the others. Together, the three neighboring estates, *Annaberg*, *Leinster Bay*, and *Mary's Point*, comprise what must be viewed as a broad and integral historic land district, that henceforth will be referred to in this report as the **Annaberg Historic District**.

The first part of this report will explore the background and significance of the *Annaberg* plantation. It will include brief historical overviews of the **(1) Isaac Constantin Plantation** and **(2) Estate Annaberg**, followed by a closer look at industrial development and sugar production on those properties. A survey of the individual components that presently comprise the ruins of the Annaberg factory complex will be found at the end of this portion of the report.

The second part of the report will address the remaining seven primary contributing sites or properties within the broader **Annaberg Historic District** in their proper context and relation to *Annaberg*. These are: **(3) The Annaberg School House**; **(4) Betty's Hope and The Francis Boiling House**; **(5) The Mary's Point Plantation**; **(6) The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House** **(7) The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Cemetery**; **(8) The Leinster Bay Industrial Complex**; and, **(9) The Leinster Bay Guard House**. Additionally, the following four associated sites will be briefly discussed at the end of the above sections: **1B) The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Gift Lands**; **2B) The Mary's Point Watch House**; **3B) Estate Brown Bay**; and, **4B) Estate Munsbury**.



A rudimentary sugarworks of the early eighteenth century
(Detail from a print in the VIH&GRC print and photograph collection)

Section 1: The Isaac Constantin Plantation, circa 1721 - 1779

Located approximately .3 km east of the Annaberg factory complex, the fragmentary remains of the Constantin dwelling house, sugarworks, and enslaved workers' village are all that remain of the first Danish colonial period settlement established within the bounds of Estate *Annaberg*. The site is situated along a narrow ridge above the rocky cliffs of Annaberg Point, overlooking Water Lemon Bay to the northeast, and a deep valley with a brackish pond to the southwest.

First identified during the research phase of this study in May 2001, this site has not yet been surveyed or entered into the NPS List of Classified Structures database. It is believed that the *Constantin* plantation has lain abandoned and seldom visited for a period of over 200 years. While archeological investigation will be necessary to satisfactorily interpret and identify the extent of this site, documentary evidence, including early site descriptions and itemized property inventories, leave little doubt as to its origin and background.

Among the earliest settlers of St. John were a small group of Huguenot refugees from the French islands of the Caribbean. Upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the Huguenots found themselves effectively disenfranchised, denied their rights to property and inheritance on French soil, and condemned for their religious practices [Baird, 1885]. In search of a place of tolerance for their reformist precepts, many of these Huguenot refugees made their way to St. Thomas, a colony that from its very establishment had emerged as a safe haven from strife and ethnic persecution [Knight, 2000]. But being latecomers, the Huguenots had found it difficult to acquire suitable lands on which to establish profitable plantations. As a result, when the decision was reached to expand the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company's colonial land holdings to include St. John, a number of struggling Huguenot refugees were among the first individuals willing to risk the harsh conditions of this unproven land [LD, 1722]. One of their number, a barber and surgeon by the name of Isaac Constantin, accompanied by his wife and nine-year-old daughter, left his failing cotton plantation on St. Thomas in 1721 and established himself on a low promontory overlooking a sandy cove on the North Shore of St. John: a place that for years to come would be known as Constantin's Bay [SJLL, 1728; Martfeldt, 1765].

Isaac Constantin's name first appears in records relating to St. John in a letter of report sent to the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company headquarters in Copenhagen by Governor Eric Bredal, dated July 15, 1722. In this report, it is stated that "Isaac Constantin, [is] a French refugee [who] resides on St. John. He had a small piece of land here [on St. Thomas], but on measuring his neighbors he has lost much of it and can no longer live from it" [LD, 1722].

On April 27, 1723, Constantin received a formal 'Land Letter' (deed) to his new St. John property [SJLL, 1728]. The St. Thomas tax rolls for that year confirm that Constantin, along with his wife Gierterud Sara Baset,¹ and their young daughter, Sarrie, were already in residence on

¹ The surname of Isaac Constantin's wife also appears in documents during this era as "Moseth."

their St. John plantation, and that the land was being worked by nine enslaved laborers -- one of which was listed as a 'maron' (runaway) [STLL, 1723]. It is, however, not until five years later, when tax accounts for St. John began to be compiled, that we are offered our first description of the size, location, and condition of the *Constantin* land holding. According to the 1728 St. John tax rolls, the *Constantin* plantation measured 3000 (Danish) feet long by 2000 feet broad, and was described as "lying by Water Lemon Bay, length running ESE and WNW and breadth East from Jac. V. Stell in Governor Moth's plantation, North and South to the manchineel trees by the seashore." The Constantins were still living on the property by this date, and the composition of the family was unchanged, but the number of enslaved laborers on the plantation had increased to twenty-four individuals: six fully taxable men, five male and three female 'bossaller' (newly imported Africans), three 'manqueron' (old or incapable of heavy labor), and six children. It was further stated that the *Constantin* parcel was a sugar plantation found to be in "mediocre" condition [SJLL, 1728].

No changes in the *Constantin* plantation were noted in the 1729 tax accounts, but by 1730 it was reported that a "sugarworks" had been constructed on the property. The presence of a works (or processing facility) marks an important turning point in the history of this plantation. After 1730 the Constantin family left St. John to once again take up residence on St. Thomas, leaving their plantation in the hands of a hired masterknecht (overseer), one Mr. Lestej [SJLL, 1730-31]. These occurrences clearly suggest that by that date the *Constantin* property had reached a state of development where stable productivity had finally been achieved.

Isaac Constantin died on St. Thomas in the fall of 1732. In the process of reconciling his estate, detailed inventories and appraisements of Constantin's home and plantation properties on St. Thomas and St. John were carried out. It is from the probate proceeding for his St. John plantation that we gain a rare glimpse into the composition of the *Constantin* property [STBP, 1732 - 1736]:

Year 1732, the 4 December appeared interim town bailiff on St. Jan, Johan Reimer Soetman on the plantation of deceased Isak Constantyn [*sic*] for an honest registration and to appraise what is found on the plantation....

...A plantation here on St. John with a sugarworks, which length and breadth can be closer seen on the deed which has been shown to the St. Thomas probate court, appraised for: Ps. 4500.0.0

Animals

A stallion	40.0.0
A horse	50.0.0
A young stallion	30.0.0
A mare	30.0.0
A donkey	10.0.0
A bull	40.0.0
A cow	24.0.0

Negros

A Negro man Fransisko, sugar cooker and bamba	200.0.0
ditto Jost	140.0.0
ditto Thonni	145.0.0
ditto Sipio	150.0.0
ditto Thoni, the old	80.0.0
ditto Wille Maqueron	60.0.0
A Negro woman Anna with a child, but the child given to Miss Sara [Constantin]	60.0.0
A Negro boy Mingo	100.0.0
A Negro Maron and Manqeron by name Samba, according to Madm. Constantyn's own saying worth	50.0.0
A ditto Jacqva also Maron and by her reported for	125.0.0...
[STBP, 1732 - 1736]	

The probate proceedings for Isaac Constantin were interrupted in the fall of 1733 by the outbreak of the St. John slave rebellion. During the course of the uprising the dwelling house, boiling house, storage building, and slave village on the property were all burned, and the rum

still badly damaged [STBP, 1732 - 1736]. Despite the damages wrought, by the spring of 1736, when Isaac Constantin's daughter, Sarrie, married Mads Larsen, a Danish immigrant from the town of Aalborg in Northern Jutland, thirteen enslaved laborers were once again at work on the plantation. And, by 1737, a sugarworks had been rebuilt on the site [SJLL, 1736-37; Ryberg, 1945].

Sarrie Constantin's husband, Mads Larsen, became the recorded owner of the *Constantin* plantation as his wife's guardian after their marriage in 1736 [SJLL, 1736]. But, with no children having been born of their union, after Sarrie's death sometime prior to the spring of 1746, the *Constantin* plantation came under administration by the court [Ryberg, 1945].

No tax records exist for St. John between 1740 and 1754, making it difficult to determine what transpired on the *Constantin* parcel over those years. When the tax records resume in 1755, it was recorded that Chancery (High Court) Counselor Jens Nielsen Kragh had become proprietor of the plantation [SJA, 1755]. As Kragh had previously been employed as Secretary for the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company, it is likely that he had been in possession of the property for some time previous to this date -- perhaps ever since it had been taken over for administration in 1746 [Larsen, 1940].

At this point there arises some question as to whether the industrial and residential complex of the *Kragh* plantation stood in the same location as the original *Constantin* settlement, or if it had been relocated during the years when the tax rolls are mute. It does seem, however, that Kragh, who did not hold free and clear title to the plantation, would have been unwilling to expend the required capital to improve and relocate the property's works during this period. Surface scatter observed throughout the *Constantin* complex, consisting of fragments of glass bottles and house wares, support this premise, and suggest that the site remained occupied until the third quarter of the eighteenth century. And indeed, a leap in the number of laborers on the plantation, from fifty-seven to ninety-two individuals reported in 1779, seems to mark the period when further development was undertaken on the property.

In any event, at some point during the latter half of the eighteenth century, the original dwelling house and antiquated sugarworks established by Isaac Constantin were abandoned, and a new residential and industrial complex was constructed elsewhere on the grounds of the plantation.

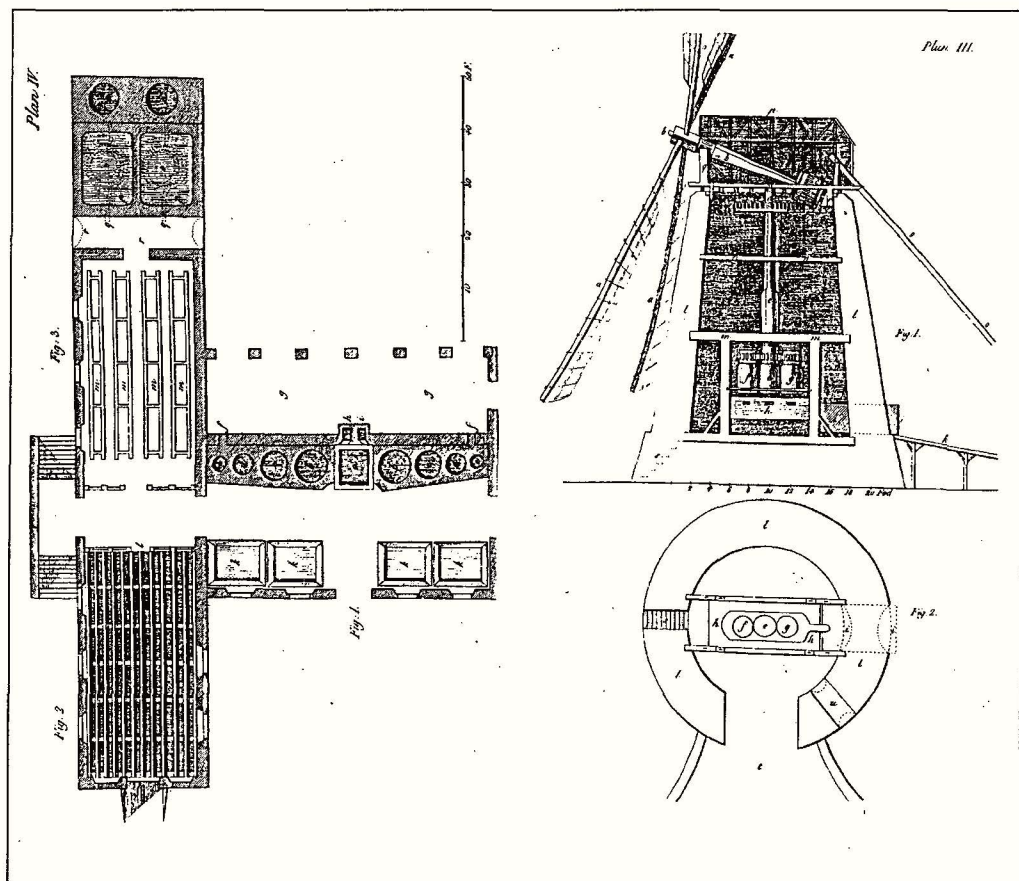
Conclusion:

As the earliest known European settlement within the bounds of the *Annaberg* estate, the Constantin site is of profound importance to a broader understanding of the **Annaberg Historic District**. First identified during the research phase of this study in May 2001, the site has not yet been surveyed or entered into the National Park Service List of Classified Structures database. It is believed that the *Constantin* settlement has lain abandoned and seldom visited for a period of over 200 years.

Recommendations:

Pending the identification of additional supporting documentation, it is only through a thorough archaeological investigation that a more precise date of abandonment of the Constantin residential and industrial complex will be determined. The information that might be gained from such a study is critical to a full understanding of the development of the *Annaberg* plantation. It is therefore recommended that due to the fragility of the remains, the advanced state of deterioration evidenced in the components of the site, and the high erosion factor, caused primarily by the presence of large numbers of feral goats in the area, that an archaeological investigation of the Constantin complex be considered a high priority.

Further, the location of the Constantin settlement makes it well suited for development as a publicly accessible interpretive site. A small parking area utilized by visitors to Leinster Bay beach already exists at the foot of the old cart road that leads to the settlement, and the plantation ruins can be accessed on foot in approximately five minutes from that location.



Plans for a sugar factory and tower windmill proposed by Peter L. Oxholm in 1797
 (Peter Lotharius Oxholm, *De Dansk Vestindiske Oers Tilstand I Hanseende til Population, Culture og Finance...*
 [Kobenhaven, Johan Frederik Schultz, 1797].

Section 2: Estate Annaberg, circa 1779 - 1956

Situated on a coastal promontory approximately midway between Annaberg Point and the mouth of Mary's Creek, the ruins of the Annaberg sugar factory stand as an enduring historic landmark amidst the fading cultural landscape of St. John's North Shore. Although eighteenth-century maps and estate inventories indicate that an earlier sugarworks and plantation residence were once located in the same general location as the present factory structures, the ruins that stand on *Annaberg* today represent the industrial complex of the estate at the apex of its development just after the turn of the nineteenth century.

As previously noted, it is not yet known at what point the residential and industrial heart of the former *Constantin* plantation was relocated to the present Annaberg factory site, but

available documentary evidence strongly suggests that it occurred well after the acquisition of the property by Salomon Zeeger Janzoon in 1758 [SJA, 1755-96].

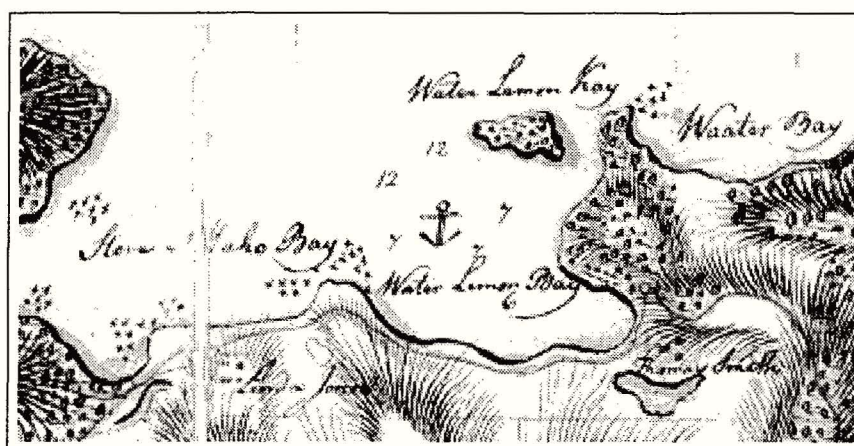
Salomon Zeeger Janzoon was born on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius in 1729, the son of Jan Zeeger -- hence the Dutch patronymic identifier 'Janzoon' (Jan's-son) -- and Anna Maria Hassell. As a young man Zeeger immigrated to St. Thomas where in 1753 he married Anna deWindt, daughter of Johannes deWindt and Maria Battri: a prestigious union that speaks volumes for the high standing of both families in the rigid and exclusionary plantocracy of the eighteenth century [Hoff & Barta, 1998]. After their marriage, the couple moved to St. John where Zeeger had acquired a small cotton plantation on the outskirts of the settlement of Cruz Bay. In 1758, the Zeegers expanded their St. John holdings with the purchase of the former *Constantin* sugar plantation in the island's Maho Bay Quarter [SJA, 1755-58].

Salomon Zeeger and Anna deWindt produced four daughters over the course of their union: Anna Maria, Elizabeth Mooy, Anna, and Adriana. Upon Zeeger's death in 1764, explicit instructions were left in his will that his daughters were to inherit the Maho Bay Quarter sugar plantation together, and that the property was to be cultivated to their common benefit [Knight, 1999; DVS, 1764]. Of the Zeeger daughters, only Anna appears to have died at an early age. The others all went on to wed men of wealth and prominence, who, upon marriage, became the joint owners of the former *Constantin* sugar plantation as their wives' guardians.

It was during this era that the first major push to expand the *Constantin* plantation took place. The oldest of the Zeeger daughters, Anna Maria, had married Peter deWindt, owner of the *Dewindtsberg* plantation that lay immediately west of the Zeeger heirs' property. It was through this union that a portion of *Dewindtsberg*, known as *Betty's Hope*, was parceled out and merged with the *Constantin* plantation [Hoff & Barta, 1998; PR, 1805]. This first expansion of the estate was initially carried out to increase the Zeegers' planting grounds, but at a later date it also provided a land link with the adjoining *Mary's Point* estate, which was purchased by the husband of Adriana Zeeger, John Shatford Jones, in 1789, and thereafter merged into the broader Zeeger heirs' holdings [SJA, 1789]. The third Zeeger daughter, Elizabeth, married Benjamin Lind, a Crown employee who held the offices of Provisions Agent, Customs Officer, and Postmaster on St. John [Overman, 1974; Knight, 1999].

Together, John Shatford Jones, a savvy New York businessman and entrepreneur, Benjamin Lind, a well-connected government official, and Peter deWindt, an experienced local sugar planter of long West Indian heritage, possessed the knowledge, vision, and resources to transform the *Constantin* plantation into a large and productive sugar estate [Hoff & Barta, 1998; Knight, 1999]. And indeed, in 1779, under the reported proprietorship of Lind and Jones, the number of enslaved laborers on the property leaped from fifty-seven to ninety-two individuals: an increase of thirty-five workers, of whom, thirty-three were recorded as “capable” adults [SJA, 1779].

In a period when a healthy adult laborer was valued at from five to seven hundred pieces,² this sizable investment in manpower certainly coincided with a major initiative to boost production capabilities and increase the profitability of the property [MP, 1793]. It is likely, therefore, that it was at this time that the former Constantin site was abandoned, and a new residential and industrial complex was raised on a high promontory that was more centrally located within the estate’s recently expanded acreage. This new facility was appropriately named *Annaberg* (Anna’s-mountain) in honor of the common matriarch of the Zeeger heirs on St. John, Anna deWindt Zeeger.



Detail from Peter L. Oxholm’s manuscript map of St. John, circa 1780
[Rigsarkivet, Denmark]

The relocation of the estate complex at this date may solve an intriguing anomaly that has long plagued researchers investigating the background of the *Annaberg* plantation. Why does a manuscript map of St. John prepared by Danish engineer Peter L. Oxholm between 1779 and

² Spanish silver eight reales, or pieces of eight, were a widely accepted standard monetary unit of this era.

1780 not depict a sugar mill at *Annaberg*? The answer to this question may be that the new factory complex was still under construction at the time of Oxholm's survey, and the mill simply had not yet been built³ (see detail of map on preceding page).

The Zeeger heirs remained in at least partial control of the *Annaberg* property until 1796, when all of the shares in the estate were bought out by a wealthy St. Thomas merchant, ship owner, and slave trader, James E. Murphy. In the year prior to his purchase of the now merged *Annaberg (Constantin)*, *Betty's Hope* and *Mary's Point* properties, Murphy had also acquired the adjoining *Smith Bay* plantation, which he promptly renamed *Leinster Bay* -- presumably for the Irish province of his ancestry [SJA, 1796-98; MR, 1796-97].

Immediately following these acquisitions, construction began on a state-of-the-art tower windmill and sugar factory on *Annaberg*, which was to serve as a central processing facility for Murphy's extensive sugar cane fields in the western section of his holdings [PR, 1805]. The plans for the new factory and windmill were based on drawings that had been published that very year by Peter L. Oxholm, with only minor modifications to adapt the structures to the steep terrain of the site (see pages 34-42) [Oxholm, 1797]. Concurrent with the construction of the new factory, a grand estate house for Murphy's newly united *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation also began to take shape on a formerly vacant hilltop overlooking Water Lemon Bay [SJA, 1797-1803; SJLBP, 1809].

By the turn of the nineteenth century the new *Annaberg* factory complex and *Leinster Bay* estate house were near completion, and James Murphy once again set out to expand his land holdings. In 1803, he acquired the *Munsbury* plantation that lay on *Annaberg's* southern boundary; and, in 1807, he purchased the *Brown's Bay* estate east of *Leinster Bay* [SJA, 1803-07].

On November 17, 1808, at the age of 51 years, James E. Murphy died on St. John and was buried on a prominent hilltop near his estate house overlooking Water Lemon Bay and the

³ It should further be noted that an updated version of Oxholm's rendering of St. John published in 1800 indicates that an animal mill had been added to the *Annaberg* estate complex prior to that date. This map, however, was not current to the date of its publication, as it did not include the tower windmill that was under construction on the site as early as 1797.

Annaberg factory.⁴ At the time of his death, Murphy's *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation comprised six formerly independent estates (made up of at least nine early colonial land grants), with a total land area of nearly 1,300 acres (see estate boundaries on page 4, and maps on page 12). Although the *Carolina* estate in Coral Bay was slightly larger in overall acreage, Murphy's 530 acres of cane fields made him the single largest sugar cane producer on St. John. He also controlled the island's largest labor force, with a total of 662 enslaved individuals -- sixty-one of whom were reported to be house servants and/or craftpersons [SJLBP, 1809; SJLL, 1728-39; SJA, 1809].

After the death of James Murphy a prolonged probate hearing took place, during which his properties were all appraised separately and apportioned out to service the claims of his many heirs and creditors. In the process of reconciling the Murphy estate, the *Munsbury* parcel was sold, and *Brown Bay* reverted back to the mortgage holders, thus leaving the Murphy heirs with full title to the *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation. Subsequently, *Leinster Bay* was given over to Murphy's son, Edward C. Murphy, and *Annaberg*, along with *Mary's Point* and *Betty's Hope*, became the property of his daughter, Mary Murphy Sheen. Although accounted for separately for tax and administrative purposes, *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* remained associated through common Murphy family ownership until 1863 [SJA, 1809-64].

It is from an appraisal of the *Annaberg* plantation compiled during James Murphy's probate proceedings that we gain our first detailed glimpse into the composition of the property at the very pinnacle of its development:

Appraisements over the Estate Annaberg this day the 13th of October 1809

1 Windmill with leaded receiver,	
[with a] complete kitchen and oven under the gangway	Ps. 15,000.
A complete cattle mill	2,500.
1 New set of works with 8 coppers & with a wall molasses cistern,	
and all the utensils	30,000.

⁴ James Murphy's age is stated on his gravestone. Curiously, the date of death given on his monument, December 17, 1809, appears to be in error. According to his probate papers and other supporting documents Murphy's true date of death was November 17, 1808 [SJLBP, 1809; STLA, 1808].

2 Stills of 250 gallons & one worm cistern and 2 lead receivers	4,000.
2 Three hundred gallon Butts	80.
4 Butts of 200 gallons each	100.
1 Magass house, 60' by 24', and a mule pen with shade ...	2,000.
1 Water cistern and wall spout 570 feet long and at an average 8 feet high	1,600.
1 New necessary unfinished	80.
1 Set of cane spouts, 1500 feet long	400.
1 Truck	20.
1 Stone wall 1330 feet long & about 4 feet high	380.
65 Negro houses at 30 Ps [each]	1,950.
27 Mules	2,700.
1 Mare with a foal	100.
130 Acres in cane at 300 [per acre]	39,000.
20 Acres taken up in pasture and Negro buildings at Ps 50	1,000.
90 Acres at a place called Mary's Point at Ps 50	4,500.
20 Acres at a place called Mary's Point	1,000.
[154 Slaves, all named and evaluated]	<u>65,750.</u>
Total	Ps. 171,835.

Of the Estate formerly called Dewindtsberg, or Betty's Hope, there was showed to us containing about 140 acres, whereof:

40 in canes at Ps 200 ...	8,000.
90 in bush fit for cane land at Ps 75 ...	6,750.
10 in bush fit for cane land at Ps 12 ½ ...	125.
1 dwelling house ...	2000.
1 Kitchen and oven ...	150.
1 Negro house ...	50.

1 Set of Windmill timber framed, with cases,

Gudgeons, Cotrells, Brasses, 30 gratings & 3 furnaces ... 3,500.

Total Ps. 20,575.

[SJLBP, 1809]

After Mary Murphy Sheen and her husband Thomas died without issue, title to *Annaberg* reverted to the widow of Edward C. Murphy, Catharina Sheen Murphy in 1827⁵ [SJA, 1827; SJLPD, 1827]. By the time of her inheritance of *Annaberg*, Catharina was married for a second time to Hans H. Berg, an individual of prominence, who was to rise to the position of Governor and Commandant of St. Thomas and St. John in 1853. As guardian for his wife and stepson (James Murphy's grandson, Edward Falkner Murphy), Berg retained title to *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* until his death in 1862 [Larsen, 1940; STBPP, 1834; STBEP, 1862].

Throughout most of this period *Annaberg* remained a profitable sugar estate, with production levels exceeding 100,000 pounds of raw sugar per year as late as 1845. But growing soil depletion, a sagging colonial economy, and labor shortages after emancipation was achieved in 1848 all served to drive down production. In 1861, the year prior to Berg's death, *Annaberg's* sugar crop yielded less than five thousand pounds of raw sugar [SJRD, 1845-61].

After Governor Berg died, *Annaberg*, *Leinster Bay*, and *Mary's Point* were put up for auction individually. The *Mary's Point* property was purchased by Berg's former overseer George Francis, while *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* were purchased by a young Creole planter of mixed European and African descent, Abraham C. Hill. Hill, however, did not survive to take possession of the properties. Less than a year after his purchase of the estates, *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* were once again put up for auction, and on this occasion sold to Thomas Letsom Loyd of Tortola [STBEP, 1862; SJCP, 1863].

For a time, Thomas Loyd struggled to maintain sugar production on both *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay*, but the catastrophic hurricane and earthquakes of 1867 were soon to end all hope for any further sugar production on those estates [SJRD, 1867-73]. With his factories in ruin, and his diminished cane fields rapidly reverting to bush, on April 13, 1871, Thomas Loyd sold the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations to George Francis for the sum of \$100, then quickly

⁵ Thomas Sheen, who married James Murphy's daughter Mary, and Catharina Sheen, who married James Murphy's son Edward, were presumably brother and sister.

returned to Tortola to escape reprisals for the abandonment of his estates and their laborers [STM, 1871; Low, 2001].

George Francis held title to the reunified *Mary's Point*, *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* properties until he died in 1875 [STM, 1871-76]. But, after George's death, his widow, Lucy Blyden Francis, found it difficult to keep up with the finances of the estates, and in 1876 they were handed over by adjudication to St. Thomas merchant Antoine Anduze [SJCP, 1875; SJA, 1876]. Anduze retained an overseer on his St. John properties, and converted the former crop lands to pasture. During this period, the deep valley behind Water Lemon Bay became the primary grazing area for Anduze cattle, and the lands associated with *Annaberg* appear to have been little utilized [STA, 1875-1899; SJCP, 1875-1899].

Annaberg and *Leinster Bay* remained in the hands of Antoine Anduze and his heirs until 1899. In that year, George Francis' son, Carl Emanuel Francis, along with his brother-in-law, Police Officer Henry Clen, were able to regain title to all of the *Annaberg*, *Leinster Bay*, and *Mary's Point* properties from the probate court. Clen and his wife, Sophie Roseline Francis, took up residence in the former *Leinster Bay* estate house, while Carl Francis set up his household amidst the ruins of the *Annaberg* sugar factory, a place he christened *Francis' Castle* [STM, 1899, SJA, 1899].

Carl Francis remained a prominent and respected figure on St. John up until his death in October of 1936. In addition to serving as the St. John representative to the Colonial Council (the local governing body prior to the establishment of the Virgin Islands Legislature), he also acted as clerk and lay reader to the Nazareth Lutheran Congregation on St. John and was one of the individuals who raised the first United States Flag over St. John in the transfer ceremonies held at the Cruz Bay Battery on April 15, 1917 [Moolenaar, 1992; Low & Valls, 1985].

Carl Francis sold the *Annaberg* estate to Herman O. Creque in 1935, and it was from the Creque heirs that the Jackson Hole Preserve purchased the property in 1954. *Annaberg* was officially turned over to the National Park Service in 1956 [Near, 2000].

SUGAR PRODUCTION ON ESTATE ANNABERG, 1722 - 1867

Historical Context

Before proceeding with a discussion of sugar production on the *Annaberg* plantation, it is necessary to briefly explore the origins of sugar cane cultivation and the production process.

A native to southern Asia, sugar cane has been nourishing man since prehistoric times. It is not known for certain what culture developed the technique of converting sugar cane juice into crystalline sugar, but as the earliest known written reference to the process appears in Sanskrit in about 500 B.C., historians have long credited northern India as the place where sugar cane juice was first rendered into a refined end-product. As with other tropical crops of Asian origin, such as bananas and mangos, sugar cane cultivation is believed to have slowly fanned outward from India into China and the Middle East over the course of many centuries. By A.D. 600 it had become well established in Persia, and within a century sugar cane had reached the shores of the eastern Mediterranean and North Africa where the first great economic sugar-boom occurred.

Although Europe had long been aware of sugar as a valued commodity of the eastern trade, it was not until the Crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that western Europeans first encountered sugar cane under cultivation on the Mediterranean islands of Cyprus and Sicily. Attempts were soon made to introduce the crop further northward, but it was found that the properties of sugar cane were adversely affected by even the slightest frost. It therefore became apparent that the Mediterranean demarcated the far northern limit of sustainable sugar cane cultivation. For the next 400 years or so, the Mediterranean region continued to hold a near monopoly on the European sugar trade. But, as the age of Atlantic exploration dawned, sugar cane was among the first crops to be introduced into Europe's newly acquired tropical colonies -- first into the eastern Atlantic islands, and later into the West Indies and the Central and South American mainland. By 1450, sugar produced on Madeira had already begun to reach Europe, and by 1490 sugar from São Tomé (a Portuguese island possession in the gulf of Guinea) had begun to enter northern markets as well. While the introduction of sugar cane into the eastern Atlantic islands surely had a negative impact on the long-established Mediterranean sugar trade, no single event would serve to more severely erode the Mediterranean's dominance of the industry than the proliferation of sugar cane throughout the New World.

Having quickly perceived the possibilities for sugar cane cultivation in the West Indies, Columbus brought sugar cane to the island of Hispaniola on his second voyage in 1493. In the early sixteenth century, subsequent Spanish expeditions carried the crop to Puerto Rico, Cuba, and Jamaica, then on to the American continent near Vera Cruz, Mexico, where it was reportedly under cultivation as early as 1525. But nowhere in the New World was sugar cane found to thrive better than in the humid environs of coastal Brazil. After King Eanuel I of Portugal issued a royal order to introduce sugar cane cultivation into that region in 1516, the Pernambuco area quickly became the veritable epicenter of sugar production in the Americas. The long-depleted soils and drier conditions of the Mediterranean were no match for Brazil's optimum climate for sugar cane cultivation, or for its abundance of fertile, well-watered, arable lands, and the ready availability of enslaved laborers. The era of the Mediterranean's nearly one thousand-year dominance of the sugar industry rapidly drew to a close. By the end of the sixteenth century, the focus of sugar cane cultivation and sugar production had shifted across the Atlantic Ocean to the Americas; sugar cane had become nearly exclusively a New World crop.

While Spain and Portugal were the first countries to introduce sugar cane into the Americas, it was the Dutch who were largely responsible for its proliferation throughout the Lesser Antilles. Having learned the skills of sugar production during their takeover and occupation of Pernambuco between 1629 and 1654, savvy Dutch mercantilists set out to introduce the crop into the Eastern Caribbean, most notably on Barbados. By 1680, sugar was being produced on nearly all of the British- and French-held islands of the Caribbean, and sugar cane had become the dominant crop of the region [Ligon, 1673; Galloway, 1981; Watts, 1987].

It was during this period of rapid expansion of the West Indian sugar industry that Denmark first set out to establish a New World colony. Backed heavily by Dutch capital, in 1672 the Danish West Indies Company was finally successful in establishing a tenuous foothold on the island of St. Thomas. Soon after the arrival of the first Danish settlers, the colonists were joined by a small band of displaced Dutch planters and their families, who had been expelled by the British from the neighboring island of Tortola upon the outbreak of the Third Dutch War. With them, the Dutch refugees had not only brought sugar cane slips from the plantations that they had been forced to abandon on Tortola, but also the skills of sugar cane cultivation and a firsthand

knowledge of the process for converting sugar cane juice into its valuable refined end-products: sugar, molasses, and rum [Knox, 1852; Westergaard, 1917; J.O. Bro-Jørgensen, 1966].

Despite the introduction of sugar cane into St. Thomas at the very outset of the colonizing effort, a lack of suitable land and the island's limited fresh water resources retarded the growth of the sugar industry in the Danish colony. As late as 1715, only about one-third of St. Thomas's plantations were planted in sugar cane, and no more than thirty-two properties were reported to have sugar processing facilities [STLL, 1715]. It was largely in the hopes of expanding the Danish West Indies Company's share in the increasingly profitable sugar trade that the decision was finally reached to extend Denmark's colonial holdings to the neighboring island of St. John. In 1718, when Governor Bradel first laid out a set of guidelines for the occupation of that island, one of the six requirements was that a sugarworks was to be erected on each plantation within five years on penalty of the confiscation of the property [BD, 1718]. While it was later realized that not all of the land holdings on St. John were suitable for sugar cane cultivation and the order was never enforced, any planter with the necessary capital and appropriate location was clearly encouraged to do so. Among the newly established properties on St. John deemed to be suitable for sugar cane cultivation was an approximately 138-acre parcel deeded by the Danish West Indies Company to Isaac Constantin in April of 1723 [SJLL, 1728].

Industrial Development and Sugar Production on the Isaac Constantin Plantation, 1722 - 1736

To establish his plantation, Isaac Constantin's first task would have been the arduous process of clearing away a section of the dense subtropical forest that still covered much of his St. John property. After the larger trees and woody bush were cut off, the land was further cleared by burning, after which the backbreaking jobs of stumping, terracing, and tilling the soil with hoes could begin. As early as July 15, 1722, Constantin and his family were reported to be living on the plantation, and while the construction of a dwelling house, living quarters for the nine enslaved laborers, and the establishment of provision crops were the primary activities on the parcel in the early months of establishment, it can be assumed that at least a portion of the property's grounds were in the process of being converted for sugar cane cultivation soon after

that date. As the job of preparing the land and establishing cultivation continued, construction of the necessary plantation structures and the installation of sugar processing equipment commenced. A secure timber-framed warehouse, pens for the property's beasts-of-burden, and a boiling wall with four built-in copper kettles were erected, as well as a furnace upon which a copper pot-still for the distillation of rum was mounted. Concurrently, a circular, level earthen platform was excavated, in the middle of which an animal-driven crushing machine for the extraction of sugar cane juice was installed [BD, 1722; STLL, 1723-27; SJLL, 1728].

By 1729 construction appears to have been complete, and the *Constantin* plantation was recorded in the St. John tax accounts as a sugar plantation with a "sugarworks." The noted presence of a works on the *Constantin* property was followed one year later by a decrease in the number of enslaved laborers from twenty-three to eleven individuals (nine men and two children), five of whom were newly imported Africans. This drop in the number of workers may well mark the date at which initial development of the plantation had ceased, and stable productivity with a gradual expansion of cultivation had been achieved [SJLL, 1728-29].

Such was the extent of the *Constantin* plantation when the first concise appraisal of the property was carried out in December of 1732. Listed in the appraisement inventory were a dwelling house, sugar mill, boiling house, still, magazine (warehouse), and Negro houses (see complete inventory Appendix II, Table 8). Contemporary illustrations and descriptions of plantations of this era verify that the general composition of the *Constantin* property followed the typical footprint of most rudimentary sugar operations of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries (see illustrations on the following page, and in Section 1, page 13) [STBP, 1732-36].

While little information can be gleaned from available documentation regarding the extent of sugar cane cultivation or the amount of sugar produced on the *Constantin* plantation throughout this period, the property's limited labor force points toward a rather low level of production. Using the general rule-of-thumb of this era of one capable enslaved laborer per acre of sugar cane, as little as nine acres, or 6.5% of the plantation's grounds, were under cultivation at this time [Watts, 1987]. The fact that so much of the *Constantin* property remained in bush may explain the absence of a magass shed in the 1732 plantation inventory. Magass, or the dried crushed cane stalks left over from the milling process (also known as 'trash'), did not come into general use for sugar boiling until such time as the fuel-wood resources of a property became

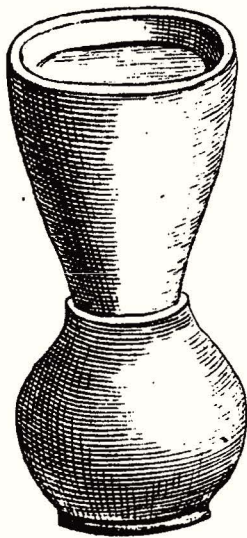
depleted: an event that may not have taken place on the *Constantin* plantation until well into the eighteenth century [Watts, 1987].



Depiction of a seventeenth or early eighteenth century sugar plantation with a nearly identical layout to that of the Isaac Constantin property: 1) dwelling house 2) sugar mill 3) boiling house 4) rum still 5) slave dwelling 6) storage building 7) cane fields

Also notably absent from the Constantin inventory is a cooper (barrel maker) amongst the plantation's enslaved labor force. This suggests that ceramic sugar pots, or jars, were being utilized rather than barrels for the storage and transport of sugar, molasses, and rum during this early period. If this was indeed the case, then the process known as 'coning' was likely being utilized to extract the molasses from the raw sugar. In the coning process, the freshly cooked sugar was cooled, then packed into open-ended cones that were placed point down in pots to drain (see illustration on following page). Coning was an effective and simple process for drawing off molasses that was well suited to the low yield sugar operations of this early period. Once the molasses was drained off, the sugar was removed from the cone and packed separately for shipping¹ [Ligon, 1673].

¹ For a full description of the sugar production process in this period see: Richard Ligon, *A True & Exact History Of the Island of Barbadoes*, pp. 84 - 92 (London, Frank Cass Publishers, 1970 [First printed London, 1657]).



Absent as well from the 1732 plantation inventory is any type of cistern -- the only water container mentioned being a "water pot" listed with the contents of the household. It is evident, therefore, that the abundant water necessary for the cleaning of the sugarworks, watering of livestock, consumption by the occupants, and fermentation for the production of rum, was being supplied by a nearby fresh water source. With the hillsides of the property still well forested, it is quite likely that the numerous watercourses that ran down the mountain to the south of the Constantin site contained springs and pools that yielded sufficient potable water to meet the needs of the plantation in this time period. Additionally, a brackish pond, located on the shoreline at the base of the hill west of the site, might have held water suitable for the sluicing of the cane-grinding machinery and boiling pots, as well as the watering of livestock.

As noted in Section 1 (page 16), sugar production on the *Constantin* plantation was interrupted in the fall of 1733 by the St. John slave revolt, during which the property's dwelling house, storage building, and laborers' houses were all burned, and the still and boiling house badly damaged. Available records give no indication as to whether the sugar cane fields on the property were also burned, but it is likely that at least some crop damage did occur. In any event, as early as June of 1734 the *Constantin* plantation was once again occupied by twelve enslaved laborers, so it would appear that the tending of the crops on the property had already recommenced by that date. Also noted on the plantation were two individuals, Francis and Cezar, who were noted respectively as a "sugar cooker" and a "carpenter," suggesting that the tasks of repairing the buildings and sugar production equipment were also well under way. It was not until 1736, however, that the St. John tax rolls once again began to note the *Constantin* property as a fully functioning plantation with a sugarworks, eight enslaved laborers, and a planter family in residence [STBP, 1732-36; SJLL, 1736].

The Transitional Period, 1737 - 1797

Judging solely from the St. John tax rolls, between 1736 and 1778 the *Constantin* plantation continued to operate under a succession of owners, with the only notable change in the records being a gradual increase in the number of enslaved workers on the property from eight to fifty-seven individuals. This steady rise in the plantation's labor force most likely corresponds with an increase in the amount of cane land being brought under cultivation over this period. As the acreage planted in sugar cane rose, sugar production levels increased. Eventually the small and somewhat archaic Constantin sugarworks could no longer efficiently service the demands of the plantation, and a higher capacity factory was erected elsewhere on the property. While the date of this relocation and upgrading of the sugarworks within the bounds of the former *Constantin* plantation has not been conclusively determined, a sudden increase, followed by a gradual decline, in the number of enslaved laborers on the property, which occurred between 1779 and 1784, certainly suggests that a flurry of heightened activity took place during that time period. These dates also correspond with the acquisition of approximately 140 acres of additional crop lands by the owners of the property: a situation that certainly would have necessitated an upgrading of the plantation's production capabilities if it had not already occurred by that date. It is possible, however, that the primary dwelling on the Constantin site continued to be utilized as an owner's or manager's residence after the processing facility on the site ceased operation, and it may have been one of the two houses listed in a later appraisal of the property [SJLL, 1728-39; SJA, 1755-84].

It is not until 1793 that a concise inventory of the elements that made up what had become known as the *Annaberg* plantation can be found in the archival records. From this document it becomes boldly evident that the large and well-developed industrial complex on *Annaberg* held little in common with the rudimentary sugarworks constructed by Isaac Constantin in the first quarter of the century. It was recorded in the inventory that the plantation was now comprised of 400 acres of land, of which 120 acres were under sugar cane cultivation, and among the estate structures were: two wooden dwelling houses, a brick-built kitchen with storeroom, a brick-built storehouse with a dungeon, another storehouse with a cistern, an animal mill with a raised rotunda, a boiling house with four copper kettles, a curing house with two

molasses tanks, a magass house, a still house with a rum cellar, a horse stable, a mule pen, and a 1,300-foot wooden shoot for conveying sugar cane down the mountain to the factory [MR, 1793]. It remains to be determined which, if any, of the structures noted in the 1793 inventory are still distinguishable on the Annaberg factory site today, but it is only logical that at least elements of these earlier plantation buildings were integrated into the expanded facility during the major reconstruction and upgrading of the complex that took place around the turn of the nineteenth century (for complete inventory see Appendix II, Chart 9).

James Murphy's Expanded Annaberg Factory Complex

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, the North American struggle for independence, combined with the rising populist fervor of the French Revolution, engulfed the entire western world in turmoil. Upon the French National Convention's declarations of war against the British and Dutch in February 1793, and Spain in March of the same year, commerce in the neutral ports of the Danish West Indies began to flourish; St. Thomas soon emerged as a regional hub for the hyperactive commerce of conflict. With France's wealthiest sugar producing colony of Saint Domingue crippled by conflict, and her slave-owning planters of the Lesser Antilles in league with the British against the radical Jacobians of the motherland, France was effectively stripped of her dominance over the West Indian sugar trade [Stein, 1988; Rogozinski, 1992]. As war and revolt wore on, the supply of West Indies goods became increasingly constricted and sugar prices soared. In the animated entrepot of Charlotte Amalie, locally produced muscovado sugar rose in value from seven to nine dollars per hundredweight in 1795, to fifteen dollars by the close of the year 1797, while rum reached the startling figure of one dollar per gallon [Nissen, 1838].

With sugar prices at an all-time high, wealthy capitalists in London and Liverpool were quick to take advantage of the void left in the sugar market by the declining fortunes of the French. Through their local attorneys (known in England as factors), they began to extend liberal lines of credit on sugar futures for the purchase, expansion, and modernization of sugar plantations throughout the Danish West Indies. Many planters borrowed heavily against their estates and future production during this period, and while some were able to service their debts

and reap considerable fortunes from their properties, others were less fortunate: their bankrupt estates falling into the hands of British creditors [STLA, 1808-10; SCR, 1807-26; Pares, 1950].

In 1795, at the very height of this turbulent period of high valuations and wild speculation, a wealthy St. Thomas-based merchant and ship owner, James E. Murphy, purchased the floundering *Smith Bay* (aka: *Leinster Bay*) plantation on St. John, and soon after began to methodically acquire shares in the neighboring *Annaberg* estate, with its associated properties of *Betty's Hope* and *Mary's Point*. By 1796, Murphy had attained his goal of sole proprietorship, and under the supervision of his trusted plantation manager, Owen Sheridan, set out to transform his new holdings into what was to become the largest sugar-producing plantation in the history of St. John [MR, 1795-97; PR, 1805; SJA; 1795-1809].

The plantation that James Murphy sought to develop was far from characteristic for the island of St. John in this, or any period, resembling more in size and scope of operations the sprawling sugar estates of St. Croix or Barbados. Clearly Murphy did not envision his properties as a group of individual plantations, but as a single, broad and integral land holding on which specific areas of endeavor were developed to maximize efficiency and take advantage of the specific resources present in that section of his estate. On a breezy hilltop with panoramic vistas overlooking the extent of his property and its approaches by land and sea, Murphy constructed a stately and well-fortified mansion house. And, along the shore of the estate's sheltered deep water anchorage on Water Lemon Bay, a center for support activities was established, consisting of warehouses, boat sheds, a lime kiln, blacksmith and carpentry shops, and a complete sugarworks to process the cane grown on the eastern section of the plantation. But, if there was a crowning jewel in Murphy's plan, one project that was to be the most costly and ambitious of all his undertakings, it was the construction of a new and modern sugar factory on the former site of the Annaberg sugarworks: a complex that would serve as the central processing facility for the nearly two hundred acres of sugar cane that stretched across the landscape on the western section of the estate [PR, 1805; SJLBP, 1809].

The sugar factory complex that Murphy constructed on *Annaberg* was based on a proposed plan by Peter L. Oxholm, published in 1797 -- only a year after Murphy's purchase of the *Annaberg* estate [SJLBP, 1809]. While Oxholm's tower windmill design appears atypical, his proposed 'T' shaped factory building, with its double battery of kettles and two stills, was truly



Peter Lotharius Oxholm

innovative. In an effort to bring the capability of the boiling house up to a level of productivity that would match, or exceed, the windmill's capacity to provide cane juice to the factory's receivers, the Oxholm plan brought under one roof the processes of boiling cane juice down into syrup, the cooling of the syrup into crystalline raw sugar, the extraction and collection of molasses from that sugar, and the distillation of rum from a mixture of molasses and fermented residue of the sugar boiling process. The plan effectively increased output by maximizing the efficiency of a series of related, successive procedures by way of ordered proximity -- a concept that would come to be embraced in most areas of manufacture during the industrial revolution, and might well be seen as the forerunner to the assembly line made famous by Henry Ford a century later [Oxholm, 1797; Linvald, 1967]. It should be noted, however, that Oxholm's design was better suited to the flat or moderately hilly topography of St. Croix, and the Annaberg sugar factory required numerous adaptations of the plan to conform to the mountainous terrain of St. John. It is here that the ingenuity of the individual, or individuals, who were responsible for those modifications shines through, as it is the efficient use of the topography that stands out as the most unique and distinguishable feature of the Annaberg sugarworks.

To efficiently process the amount of sugar cane grown on the expanded *Annaberg* estate, James Murphy constructed a new and complete factory complex on the site where the previous sugarworks described in the 1793 property inventory had stood. The new Annaberg works utilized two mills for the extraction of juice from the cane stalks: an animal mill and a windmill. Before construction of the windmill could proceed, it was necessary to create enough level ground on which to erect the tower. To accomplish this, a massive retaining wall was built and back-filled down-slope to the north and east of the site, while the western side of the flat was retained by the far walls of the property's animal mill. Although the base of the windmill was smaller in circumference than that of the rotunda for the animal mill, a somewhat larger level area was needed for the windmill in order to accommodate both the sloping gangway that led up to the mill's main opening, and the broad sweep of the tail-tree that controlled the windmill turret

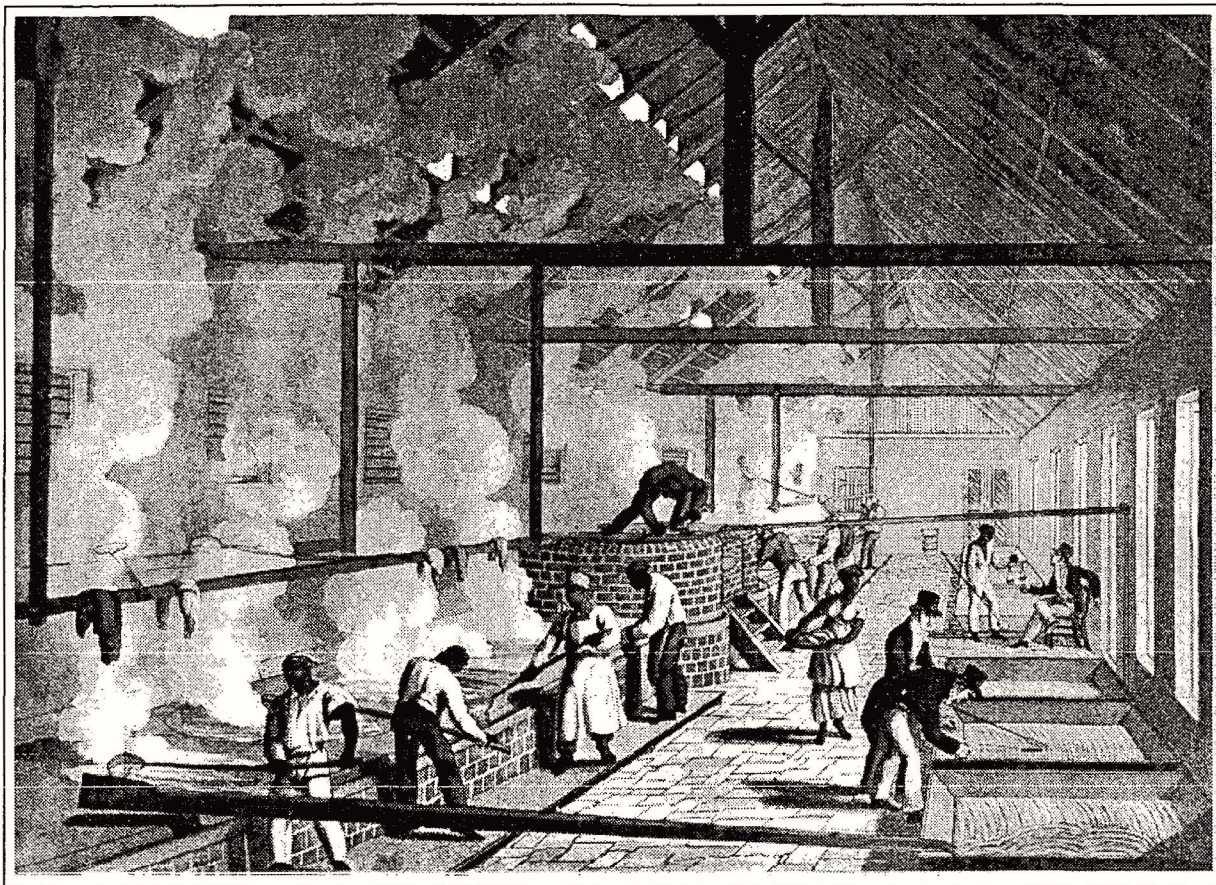
so that its blades could be adjusted into, or away from the prevailing winds (see illustrations below).



A tower windmill and sugar factory of the nineteenth century
(Barbados Museum and Historical Society Library, St. Michael, Barbados)

South of the mills, a large 'T' shaped building was erected to house the plantation's primary processing facility. In the stem of the 'T', just opposite and down-slope of the animal mill, was a long single-story room known as the **boiling house**, where the freshly squeezed sugar juice was condensed into a thick syrup [I].²

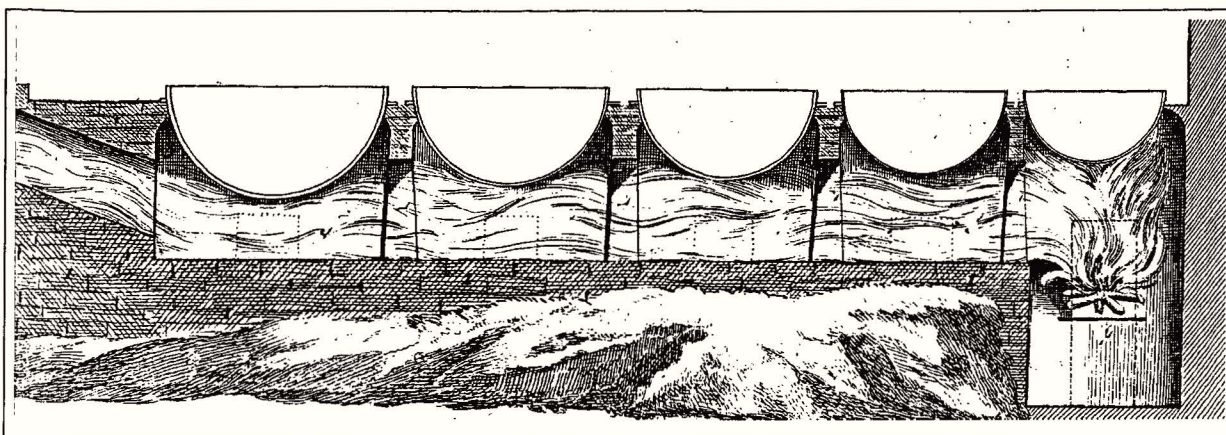
² **NOTE:** All bracketed letters encountered in the following text relate to the ground plan of the Oxholm sugar factory found on page 39 of this section. For a detailed description of the sugar production process on *Annaberg*, see the final subheading in this section beginning on page 44.



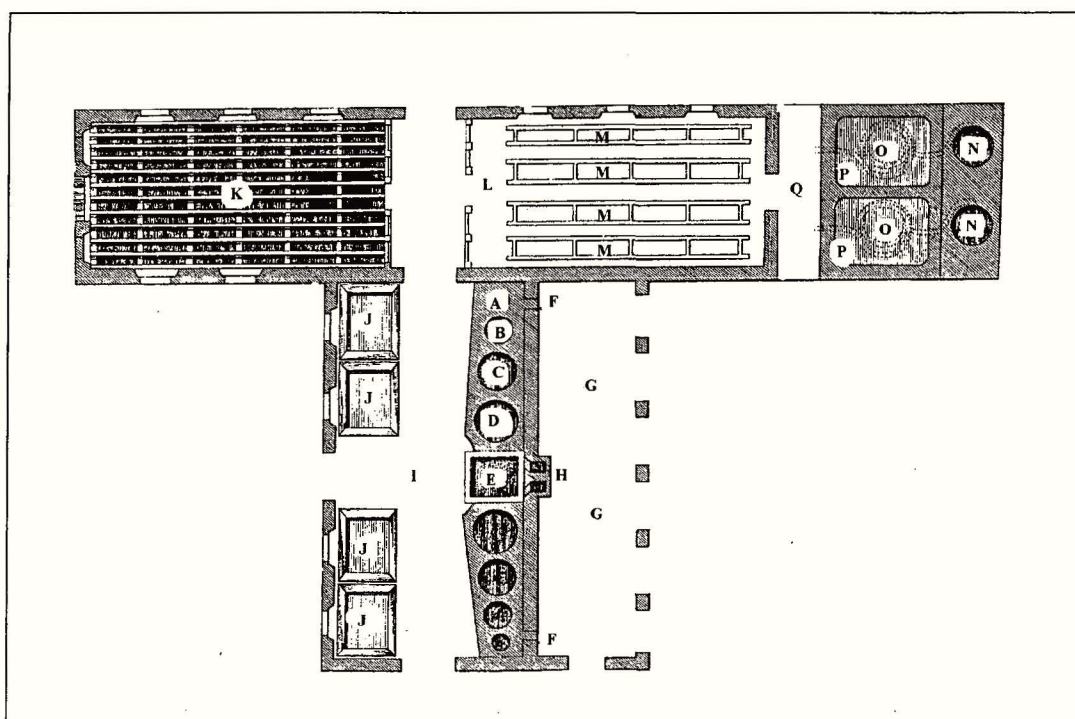
Scene in a nineteenth-century boiling house
(Barbados Museum and Historical Society Library, St. Michael, Barbados)

Situated along the west wall of the boiling house was a raised platform that held two **batteries** of kettles comprised of four kettles each called the **boiling bench** [A, B, C, & D]. These kettles, known also as **coppers**, were laid out in descending order of size on either side of a large receiving tank called the **clarifier** [E].

Heat for the boiling bench was provided by two furnaces [F]: one for each battery of kettles. The furnaces were stoked from an area on the outside of the west wall of the boiling house known as the **firing trench** [G]. Oxholm's plan called for the use of a furnace design known as a **Jamaica train**. In the Jamaica train, one fire, lit and maintained under the smallest and hottest pot in the boiling bench, the **Teache** [A], was used to heat the entire battery; while the temperature of the individual kettles was controlled by a series of damper doors located along the length of the firing trench. Smoke from the furnaces was expelled by way of a tall external chimney [H], situated in-between the two batteries of kettles opposite the clarifier.



Above: Cross section of a 'Jamaica train furnace'
(Detail from: Diderot, 1752 [Reprinted 1959])



- | | |
|------------------------------------|---|
| A) Teache, or fourth copper | I) Boiling house |
| B) Third kettle, or third copper | J) Cooling pans |
| C) Second kettle, or second copper | K) Curing house |
| D) The grand copper | L) Still house |
| E) Clarifier | M) Trestles to support the fermentation butts |
| F) Firing holes of the furnace | N) Pot-stills |
| G) Firing trench | O) Worm, or condensation coil |
| H) Chimney | P) Worm cistern |
| | Q) Receiver |

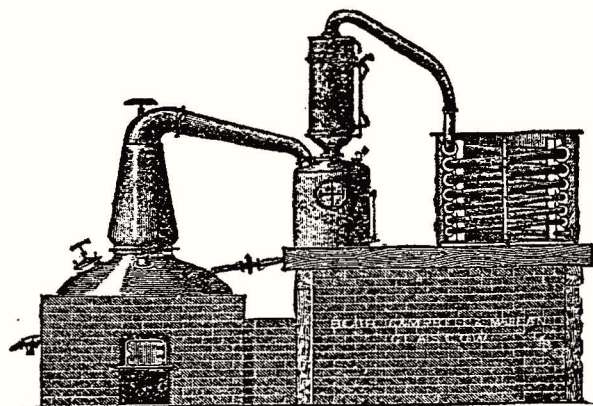
Note: In the Annaberg factory building the curing house comprised two stories: a ground floor room, where the molasses cistern was located, and a room above where the barrels were set out to drain into the cistern below.

Along the east wall of the interior of the boiling house, directly across from the boiling bench, was an area reserved for the placement of a series of shallow, lead-lined **cooling pans** [J], in which the freshly cooked syrup was periodically turned, or raked, as it hardened into crystalline sugar.

Because the Annaberg sugar factory was built on a steep slope, the southern end of the structure that formed the head of the 'T' stood three stories tall. In the top wooden loft or attic story, were the quarters of the plantation's overseer and under-overseer. On the second story, which was level with the floor of the boiling house, the room in the western wing was used as a storeroom and staging area, where the crystallized raw sugar was packed into barrels with holes drilled into one end [above L]. From there, the barrels were rolled into the room on the opposite side of this wing called the **curing house** [K], which had a floor made of open grating. Under this grating was a second sloped floor, with channels leading to an opening situated directly above the **molasses cistern** that stood on the ground floor. The freshly packed barrels of sugar were placed upright on the grating with the holed ends facing downward. Over a period of roughly two to three weeks the barrels were allowed to drain in this manner, while the molasses separated from the sugar crystals and collected in the tank below. Once fully drained, the barrels were sealed and the sugar was conveyed to a warehouse on the bay to await shipping. Meanwhile, the molasses that had been collected in the cistern on the ground floor under the curing house was drawn off and barreled in the open area at the east side of the room [below K]. Some of the molasses was tightly sealed and sent to the warehouse along with the sugar for export, but a portion (depending on the market price of molasses and rum) was transported to the **still house** to be used in the production of rum [L].

On the floor of the still house were mounted heavy timber trestles that elevated and supported large wooden fermentation tanks known as **butts** [M]. It is known from an inventory of the *Annaberg* plantation that two 300-gallon and four 200-gallon butts stood in the still house during this period. Outside, on the far western end of the still house wing, stood a **worm cistern** (shown in the Oxholm plan as two cisterns) [P], and beyond that were two furnaces over which copper **pot-stills** were mounted [N]. A portion of fermented liquid made from a mixture of water, molasses, and skimmings (or skummings), taken off the top of the boiling cane juice, was drawn off from the butts and placed into the stills. When boiled, the mixture turned to steam and rose

into a collector, from where it was directed into a series of tubular coils submerged in cool water called the **worm** [O]. As the steam cooled it condensed into liquid alcohol (rum), which exited the end of the coil through a pipe into a shallow trough at the base of the worm cistern called a **receiver** [Q].



A nineteenth century rum still

It is here in the Annaberg distillery that an ingenious adaptation of the Oxholm plan is most apparent. In the hot and drought-prone islands of the Lesser Antilles, the production levels of a distillery were limited by a facility's ability to access cool water to create efficient condensation. If cool water was not continually added to the worm cistern during the distillation process, the steam going through the coils would heat the water and the still would have to be shut down while the worm cistern cooled [Anon., 1785]. To overcome this problem on *Annaberg*, a 570-foot elevated aqueduct was constructed to carry cool water to the worm cistern from a spring-fed holding tank located uphill to the southeast of the factory. As the water in the worm cistern warmed, it was drawn off and either directed through a channel into the boiling house, where it was used for rinsing out the sugar kettles, or sent directly into the still house to refill the butts for a new round of fermentation. Either way, the warm water from the worm cistern always ended up in the fermentation butts, as whatever amount was used for cleaning the kettles was afterwards ladled into the skimming channel on the front of the boiling bench that led down into the still house.

It is an intriguing postscript to this section to note that if it were not for one document, we may never have known the dates, or which of the many owners of the estate was the individual

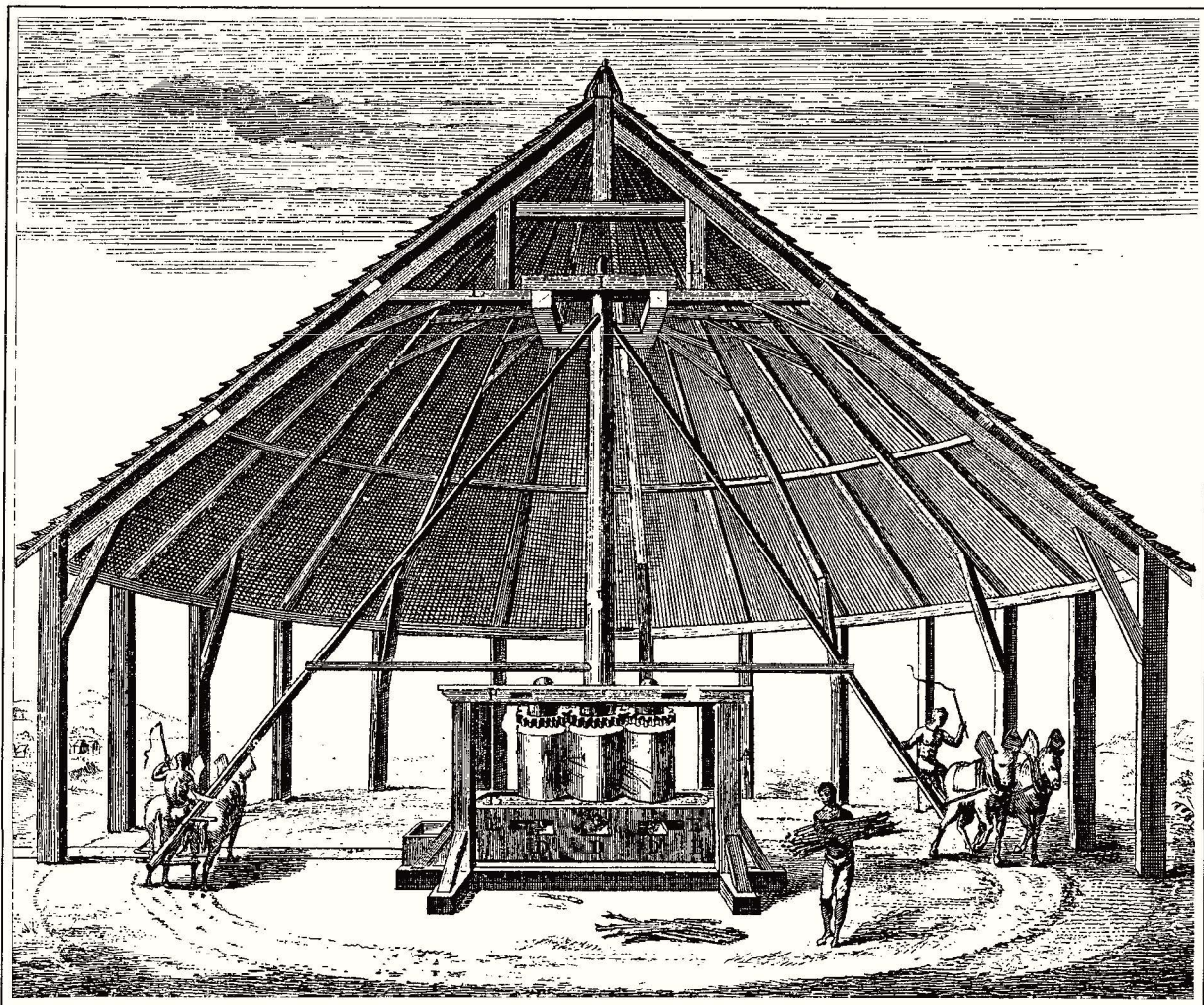
responsible for the construction of the imposing Annaberg sugar factory complex. Buried amidst the voluminous records relating to the Danish West Indies colony in the Danish National Archives in Copenhagen was found a single sheet of tabulations pertaining to the enslaved population on *Annaberg* in 1805. In a blank space at the bottom of the page labeled "Observations," James Murphy's plantation overseer, Owen Sheridan, wrote in a cramped, but legible script: "On this estate is a wind mill, cattle mill, a large & convenient set of works, a magass house, a mule pen with sheds, all built since 1797..." [PR, 1805] (for a complete transcript of the plantation reports for Murphy's St. John properties see: Appendix II; third page of Table 11).

Nineteenth Century Modifications To The Annaberg Factory Complex

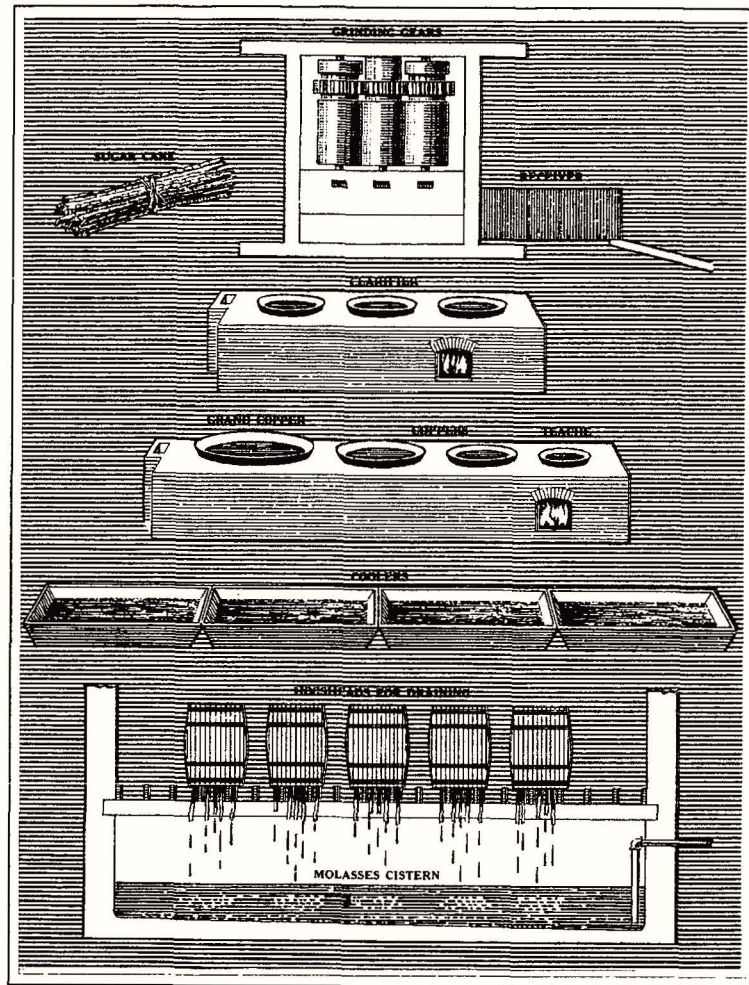
It must be stressed that the preceding description of the Annaberg factory has sought to portray the primary processing facility on the estate as it was at the time of its construction between 1797 and 1805. But, as evidenced by even a cursory inspection of the ruins that stand on the site today, the Annaberg complex has undergone any number of modifications over the years -- the most recent being the large-scale stabilization efforts carried out by the National Park Service in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Inventories for the estate indicate that sometime prior to 1863 the boiling bench in the Annaberg factory was converted to a single battery of four kettles, with perhaps as many as three built in clarifying tanks. Presumably at the same time the distillery was reduced to one pot-still. These modifications are represented by the configuration encountered on the site today. It is possible that this down-sizing of production capabilities occurred as early as the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, when tax records indicate that the amount of sugar cane under cultivation on the plantation plummeted from 200 to less than 90 acres, and the enslaved population dropped from 180 to 155 individuals (see Appendix I, Charts B, C, and D) [SJA, 1819-25]. While the exact dates of any of the alterations to the Annaberg factory during the Danish colonial period remain uncertain, it is clear that after emancipation was achieved in 1848, labor shortages and falling sugar prices had made it no longer economically feasible to run and

maintain the facility at anything close to its original levels of production. Although sugar continued to be made at *Annaberg* until the devastating year of 1867, production had long been erratic at best, and the cane-sugar industry as a whole had been in general decline since the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century [SJRD, 1846-70; STA, 1803-1915]. By the time a census was compiled on St. John in the fall of 1870, the Annaberg factory complex lay totally abandoned, its outdated equipment and processing facilities damaged beyond all hope of a profitable resumption of production. No organized large-scale sugar production, or attempts to modify the structures on the site for alternative industries, has taken place at the Annaberg factory complex since that date.



An animal driven sugar mill
(Detail from: Diderot, 1752 [Reprinted 1959])



(Illustration from Lewisohn, 1964)

How Sugar Was Made At The Annaberg Factory

At *Annaberg* sugar cane was cut in the fields and conveyed to the mills by various means. Wooden channels were used to "shoot" the sugar cane downhill from the fields in the upland areas of the plantation, and a "windlass" was used to hoist sugar cane up from the fields in the valley below the factory. But, as on most properties, the majority of the sugar cane was brought to the mills by cart.

Once near the mill the cane stalks were cut short, bundled, and carried by hand to the grinders. All canes were passed through the mill's grinding machinery twice, after which the

spent stalks, called **magass**, were carried away to a drying shed for later use as fuel for the furnaces of the boiling house.

Juice from the crushed cane ran out of the bottom of the grinders into a large vessel known as the **receiver**. The flow of the juice collected in the receiver could be controlled. When fresh juice was needed in the factory it was released from the receiver into a trough or pipe that led downhill into a tank in the factory known as a **clarifier** (at different dates the Annaberg boiling house might have had as few as one, or as many as three clarifiers).

The clarifier, which generally held between 300 and 400 gallons, was situated on the boiling bench in a position where its contents were heated but never boiled. To the juice in the clarifier was added a temper, such as lime powder, a vegetable alkali, or the ashes of certain woods, and as the mixture warmed impurities attached to the temper and rose to the surface as scum. Unlike the froth that was formed in the pots at a later stages of the boiling process, scum from the clarifier could not be used in the fermentation butts for the distillation of rum. It was, however, collected and made into slop for animal feed.

The cane juice remained in the clarifier for approximately an hour while impurities collected on top. Once ready for boiling, the juice was let out of the clarifier by way of a cock or siphon into the largest boiling pot on the bench known as the **grand copper**. As the juice in the grand copper boiled, a thick frothy scum formed on the top. This residue was used in the same manner as the scum from the clarifier, while skimmings from the final three kettles were taken off and placed in a channel that ran down the front of the boiling bench into the still house where they were put in the fermentation butts. When the contents of the grand copper had been reduced through evaporation by roughly half, the now somewhat thicker juice was quickly ladled into the next copper in the battery, and the grand copper was refilled from the clarifier.

As boiling and skimming continued in the **second and third coppers**, the juice became increasingly reduced. At this stage, it was often necessary to add lime-water to the coppers in order to facilitate further tempering and dilute the juice's thickness.

Finally, the thickened juice was ladled into the fourth and hottest kettle called the **teache**, where the final stage of evaporation was carried out. By this point the juice had become a heavy syrup, and it was tested in cold water for coagulation. When deemed ready, the syrup was rapidly ladled into a shallow, lead-lined box called a **cooling pan**. The act of removing the juice from the

teache at the proper moment before the sugar burned, but after the point when it would crystallize upon cooling, was called **striking**, and it was amongst the most critical procedures in the sugar production process

Cooling pans were usually 7 feet long by 5 feet wide and held roughly 1,600 pounds of sugar. Once in the cooling pan the cane syrup gradually hardened into a coarse mass of crystals in a thick brown residue called **molasses**. As the crystals formed, they were occasionally raked in order to separate the grains and prevent the sugar from clumping. Once the sugar was sufficiently cooled, it was transported to the **curing house** where the process of draining off the molasses was carried out.

Sugar produced in this manner, known as **muscovado**, was still quite dark in color. The refining of muscovado into white sugar was not allowed in the Danish West Indies. That right was reserved for the large and powerful sugar refineries in Denmark. Rum, which was made with byproducts from the sugar production process, was the only truly refined end-product exported from the Annaberg factory during the colonial period.

AN UPDATED SURVEY OF THE ANNABERG FACTORY COMPLEX

NAME

The Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION

The Annaberg factory complex is located on the North Shore of St. John approximately midway between Annaberg Point and the mouth of Mary's Creek at N18° 21.783' x W 64° 43.787'.³ The mills and factory are situated on a prominent knoll a short distance from the shoreline at an average elevation of 107 feet (32.61 meters) above mean sea level.⁴ The site commands an expansive view of the surrounding landscape of St. John and the British Virgin Islands, as well as Mary's Creek, Water Lemon Bay, and the Narrows of Sir Francis Drake's Channel. The Annaberg factory ruins are approached by vehicular traffic from the west via a spur of the North Shore Road (Route 20). Presently, the site can be accessed from the east only on foot by way of a trail which roughly follows the historic estate road that once connected *Annaberg* with neighboring *Leinster Bay* plantation.

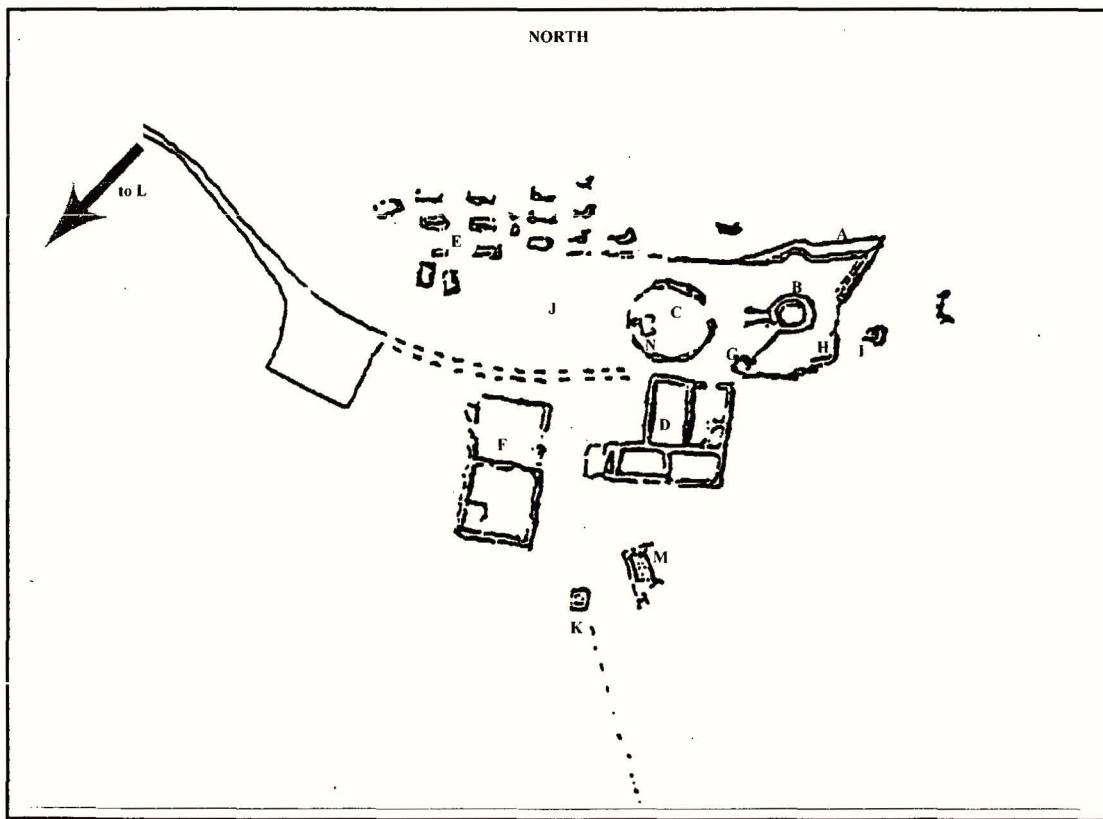
DESCRIPTION (Note: bracketed letters in the following text refer to the site map on page 48 of this section.)

The ruins of the Annaberg factory complex stand out as a prominent landmark amidst the rapidly diminishing cultural landscape of St. John's North Shore. A sturdy retaining wall [A], constructed along the north, east, and southeast sides of a knoll, supports an irregular level platform that provides the setting for the site's masonry windmill tower [B] and animal mill [C]. The walls of the animal mill rotunda serve to retain the platform to the northwest, west, and

³ Site location reading was taken from the center point of the Annaberg animal mill with a Garmin eTrex Summit Global Positioning System. GPS display indicated an accuracy of within 21 feet.

⁴ *ibid.* [no margin of accuracy indicated]

southwest. The ruins of the site's primary processing facility (factory building) [D] stand down-slope from the mill platform, roughly 48 feet south of the center point of the animal mill. Fragments of at least twenty-one laborers' houses [E] with rubble masonry foundations can be discerned on the northeast, north, and northwest slopes of the knoll below the retaining walls. Additionally, excavated flat areas on the hillside denote where other dwellings of less substantial construction once stood. In addition to these elements, the Annaberg factory complex also comprises the ruined remains of a mule pen [F], bake oven [G], a sick house with a cistern and detention cell [H], a privy [I], magass house [J], two elevated cisterns with a connecting aqueduct [K], a well with a drinking trough [L], and an unidentified structure [M]. An early twentieth century cook house has also been preserved on the site [N].



Although the lands associated with the *Annaberg* plantation were under cultivation as early as 1722, the existing Annaberg factory complex was not constructed until after the purchase of the property by James E. Murphy in 1796. Soon after his acquisition of the estate, Murphy set out to upgrade and modernize his new holding by the construction of a state-of-the-art processing facility and a tower windmill. By 1805 construction was complete, and it was reported to the Danish West Indies government that on the site now stood "... a wind mill, cattle mill, a large &

convenient set of works, a magass house, a mule pen with sheds, all built since 1797..." [PR, 1805].

After James Murphy's death in 1808, *Annaberg* remained in the hands of his heirs and their guardians until 1862. Throughout most of this period the plantation remained profitable, with production levels exceeding 100,000 pounds of raw sugar per year as late as 1845. But growing soil depletion, a sagging colonial economy, and labor shortages after emancipation in 1848 all served to drive down production. In 1861, *Annaberg's* sugar crop yielded less than 5,000 pounds of raw sugar.

In 1863 the *Annaberg* estate was put up for public auction and sold to a local St. John planter of mixed European and African descent, Abraham C. Hill. Hill, however, did not survive to take possession of the property. Less than one year later *Annaberg* was auctioned once again, and on that occasion it was purchased by Thomas Letsom Loyd of Tortola. For a time Thomas Loyd struggled to keep the Annaberg factory in operation, but the catastrophic hurricane and earthquakes of 1867 soon brought the era of sugar production on the estate to a close. With his buildings in ruin, and his diminished cane fields rapidly reverting to bush, Loyd sold *Annaberg* to George Francis for the sum of \$100. No sugar production has taken place at the Annaberg factory complex since that date.

The present condition of the primary components of the Annaberg factory complex are generally good and stable. However, no stabilization efforts have been carried out on the aqueduct system and cisterns [K], the well and watering trough [L], the unidentified structure [M], or the mule pen [F], all of which are rapidly deteriorating and in immediate need of attention.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Built at the very pinnacle of the sugar trade at the turn of the nineteenth century, the Annaberg factory complex is the finest and most well-preserved publicly accessible example of a colonial-era sugar processing facility in the Virgin Islands. Planned and constructed with an

unwavering singularity of purpose, the Annaberg factory was perhaps the first sugar factory constructed in the northern Virgin Islands to the plan proposed by Danish engineer Peter L. Oxholm in 1797.

The ruins of the Annaberg factory complex illustrate the colonial-era manufacture of muscovado sugar and its byproducts, molasses and rum, from the extraction of sugar cane juice to the packing and storage of those products for export. Additionally, the remains of the laborers' village on the site offer a rare glimpse into the life-ways and living conditions of the individuals of African descent who physically constructed the complex, cultivated the fields, and operated, serviced, and maintained the factory. But far beyond being simply the well-preserved remains of an industrial processing facility of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the ruins of the Annaberg factory complex stand out as an enduring reminder of the vast fortunes that were gained by an elite few at the cost of incomprehensible human suffering throughout the colonial period.

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins within the Annaberg factory complex are significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing, or the post-plantation period of subsistence farming and livestock rearing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the **Annaberg Historic District**, the sugar factory complex is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other sites in the district. While the loss of structural components and equipment decrease integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg factory complex to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE:

For many visitors, a trip to *Annaberg* is a step back into America's rich colonial past: a visit to a place where history and heritage become tangible. They are awed by the beauty of the

surroundings and impressed by the imposing ruins. The majority envision the site in the historic context of a colonial era plantation, frozen in time as it were, seldom questioning what transpired there after sugar production ceased.



Estate owner Carl Francis and family at *Annaberg*, circa 1919
(Royal Library Photograph Collection, Copenhagen)

To others however, and in particular Virgin Islanders, *Annaberg* is perceived quite differently. Alone, the ruins of the factory complex are simply relics of a harsh and painful past: symbols of slavery, restrictive contract labor, inhumanity, and injustice. And so it is on elements of the site that demonstrate the unique cultural identity of free and determined people of African heritage that many individuals train their focus. The stoutly constructed cook house built atop the animal mill in the early twentieth century by the estate owner, himself the son of a former slave on *Annaberg*, becomes a central point of context for the site. Features such as this speak to the fact that long after the mills ceased to revolve, and the furnaces of the factory grew cold, history continued to unfold on *Annaberg*. From this perspective, the ruined factory structures on the site serve only as a backdrop; the real story becomes that of a population whose pride and strength somehow endured, despite the deprivations of forced migration and imposed bondage, to forge a rich and ongoing legacy that is the cultural heritage of the Virgin Islands people.

All things considered, it is apparent that the historic context of the Annaberg factory complex must be broadly interpreted, leaving ample latitude for cultural inclusiveness and a diversity of historical perspectives. It is therefore recommended that the "period of significance" of the site not be limited to a single specific date range, but be viewed from an administrative and interpretive standpoint as multiple and ongoing.

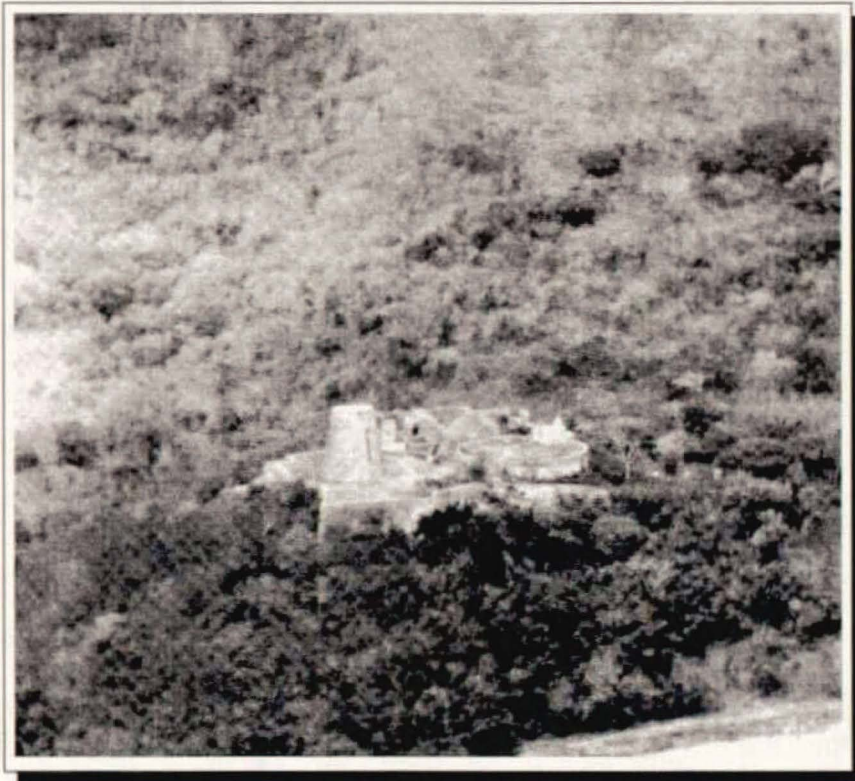
Date range of the operating life span of the *Constantin/Annaberg* sugar plantation: 1722 - 1867

Date range of industrial land use at the Annaberg factory complex: circa 1779 - 1867

Date range of operation of the present Annaberg factory complex: 1797 - 1867

Date range of post-production land use and occupation on the *Annaberg* estate: 1867 - 1953

Date range of the Annaberg factory complex having a significant impact on the history and culture of Virgin Islands: ongoing.



The Annaberg Factory Complex as it appeared in May 1961
(NPS photograph, St. John repository)

CONTRIBUTING FEATURES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ANNABERG FACTORY COMPLEX

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[A] Retaining Wall, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

The Annaberg retaining wall supports the north, east, and southeast sides of the irregular earthen platform that provides the setting for the site's mills. The walls of the animal mill rotunda serve to retain the platform to the northwest, west, and southwest.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

A continuous rubble masonry retaining wall varying in height from five to twenty feet controls the grades of the Annaberg mill platform. On the north side of the site the wall extends east-west for approximately 300 feet. Towards the east it extends south for roughly 100 feet before continuing in a generally southwesterly direction for another 70 feet. The highest section of the wall is at its northeast intersection where it supports the level area of the windmill platform that accommodated the sweep of the mill's tail-tree. A small vaulted cell is built into the southeast corner of the platform and is accessible from grade level below the retaining wall (see: [H] Sick House, Cistern and Detention Cell).

Present condition of the Annaberg retaining wall is generally good and stable.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further

information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the retaining wall is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While some reconstruction has taken place, enough remains of the original Annaberg retaining wall to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Most of the Annaberg retaining wall was built at the time of the construction of the windmill, between 1797 and 1805. However, it is likely that elements of the wall predate the existing factory complex.

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg retaining wall: 1796 - 1867

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[B] Windmill, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

Situated within the cluster of ruined structures that make up the Annaberg factory complex, the masonry cone of the site's windmill is located 83 feet east of the center point of the Animal Mill (N18° 21.783' x W 64° 43.787').

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

"The ruins of the windmill stand on the level platform centered north-south and six feet from its east edge. The circular mill consists of a truncated cone with an exterior diameter of 34 feet at its base and 20' 2" at the top, which is 38 feet high. It is built in rubble masonry with battered and stepped walls measuring 4' 10" at floor level (11 feet above grade of platform) and 2' 10" at the top. The interior diameter is 20 feet diminishing upward to 14' 6". Access to the mill is from the west by built-up ramp that is preserved in fragments only. In addition to the entrance, there is an opening in the walls for discharging the bagasse towards the northwest, an exchange slit towards the north, and an opening for the cane juice sluice towards the south. All openings are arched and framed in cut and dressed coral blocks on the exterior. They are decorated with keystones and projecting voussoirs. Additionally, the exterior has a projecting collar band, two framed masonry panels over the entrance and an articulated base. On the interior facing the entrance is a shallow fireplace built into the exterior wall. The flue follows the curvature of the wall and opens to the exterior immediately below the collar band on the north side of the mill. The mill has retained fragments of the original brick pavement and traces of the interior wood framing can still be discerned, but except for two beams in the exchange slit, all parts of the interior works and of the moveable wood superstructure that crowned the masonry tower are missing. The standing masonry cone is in good condition" [Gjessing, 1978].

In addition to the above noted windmill components, it is known from an 1809 plantation inventory that a "complete kitchen and oven" were once located under the windmill gangway.

Present condition of the Annaberg windmill tower is generally good and stable.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the windmill tower is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decrease integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg windmill to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Annaberg windmill was constructed between 1797 and 1805. It is of the Dutch type, a design that was in common use throughout the Danish West Indies in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in which the axle and sails were moved into position by way of a timber pole (tail-tree) connected to a rotating wooden turret. The windmill was noted to be in "good condition" in estate inventories as late as 1863, so it can be assumed that it was still operable until sugar production ceased on the site in 1867.

Period of significance of the Annaberg windmill: 1797 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[C] Animal Mill, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

Situated within the cluster of ruined structures that make up the Annaberg factory complex, the animal mill is centered at N18° 21.783' x W 64° 43.787'. The walls of the outer radius of the mill are roughly 50 feet west of the windmill tower and 15 feet north of the factory building at their closest points.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Annaberg animal mill comprises a level, nearly circular platform, with an average diameter of approximately 66 feet. The mill rotunda is defined by a rubble masonry retaining wall ranging from 3 to 13 feet in height. Access to the mill platform is from the east, opposite the windmill. The masonry foundations of the grinding mechanism, the brick-covered cane juice gutter, and the footprint of the juice receiver are all still in evidence. A section of the exterior retaining wall on the northwest side has collapsed revealing the walls of an earlier and smaller animal mill, the upper walls of which are also discernible at some places on the mill platform -- most notably near the opening on the east side. Subsequent to the discontinuance of sugar production on the *Annaberg* plantation, a wooden dwelling was erected on the mill platform with a detached masonry cook house. While the remains of the house were removed by the NPS in 1960, the cook house has been preserved and is located near the perimeter wall on the west side of the mill (see [N] Annaberg Cook House).

Present condition of the Annaberg animal mill is generally good and stable.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the animal mill is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decrease integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg animal mill to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

It is known from estate inventories that a previous animal mill stood on the *Annaberg* site prior to 1793. The remains of this somewhat smaller mill have been exposed by a collapse of the retaining wall on the west side of the existing rotunda. Construction began on the larger mill after the purchase of *Annaberg* by James E. Murphy in 1796. It was completed by 1805. An animal mill was noted in estate documents as late as 1863, so it can be assumed that it was still operable when sugar production ceased on the site in 1867.

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg animal mill: 1797 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[D] Factory Building, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

The north wall of the Annaberg factory building is located approximately 48 feet south of the center point of the animal mill (N18° 21.783' x W 64° 43.787').

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

"The factory is a "T" shaped building. The stem of the "T" contained the boiling house that points south-north towards the horse mill and measures 31' 8" by 58' 9". The head of the "T" contained the storage, curing and fermentation facilities of the factory and built against its west wall a still and still cistern. It measures 112' by 27' 9". The east wall of the curing and storage wing and the north wall of the boiling house are continued north and east, respectively in stone walls enclosing a rectangular open court east of the boiling house paved in fieldstone. The court is entered by a gateway in the north wall. It contains a cistern in the southeast corner, a masonry staircase supported on two arches built against the storage wing leading to a former attic story and the masonry footings of a small wood structure that was built against the east wall of the boiling house.

"A firing trench is located against the west wall of the boiling house. Traces of the former roof over the trench is still discernible. Access to the boiling house is from the north and east. Its floor level is 30 inches above the grade of the passage between the factory and the horse mill and two feet above grade of the court. A doorway in the south wall of the boiling house provided access to the storage and curing wing of the factory which led to the higher terrain on the south side of the factory has a full story below the first floor of the boiling house. The storage and curing wing is divided into two equal spaces and on the second floor interconnected by a doorway. The ground floor is accessible from the exterior through two doorways in the south wall. The walls of the boiling house and the north and south wall of the storage and curing wing stand to plate height. Although both the chimney and the still have been reduced to rubble,

the standing remains provide a clear picture of the functions of the factory and the various steps of the sugar production.... The building shows evidence of alterations and additions and the storage and curing wing of the factory exhibit building practices of considerable variances with the boiling house" [Gjessing, 1978].

Present condition of the Annaberg factory building is generally good and stable.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the factory building is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decrease integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg factory building to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

It is known from estate inventories that a previous boiling house stood on the *Annaberg* site prior to 1793. Elements of this earlier structure may have been retained and utilized in constructing the existing factory building. Construction of the current factory building began after 1796, and the building was completed prior to 1805. At an undetermined date prior to 1863 the production capabilities of the factory were down-sized from an eight- to a four-pot boiling house, and from a two- to a one-still distillery. Despite these modifications the Annaberg factory building remained in continuous operation until sugar production ceased on the site in 1867.

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg factory building: 1797 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[E] Laborers' Village, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

The Annaberg factory complex is located on the North Shore of St. John approximately midway between Annaberg Point and the mouth of Mary's Creek at N18° 21.783' x W 64° 43.787'. The village of the estate's laborers is situated downslope of the factory complex along the full length of the north retaining wall, and beyond it to the east and west along the contour of the hillsides.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The remains of at least twenty-one dwellings can still be discerned in the area of the Annaberg laborers' village -- although as many as sixty-five are known to have once stood on the site. The houses had packed mud and lime mortar walls, reinforced by a woven frame of small branches supported by roughhewn upright poles. Roofs were thatched with palm fronds or stacked reeds known as 'thrash.' At least nineteen of these structures had rubble masonry foundations about 2 feet 6 inches in height, with an average dimension of 13 by 26 feet. The wattle and daub walls have long since disintegrated, but imprints of the wooden frames are still visible on the inside of the masonry bases. The access door for each dwelling was located in an end wall and the floors were made of a stamped clay and lime mixture. What may have been an bake oven or a small kiln for the production of low-fired pottery (often referred to as 'slave ware') is located in the northwestern section of the village between the remains of two dwellings.

Overall condition of the elements that comprise the Annaberg laborers' village are generally poor, with only a few foundations presently stabilized. More attention to this highly significant, and potentially oldest, area of the factory complex is advised.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the laborers' village is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components decreases integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg laborers' village to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

In his 1780 manuscript map of St. John, Peter Oxholm depicted a cluster of slave dwellings situated in roughly the same location where the main concentration of ruined foundations of the village are found on *Annaberg* today. Estate inventories indicate that the village comprised twenty-one slave dwellings by 1793, and that this number continued to grow until 1809 when sixty-five houses were recorded. In 1863, when the last inventory was taken before sugar production at *Annaberg* ceased, there were still twenty-four occupied dwellings in the laborers' village. It is not known at what date the last of these structures was vacated.

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg laborers' village: circa 1779 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[F] **Livestock Pen and Possible Stables, Annaberg Factory Complex** (Note: both mules and cattle were used to propel the animal mill on *Annaberg* during different periods.)

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

The Annaberg livestock pen and possible stables are located downslope 70 feet west of the factory building.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Annaberg livestock pen and possible stables are represented by a rectangular enclosure defined by rubble masonry walls. The outer perimeter of the pen measure 60 by 120 feet. It is divided into two equal sections by a cross wall. The footings of a covered enclosure built against the outer walls measuring 20 by 30 feet are located in the southwest corner of the pen. This covered area was possibly the estate's horse stables, while the northern enclosure, which was most likely covered by a thatched shade or canopy, was reserved for the beasts-of-burden (mules and cattle) that ran the mill. The walls of the pen have crumbled and stand to their original height only in the southwest and southeast corners and for a short section of the east wall.

Present condition of the Annaberg livestock pen and stables is generally poor, with little or no stabilization ever having taken place. This feature is also being adversely impacted by the cultural demonstration of charcoal burning on the site. The relocation of these demonstrations and the stabilization and maintenance of all remaining standing walls are advised.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further

information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the livestock pen and stables are clearly of national significance. They possess substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying their original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decrease integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg livestock pen and stables to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Estate inventories indicate that an animal pen and stables stood on the *Annaberg* site prior to 1793. Elements of these earlier structures may have been retained and utilized in constructing the present feature. Construction of the existing livestock pen with its associated stables began soon after the purchase of *Annaberg* by James E. Murphy in 1796. It is known to have been completed prior to 1805. The pen and stables remained in continuous use until sugar production ceased on the site in 1867. A portion of the pen may have continued to be utilized as a corral throughout the post-production period of general farming and stock raising.

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg livestock pen and stables: circa 1779 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[G] Bake Oven, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

Situated within the cluster of ruined structures that make up the Annaberg factory complex, the bake oven is located at the southeast end of the retaining wall between the windmill tower and the court of the factory, 65 feet from the center of the animal mill.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

"A bake oven measuring 12' X 10' 6" is located at the southeast end of the retaining wall between the windmill tower and the court of the factory. It has a short flue above the opening of the baking chamber on the west face of the oven. It is constructed in rubble masonry with brick lining of openings, bake chamber and flue. The unusually large size of the bake oven indicates it was used in community food preparation" [Gjessing, 1978].

Overall condition of the Annaberg bake oven is good and stable; however, some patching and general maintenance are presently necessary to mitigate future deterioration.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the bake oven is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

It is known from the 1809 estate inventory that a "complete kitchen and oven" was located "under the gangway" of the Annaberg windmill. The existing oven is presumed to be the one referenced in that document. If so, the oven most likely remained in continuous use until

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg bake oven: circa 1797 - 1867

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[H] Sick House, Cistern, and Detention Cell, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION

Situated within the cluster of ruined structures that make up the Annaberg factory complex, the sick house is located 123 feet east-southeast of the center point of the animal mill at the southeast corner of the windmill platform. An in-ground cistern and a detention cell, which is accessed from grade level, provide the foundation for the structure.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The structure believed to be the Annaberg sick house is represented by a rectangular foundation and floor slab measuring 23 feet 6 inches by 17 feet 9 inches. The floor of the building stands at ground level on the southeast corner of the windmill platform, while its east and south foundation walls form the southeast corner of the platform's retaining wall. The building appears to have originally been constructed as an independent structure, but was later incorporated into the retaining wall when the windmill platform was created. In the northern section of the sick house foundation is an open water cistern measuring 6 by 10 feet, with a depth of 8 feet. Beam pockets around the upper rim of the cistern indicate that it was covered over by a floor. Built into the western edge of the slab is an 8-foot downspout receiver that channeled water into the cistern. Remnants of a staircase that once led from the mill platform to grade level at the base of the cistern are discernible on the east retaining wall. The steps appear to have accessed the site's privy and bath area. A bricked recess with a water outlet at the foot of the steps may have been a mount for a basin and water tap. The foundation of the privy is located 14 feet east downslope of the cistern, and these two features may once have been housed under a wooden roof that is no longer apparent (see: [I] Privy).

Below the sick house floor in the southern section of the foundation is a vaulted detention cell that is accessed by way of a south-facing door at grade level. A small window is located in

the east wall of the cell. Perhaps the most important and least appreciated features of the Annaberg factory complex are the numerous images scratched into the walls of the detention cell. Among them are drawings of at least two ships, one closely resembling a type known as a Baltimore Clipper. Because of their speed and nimble handling characteristics, Baltimore Clippers were often used in the illicit slave trade during the mid and late nineteenth century. But more important than the ship drawings is the rendering of a large building that is believed to be a depiction of the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* estate house, which was clearly visible directly out the window on the east wall of the cell. Leg shackles are known to have still been secured to the floor of the cell in the mid-1950s.

The present condition of the Annaberg sick house, cistern, and detention cell is generally good and stable. However, actions are immediately required to preserve and protect the nineteenth-century drawings of buildings and sailing ships that are etched into the walls of the detention cell. Special efforts should be made to ensure that the drawings are not subject to water infiltration or other damaging conditions. A qualified curator should examine the drawings and propose a treatment plan for their preservation.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the sick house, with its associated cistern and detention cell, is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decreases integrity, enough remains of the sick house, cistern, and detention cell to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

A brick-built "dungeon" and storehouse was listed among the buildings on *Annaberg* in the 1793 estate inventory. It is possible that the east and south walls of this structure were later incorporated into the retaining walls for the windmill platform during James Murphy's upgrading of the factory complex at the turn of the nineteenth century. While no references to a dungeon or detention cell can be found in later inventories, a sick house, or hospital, is noted in both the 1842 and 1863 appraisals of the property. References in pre-emancipation police journals to individuals being placed under arrest on *Annaberg* and detained in the "hospital" have led to the conclusion that the detention cell was in the ground floor room of the sick house building.

Period of primary significance of the sick house, cistern, and detention cell: circa 1779 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[I] Privy, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION

Situated within the cluster of ruined structures that make up the Annaberg factory complex, the privy is located downslope

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The privy, or "necessary," is represented by a three-sided foundation, 7 feet 8 inches long by 7 feet 8 inches wide. The privy is built on grade, with its eastern, downslope wall standing approximately 6 feet high. An arched drainage outlet (now blocked) is situated at the base of the lower wall.

Present condition of the Annaberg privy is generally good and stable; however, the structure has been roughly pointed and is only reminiscent of the original foundation.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial era sugar cane cultivation and processing, or the post-production period of subsistence farming and livestock rearing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the privy is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decreases integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg privy to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The presence of a privy was first reported in the 1809 estate inventory, although at that time it was noted as "unfinished." It is likely that the privy was refurbished and utilized during the post-sugar-production period of residential use of the site.

Period of primary significance of the Privy: circa 1809 - 1900s

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[J] Magass House, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

Situated within the cluster of ruined structures that make up the Annaberg factory complex, the magass house is located immediately downslope to the west of the animal mill, and a short distance northwest of the firing trench of the factory's boiling house.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The magass house structure was an open rectangular shed where spent cane stalks were stored and dried for use as fuel in the furnaces of the boiling house and stills. The roof of the shed was supported by two rows of four rubble masonry pillars, each roughly 2 feet square. The pillars of the south row have toppled and the debris has been removed; the north row still stands to what may have been full height. Nothing remains of the wooden roof structure. According to estate inventories the shed covered a rectangular area measuring 24 by 60 feet.

The present condition of the remaining elements of the Annaberg magass house is generally good and stable.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the magass house is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and

relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decreases integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg magass house to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE:

The Annaberg magass house was constructed after the purchase of the property by James E. Murphy in 1796. It remained a necessary element of the factory complex until sugar production ceased on the site in the fall of 1867.

Period of significance of the Annaberg magass house: 1797 - 1867

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[K] Water Collection and Delivery System, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

A water collection and delivery system extends approximately 600 feet uphill to the southeast of the Annaberg factory building. It consists of a spring-fed cistern located alongside a steep gut at its uppermost extremity, connected by an elevated aqueduct leading to a receiving cistern situated 60 feet southwest of the still house.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Annaberg water collection and delivery system consists of an elevated cistern built alongside a dammed stream bed, connected by a continuous elevated masonry aqueduct to a receiving cistern just south of the still house. The first and highest cistern remains largely intact, but all evidence of the dam in the stream bed have long since been washed away. Long sections of the aqueduct remain distinguishable with portions still standing roughly 2 to 6 feet above grade. Pieces of the red-clay tile water channels are scattered along the length of the system. The lower run of the aqueduct is mostly collapsed and only the elevated base and lower sections of the walls remain. The badly deteriorating receiving cistern is situated high enough to allow controlled gravity-fed water to be released into the worm cistern of the factory's distillery.

Overall condition of the Annaberg water collection and delivery system is poor, with no stabilization efforts ever having been carried out. It is highly recommended that a concerted effort be made to immediately preserve, protect, and maintain this highly significant element of the Annaberg factory complex. Further, the remains of an historic cart road follow the course of the aqueduct. This previously unrecognized feature of the factory complex offers an excellent opportunity to provide pedestrian access to the full length of the Annaberg water collection and delivery system for interpretive purposes, if the road trace can be adequately protected.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the water collection and delivery system is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decrease integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg water collection and delivery system to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The Annaberg water collection and delivery system was first noted in the 1809 estate inventory where it was described as, "a water cistern with wall spout 570 [Danish] feet long and an average of 8 feet high." Its presence was not mentioned in the 1842 inventory of the property, and by 1863 it appears to have been replaced by a wind-driven well-pump system.

Period of primary significance of the Annaberg water collection and delivery system: circa 1797 to before 1842.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[L] Well and Watering Troughs, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

Two connected watering troughs are located in the swampy lowland along the entrance road to the Annaberg parking lot roughly 300 feet west of the factory.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Two connected watering troughs, each 45 feet long and 2 feet wide, are located in the swampy lowland west of the Annaberg factory. One is situated parallel with the paved road and is raised 1 foot 3 inches above grade; the second stands 9 inches taller and extends in a generally easterly direction perpendicular to the first. The higher trough terminates inland at a circular, stone-lined well shaft with a diameter of 5 feet.

The present condition of the Annaberg well and watering troughs is generally poor, with no stabilization efforts ever having been carried out. It is recommended that a concerted attempt be made to preserve, protect, and maintain this highly significant element of the Annaberg factory complex -- especially as it can be viewed from the main access road to the site.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing, or for their association with the post-sugar-production period of subsistence farming and livestock rearing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the well and watering trough are clearly of national significance.

They possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying their original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural components and equipment decreases integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg well and watering trough

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

The presence of a well and watering trough on the *Annaberg* plantation is not noted in estate inventories until the 1863. Water was pumped from the well into the troughs by a wind-driven force pump. It is possible that this feature remained in use during the post-sugar-production period of general farming and livestock raising in the early twentieth century.

Period of primary significance of the well and troughs: circa 1863 - 1900s.

Note: A second, more substantial well and watering trough, are located within the bounds of the *Annaberg* estate approximately midway between the Annaberg School and the Francis boiling house on the south side of the road to Mary's Point. To date this structure has not been investigated, measured, or added to the NPS List of Classified Structures database. Its date of construction and period of use remain undetermined, but it is clearly historic.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[M] Unidentified Structure, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

An unidentified structure is located 60 feet south of the factory's curing house wing.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

"The remains of a building measuring 24' by 32' is located 60 feet south of the factory. It appears to have had a second story and a masonry staircase is built against its south wall. The ground floor had masonry walls towards the north, west and south while it is open towards the east and the second story on this side was supported by masonry pillars spaced eight feet on centers..." [Gjessing, 1978].

The overall present condition of the unidentified structure on Annaberg is poor, with no stabilization efforts ever having been carried out. It is recommended that a concerted attempt be made to preserve, protect, and maintain this structure, as it may yet prove to be a highly significant element of the Annaberg factory complex.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, all of the ruins that make up the Annaberg factory complex are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing; Criterion C, for their distinctive design, physical context, and construction methods; and Criterion D, for their potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial industrial land use on the site, the functions of its components, and lives of its occupants. Together with other remains throughout the factory complex, the unidentified structure is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the complex. While the loss of structural

components and equipment decreases integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg unidentified structure to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

In his 1978 survey of *Annaberg*, Frederik Gjessing conjectured that this unidentified building may have been a stable. The presence of a "stable" on *Annaberg* is noted in the 1793 and 1842 estate inventories, but not in the 1805 plantation report or 1809 appraisal. While it is possible that this feature could represent either or both of these structures, its configuration appears to make it unlikely. The function and period of usage of the building, therefore, remain to be determined.

Period of primary significance of the unidentified structure: circa 1793 - 1867.

NAME OF STRUCTURE

[N] Cook House, Annaberg Factory Complex

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

The Annaberg cook house is located on the southwest of the perimeter wall of the animal mill at N18° 21.783' x W 64° 43.787'.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

A roughly 13-foot-square cook house is located on the southwest perimeter wall of the animal mill. An attached oven measuring 6 feet 3 inches wide extends 5 feet out from the northwest corner of the building. The oven is accessible from the interior of the structure. Entry to the cook house is through a doorway in the west wall, and the building has window openings in both the north and south walls. A masonry cooking counter extends two-thirds of the way along the west wall of the interior room. There is a brick hood above the counter that tapers upward to a flue and chimney. The cook house has a shed roof with metal roofing.

The Annaberg cook house is presently in fair to good condition, and is being used as the

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Built soon after the turn of the twentieth century, in a period often referred to as the 'subsistence era,' the Annaberg (Francis) cook house stands as an enduring testament to a unique

As per National Register guidelines, the Annaberg cook house is significant under Criterion A, for its association with the post-production period at *Annaberg* and the broader subsistence period on St. John; Criterion C, for its distinctive design, discrete physical context, and period construction methods; and Criterion D, for its potential to reveal further information regarding the evolution of its design, methods of construction, functions, and the lives of the

people who constructed and utilized it. Together with the earlier remains of the Annaberg factory complex, the cook house is clearly a significant structure. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other structures within the factory complex. The cook house has currently been restored and daily conveys its overall significance through its use as the centerpiece of cultural heritage demonstrations at *Annaberg*.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE:

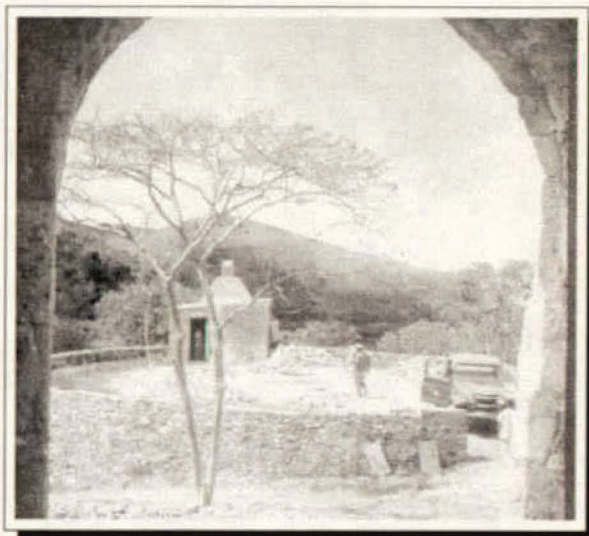
While the exact date of the construction of the Annaberg cook house remains unknown, it was most likely built concurrently with a wooden dwelling that once stood immediately adjacent to it on the south side of the horse mill. It is believed that both structures were erected by Carl Francis soon after his acquisition of the *Annaberg* property in 1900.

Carl Francis and his family lived amidst the ruins on *Annaberg* from 1900 until just prior to Carl's death in 1936. Like most St. John residents of this period, they lived a somewhat frugal and self-sufficient existence. They grew provision crops, grazed some livestock, and produced quicklime and charcoal. Throughout this period Francis rose to be a prominent and respected island figure. He served as the St. John representative to the Colonial Council (the local governing body prior to the establishment of the Virgin Islands Legislature), acted as Clerk and Lay Reader to the Nazareth Lutheran Congregation for over twenty years, and raised the first United States Flag over St. John in the transfer ceremonies held at the Cruz Bay Battery on April 15, 1917.

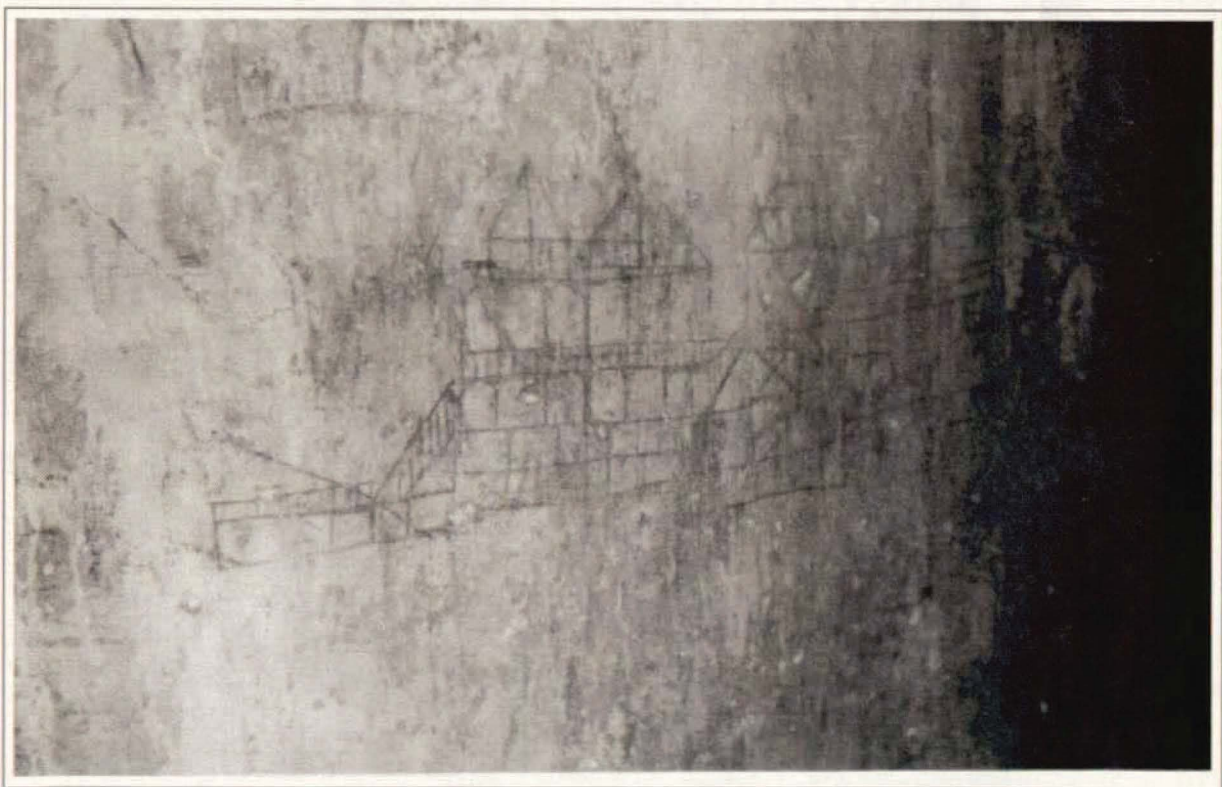
Carl Francis sold the *Annaberg* estate to Herman O. Creque in 1935, and it was from the Creque heirs that the Jackson Hole Preserve purchased the property in 1954. At the time *Annaberg* was officially turned over to the National Park Service by the Jackson Hole Preserve in 1956, elements of the Francis house were still habitable. It was not until 1960 that the decision was reached to remove the wooden dwelling from the horse mill and retain the cook house on the site.

Currently, the restored Annaberg cook house serves as the centerpiece for cultural heritage demonstrations at *Annaberg*.

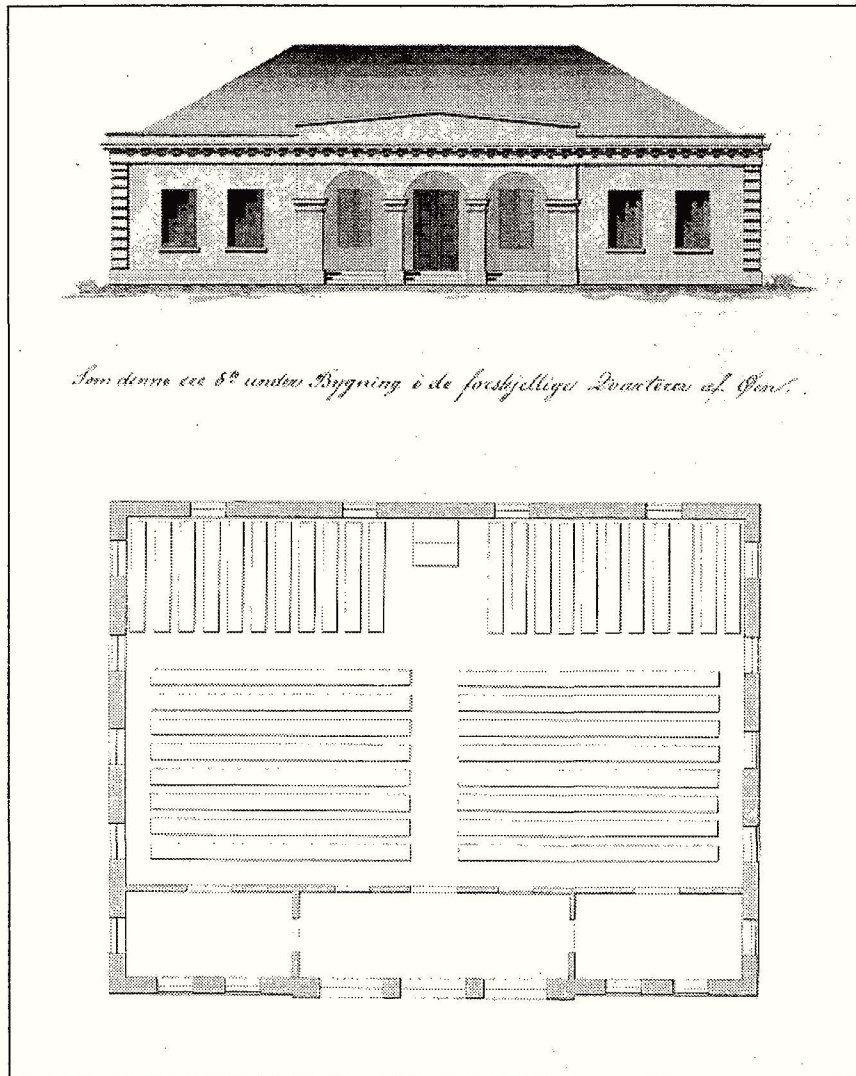
Primary period of significance of the Annaberg (Francis) cook house: 1900 - 1954



Site of the Annaberg (Francis) cook house in December 1959 and February 1960
(NPS photographs, St. John repository)



A picture of a building etched into the walls of the detention cell is believed
to be a rendering of the Annaberg & Leinster Bay estate house.
(photograph by D. Knight, 2001)



Elevation and ground plan for the von Scholten Schools, designed by Albert Lovmand circa 1839
 [From: Jens Vibæk, *Vore Gamle Tropekolonier, Dansk Vestindien 1755 - 1848*, vol. 2
 (Denmark, Fremand, 1966)].

Section 3: The Annaberg School House, circa 1847 - 1861

Situated approximately .7 km west of the Annaberg factory complex, the Annaberg school sits on a low promontory overlooking the mouth of Mary's Creek at N 18° 21.874' X W 064° 44.115'. Although the school now lies well within the bounds of the *Annaberg* estate, the property on which it was constructed (*Betty's Hope*) did not become a part of that estate until the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. The Annaberg school was to provide free compulsory education to the children of the enslaved laborers on six estates within the Maho Bay Quarter:

Cinnamon Bay, Vaniniberg, Munsbery, Annaberg (including Mary's Point), and Leinster Bay [Johansen, 1988].

Based on a plan by architect Albert Lovmand, the Annaberg school was scaled down and modified to suit St. John's hilly terrain. In all, seventeen of the Lovmand schools were originally planned: eight on St. Croix; five on St. Thomas; and four on St. John [Vibæk, 1966]. The Annaberg school, however, was the only structure constructed on St. John to this general design. While another school was built mid-island on the *Beverhoudtsberg* plantation two years prior to the Annaberg school, that structure was constructed of wood on a masonry foundation and seems never to have been utilized for its intended purpose. Two other St. John schools were operated at the Moravian mission stations of *Bethany* and *Emmaus*, although, as with the *Beverhoudtsberg* school, the Lovmand design was not utilized. A fifth smaller school was later proposed for St. John's south side on the *Par Force* plantation in Reef Bay, but it remains uncertain whether it was ever built at that location. In all cases, Moravian missionaries were to serve as the teachers in the schools [Gardin, 1856; Johansen, 1988; Low, 2001].

Although construction was well underway on the Annaberg school by 1847, it appears that the building was not fully completed at that time [Johansen, 1988]. It was not until August 12, 1856, that Brother J. Gardin penned a report to the Moravian Church periodical announcing the opening of the school:

"In St. Jan we have, this year, opened a school at Annaberg, on the north side of the island. The school-house, which is a very fine one, and is in a charming situation, by the sea, was built many years ago, but never used. There are now twenty-five children in attendance. We have also opened a school in the south; but it is very small, numbering only eight children. In general, the attendance in the schools in St. Jan is good, and the children are mostly connected with our congregation."

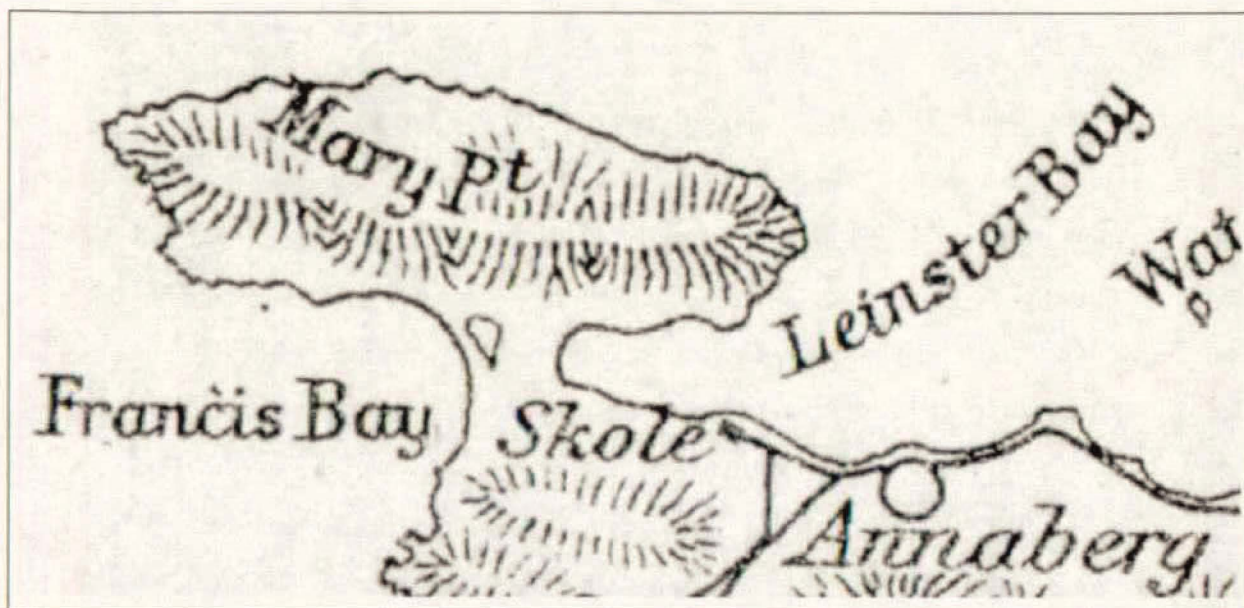
[Gardin, 1856]

Though the future of the Annaberg school seemed promising in the summer of 1856, staffing the rather remote facility soon proved problematic. Sometime prior to October 1861, the school was closed after Mr. A. Knevels was dismissed as schoolmaster on grounds of "gross

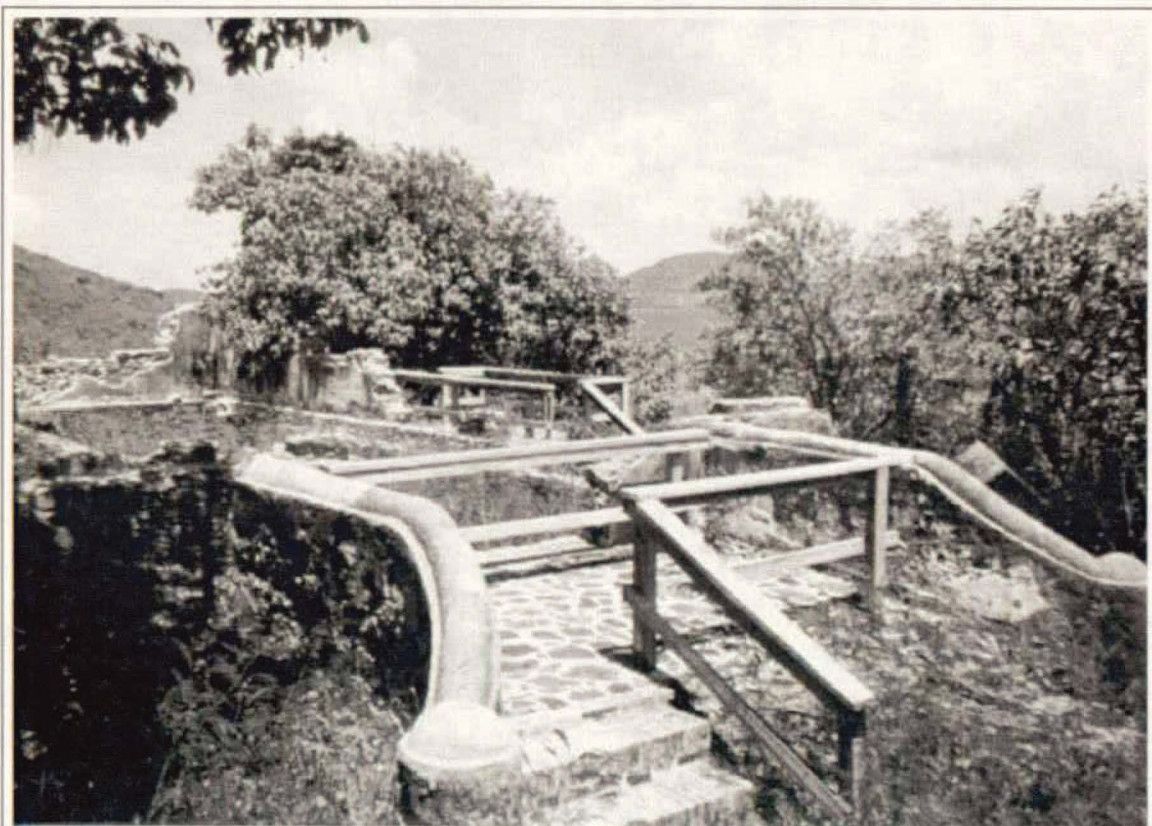
immorality." From that date, all students from *Annaberg* were sent to attend school at the Emmaus Mission Station in Coral Bay, and no subsequent teacher was ever engaged to fill Mr. Knevels's position [Gardin, 1856; Johansen, 1988; Low, 2001].

It is generally believed that the Annaberg school was destroyed in the disastrous hurricane and earthquakes that occurred in the fall of 1867. While this might indeed have occurred, no documentation was found to support this conclusion. It may just be that researchers have long presumed that the school was damaged in those events in order to find a logical explanation as to why it was never reopened or utilized for some other purpose at a later date. The truth, however, may not be so simple.

On consideration of this issue, it might be suggested that the Annaberg school had simply outlived its usefulness. And, perhaps over time, the local population had come to view the site as a relic of their painful past: a reminder of slavery and the harsh constraints of the plantation system. It must be kept in mind that the purpose behind the establishment of the rural schools was to provide limited education for the children of enslaved workers, in a situation that kept those children on or close to the estates, and, therefore, insulated and under the control of their masters. With emancipation came greater freedom of movement and increased opportunities for open congregation. The dwindling number of workers who remained on St. John's rural estates quickly embraced self-determination, and they naturally turned to places beyond the boundaries of the plantations to fulfill their spiritual, social, and educational needs. The busy Moravian mission stations of *Emmaus* and *Bethany* became more than church settlements, they became the very centers of community life on St. John: school, church, shelter, clinic, meeting-house. The movement away from the idea that the plantation was the nucleus of one's existence was simply too strong to resist. As the missions thrived, the Annaberg school retreated into bush; a failed experiment in amelioration; too little, offered much too late.



Though undoubtedly not current, this detail from a map of St. John published in 1907, suggests that the Annaberg School (marked as *Skole*) may still have been an element of the island's landscape by that date.



The Ruins of the Annaberg School House as they appear today
(Photograph by D. Knight, November 2000)

AN UPDATED SURVEY OF THE ANNABERG SCHOOL

NAME OF STRUCTURE

Annaberg School

LOCATION OF STRUCTURE

The Annaberg school is situated approximately .7 km west of the Annaberg factory complex. It sits on a low promontory overlooking the mouth of Mary's Creek at N 18° 21.874' X W 064° 44.115'.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

"Annaberg School has a full basement dug into the hillside but accessible at grade level from the north. The main floor is raised about 2 ½' above grade on the west side of the building and slightly higher above the grades on the south and east sides. The main entrance is on the east side and access is by brick masonry steps forming half of a truncated pyramid. Access to secondary entrances towards the south and west are by less expansive brick masonry "open arms" staircases, the name used locally for staircases with flanking masonry walls curving outwards and generally ending in decorated circular newel posts as in the case of the Annaberg School. The interior of the main floor was divided into 4 spaces, a hallway across the central east facing section of the building that provided interior access to the classrooms at each end of the building and an office or smaller classroom west of the hallway. The exterior has an articulated base, quoined corners, a continuous collar and a projecting cornice. On the entrance side, the central bays are accentuated by a slight projection. The roof was hipped. The walls were finished in plaster except for the steps, quoins and cornice which were in exposed yellow brick.

"Annaberg School is a ruin in a poor state of preservation. The southwest corner still stands to plate height while the rest of the walls have been preserved in half their original height only. The ruins have been quarried for brick and although sufficient remains of the steps to

indicate their character, the quarrying operation has defaced and in part has destroyed them. Nothing but traces remain of the interior partitions. The building measures 30 by 50 feet....

"Although in ruins, much of its original architectural character is still evident and it is a good example of official architectural expression of the period, as well as a symbol of the educational reforms that were to have far reaching effects on the social structure of the Virgin Islands" [Gjessing, 1978].

Present condition of the Annaberg school ruin is generally good and stable, although the interpretive display on the sight is badly in need of maintenance and an updating of information.

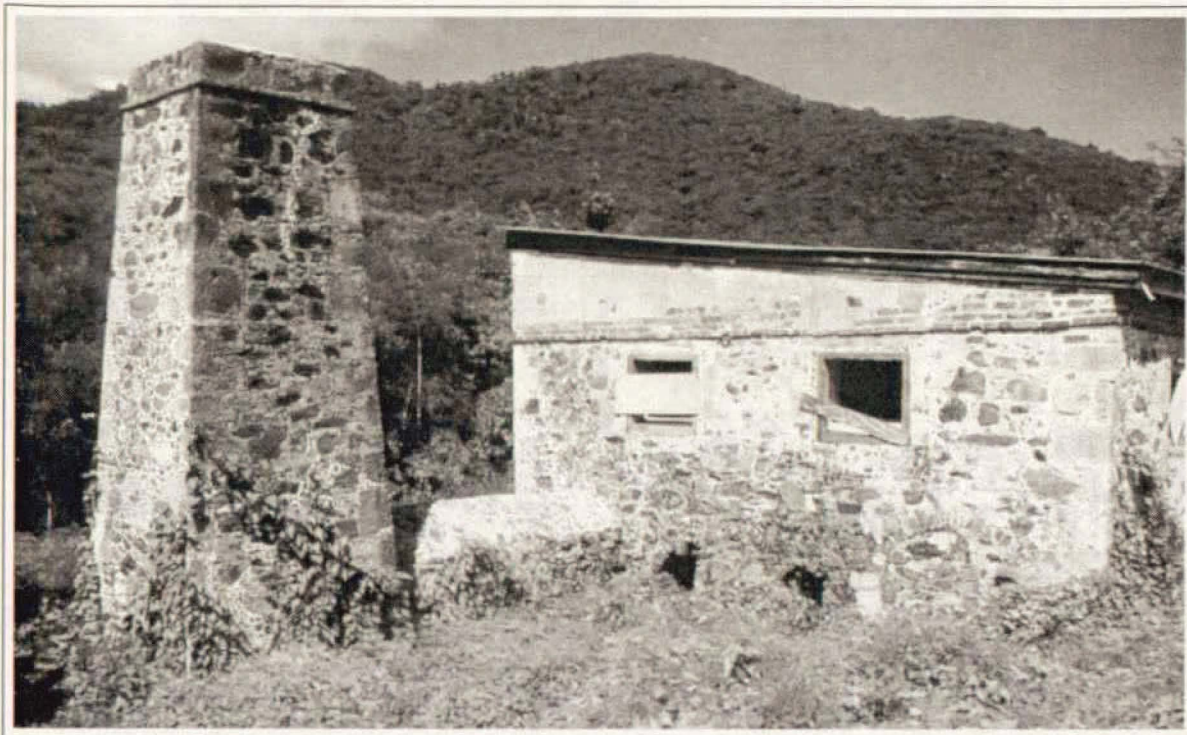
STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

As per National Register guidelines, the Annaberg school is considered significant under Criterion A, as a physical representation of the attempt to institute compulsory education throughout the Danish West Indies in 1839; Criterion C, for its uniquely Danish colonial architectural expression within the neoclassical style; and Criterion D, for its potential to reveal further information regarding the date of initial construction, the functions of its components, and lives of the people who taught and studied there. Together with other remains throughout the **Annaberg Historic District**, the Annaberg school is clearly of national significance. It possesses substantial integrity of location, design, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other sites in the district. While the significant loss of structural components decreases integrity, enough remains of the Annaberg school to adequately convey the overall significance of the site.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Although construction was well underway on the Annaberg school by 1847, it was not opened for classes until August 12, 1856. Sometime prior to October 1861 staffing problems force the closure of the facility. It was never reopened.

Period of significance of the Annaberg school: 1847 - circa 1861

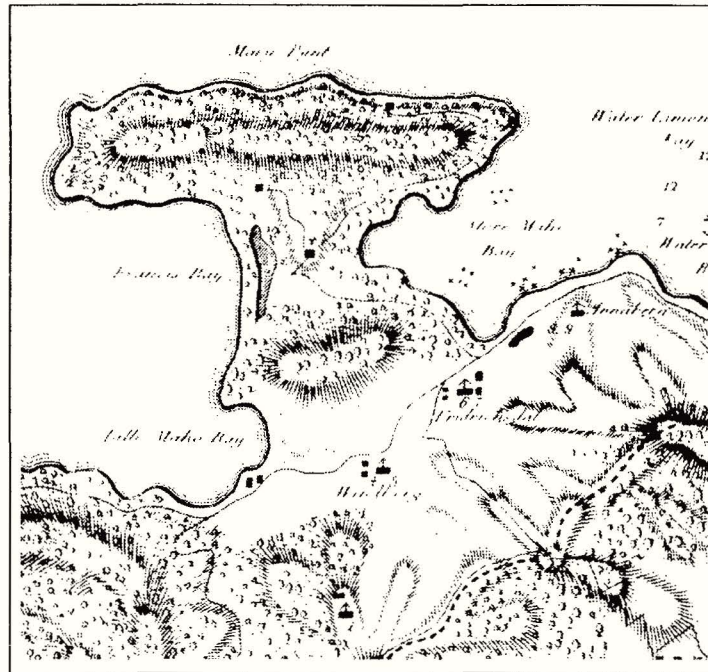


Boiling house and chimney constructed by George Francis in 1874 on what was once the Betty's Hope Estate
(Photograph by D. Knight, November 2000)

Section 4: Betty's Hope and The Francis Boiling House, 1723 - 1874

Situated some 1.3 km west of the Annaberg factory, near the boundary between the *Annaberg* and *Mary's Point* estates, the Francis boiling house stands in the saddle of a ridge that forms the isthmus separating Francis Bay from Mary's Creek at N 18° 21.910 X W 064° 44.465'. This location is also believed to be the site of the former *Betty's Hope* plantation, which was assimilated into the broader *Annaberg* property in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century.

Constructed by George Francis in 1874, the Francis boiling house represents the last sugar factory known to have been built on St. John. While road and parking lot development have compromised the integrity of this site, the area was investigated and documented by NPS archaeologist Ken Wild during the course of the North Shore Road monitoring project between 1987 and 1989. However, no historical background study was carried out in conjunction with that project, and the purpose and significance of the Francis boiling house were not fully understood at that time.



Detail from Peter L. Oxholm's 1800 map of St. John showing the Betty's Hope and Mary's Point area.
(Rigsarkivet, Denmark)

The Francis boiling house is easily documented as it appears in the yearly tax rolls for St. John and was later noted in George Francis's probate appraisal [STA, 1873; SJCP, 1875]. The structure also has three cut-coral date plaques imbedded in its walls: two with the date 1874, and one that reads Aug. 1874.¹ The older Betty's Hope plantation complex, which once stood in the same general vicinity, is somewhat harder to document.

The *Betty's Hope* plantation was developed on a tract of land originally deeded to Jacob van Stell in 1723. The property was subsequently merged into a broader holding by Governor Frederik Moth in August of 1726, and out of that parcel the *Munsbury* (aka: *Frederiksdal*) and *Dewindtsberg* plantations were later developed [SJLL, 1728-39; SJA, 1755-1803]. We know that prior to its assimilation into the *Annaberg* estate, *Betty's Hope* had been an element of *Dewindtsberg* [PR, 1805; SJLBP, 1809]. Oxholm's map published in 1800 clearly depicts a site lying in the center of the isthmus between Francis Bay and what is now Mary's Creek, and labels it as number 4. As the *Dewindtsberg* plantation was noted on the same map as being comprised of numbers 4 and 5, it can be assumed that the site on the isthmus was, at least at one time,

¹ A fourth cement plaque with the date 1911 represents a later conversion of the boiling house to a storage building.

associated with that estate (see detail of map on previous page). We also know that this area was considered well within the bounds of *Annaberg* by the time the Oxholm map was published, and that as late as 1809, when the *Betty's Hope* property was appraised as a part of *Annaberg* during James Murphy's probate proceedings, a dwelling house, cook house with oven, a "Negro house," and a works, which included a "windmill timber framed," still stood on the site (see pages 23 - 25) [SJLBP, 1809]. Given the fact that the only other settlement in this vicinity was the *Mary's Point* plantation (depicted by Oxholm to the northwest of the site in question), it is only logical to conclude that the site on the isthmus must be the former *Betty's Hope* plantation [SJA, 1778-1806; SJLBP, 1809].

Further supporting these observations are the results of investigations conducted by NPS archaeologist Ken Wild between 1987 and 1989. Wild identified what appeared to be a mid-eighteenth century trash midden containing "ceramics, personal items, tools and faunal remains," near the shore of Mary's Creek, only a short distance from the Francis boiling house. In his report, Wild concluded that the artifacts recovered from the Mary's Creek site must have been in context with the "Mary's Point Great House," which he noted as "standing approximately 459 meters from the Mary's Creek site" [Wild, Horvath, Potter & Repp, 1991].

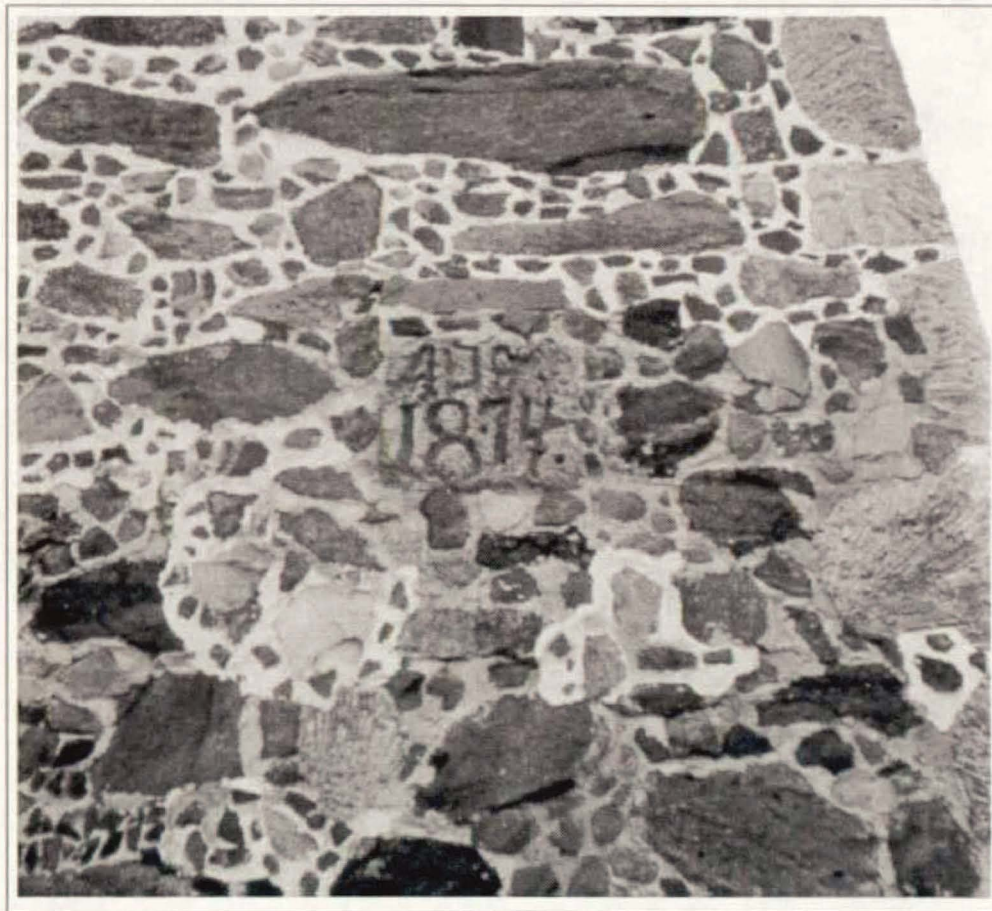
Wild's conclusions as to the association of the artifacts with the ruins in the area appear logical, and are, in all likelihood, correct. But the structures that stand on the isthmus between Mary's Creek and Francis Bay are not associated with the *Mary's Point* estate, but with *Betty's Hope*. And, the structure referred to in the report as the "Mary's Point Farmhouse," we now know to be the boiling house constructed by George Francis in 1874, soon after his purchase of the broader *Annaberg* property on which it stands.

Note: A group of ruins believed to be associated with the *Mary's Point* plantation was located during the ground surveillance for this report well northwest of the *Betty's Hope* site -- close to where Oxholm depicted them on his 1780 and 1800 maps (see following section of this report).

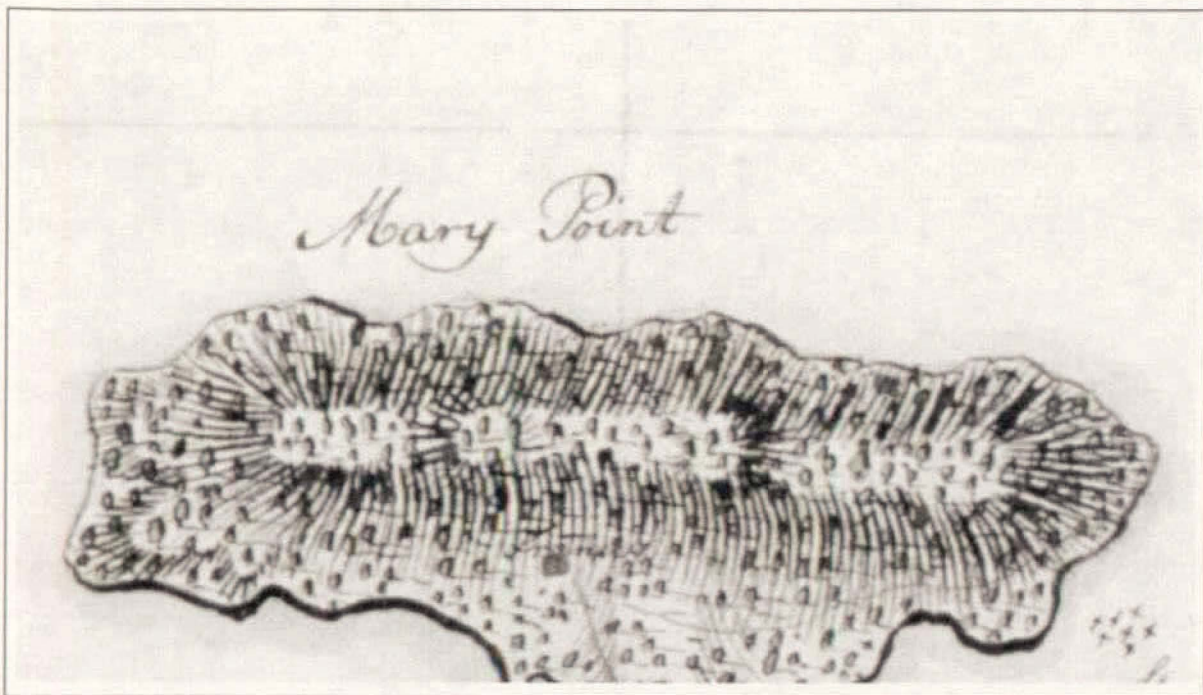
Conclusion: *Betty's Hope* must be viewed as an integral element of the **Annaberg Historic District**. Ever since the assimilation of its lands into the *Annaberg* plantation in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, *Betty's Hope* has remained a part of that estate. Further, the significance of the Francis boiling house, which stands on the property, could hardly be

overstated. As the last sugar factory ever constructed on St. John, the structure is clearly worthy of listing on the National Register.

Recommendations: The history of the *Betty's Hope* property should be fully researched and a National Register nomination prepared. Once a thorough historical background study has been performed, further archaeological investigation may be warranted to date and identify the various components of the site. Information on the property should be worked into interpretive material relating to the overall **Annaberg Historic District** and the ruins maintained in their present condition. Use of the Francis boiling house as a storage facility should be discontinued, and the structure opened for public visitation with an appropriate interpretive display.



Cut coral date plaque on the chimney of the Francis boiling house
(Photograph by D. Knight, November 2000)



Detail from Peter L. Oxholm's 1780 manuscript map on which he labeled the Mary's Point plantation with the name "Francis" for the property owner Franz (or Francis) Claasen
[Rigsarkivet, Denmark]

Section 5: The Mary's Point Plantation, 1721 - 1874

Situated on Mary's Point less than .2 km north of the Francis boiling house, are found the ruins of a number of rubble masonry structures of various undetermined dates. Documentary evidence points to elements of this site being the remains of an early colonial land grant taken up in 1721 by Governor Moth and later turned over to Jacob van Stell in an apparent land swap [SJLL, 1718-36]. Another owner of this property is known to have been Franz Claasen, the first documented "free colored" plantation owner on St. John (circa 1754 - 1780), who may well have been the progenitor of the Francis family [SJLPP, 1780; STA, 1755-1780]. It is Claasen for whom Franz's Bay (popularly Anglicized to 'Francis' Bay) was named. A later period two-story stone structure also stands on this site that may have been built in the second half of the nineteenth century as the home of George Francis. If so, this structure would represent yet another estate house built within the bounds of the broader **Annaberg Historic District**.

In addition to these structural remains, at least two grave sites have also been located in association with the *Mary's Point* ruins. The first, an unmarked monument that appears to date

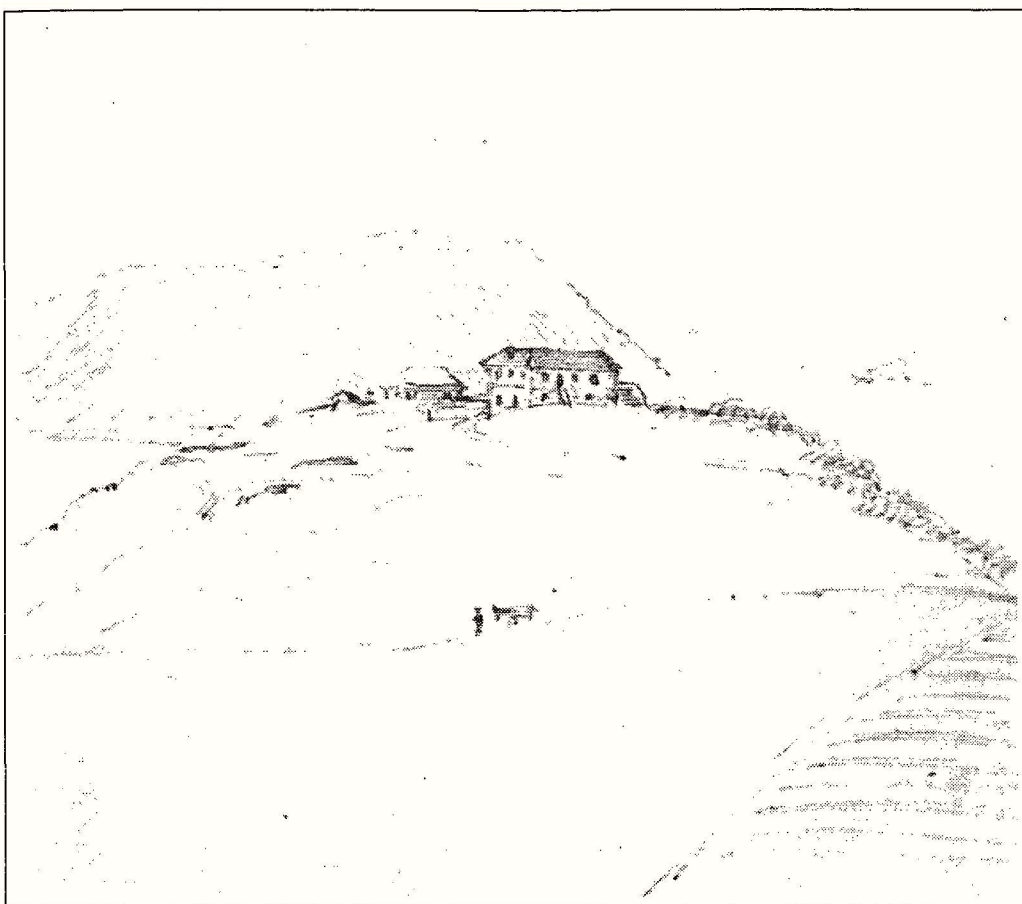
from the eighteenth century, is perhaps that of Franz Claasen, who died on the estate in 1780 [SJLPP, 1780]; the second, is a low red brick tomb with a marble slab inscribed, "Sacred to the memory of Hester D. Francis, born April 20, 1826, died September 9, 1864." Hester Dalinda Francis was born enslaved on the *Vaniniberg* plantation and was the second wife of George Francis [SJR, 1835-60]. She died and was buried at *Mary's Point* within a year of her husband's purchase of the property.

These previously undocumented features on the *Mary's Point* property were field surveyed in the fall of 2000 and will be added to the NPS List of Classified Structures database. However to date, they have not been adequately investigated or documented. Another site associated with the *Mary's Point* property is situated approximately 50 feet above the shoreline on the northern slopes of *Mary's Point*. It has been previously reported that this structure was built as a customs house, but no documentation to support this claim was uncovered during the research for this report (see detail from map on page 93, and associated sites section, page 108).

Note: The *Mary's Point* site should not be confused with another set of ruins that stand in relative close proximity south-southeast of the *Mary's Point* group. Those structures appear to have been rebuilt over earlier buildings -- perhaps the *Betty's Hope* residence -- sometime in the first half of the twentieth century.

Conclusion: *Mary's Point* must be viewed as an integral element of the **Annaberg Historic District**. After the assimilation of its lands into the *Annaberg* plantation in the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, *Mary's Point* remained a part of that estate until being sold at auction to George Francis in 1863. Later, Francis reunited *Mary's Point* with *Annaberg* (including *Betty's Hope*) and *Leinster Bay* by his purchase of those properties in 1871. All of these properties remain closely linked in the minds of St. Johnians to the present day.

Recommendations: The history of *Mary's Point* needs to be thoroughly researched. Once a concise historical background study has been performed, archaeological investigation will be necessary to date and identify the various components of the site. Information on the property should be worked into interpretive material relating to the overall **Annaberg Historic District**, and the ruins should be stabilized and maintained for safe public visitation.



The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House
constructed during the ownership of James E. Murphy, 1796 through 1808
(Detail from a sketch by Henry Morton, circa 1844)

Section 6: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House, 1796 - 1916

Located roughly 1.3 km east-northeast of the Annaberg factory complex, the ruins of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay estate house stand on the peak of a 200-foot promontory overlooking the Narrows of Sir Francis Drake's Channel to the north, and Water Lemon Bay to the south-southwest. The principal remaining features on the site are the ground floor rooms and foundations of the main residence and the lower story walls of an adjoining servants quarters, which at an undetermined date was converted to a water cistern. The site shows evidence of numerous modifications over the years and most recently served as a boys reformatory during the first half of the twentieth century.

One of the many questions that have puzzled researchers of the *Annaberg* property over the years has been why no estate house was ever identified on the property. The answer to this question lies in the realization that no element within the **Annaberg Historic District** can be adequately interpreted without a better understanding of its context and relationship to the broader *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation. As has been pointed out in previous sections of this report, when the first settlement was established within the bounds of *Annaberg* by Isaac Constantin in 1721, a dwelling house was a component of that site [SJLBP, 1809]. And, in later years, when the Zeeger heirs relocated the central processing facility to its present location, two residential structures were erected on the property [MP, 1793]. But those plantations were modest in scope and proportion to the grand estate developed by James E. Murphy, who clearly saw his property not as a grouping of individual parcels, but as a vast and integrated land holding. In the center of this estate, on a high hill overlooking the Annaberg factory and Water Lemon Bay, Murphy constructed a well-fortified and stately mansion, positioned where the full length and breadth of his property could be observed: from Base Hill in the east, to Mary's Point in the west [SJLBP, 1809; PR, 1805].

The components of Murphy's estate residence were appraised along with the rest of his properties during his probate proceedings in 1809. At that time, they were described as "a Dwelling house on the hill [valued at] 7500 Ps... a kitchen, out-rooms, horse stable and cisterns all under one roof [valued at] 2000 Ps... a house with three Negro-rooms [valued at] 300 Ps... a Necessary [valued at] 150 Ps... [and] 4 iron canons and nine small brass [valued at] 150 Ps...." [SJLBP, 1809]

The estate house that Murphy built continued to be used as the primary dwelling for the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century [SJA, 1797-1900]. During proprietorship of H. H. Berg (1827 through 1863), it also served as the Governor's St. John residence, and at different periods has been utilized as a Masonic Lodge, guest house, and boys' reformatory [Frank, 1920; Low, 2001; SJR, 1835-11; VIC, 1917]. At least one photograph of the interior of the house is known to exist (see photograph on page 97), and in 1844 Reverend Henry Morton sketched two views of *Leinster Bay* and described the house as "a spacious and admirably arranged Establishment, containing among other things of interest, an extensive and judiciously selected Library" (see illustration on page 95) [Morton, 1975].

Despite a wealth of documentation and the evident significance of the site, no accurate and concise historic background survey has ever been carried out for either the dwelling house or the broader *Leinster Bay* plantation. To date, none of the structures on the estate are listed on the National Register, and *Leinster Bay* has not been included in surveys of historic sites within the Virgin Islands National Park on St. John prepared by Gjessing in 1981/1982, or Brewer & Hammersten in 1988.

Conclusion: The ruins of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay estate house are one of the most important elements of the broader **Annaberg Historic District**. The dwelling was built concurrent with the Annaberg sugar factory complex as the primary residence for the combined *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation between 1797 through 1805. The house continued to serve that function until the final partition of those estates in 1899.

Recommendations: The history of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay estate house needs to be thoroughly researched and a National Register nomination prepared for the site. Background on the house should be worked into interpretive material relating to the overall **Annaberg Historic District**, and the ruins should be stabilized and maintained for safe public visitation.



St. John administrator Dr. Winke (second from left) relaxes with visiting Danish dignitaries at the Annaberg and Leinster Bay estate house, circa 1915 (E. M. Baa Library, von Scholten Collection, St. Thomas, VI [Photograph compliments of Ruth H. Low])



The well preserved sarcophagus of James E. Murphy in the Annaberg and Leinster Bay cemetery
(Photograph by D. Knight, Fall 2000)

Section 7: Annaberg and Leinster Bay Cemetery, circa 1808 - 1821

Roughly .3 km southeast of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay estate house, and some 1.3 km east of the Annaberg factory, stand the crumbling remains of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay cemetery. The number of burials on this site remains undetermined, but four graves are clearly apparent. Three of this group have been desecrated and/or robbed. It is believed that the damage to this site occurred as recently as the last decades of the twentieth century, and that prior to that point inscriptions on graves and a tall, prominent cross were still intact. A fourth burial in the cemetery is that of James E. Murphy, under whose direction the Annaberg factory complex and Annaberg and Leinster Bay estate house were constructed. The Murphy grave site remains in a fair state of preservation, and appears to have been spared from vandalism by a thick covering of thorny bush that, until recently, effectively concealed its presence.

As imposing and stately as all of the other structures built on the *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation during the period of Murphy's ownership, his grave site consists of an inscribed

granite slab, resting atop a red brick sarcophagus on a paved terrace, walled-in and supported by a stout stone foundation. Intriguingly, the date of Murphy's death inscribed on his monument, December 17, 1809, appears to be erroneous. According to reliable documentation the inscription should read, November 17, 1808 [SJLBP, 1809; STLA, 1808].

No documentation has been found to identify the other burials in this group; however, James Murphy's wife, Elizabeth, their son, Edward C. Murphy, and Edward's wife, Mary Sheen, who all died before 1821, are the most likely candidates.

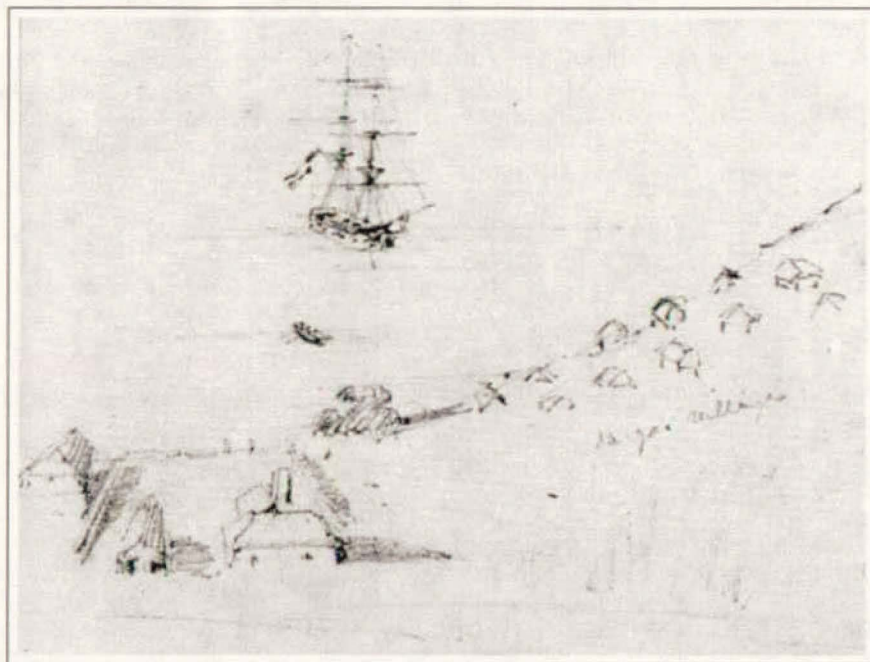
Conclusion: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay cemetery, and more particularly the Murphy grave site, represent a significant component of the broader **Annaberg Historic District**. Only three identifiable graves of eighteenth-century planters are known to exist on St. John, and none displays the aesthetic principles related to funerary design of the colonial period, or the careful planning of setting, detail, and design, of the Murphy burial site.



Water Lemon Bay and the Annaberg factory as seen from the James E. Murphy grave site
(Photograph by D. Knight, 2001)

Recommendations: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Cemetery needs to be diligently monitored to avoid any further vandalism of the site, and information relating to the cemetery should be incorporated into interpretive materials for the broader **Annaberg Historic District**.

The downhill retaining wall of the Murphy grave is near collapse and in immediate need of repair.



Detail of a portion of the Leinster Bay industrial complex, circa 1844
(Detail from a sketch by Henry Morton, circa 1844)

Section 8: The Leinster Bay Industrial Compound, circa 1797- 1899

Situated on the shore of Water Lemon Bay, approximately 1.1 km east of the Annaberg factory, lie the sprawling remains of the Leinster Bay industrial compound. To the extent that the Annaberg sugar factory complex epitomizes singularity in design and function, the Leinster Bay industrial compound is a study in diversity.

As has been previously pointed out, James Murphy envisioned his vast land holdings as a single integrated plantation, and within the bounds of that plantation were three distinct areas of specific land use. In the western section of the property, *Mary's Point* was primarily utilized as pasture land, while the adjoining *Annaberg* and *Betty's Hope* properties were almost exclusively planted in sugar cane fields, for which the Annaberg factory complex served as the central processing facility. The far eastern section of the Murphy plantation was kept mostly in bush, to ensure that the estate had a readily available supply of necessary natural resources, such as timber, game, and fuel wood. The central portion of the plantation, just inshore from the property's only good landing and tenable deep water anchorage on Water Lemon Bay, was the

stage for a diversity of activities necessary for the development and maintenance of the estate's sophisticated infrastructure, while the deep valley behind it was used for grazing and mixed agriculture (including sugar cane).

From James Murphy's 1809 probate inventory, we learn that along with the usual boiling house, horse mill, magass shed, and distillery, the Leinster Bay industrial compound also included "a building 77 feet by 20 feet [with] a mule pen adjoining it of the same length..., a necessary with pidgin-house..., a smithy (blacksmith's) shop with tools..., a lime kiln..., a frame for a lumber house 100 feet by 28..., a boathouse 45 feet by 20 feet..., 5 boats of different sizes..., a sick house..., 61 Negro houses... [and,] a stone wall around the said area, 1,000 feet."

The Leinster Bay industrial compound continued to be operated concurrently with the Annaberg factory throughout most of both estates' operational time-span as sugar producers. However, by 1859 production at *Leinster Bay* began to falter, and no sugar appears to have been produced on the estate after 1864 [SJRD, 1845-73].

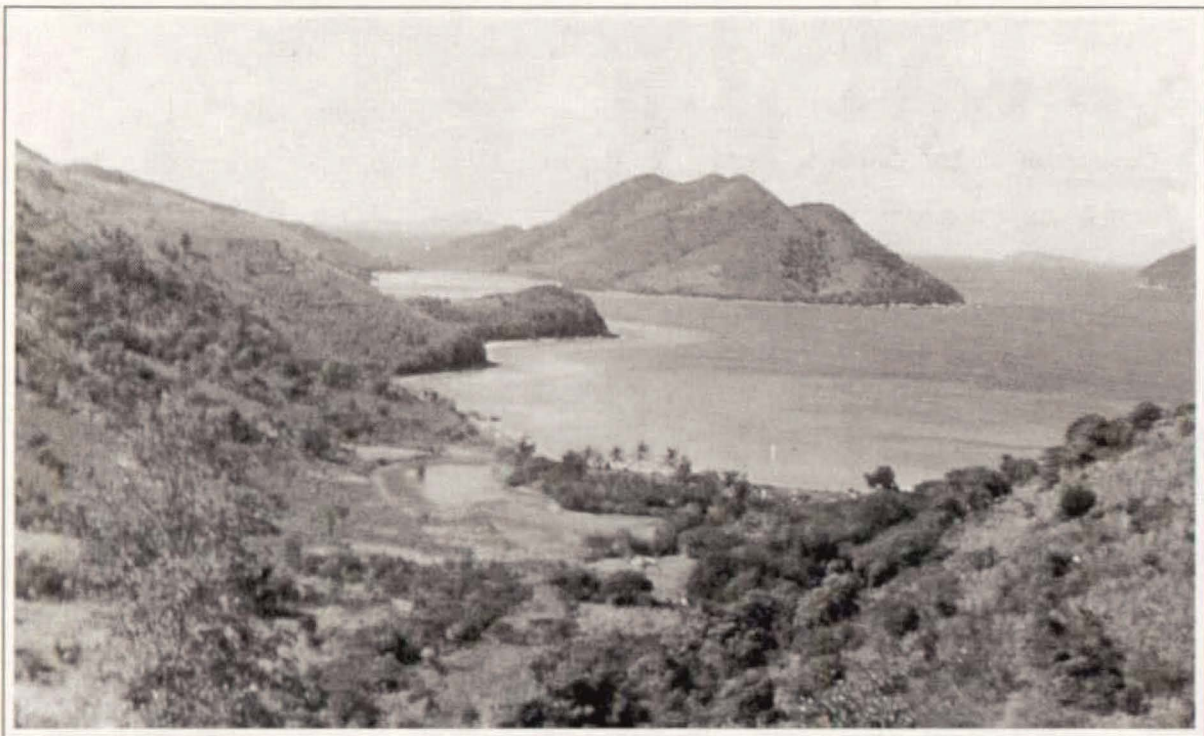
After the acquisition of *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* by Antoine Anduze in 1876, the former *Leinster Bay* industrial compound became the center of the property's ranching operation, and the estate's associated crop lands were almost exclusively converted to pasture. During this period, the deep valley behind Water Lemon Bay became the primary grazing area for Anduze cattle, and the lands associated with *Annaberg* appear to have been little utilized [STA, 1875-1899; SJCP, 1875-1899].

Despite a wealth of documentation and the evident significance of this site, no accurate and concise historical background survey has ever been carried out for the *Leinster Bay* plantation. To date, none of the structures on the estate are listed on the National Register, and *Leinster Bay* was not included in surveys of historic sites within the Virgin Islands National Park on St. John prepared by Gjessing in 1981/1982, or Brewer & Hammersten in 1988.

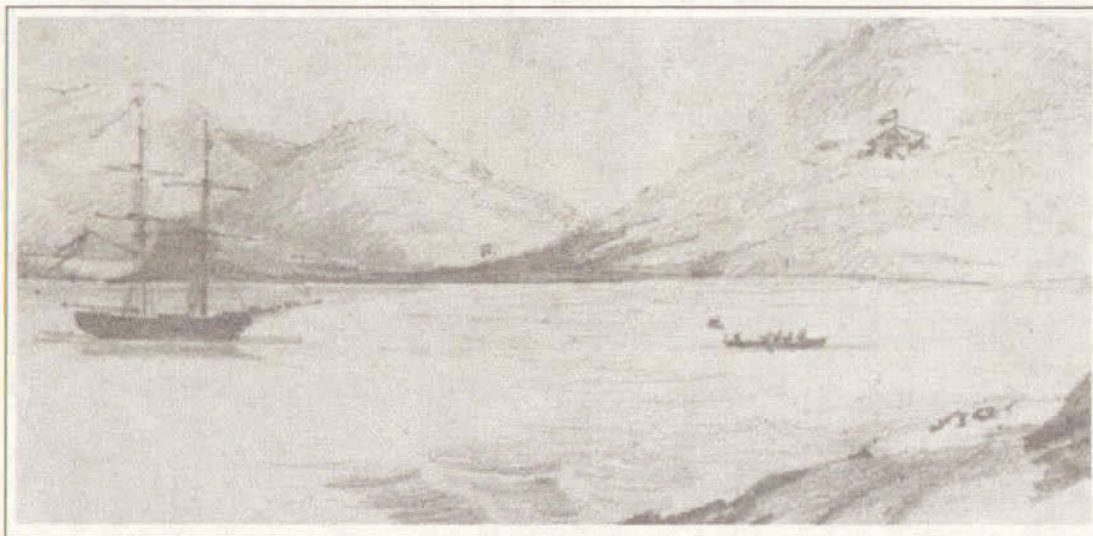
Statement of significance: As the primary stage for a diversity of pursuits necessary for the development and maintenance of the combined *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations' sophisticated infrastructure, the Leinster Bay industrial compound is clearly an important element of the broader **Annaberg Historic District**. To the extent that the Annaberg sugar factory complex epitomizes singularity in design and function, the Leinster Bay industrial compound is a

study in diversity, and the Annaberg factory could not have efficiently operated without the support it provided.

Recommendations: Despite their relatively high state of preservation, today the ruins of the Leinster Bay industrial compound lie nearly forgotten and seldom visited. The history of the site should be thoroughly researched and National Register nomination prepared for the site. Background on the Leinster Bay industrial compound should be worked into interpretive material relating to the overall **Annaberg Historic District**, and the ruins should be cleared, stabilized, and maintained for safe public visitation.



Vestiges of prior cultural land use were still clearly evident throughout the broader Annaberg Historic District when this photograph was taken in the mid twentieth century.
(photograph by Dr. George H. H. Knight, circa 1940s)



The Guard House overlooking Leinster Bay and Water Lemon Cay
(Detail from a sketch by Henry Morton, circa 1844)

Section 9: The Leinster Bay Guard House, circa 1838 - 1848

Approximately 1.1 km east-northeast of the Annaberg factory, on the western slope of the hill above Leinster Point, stand the ruins of the Leinster Bay guard house. The exact date of construction of this outpost remains undetermined, but it is believed to have been built just after the emancipation of the enslaved laborers in the British Virgin Islands in 1838.

The first half of the nineteenth century was marked by increasing unrest amongst the enslaved laborers on estates throughout the Danish West Indies. Nowhere in the islands was this situation so apparent as on the isolated properties of St. John, where one or two free overseers were responsible for containing and controlling large enslaved labor populations that often outnumbered them more than fifty to one. Under such conditions tensions often ran high, and during this era one overseer on *Annaberg* was poisoned and another died under suspicious circumstances. Force, therefore, was often seen as a necessary deterrent, and punishments such as detainment or restraint in the properties' stocks were dealt out liberally by the overseers. For more serious offenses, the local judge was empowered, and indeed mandated by law, to take harsher measures [SJLD, 1828-56; SJPI, 1829-55].

A census of St. John inhabitants taken in 1835 makes note of the laborers on each estate that had been "punished by judgment" and states the nature of their offense along with the

punishment. On the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations, four persons had been dealt with quite harshly in the preceding year. One individual, a woman named Venus, had been sentenced to "100 lashes with a Tamarind whip and a chain to be worn around her neck for the span of two months and to be locked up at noon and night." Her offense was noted as "refractory and rebellious conduct" [SJR, 1835].

It is no surprise that with the emancipation of the enslaved laborers in the British Virgin Islands in 1838, worker resistance and unrest on the nearby plantations of St. John greatly escalated. From *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay*, freedom lay just across The Narrows less than two kilometers away, and the British islands of Tortola, Great Thatch, and Jost van Dyke soon became populated by increasing numbers of runaway St. John slaves [SOFS, 1854; Dookhan, 1975; SJLD, 1828-56].

In a desperate effort to forestall escape and impede subterfuge, a system of watch stations was instituted throughout St. John and western St. Thomas. Two of these posts are known to have been situated in the vicinity of the broader **Annaberg Historic District**: one on Whistling Cay, across from Mary's Point; and another, at *Leinster Bay*, overlooking The Narrows and West End, Tortola [SJLD, 1828-43]. These facilities, however, proved to be largely ineffective. As early as the spring of 1842, the Whistling Cay station was standing unmanned, and property owners in the Maho Bay Quarter were asked by the local judge to give their opinion as to why, "...the guard house at Leinster Bay could not be entirely disposed with" [SJLD, 1842]. Despite a lack of funding, the Leinster Bay guard house was still operational when Reverend Henry Morton visited St. John aboard the Danish cruiser *Mercurius* in February of 1844. According to his account, an officer and sixteen men were stationed at the post, "for the purpose of protecting the property of the Planters from the danger which results from the nearness of the British island of Tortola" [SJLD, 1843; Morton, 1975].

It is unclear at what point the guard house at *Leinster Bay* ceased operation, but it can be assumed that by 1848, when emancipation was achieved in the Danish West Indies, the facility had largely outlived its usefulness.

Conclusion: The Leinster Bay guard house is a highly significant site not only to the broader **Annaberg Historic District**, but to all of the Virgin Islands as well. It is a bold reminder

of the last desperate attempts by the once-powerful Danish West Indies plantocracy to support and prolong the crumbling institution of slavery.

Recommendations: Almost no substantive research into the system of guard houses and watch stations throughout the Danish West Indies has ever been carried out. It would seem that the presence within the **Annaberg Historic District** of what is perhaps the most substantial and longest manned facility in the system offers a unique opportunity to fully explore and document this little-known aspect of Virgin Islands history. The ruins of the Leinster Bay guard house should be cleared and stabilized for safe public visitation, its background thoroughly researched, and information on the site included in interpretive material relating to the broader **Annaberg Historic District**.



'Cleaning the Young Cane On The Sugar Estate'
(Postcard by A. Duperly & Son, Kingstown Jamaica, circa 1912)

ADDITIONAL SITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE ANNABERG HISTORIC DISTRICT



A rural laborer and his family on St. Thomas, circa 1917
(Postcard by Johannes Lightbourn)

1B: The Annaberg and Leinster Bay Gift Lands, circa 1863

The Annaberg and Leinster Bay gift lands are thirty-five individual land parcels divided out of the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations and given over to workers on those estates by the will of Governor Hans H. Berg in 1863. Of these parcels, one two-acre, and eighteen adjoining one-acre plots are located in the far western section of the *Annaberg* estate on the former *Betty's Hope* lands; and sixteen adjoining one-acre plots are situated in the far eastern section of the *Leinster Bay* estate along the John Horn Road in the valley below Base Hill. These small homesteads are all highly significant elements of the **Annaberg Historic District**. Governor Berg's gifts set a precedent that challenged the long-established Danish West Indies system of property ownership, in which all rural land holdings were controlled by an elite group of wealthy plantocrats. The numerous small plots of land gifted by Berg on the far boundaries of his *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* estates remain privately held in-holdings (see Plot Maps of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay gift lands on following page).

2B: The Mary's Point Watch House

Situated within the bounds of the *Mary's Point* plantation, approximately 50 feet above the shoreline on the northern slopes of Mary's Point, are found the fragmentary remains of a small building foundation. It has been speculated in previous studies that the structure was built as a customs house, but no documentation to support this claim was uncovered during the research for this report. At present, the true function of the site remains undetermined, but similar buildings located on the outskirts of plantations, in areas that could not be observed from the main estate complex, are known to have served as watch stations. Pending further research, it is only logical to conclude that this structure served a similar purpose (see Mary's Point map in Section 5, page 93).



'Cutting the Canes'

(Postcard by Leboullanger, Martinique, FWI, circa 1905)

3B: Estate Brown Bay

Situated within the bounds of the Virgin Islands National Park on St. John's northeast coast, the *Brown Bay* plantation today lies completely covered in bush, its once stately structures rapidly deteriorating. Although it only remained associated with the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay*

plantation for a short time, the *Brown Bay* estate is clearly worthy of inclusion in the broader **Annaberg Historic District**. Upon James Murphy's purchase of the *Brown Bay* property in 1807, 300 acres of additional land came under his control, 80 of these were standing in sugar cane, and 30 were in pasture or provision crops. Also included in the purchase were 103 enslaved laborers (see maps on pages 4 and 12).

4B: Estate Munsbury

Located in a landlocked valley on the southern boundary of the *Annaberg* plantation, the property once known as *Munsbury* is today a privately owned in-holding within the *Maho Bay* estate. Purchased by James Murphy and merged into his *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation in 1803, the 170-acre *Munsbury* estate comprised 136 acres of prime cane land. Together, the adjoining *Munsbury* and *Annaberg* properties produced over one-half of the Murphy sugar cane crop, and were worked by no less than 237 enslaved laborers. Although the estate was sold by the Murphy heirs in 1810, *Munsbury* was once an important element of the *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation, and therefore should be included in the broader **Annaberg Historic District** (see maps on pages 4 and 12).

A SUMMARY OF THE ANNABERG HISTORIC DISTRICT

NAME

The Annaberg Historic District

LOCATION

The **Annaberg Historic District** is located within the bounds of the Virgin Islands National Park, on St. John in the United States Virgin Islands. The primary body of the district is composed of what are today three independent geographical units, referred to in the Virgin Islands as 'estates': Estate *Annaberg*, Estate *Mary's Point*, and Estate *Leinster Bay*. These estates are bounded by the sea along a roughly 3-mile strip of St. John's North Shore, which extends from the western tip of Mary's Point, to just beyond Threadneedle Point at its eastern limit. The spine of a range of tall coastal peaks roughly defines the southern boundary of the district (see maps on pages 4 and 12). Additionally two neighboring properties, Estate *Munsbury* (now a component of Estate *Maho Bay*) and Estate *Brown Bay*, are also closely associated with the district. Estates *Annaberg*, *Mary's Point*, and *Munsbury* can be approached by vehicular traffic via a spur of the North Shore Road (Route 20); however at present *Leinster Bay* and *Brown Bay* can be accessed only on foot by way of trails that roughly follow historic cart roads that once connected the plantations of the North Shore with the island's primary settlement at Coral Bay.

DESCRIPTION

Currently nine historically significant sites or properties associated with the *Annaberg* plantation have been identified within the primary body of the **Annaberg Historic District**. Four of these lie in the bounds of what is today Estate *Annaberg* (which includes a portion of the former *Dewindtsberg* plantation known as *Betty's Hope*); four are situated in Estate *Leinster Bay*; and one is located on Estate *Mary's Point* (which was an integral element of the *Annaberg*

plantation from 1790 until 1863). It is clear from the documentary record that it would be impossible to properly interpret the historic significance of any one of these sites without a deeper understanding of its relationship to the others. Together, the three neighboring estates, *Annaberg*, *Leinster Bay*, and *Mary's Point*, along with associated properties *Munsbury* and *Brown Bay*, make up what must be viewed as a broad and integral historic land district.

The core property of the **Annaberg Historic District** began as a modest 150 (Danish) acre agricultural land grant, formally deeded to a French Huguenot refugee, Isaac Constantin, by the Danish West Indies and Guinea Company on April 27, 1723. This property functioned as an independent sugar plantation until sometime in or about 1779, when the original residential and industrial complex on the parcel was abandoned and a new compound was constructed on the far western boundary of the property. This relocation was carried out in an effort to expand, upgrade, and centralize the administrative and industrial heart of the plantation, after the acquisition of additional lands that formerly belonged to the neighboring *Betty's Hope* (aka: *Dewindtsberg*) plantation. It was at this time that the newly built facility, along with its expanded field system, was christened *Annaberg*.

Sometime in or about 1790, the lands associated with *Annaberg* were once again expanded by the purchase of the *Mary's Point* plantation, which lay on a peninsula north of *Betty's Hope*. With the assimilation of the grounds previously belonging to *Betty's Hope* and *Mary's Point*, *Annaberg* had developed into a substantial 465-acre sugar and livestock plantation, worked by some seventy enslaved laborers. But, the property was to experience one last period of transformation before it would reach the apex of its development.

The already merged *Annaberg* and *Mary's Point* estates, along with a portion of the former *Betty's Hope* plantation that joined the two parcels, were purchased by a wealthy merchant and slave trader, James E. Murphy, in 1796. In the year prior to taking over *Annaberg*, Murphy had also acquired the neighboring *Smith Bay* plantation, which he renamed *Leinster Bay*. Immediately following these acquisitions, construction began on a state-of-the-art sugarworks and a tower windmill on the *Annaberg* property, and a grand estate house, befitting Mr. Murphy's wealth and prominence, on a ridge-top above Water Lemon Bay.

Soon after the turn of the nineteenth century, with the estate house on the *Leinster Bay* property completed, and the new sugarworks and windmill on *Annaberg* in full operation, James

Murphy again set out to expand his land holdings. In 1803 he acquired the *Munsbury* (aka: *Frederiksberg & Frederiksdahl*) plantation that lay on *Annaberg's* southern boundary, and in 1807 he purchased the *Brown's Bay* estate east of *Leinster Bay*.

On November 17, 1808, at the age of 51 years, James E. Murphy died on St. John and was buried on a prominent hilltop near his estate house overlooking his vast domain. At the time of his death, Murphy's *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantation comprised six formerly independent properties (which themselves were made up of no less than eleven early period land grants) with a total land area of nearly 1,300 acres: the largest sugar-producing plantation in the history of St. John.

Upon Murphy's death, his land holdings were appraised separately and either sold off to service the accounts of his creditors, or apportioned out among his heirs. The *Leinster Bay* plantation was given over to Murphy's son, Edward C. Murphy, and *Annaberg*, along with *Mary's Point* and *Betty's Hope*, became the property of his daughter, Mary Murphy Sheen. Although accounted for separately for tax and administrative purposes, *Annaberg* (including *Betty's Hope* and *Mary's Point*) and *Leinster Bay* remained under common Murphy family ownership until 1863. Throughout that period the estate house at *Leinster Bay* continued to serve as the residential and administrative center for both plantations. Despite the partitioning off and sale of the *Mary's Point* parcel in 1863, *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* remained linked through common ownership until after the turn of the twentieth century.

STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

The properties and sites that comprise the **Annaberg Historic District** represent the full scope of the Danish colonial experience on St. John, from its earliest settlement and establishment of sugar plantations, to the post-plantation period of subsistence farming, livestock rearing, and cottage industries. However, it is the process of property consolidation, which took place throughout the Danish West Indies at the height of the sugar boom in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that is most boldly demonstrated by the broader historic district. With the gradual abandonment of the small early-period settlements that lay within the bounds of the newly unified land holdings, the agricultural sector of the Danish colonial economy was

transformed from a system that relied primarily on the output of struggling low-yield plantations, to one firmly rooted in the large-scale production of vast and diversified agro-industrial estates.

Merged and developed into the largest sugar-producing property in the history of St. John, the parcels that make up the broader **Annaberg Historic District** serve as a bold reminder of the vast fortunes that were attained by an elite few, at the cost of incomprehensible human suffering at the very pinnacle of the sugar trade at the turn of the nineteenth century. But beyond that, the association of the property with an owner who was a known slave trader, coupled with the fact that the *Annaberg and Leinster Bay* plantation also held the highest number of enslaved laborers of any property on the island, clearly underscores the national, and international, significance of the district.

As per National Register guidelines, all of the properties within the **Annaberg Historic District** are considered significant under Criterion A, for their association with the history of colonial-era sugar cane cultivation and processing, and the post-sugar-production period of subsistence farming, livestock rearing, and cottage industries; Criterion C, for the distinctive elements in the design, physical context, and construction methods of its contributing sites; and Criterion D, for the potential to reveal further information regarding industrial, agricultural, and residential land use within the district, and the lives of both free and enslaved individuals who lived there. The **Annaberg Historic District** possesses substantial integrity of location, setting, and association, as well as occupying its original position and relationship to the other plantation properties throughout the island. While the loss of physical components, cultural landscape, and equipment decreases overall integrity, enough remains to adequately convey the overall significance of the area.

Some of the identified contributing sites within the broader **Annaberg Historic District** include:

- Colonial-period industrial complexes
- Villages of enslaved laborers
- Plantation residences
- Remnants of field systems and agricultural land use, including wells, fieldstone walls, terracing, etc.

- Vestiges of plantation infrastructure, such as cart roads, bridges, and guttering systems
- Post-emancipation homesteads
- Evidence of vernacular trades such as charcoal making, boat building, and lime burning
- Cemeteries and burial sites

While some of the sites within the Annaberg Historic District are generally well preserved and stable, many are in immediate need of mitigation efforts to forestall further deterioration.

Note: It must be added that the secluded and largely unmonitored bays and coastal areas of the **Annaberg Historic District** are presently being utilized as drop-off points for the smuggling of illegal aliens in what is surely unprecedented numbers. In every corner of the district discarded clothes, bedding, and luggage are found strewn across the landscape. Further, over the course of the ground survey phase of this project, a number of sites that in recent times have been the scene of small plot cultivation were encountered, and on one occasion members of the survey team were fired upon in the area of Leinster Bay.

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

As is the case with the Annaberg factory complex, it is apparent that the historic context of the **Annaberg Historic District** must be broadly interpreted, leaving ample latitude for cultural inclusiveness and a diversity of historical perspectives. It is therefore recommended that the “period of significance” of the site not be limited to a single specific date range, but be viewed from an administrative and interpretive standpoint as multiple and ongoing.

FINDING BALANCE; SLAVERY AND RESISTANCE AT ANNABERG

The issues surrounding slavery and slave resistance on *Annaberg* are highly complex, and it would require a comprehensive report to adequately address them. There are, however, a few individual points that can be briefly touched upon in an effort to interject a degree of balance into the issues as they specifically pertain to the present study.

Much has been written in recent years about 'resistance' in its many forms. Currently, scholars generally break down acts of resistance into two categories: passive resistance and active resistance. Passive resistance constitutes such actions as working slowly, pretending ignorance, feigning sickness, carelessness with estate property and equipment, running away, or suicide; while active resistance is displayed in such ways as theft, the damaging of estate equipment, crops, or livestock, the maiming or murdering of other slaves, organized revolt, and the murdering of persons in authority, such as owners or overseers [Greenwood & Hamber, 1980].

Many examples of resistance can be documented to have occurred on *Annaberg*, not just in the years of slavery, but in the post-emancipation period of contract labor as well. To fully comprehend the intricacies of the causes and effects of these acts requires a detailed approach taking into account contributing conditions and specific circumstances, such as setting, political climate, social issues, and cultural perspectives relating to the specific time frame associated with the incident. For example, life for an enslaved laborer under the inhumane slave codes in place during the early years of St. John's settlement was far more harsh and restrictive than it was during the ameliorative period around the turn of the nineteenth century. Therefore, to fully grasp the issues relating to an act such as the insurrection that took place on the island in 1733, one would have to deeply explore the roots of that event in its proper setting and context within the framework of the period. The dynamics that drove individuals to carry out acts of active resistance on that occasion were vastly different than those that led to the emancipation uprising in 1848, or the labor riots of 1878 -- though all three can be broadly categorized as overt acts of resistance in response to imposed servitude. Further, as in all human circumstances, displays of passion inevitably enter into the equation. Murder or assault as a means of personal revenge are not crimes limited to free society, therefore not all damaging or violent behavior that occurred among persons in servitude throughout the pre and post-emancipation periods can be viewed

simply as manifestations of resistance. And finally, it should be stressed that the unfree were no less individuals than were members of free society, and two persons never react to a situation in the same way -- no matter how similar their circumstances. How persons in bondage responded or adapted to the harsh constraints of daily existence was perhaps the only decision left solely to their discretion. As displayed by the following three accounts, while some individuals responded to their circumstances by choosing the road of active resistance, most chose a more passive path, and still others sought to better their situations through cooperation. All of the accounts presented here occurred within the general context of the period just prior to, and immediately following, emancipation in the Danish West Indies in 1848 (further reference to this period can be found in Section 9, pages 103-105 of this report).

The Case of Joe Popp

In the early morning hours of November 5, 1839, Joe Popp somehow managed to free himself from the heavy iron shackles that bound his wrists and escape from the detention cell on the *Annaberg* plantation. After quietly making his way to Water Lemon Bay, Popp swam out to the estate's boat, a sloop named the *Kitty Berg*, and fled to the nearby British island of Tortola. Only after his escape did witnesses begin to come forward and provide details of the crime that Joe Popp had long been suspected of committing two years before [SJPP, 1839].

Early in the year 1837, John Edwards had taken over the duties of overseer on the *Annaberg* plantation. Upon setting up household on the estate, Edwards and his wife chose two slaves to serve as their house servants. A young girl, Maria Rosina, was taken on as 'house girl', and a young man, Joe Popp, was given the position of 'house boy' [SJPR, 1837].

From the start there was trouble in the Edwards's household. On numerous occasions Joe Popp was caught stealing food and other items, and for each offense overseer Edwards dealt out harsher and harsher punishments. Soon Joe Popp began to speak openly among his fellow slaves, saying that someday he was going to take either "himself, or Edwards, out of the way." Popp was also heard to threaten others "that if either white or colored plagued him too much, he had something to give them that they would not be able to be rid of." For a time Joe Popp simmered,

but his emotions soon overflowed. After Pop was absent from the estate without permission for a whole day, Edwards publicly flogged him with an oxtail whip on the following morning. For Joe Popp this was the final insult; he swore aloud that it would be the last beating he would ever take from Edwards [SJPR, 1837].

As was the daily routine, a few days later Mrs. Edwards instructed Joe Popp to fetch Mr. Edwards's medicine and prepare him his morning tea. After handing Joe the key to the cupboard where the medicine was stored, she instructed the girl Maria Rosina to accompany Popp to make sure he didn't remove anything else from the shelf. Alongside the medicine in the cupboard was kept a bottle of arsenic used for poisoning rats on the estate, and it was a portion of the contents of that bottle, not the medicine, that Joe Popp added to Mr. Edwards' tea. Maria Rosina, too afraid to speak, later testified that she watched as Joe Popp served the overseer the poisoned mixture. Around 2 o'clock that afternoon, Edwards came in from the fields and lay down in his bed complaining of a fever. He never rose again [SJPR, 1837].

At the time of the incident, there was only circumstantial evidence that pointed to Joe Popp as the perpetrator of the crime. However, it later came out in hearings after his escape that it was common knowledge among the slaves on the plantation that Joe Popp had poisoned Edwards with a cup of tea. Laborers on neighboring estates were also well aware of the incident, as the story had been passed from property to property by way of a song that the field gang would sing as they worked. According to one deponent, who spoke out at a hearing to extradite Joe Popp from Tortola in the fall of 1839, a slave named Ludvig from the *Munsbury* plantation had made up the words to the song, which were entered into the court record:

The lady tells him to take his thing and go to Tortola land.

Mr. Edwards say no: we stay for two three week more.

The lady lays in the window and cries out for her dear John;

Mr. Edwards! didn't I tell you so? You wouldn't take care of Jonis Garg,

Jonis Garg carried you to livis land.

Little Maria has confessed on the bad woman and said, Manger! You wouldn't hear.

The cup of tea sent him to livis land.

[SJPR, 1837]

It was also revealed during Popp's extradition hearings that the Annaberg gang had been heard singing a similar song while the overseer who replaced Edwards, Thomas Hyland, lay dying of an undetermined illness on Christmas Eve later in the same year [SJPR, 1837].

In the end, efforts to bring Joe Popp to justice proved futile. After making his escape to Tortola in November 1839, Popp quickly left that island and found his way to Trinidad. According to witnesses, he was last seen on St. Thomas in 1853 when a steamship he was engaged on as crew stopped over at that port [SOFS, 1854].

The Mass Desertion of 1840

On the night of May 24, 1840, estates *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* were the scene of the largest mass desertion of enslaved laborers on St. John since the outbreak of the 1733 slave rebellion more than a century before. In all, eight men (Charles Bryan, James Jacob, Adam [alias Cato], Big David, Henry Law, Paulus, John Curay), and three women (Kitty, Polly, and Katurah) were involved. The group made their escape by stealing the estates' boat, the *Kitty Berg*, and rowing the vessel to nearby Tortola under the cover of darkness. Ten of the individuals were from *Leinster Bay*, while only one was from *Annaberg* [SJPR, 1840; SOFS, 1854].

According to police reports of the incident, the runaways had carefully planned their escape. One of their number, Big David, was the watchman at the *Leinster Bay* plantation on the night of the desertions; another, Charles Bryan, was a carpenter, and it was believed that he had secretly fashioned oars and hidden them for the occasion. In preparation for leaving, members of the group had also sold their "pigs and small animals on St. Thomas." Their houses were found empty of belongings after their departure [SJPR, 1840].

The incident was first reported to authorities at 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, May 25. Upon notification of the escape, Police Master Brahde immediately made his way from his home in Coral Bay to *Annaberg*, where he found the estate overseer, Mr. Davis, in a state of great consternation. Davis, who expressed complete bewilderment over the incident, claimed that he "knew no reason for the Negroes' desertion," and explained that upon his evening inspection at 8

o'clock he had found "everything as it should be" on both the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations [SJPR, 1840].

After inquiries on the estates proved largely uninformative, Brahde concluded that, beyond determining that the group had fled to Tortola, no further pertinent details of the case would be forthcoming. In an effort to resolve the matter as quickly as possible, he decided that his first course of action should be to immediately send the local Moravian missionary, Brother Schmitz, to Tortola to plead with the deserters to return home. After sending word to Schmitz to prepare for the journey, Brahde hastily set out for St. Thomas to secure the governor's formal pardon for the runaways in the event they consented to come back to St. John [SJPR, 1840].

Late Sunday night Brahde returned to St. John with assurance that none of the group would be prosecuted, and early the next morning Brother Schmitz set out in a hired boat for Tortola to negotiate. Upon his arrival in the British colony the missionary went directly to the local magistrate, Mr. Lewis, who called a gathering of the runaways at his home to discuss the issue. According to Schmitz, the house was soon crowded with not only the refugees from St. John, but also a number of local "free farmers" who had come to voice their support for the group. Once assembled the deserters expressed in no uncertain terms that they were "the utmost embittered" towards overseers Davis and Wallace, and that none of them would return as long as either of those men remained on the estates. The most vocal of the group, Charles Bryan, cited the cause for their dislike of those individuals was that they could never "work enough" to please them, and "for each trivial matter were locked up or punished." To each account offered as to how they had suffered at the hands of the overseers, the free Tortola people in the crowd responded with hearty cries of "Hear! Hear!" [SJPR, 1840].

Convinced of the groups' resolve, Brother Schmitz returned to the Emmaus Mission Station on St. John where he penned a report to Police Master Brahde. In his report, Schmitz stated that he had been well treated by the people on Tortola, but held out little hope that any of the refugees would ever return [SJPR, 1840].

In fact, some of the group did return, but not until well after overseers Davis and Wallace had left the estates. During a hearing held in connection with claims for compensation due to the former owners of emancipated slaves on January 16, 1854, Charles Bryan recounted what had become of each of the eleven members of the group. In his testimony Bryan stated that he, along

with his wife Katurah and James Jacobs, had all returned to work at *Leinster Bay* and were currently residing there. Of the others, Kitty, Paulus, David, and Adam had been recently seen on St. Thomas, while Henry Law, Petrus, and Polly -- who on at least one occasion had visited her family at *Leinster Bay* -- were still living on Tortola. As for John Curry, he had left Tortola bound for Trinidad soon after the meeting with Brother Schmitz in 1840. Bryan added that as recently as two years ago he had heard from a Tortola boat captain that Curry was "still on Trinidad and was well" [SOFS, 1854].

No record was found of any punitive actions ever having been taken against any member of the group.

The George Francis Story

George Francis was born enslaved on the *Annaberg* plantation. His name appears in the earliest recorded census for the property compiled in 1835, in which he was recorded as a thirteen-year old field laborer, baptized in the Moravian church on June 21, 1822 [SJR, 1835].

Already a widower by age nineteen, George Francis worked diligently to gain the respect of his fellow workers, as well as his influential master, Hans H. Berg. By the time the 1846 census was compiled, Francis was among the most trusted of the estates' laborers, and by 1850 he had gained the position of 'driver' (the leader of the work-gangs). Sometime in or about 1845, George Francis married Hester Dalinda, a young woman who had been born enslaved on the neighboring *Munsbury* plantation where she had lived all of her life. Secure in his new position as driver, Francis felt confident that a request to allow his wife to leave *Munsbury* and join him at *Annaberg* would not be refused. And indeed, a short time later Hester and her children, Peggy and Johannes, were all reported to be living at *Annaberg* [SJR, 1846, 1850, & 1855; SJLUC, 1850].

Over the course of the succeeding decades, George Francis found opportunities that in his youth must have seemed wholly unimaginable. In the 1860 census for *Annaberg*, Francis's position was listed as estate 'overseer,' and two years later he received clear and outright title to a 2-acre parcel of land on *Mary's Point* by the will of his former owner, Hans H. Berg. But George Francis's ambitions did not stop there; through hard work and frugality he managed to save

enough money for a down payment on the remainder of the *Mary's Point* property when it was auctioned off during the Berg probate reconciliation [STEP, 1862].

George Frances's wife, Hester, died only a short time after their purchase of the *Mary's Point* estate. The couple's possessions, itemized in Hester's probate inventory compiled on September 29, 1864, display the relative wealth the Francis family had attained by that date:

18 Head of Cattle
40 Sheep
3 Asses
2 Horses
1 Decked Boat 'The Ester of St. John'
1 Row Boat
2 Bedsteads with Bedding
2 Tables
1 Press
18 Chairs
1 doz. Plates, Knives, Forks, Spoons and Glasses

[SJCP, 1864]

A year after Hester's death George Francis married for a third time to Lucy Ann Blydon. Together the couple lived on and worked the *Mary's Point* property, and in the 1870 census for the estate Francis had the gratification of listing his profession as "Planter."

In 1871 George Frances encountered what was perhaps his greatest opportunity. After the buildings and crops on the *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* plantations were destroyed in the devastating back-to-back hurricane and earthquakes of 1867, the owner of the estates, Thomas Loyd, fell behind on his mortgage payments and could not afford to rebuild the properties. After enduring years of pressure from his creditors, Loyd finally decided to quit the colony to evade his obligations. Upon his departure, Thomas Loyd handed over title to both *Annaberg* and *Leinster Bay* to his former property manager, George Francis, for the sum of \$100.

George Frances died on St. John in 1875. He was the last individual to hold title to the combined *Annaberg*, *Leinster Bay*, and *Mary's Point* estates. At the time of his death, Francis had recently completed the construction of a new boiling house and horse mill, and was endeavoring to reintroduce sugar cane cultivation on his properties. The remains of the Francis sugarworks, which stand on the isthmus between Mary's Creek and Francis Bay, represent the last sugar factory ever erected on St. John.

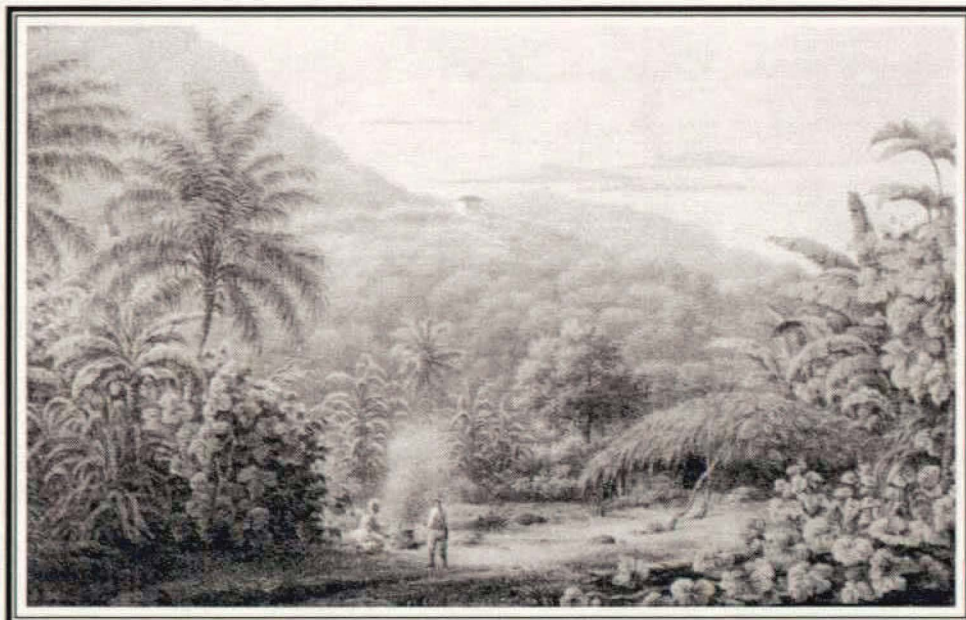
While numerous acts of resistance did occur on *Annaberg*, examples of cooperation can also be cited throughout the colonial period. Although the settlement was burned and the laborers' houses were destroyed, the fact that only one slave appears to have deserted from the *Constantin* plantation during the 1733 revolt certainly suggests a degree of cooperation on the part of the workers in that period. In later years, the nearly equal birth and death rates among the enslaved laborers evidenced between 1803 and emancipation in 1848, and the relatively low incidence of escape or the use of corporal punishment in the years leading up to emancipation, may be indications that the conditions under which the laborers lived and worked were less than intolerable -- perhaps due in part to the somewhat paternal attitude displayed by the estate owner H. H. Berg during the period of his proprietorship.

But the seemingly moderate situation on *Annaberg* in the years following the turn of the nineteenth century may simply reflect ameliorative efforts being instituted throughout the West Indies during that period. The forces that drove this process, however, were often more firmly rooted in economic self-preservation on the part of the slave owners than in humanitarian precept. Primarily adopted to counteract the negative impact the suppression of the transatlantic slave trade was having on the West Indies colonies, amelioration was designed to achieve sustainable positive population growth amongst the enslaved laborers, thereby making the constant importation of new Africans unnecessary. Efforts on the part of the *Annaberg* estate owners or managers to provide better living conditions for their workers should in no way be construed solely as an indication of benevolence. Under all circumstances life in bondage was a cruel and demoralizing existence. No degree of liberality, short of unconditional manumission, could have lessened the effects of slavery on the human condition.

In the end, it would seem that no overall conclusions can be drawn as to the degree of resistance or cooperation displayed by the laborers on *Annaberg* during any given period without detailed and careful study. While Joe Popp found his situation so untenable that he chose to resort to the most desperate act of active resistance, within the same time period, and on the same estate, George Francis worked diligently to elevate his position within the highly stratified hierarchy of slave society. Intriguingly, all of the individuals mentioned in the preceding accounts ultimately achieved their goal of expressions of free will-- although the responses to their situations were radically divergent. Clearly then, how an individual chose to deal with the constraints of servitude was to some degree a matter of personal choice: a test of what the human heart was willing, or able, to endure.

A line from the records of the St. John police master, Carl Hanschell, in reference to the reaction of the island's laborers to the news that emancipation had been achieved, stands as a fitting postscript to the final years of slavery on *Annaberg*. On July 5, 1848, Hanschell entered into his journal:

Everywhere the enthusiasm was great and the feelings of the people toward their late owners were generally favorable, chiefly at plantations Leinster Bay and Annaberg.... [Low, 1985]



Provision grounds on the border of the Annaberg and Munsbury plantations at Ajax Peak, circa 1851
(Lithograph by C. E. Bærentzen, published in 1856 [based on an earlier oil painting by Fritz Melbye])

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APPENDIX

Appendix A

Chart A:	Common Ownership, 1721 - 1935
Chart B:	Sugar Production, 1845 - 1870
Chart C:	Acreage and Land Use, 1803 - 1868
Chart D:	Population, 1723 - 1848
Chart E:	Births and Deaths of the Enslaved, 1803 - 1847

Appendix B

Table 1:	Constantin Plantation, 1723 - 1740
Table 2:	Constantin/Annaberg, 1755 - 1776
Table 3:	Constantin/Annaberg, 1777 - 1802
Table 4:	Annaberg, 1803 - 1810
Table 5:	Annaberg, 1811 - 1841
Table 6:	Annaberg, 1842 - 1849
Table 7:	Annaberg, 1850 - 1915
Table 8:	Comparison of Inventories, 1732 - 1733
Table 9:	Annaberg Inventory, 1733 - 1862
Table 10:	Comparison of Plantations, 1808
Table 11:	1805 Plantation Report Tabulation, 1805

Appendix C

Document # 1:	Extract of St. John Tax Roll, 1728
Document # 2:	Extract of Probate Proceedings, 1732
Document # 3:	Extract of St. John Mortgage Register, 1797 - 1803
Document # 4:	Will and Testament, 1792
Document # 5:	Appraisal of Annaberg, 1809
Document # 6:	Census, 1835
Document # 7:	Auction Announcement, 1862
Document # 8:	Extract from the Register of Deeds, 1871
Document # 9:	Tax form, 1882
Document # 10:	Census, 1917

Appendix D

Annaberg Photograph Gallery

Appendix E

Site Plans & Drawings

Chart A: Common Ownership within the Annaberg Historic District, 1721 - 1935

DATE	Constantin/ Annaberg	Betty's Hope	Mary's Point	Leinster Bay	Munsbury	Brown Bay	Notes
1721	Isaac Constantin						First occupation
Circa 1779	Lind & Jones	Lind & Jones					Betty's Hope merged with Annaberg
Circa 1790	Jones & Milner	Jones & Milner	Jones & Milner				Mary's Point merged with Annaberg
1796	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy			Annaberg and Leinster Bay united under common ownership
1803	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy		Munsbury purchased
1807	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	James Murphy	Brown Bay purchased
1809	Murphy heirs	Murphy heirs	Murphy heirs	Murphy heirs	Murphy heirs		Brown Bay reverts to mortgage holder
1811	Thomas Sheen [for Murphy's daughter]	Thomas Sheen [for Murphy's daughter]	Thomas Sheen [for Murphy's daughter]	Edward Murphy [son of James]			Munsbury sold
1827	Hans H. Berg	Hans H. Berg	Hans H. Berg	Hans H. Berg			Berg takes ownership of Annaberg and Leinster Bay as guardian for Murphy heirs
1863	Thomas Loyd	Thomas Loyd	George Francis	Thomas Loyd			Loyd purchases Annaberg and Leinster Bay at auction. Mary's Point sold to Francis
1871	George Francis	George Francis	George Francis	George Francis			Francis reunites Annaberg, Leinster Bay, and Mary's Point
1876	Antone Anduze	Antone Anduze	Francis Heirs	Antone Anduze			Annaberg and Leinster Bay handed over to Anduze. Francis family retains Mary's Point
1899	Carl Francis	Carl Francis	Carl Francis & sister	Henry Clen [for] Sophie Francis			Francis family regains title to Annaberg, and Leinster Bay
1910	Carl Francis	Carl Francis					Mary's Point and Leinster Bay under administration by the court. Carl Francis retains Annaberg
1935	Herman Creque	Herman Creque					Annaberg sold to Creque
1954	Jackson Hole	Jackson Hole					Annaberg sold to Jackson Hole Preserve

Chart B: Sugar Production at the Annaberg Factory, 1845 - 1870

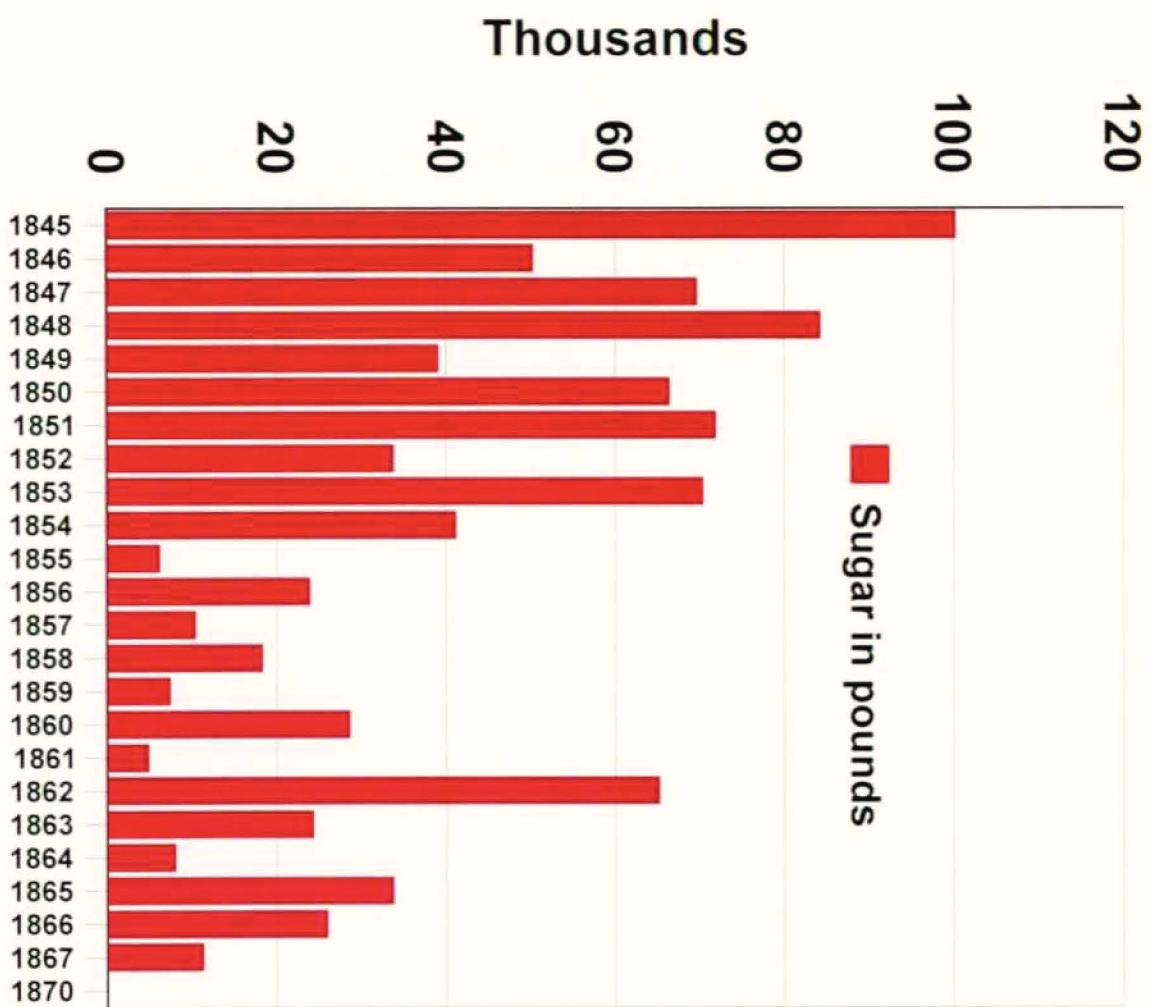


Chart C: Acreage and Land Use on the Annaberg Plantation, 1803 to 1868

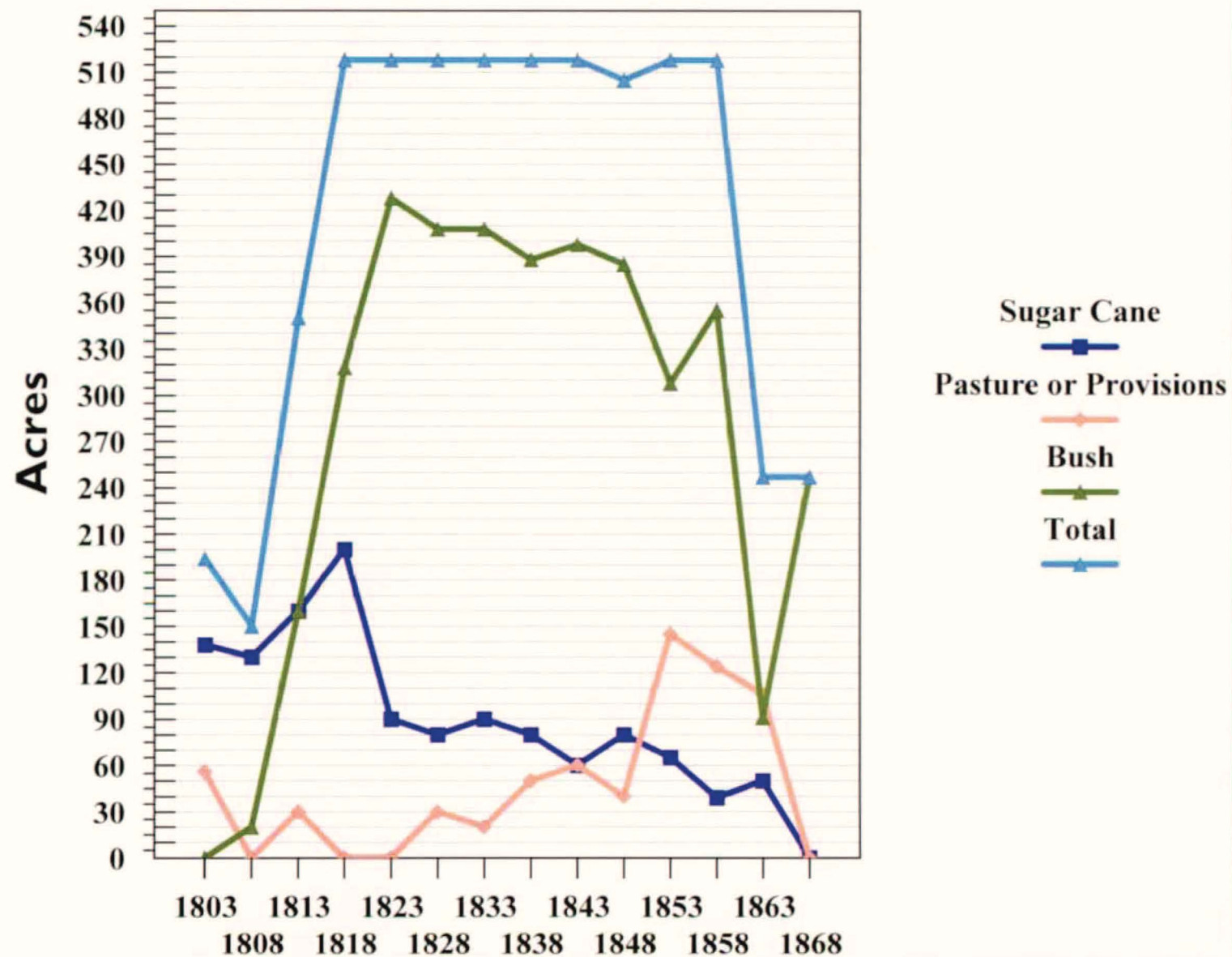


Chart D: Population on the Constantin and Annaberg Plantations, 1723 to 1848

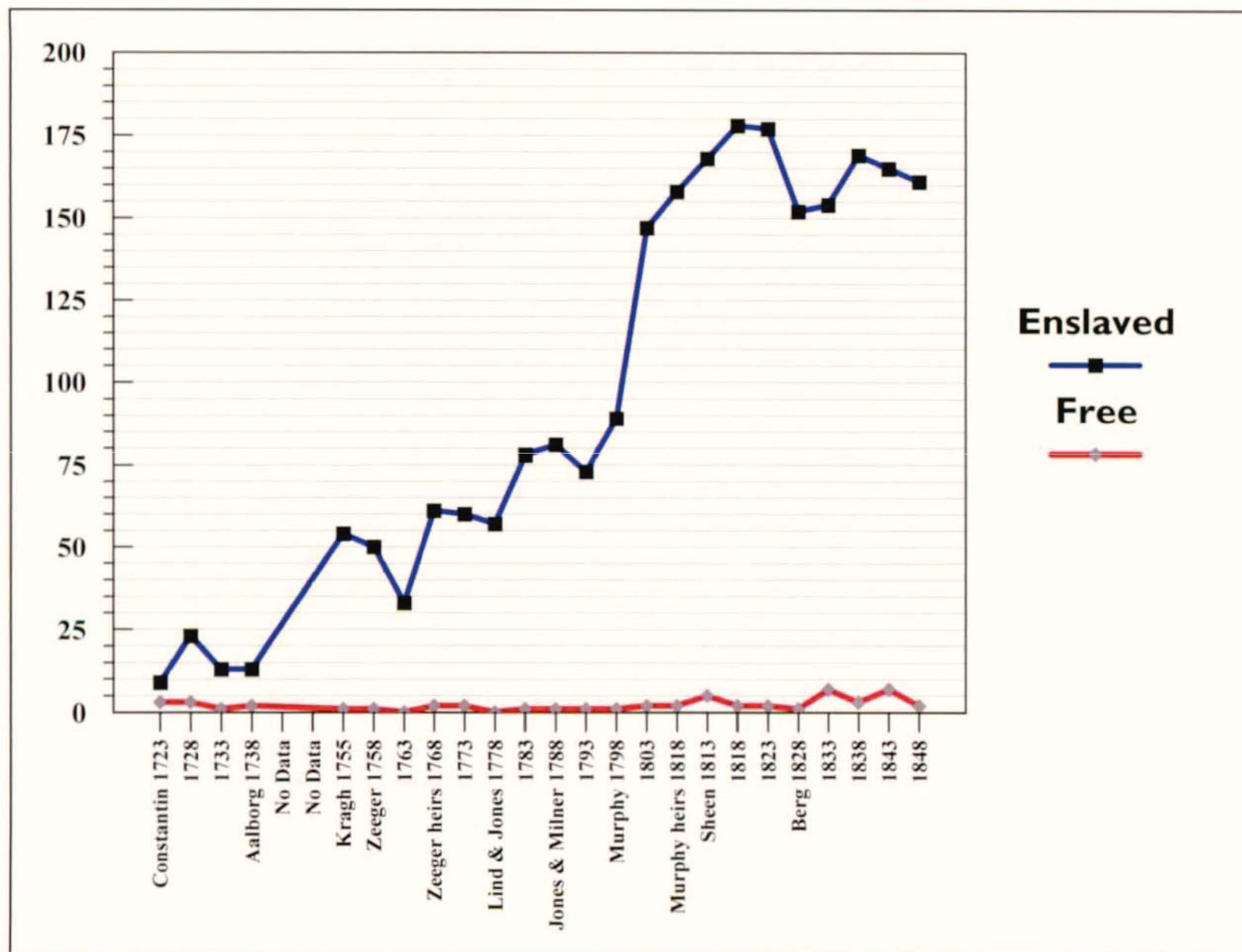


Chart E: Births and Deaths among the Enslaved on the Annaberg Plantation, 1803 to 1847

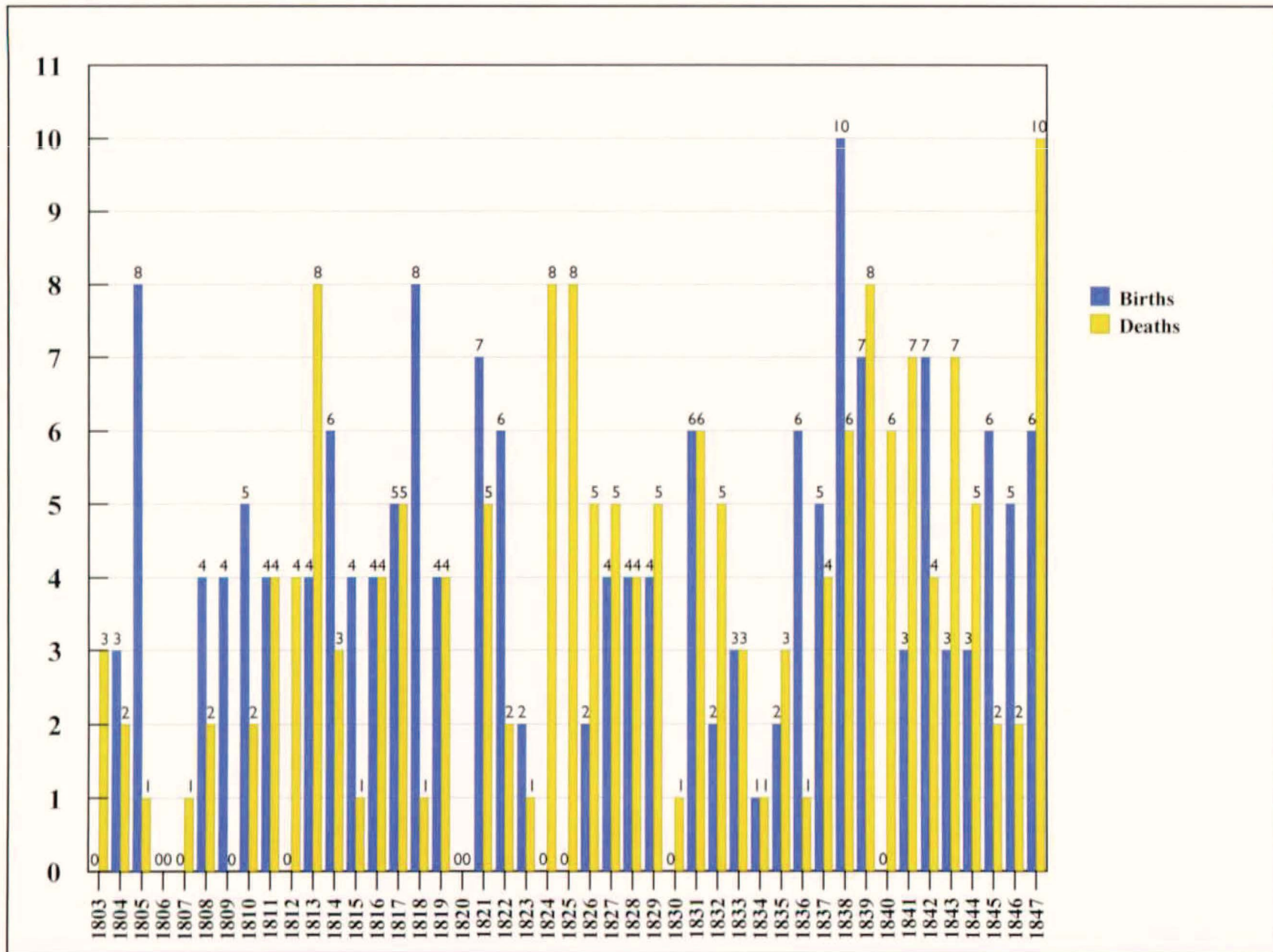


Table 1: Constantin Plantation, 1723 - 1740

Date	Owner	Size	Crop	Free residents	Enslaved							Note
					Men	Wome n	Children	Bossal	Manqueron	Maron	Total	
1723/2 4	Isaac Constantin	NA	NA	1 man, 1 woman 1 girl	5	3			1	1man	9	St. Thomas Land List
1724/2 5	Isaac Constantin	NA	NA	1 man, 1 woman 1 girl	5	3				1man	8	St. Thomas Land List
1725/2 6	Isaac Constantin	NA	NA	1 man, 1 woman 1 girl	10	3		9		1man	22	St. Thomas Land List
1726/2 7	Isaac Constantin	NA	NA	1 man, 1 woman 1 girl	10	3		9			22	St. Thomas Land List
1727/2 8	Isaac Constantin	NA	NA	1 man, 1 woman	10	3		9			22	St. Thomas Land List
1728/2 9	Isaac Constantin	2000 X 3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman 1 girl	6		6	5 men 3 women	3 men		23	First St. John Tax Listing
1729/3 0	Isaac Constantin	2000 X 3000	sugar works	4	6			8	3 men 6 women		23	
1730/3 1	Isaac Constantin	2000 X 3000	sugar works	1 masterknegt	5		1	4 men 1 child			11	Masterknegt's Name: Lestej
1731/3 2	Isaac Constantin	2000 X 3000	sugar works	1 masterknegt	5	1	3	[1]	2	1	11	1 Bossal Maron
1732/3 3	Isaac Constantin	2000 X 3000	NA	1 masterknegt	7		1 girl				8	
1733	Isaac Constantin's Widow	2000 X 3000	NA	1 masterknegt	6		1 girl	1 man 1 woman	4		13	2 Bossal bought off <i>Larborg Galley</i> May 11, 1733
NO LAND LISTS FOR ST. JOHN 1734 - 1735												
1735/3 6	Mads Larsen Aalborg*	2000 X 3000	NA	NA	6	2	1 girl		4		13	Constantin's daughter married
1736/3 7	Mads Larsen Aalborg	2000 X 3000	sugar works	1 man, 1 woman	5	1	1 girl		1 woman		8	
1737/3 8	Mads Larsen Aalborg	2000 X 3000	sugar works	1 man, 1 woman	6		5 girl	1 woman	1 woman		13	
1738/3 9	Mads Larsen Aalborg	2000 X 3000	sugar works	1 man & 1 masterknegt	6	1			3		10	
1739/4 0	Mads Larsen Aalborg	2000 X 3000	sugar works	1 man & 1 masterknegt	6	3	4 boys 1 girl		1		NA	15 Slaves purchased in 1740
NO TAX RECORDS FOR ST. JOHN 1739/40 THROUGH 1755												

* Mads Larsen Aalborg married to Isaac Constantin's daughter.

Table 2: Constantin/Annaberg, 1755 - 1776

Date	Owner	Size	Crop	Free residents	Enslaved					Note
					Capable	$\frac{1}{2}$ field	Bossal or Manqueron	Children Under 12 years	Total	
1755	Jens Nielsen Kragh	2000x3000	sugar	1 masterknegt	28	6	6	14	54	
1756	Cammereer J.N. Kragh	2000x3000	sugar	1 masterknegt	30	6	6	9	51	
1757	Cammereer J.N. Kragh	2000x3000	sugar	1 masterknegt	26	5	8	11	50	
1758	Solomon Zeeger Janzoon	2000x3000	sugar	Data inconclusive - Figures combined with other holdings						
1759	Solomon Zeeger Janzoon	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman, 3 boys	24	3	10	10	47	
1760	Solomon Zeeger Janzoon	2000x3000	sugar		24		3	6	33	Questionable as unchanged
1761	Solomon Zeeger Janzoon	2000x3000	sugar		24		3	6	33	
1762	Solomon Zeeger Janzoon	2000x3000	sugar		24		3	6	33	
1763	Solomon Zeeger Janzoon	2000x3000	sugar		24		3	6	33	
1764	Solomon Zeeger's Widow (Anna de Windt)	2000x3000	sugar		20	20	25		65	
1765	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman	26	2	18	15	61	
1766	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman	26	2	18	15	61	
1767	No tax records for St. John in this year									
1768	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman	30	5	15	11	61	
1769	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar		33	5	11	12	61	
1770	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar		34	6	11	12	63	
1771	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar		35	6	11	13	65	
1772	Heirs of Solomon Zeeger	2000x3000	sugar		37	1	8	12	58	
1773	Peter de Windt for Solomon Zeeger Heirs	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman	41	4	6	9	60	
1774	Peter de Windt for Solomon Zeeger Heirs	2000x3000	sugar		38	4	7	11	60	
1775	Peter de Windt for Solomon Zeeger Heirs	2000x3000	sugar		39	5	7	12	63	
1776	Peter de Windt for Solomon Zeeger Heirs	2000x3000	sugar		36	4	7	13	60	

Table 3: Constantin/Annaberg, 1777 - 1802

Date	Owner	Size	Crop	Free residents	Enslaved					Note
					House or Hand	Capable	½ field or Children	Tax free Manqueron Bossal or Infant	Total	
1777	Zeegeer Heirs	2000x3000	sugar			45	15		60	
1778	Lind & Jones for Zeegeer Heirs	2000x3000	sugar			45	12		57	
1779	Lind & Jones	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman, 1 boy, 1 girl		78	14	1	92	Major increase
1780	Lind & Jones	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman, 1 boy, 1 girl		74	14		88	Possible establishment of Annaberg
1781	Lind & Jones	2000x3000	sugar			72	16		88	
1782	Lind & Jones	2000x3000	sugar	1 male overseer		68	15		83	
1783	Lind & Jones	2000x3000	sugar	1 male overseer		64	14		78	
1784	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 male overseer		70	23	4 infants	97	Increase
1785	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman, 1 girl		63	12	5 bossals	80	
1786	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 male overseer		63	22	1 infant	86	
1787	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 male overseer		62	16	3 infants	81	
1788	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man		60	20	1 infant	81	
1789	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man		56	20	2 infants	78	
1790	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man		54	16		70	
1791	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man		48	20		69	
1792	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man		53	14		68	
1793	Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 overseer		21 men 31 women	13 boys 4 girls	1 infant, 1 boy, 1 girl 1 male manqueron	73	
1794	Young Girl Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman		24 men 29 women	7 men, 1 woman 2 boys, 3 Girls	1 manqueron	67	
1795	Young Girl Jones & Milner	2000x3000	sugar	1 man, 1 woman		24 men 29 women	7 men, 1 woman 2 boys, 3 girls	1 manqueron	67	
1796	James Murphy	2000x3000	sugar	1 overseer		22 men 30 women	2 boys	10 male infants 4 female infants 1 male & 10 Female bossals 1 manqueron	80	
1797	James Murphy	2000x3000	sugar	1 overseer		34 men 35 women		15 male infants 7 female infants 1 male manqueron	92	
1798	James Murphy	2000x3000	sugar	1 overseer		48 men 40 women		1 manqueron	89	
1799	James Murphy	2000x3000	sugar	1 overseer		30 men 29 women	9 boys, 11 girls	7 male infants 18 female infants 2 male, 4 female manquerons	107	
1800	James Murphy	2000x3000	sugar	1 overseer	1 man	30 men 29 women	9 boys, 14 girls	5 male infants 13 female infants 2 m/w manqueron 2 boys, 5 girls	110	
1801	James Murphy	2000x3000	sugar	2 male overseers		56 men 48 women	7 boys, 10 girls	10 male infants 3 female infants 3 boys, 3 girls	140	

Table 4: Annaberg, 1803 - 1810

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Resident Family	Free Employees	Acres In Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Enslaved							
										House or Hand	Capable	1/2 Field	Child Field	Tax free	Born in year	Died in year	Total
1803	James Murphy	8 & 9	Annaberg		2 men	138	56		194	3 men 1 woman 3 boys 2 girls	69		7	57 boys 2 girls		3 girls	147
1804	James Murphy	8 & 9	Annaberg		1 men	118	17	15	150	4 men	57	13	9	52 boys 11 girls	3 girls	1 man 1 woman	151
1805	James Murphy	8 & 9	Annaberg		2 men	130		20	150	5 men 3 women 1 boy	69	8		55 boys 5 girls	5 boys 3 girls	1 woman	153
1806	James Murphy	8 & 9	Annaberg	NO RECORDS FOR THIS YEAR													
1807	James Murphy	8 & 9	Annaberg		2 men	130		20	150	5 men 3 women 1 boy	68	13	3	54 boys 8 girls		1 woman	156
1808	James Murphy's Children	9	Annaberg		2 men	130		20	150	5 men 2 women 1 boy	70	14		53 boys 7 girls	3 boys 1 girls	1 man 1 woman	158
1809	James Murphy's Children	9	Annaberg		2 men	130		20	150	5 men 2 women 1 boy	60	13	3	53 boys 7 girls	3 boys 1 girls		148
1810	James Murphy's Son	9	Annaberg		1 man	160	30	60	250	5 men 1 woman	64	12	5	53 boys 7 girls	3 boys 2 girls	2 men	154

Table 5: Annaberg, 1811-1841

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Resident Family	Free Employees	Acres in Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Enslaved							
										House or Hand	Capable Field	1/2 Field	Child Field	Tax Free	Born in year	Died in year	Total
1811	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg			190	30	60	280	7 men 1 woman 2 boys	60	12	6	52 boys 7 girls	2 boys 3 girls	4 male	156
1812	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 man 1 woman	2 man	160	30	160	350	12 men 1 woman 1 boy	14	54	33	48 boys 3 girls		2 male 2 female	170
1813	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		3 men 1 woman 1 boy	160	30	160	350	10 men 2 women	12	48	28 boys 6 girls	47 boys 3 girls	2 boys 2 girls	7 males 1 female	168
1814	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 man	1 man	200	40	268	508	10 men 2 women 2 boys	17	48	6 boys 29 girls	50 boys 1 girl	6	3	174
1815	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg			200	7	265	472	11 men 2 women	13	65	25	56 boys 20 girls	4	1	197
1816	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 girl	1 man	160	40	308	508	10 men 1 woman 1 boy 1 girl	58	20	5	60 boys 15 girls	4	4	179
1817	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 girl	1 man	200		318	518	10 men 1 woman 1 boy 1 girl	58	20	3	60 boys 25 girls	5	5	189
1818	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		2 men	200		318	518	10 men 1 woman 1 boy 1 girl	58	20	3	60 boys 25 girls	8	1	178
1819	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		2 men	200		318	518	18 men 2 women	54	12	8	51 boys 26 girls	4	4	179
1820	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		2 men	200		318	518	10 men 1 woman 1 boy 1 girl	58	20	3	60 boys 25 girls			179

Table 5: Annaberg, 1811-1841

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Resident Family	Free Employees	Acres in Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Enslaved							
										House or Hand	Capable Field	1/2 Field	Child Field	Tax Free	Born in year	Died in year	Total
1821	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 man	1 man	90		428	518	10 men 1 woman 1 boy 1 girl	55	11	25	60 boys 20 girls	7	5	196
1822	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 man	2 men	90		428	518	10 men 1 woman 1 boy	53	11	29	60 boys 22 girls	6	2	195
1823	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		2 men	90		428	518	10 men 1 woman 1 boy	53	11	29	59	2	1	177
1824	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		2 men	80		438	518	8 men 1 woman 1 girl	49	11	29	58 boys 23 girls		8	188
1825	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg		2 men	80		438	518	8 men 1 woman 1 girl	49	11	29	58 boys 23 girls		8	188
1826	Thomas Sheen	4	Annaberg	1 man	2 men	75	123	320	518	7 men 1 woman 1 boy	43	15	27	35 boys 23 girls	2	5	159
1827	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg		2 men	80	25	413	518	8 men 7 women 1 boy	52	12	9	46 boys 17 girls	4	5	161
1828	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg		1 man	80	30	408	518	7 men 7 women 2 boys 1 girl	47	12	10	40 boys 18 girls	4	4	152
1829	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg		2 men Free Colored 1 man 5 women 5 boys, 2 girls	80	30	408	518	7 men 5 women 2 boys	47	12	13	46 boys 20 girls	4	5	161
1830	H. H.	4	Annaberg		2 men	80	30	408	518	7 men	47	12	16	45 boys		1	156

Table 5: Annaberg, 1811-1841

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Resident Family	Free Employees	Acres in Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Enslaved							
										House or Hand	Capable Field	1/2 Field	Child Field	Tax Free	Born in year	Died in year	Total
	Berg				Free Colored 1 man 3 women 1 boy					5 women 2 boys				21 girls			
1831	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	1 man	1 man Free Colored 1 man 2 women 1 girl	70	45	405	518	9 men 4 women	54	25		49 boys 19 girls	6	6	172
1832	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg		1 man Free Colored 1 man 2 women 1 girl	80	30	408	518	4 men 5 women 4 boys	57	15		50 boys 9 girls	2	5	151
1833	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg		2 men Free Colored 1 man 3 women 1 boy	90	20	408	518	6 men 4 women	55	22		49 boys 12 girls	3	3	154
1834	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg		2 men Free Colored 1 man 1 woman 1 girl	100	15	403	518	7 men 1 women 1 girl	49	27		46 boys 15 girls	1	1	148
1835	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	White 3 men 1 woman 1 girl	Free Colored 2 men 1 woman 1 girl	90	30	398	518	9 men 6 women 3 boys	49	25		41 boys 15 girls	2	3	153
1836	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	White 3 men 2 women 1 boy		80	50	388	518	5 men 4 women 1 boy 1 girl	51	30		43 boys 14 girls	6	1	156
1837	H. H.	4	Annaberg	Free		80	50	388	518	8 men	52	31		47 boys	5	4	161

Table 5: Annaberg, 1811-1841

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Resident Family	Free Employees	Acres in Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Enslaved							
										House or Hand	Capable Field	1/2 Field	Child Field	Tax Free	Born in year	Died in year	Total
	Berg			3 men, 2 women 1 boy, 1 girl						1 girl				13 girls			
1838	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	Free 3 men		80	50	388	518	8 men 1 girl	46	35		45 boys 18 girls	10	6	169
1839	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	Free 3 men		80	50	388	518	8 men 1 boy	49	36		47 boys 23 girls	7	8	179
1840	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	Free 3 men, 1 woman 2 boys, 1 girl		80	50	388	518	8 men 1 boy	41	30		39 boys 24 girls		6	149
1841	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	Free 3 men, 1 women 3 boys, 2 girls		80	50	388	518	8 men 1 boy	47	35		41 boys 24 girls	3	7	166

Table 6: Annaberg, 1842- 1849

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Free Individuals	Acres in Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Enslaved							
									House or Hand	Capable	% Field	Child Field	Tax Free	Born in Year	Died in Year	Total
1842	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	3 men, 1 woman 3 boys, 2 girls	80	50	388	518	8 men 1 boy	40	31		38 boys 25 girls	7	4	169
	Private Negroes			7 men 5 women 2 boy 1 girl	(private Negroes are included in total)											
1843	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	3 men, 1 woman 3 boys	60	60	398	518	8 men 1 boy	38	31		38 boys 28 girls	3	7	165
	Private Negroes			6 men 3 women 2 boys	(private Negroes are included in total)											
1844	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	1 man, 1 woman 3 boys, 1 girl	60	60	398	518	5 men 1 boy	38 men, 38 women 31 boys, 37 girls			3	5	158	
	Private Negroes			6 men, 2 women 2 boys		(private Negroes are included in total)										
1845	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	1 man, 1 woman 3 boys, 1 girl	60	60	398	518	6 men	43 men, 42 women 28 boys, 24 girls			6	2	161	
	Private Negroes			7 men, 2 women 1 boy		(private Negroes are included in total)										
1846	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	1 man	60	60	385	505	6 men	45 men 40 women 30 boys, 27 girls			5	2	164	
	Private Negroes			7 men 2 women		(private Negroes are included in total)										
1847	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	1 man, 1 woman	60	60	385	505	6 men	51 men 44 women 29 boys, 28 girls			6	10	174	
1848	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	N/A	80	40	385	505		59 men 47 women 27 boys, 28 girls			N/A		161	
1849	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	N/A	70	40	385	505		Emancipation						
										54 men 44 women 28 boys, 31 girls			N/A		157	

Table 7: Annaberg, 1850 - 1915

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Acres In Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Workers							Livestock		
								1st. Class Craft Men/ Women	2nd. Class Men/ Women	3rd. Class Men/ Women	House Men/ Women	Invalid Men/ Women	Children	Born	Horses	Mules	Cattle or Sheep
1850	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	90	90	239	518	11 Craft 28M/ 22W	17 M 15 W	7 M 3 W	1 M 2 W	12	32	5	12	29	49
1851	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	90	90	239	518	11 Craft 28 M/ 22 W	17 M 15 W	7 M 3 W	1 M 2 W	12	32	5	12	29	49
1852	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	65	Pasture 130 Provision 16	301	518	No Data in Tax List									
1853	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	65	Pasture 130 Provision 15	308	518										
1854	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	65	Pasture 110	343	518										
1855	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	60	Pasture 101	357	518										
1856	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	62	Pasture 99	357	518										
1857	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	39	Pasture 60	419	518										
1858	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	39	Pasture 124	355	518	4 Craft 14M/ 16 W	6 M 10 W	1 W 4 C		2 M 2 W	18		3	13	64 C 70 S
1859	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	40	Pasture 158	320	518	4 Craft 14 M/ 17 W	7 M 10 W	6 W 3 C		5 M 2 W	15		6	32	103C
1860	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	42	Pasture 190	386	518	5 Craft 14 M/ 18 W	4 M 11 W	2 M 3 W 6 C		2 M 1 W	20		20	11	120C 100 S
1861	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	50	Pasture 118	350	518	5 Craft 11 M/ 17 W	5 M 10 W	2 M 5 C		2 M 1 W	19		21	12	60 C 13 S

Table 7: Annaberg, 1850 - 1915

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Acres In Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Workers							Livestock		
								1st. Class Craft Men/ Women	2nd. Class Men/ Women	3rd. Class Men/ Women Child	House Men/ Women	Invalid Men/ Women	Children	Born	Horses	Mules	Cattle or Sheep
1862	H. H. Berg	4	Annaberg	50	Pasture 115	353	518	7 Craft 10 M/ 17 W	7 M 11 W	2 M 2 W 8 C		1 M	9		18	17	58 C 66 S
1863	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg	50	Pasture 106	91	247	4 Craft 12 M/ 15 W	5 M 9 W	3 M 4 W 7 C		2 M	9		14	17	56 C 51 S
1864	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg	40	Pasture 96	111	247	No Data in Tax List							14	16	41C 79S
1865	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg	50	Pasture 60	137	247	1 Craft 9 M/ 12 W	6 W	1 M 3 W 5 C		2 M	8			14	35 C
1866	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg	50	Pasture 52	145	247	3 Craft 7 M/ 10 W	1 W	13 C		1 M 7 W	2		5	10	26 C
1867	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg	No Data Available			247	No Data in Tax List									
1868	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1869	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1870	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1871	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1872	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg		2	245	247										
1873	Thomas Lloyd	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1874	George Francis	4	Annaberg		2	245	247										
1875	George Francis	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1876	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			247	247										

Table 7: Annaberg, 1850 - 1915

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Acres In Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Workers							Livestock		
								1st. Class Craft Men/ Women	2nd. Class Men/ Women	3rd. Class Men/ Women Child	House Men/ Women	Invalid Men/ Women	Children	Born	Horses	Mules	Cattle or Sheep
1877	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1878	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			247	247										
1879	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			241	241										
1880	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			241	241										
1881	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			235	235										
1882	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1883	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg	No Data Available			230										
1884	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1885	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1886	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1887	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1888	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1889	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1890	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1891	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1892	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1893	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1894	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1895	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1896	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg			230	230										
1897	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg		20	210	230										
1898	A. Anduze	4	Annaberg		30	200	230										
1899	St. Thomas Probate Court To Carl E. Francis	4	Annaberg		30	200	230										

No Data in Tax List

Table 7: Annaberg, 1850 - 1915

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Acres In Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Workers							Livestock		
								1st. Class Craft Men/ Women	2nd. Class Men/ Women	3rd. Class Men/ Women Child	House Men/ Women	Invalid Men/ Women	Children	Born	Horses	Mules	Cattle or Sheep
1900	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		50	180	230	No Data in Tax List									
1901	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		20	210	230										
1902	Carl E. Francis	4	Annaberg		20	210	230										
1903	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		25	205	230										
1904	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		14	216	230										
1905	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		39	191	230										
1906	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg	1/2	20 1/2	209	230										
1907	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		25	205	230										
1908	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		34	196	230										
1909	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		30	200	230										
1910	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		30	200	230										

Table 7: Annaberg, 1850 - 1915

Date	Owner	Estate #	Estate Name	Acres In Cane	Acres in Pasture or Provision	Acres in Bush	Total Acres	Workers							Livestock		
								1st. Class Craft Men/ Women	2nd. Class Men/ Women	3rd. Class Men/ Women Child	House Men/ Women	Invalid Men/ Women	Children	Born	Horses	Mules	Cattle or Sheep
1911	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		30	200	230	No Data in Tax List									
1912	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		46	184	230										
1913	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		47	200	247										
1914	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		39	208	247										
1915	Carl Emmanuel Francis	4	Annaberg		31	216	247										

**Table 8: A Comparison of Inventories for the Constantin Plantation
before and after the St. John Slave Rebellion of 1733**

Constantin 1732	Constantin 1734
Plantation size 3000' X 2000'	Plantation size 3000' X 2000'
BUILDINGS	
Dwelling house	(welling house burned in rebellion)
Sugar mill	Mill in good condition
Boiling house	Firing wall with 4 copper kettles (damaged in rebellion)
Still	Still without cover or pipes (damaged in rebellion)
Magazine	(Magazine burned in rebellion)
Negro houses	(Negro houses burned in rebellion)
LIVESTOCK	
A stallion	(Stallion lost in rebellion)
A horse	A horse
A young stallion	(Stallion lost in rebellion)
A mare	(Mare lost in rebellion)
A donkey	
A bull	
A cow	(Cow disappeared in Rebellion)
ENSLAVED	
Francisco (sugar cooker)	Francis (sugar cooker)
Jost	Jost
Thonni	[*]
Sipio	Sipio
Old Thoni	Old Thoni
Willi Maqueron	Willi Maqueron
Anna with child	Anna (her child dead)
Mingo	(Mingo absent and has deserted)
Samba Maqueron (maron)	Samba (has a little hernia)
Jacqva	Jacqva (was maron but now on St. John)
	Cezar (carpenter)
	Toony (cotton ginner) [* could be Thonni]
	Signo (good plantation Negro)
	Jaco
HOUSEHOLD WARES AND OTHER PROPERTY	
	2 four pound iron cannons
	1 two pound iron cannon
A medicine chest with medicines and instruments	
30 alen of Osnabrug [a type of coarse sack cloth]	30 alen of Osnabrug [a type of coarse sack cloth] **
95 alen scrap cloth	95 alen scrap cloth **
A Karang [jack] net and a Sprat net	A Karang [jack] net and a Sprat net **
11 hanging [pad]- locks	11 hanging [pad]- locks **
A water pot	
An old clothing chest	
Several guns: 1 flint lock [rifle]; a pair of pistols; and several rifles without locks.	
A silver sword	
A partial wood-work [?]	
10 glasses	10 glasses **
A brass serving kettle	
A little tea kettle	
A copper carrying pot	
A little stone[ware] tea pot	
11 chairs	
1 large and 2 small round tables	
2 chests with locks	
A drum	
A mirror	
6 knives and forks	
A wood scale with weights	
3 iron pots	
A copper kettle	
An iron coaster with baking pan	
A number of carpentry tools	
3 iron posts with chain and balls	

Table 9: Inventories for Estate Annaberg, 1733 - 1862

1733	1793	1809	1842	1863
At Constantin	At Annaberg	At Annaberg	At Annaberg	At Annaberg
Approximately 138 acres	120 acres sugarcane	130 acres sugarcane	178 acres sugarcane	50 acres sugarcane
	111 acres pasture	20 acres pasture & Negro buildings	244 acres pasture	115 acres pasture
	15 acres provisions & Negro grounds		30 acres provisions	
Buildings & Equip.	Buildings & Equip.	Buildings & Equip.	Buildings & Equip.	Buildings & Equip.
A dwelling house	A wooden dwelling house with one large and four small rooms. Has a shingle roof and a wooden wall around the house.			
			Sick house	An old building used as a hospital (out of order)
		Windmill with leaded receiver with a complete kitchen and oven under the gangway	A wind mill	A windmill with receiver in good condition
	A brick built kitchen and a storeroom		A kitchen	A kitchen and horse stall
	A wooden overseers house with two small rooms			
A wooden storehouse	A brick built storehouse with a dungeon		A storehouse	A storehouse on the bay
	A chicken coop, a privy, and a little storehouse			
	An old storehouse with a stable for horses		A horse stable	
A boiling wall with 4 copper kettles	A brick built boiling house with 4 sugar kettles of copper and other kinds of equipment	A new set of works with 8 coppers and a wall molasses cistern and all the utensils	"Boiling House with a set of Furnaces, Curing House, Still House, Still, Worm, Worm Cistern, the whole under one Roof & including also Manager and Overseer House.	A boiling house with a tank, 4 kettles, and accessories for sugar boiling, a still house with 26 fermentation casks, curing house, and an assistant overseer's residence, all under one roof
	A curing house with two molasses tanks			

Table 9: Inventories for Estate Annaberg, 1733 - 1862

1733	1793	1809	1842	1863
	A new magass house	A magass house, 60' by 24' and a mule pen with shade		A magass house
			Two cattle pens (large)	3 pens for mules and horned cattle
	A still house with 16... [?] And 1 rum cellar with three large stands	2 three hundred gallon butts and 4 two hundred gallon butts [fermenting tanks]		A still kettle of 400 gallons, with copper tubes, etc.
	2 stills with pewter tubes and brick built tanks	2 stills of 250 gallons with one worm cistern and 2 lead receivers		
An animal mill	An animal mill with raised rotunda	Complete cattle mill	A cattle mill	An animal mill with receiver
	A mule pen			
Negro houses	21 Negro houses	65 Negro houses	50 Negro houses	24 Negro houses
	A scale with some iron weights			
	An iron globe with hanger [?]			
	9 small iron cannons			
	A sugar spout or shoot containing 1300 foot of boards	Set of cane spouts 1500' long	"Windless & Rope for Conveying Cane to Mill"	
	A new still and ...[?] never used			
A water pot	Another storehouse and a cistern	A water cistern with wall spout 570' long and at average 8' high		A well with pump and masonry trough and a spare metal force pump
		A new necessary (unfinished)		
		1 truck		4 carts
		A stone wall 1330' long and about 4' high		
Enslaved	Enslaved	Enslaved	Enslaved	Contract Laborers
10	21 men	154	65 men	44
	31 women		52 women	
	0 boys		32 boys	
	3 girls		28 girls	
Total: 10	Total: 55	Total: 154	Total: 177	Total: 44
Livestock	Livestock	Livestock	Livestock	Livestock
	25 mules	27 mules	23 mules	20 mules
4 horses	A horse	1 mare with foal	11 horses	16 horses
1 cow			31 cattle	42 cattle

Table 9: Inventories for Estate Annaberg, 1733 - 1862

1733	1793	1809	1842	1863
1 bull				
1 donkey			3 asses	5 donkeys
				51 sheep
	At Mary's Point	At Mary's Point	At Mary's Point	At Mary's Point
	120 acres cleared	110 acres	[included in acreage above]	250 acres
	100 acres bush			
	A house			
		At Betty's Hope		
		40 acres in sugarcane		
		100 acres in bush		
		1 dwelling house		
		A kitchen and oven		
		1 Negro house		
		"A set of Windmill timber framed with Cases, Gudgeons, Cotrells, Brasses, 30 gratings, and 3 furnaces."		
Total acreage: 138	Total acreage: 466	Total acreage: 400	Total acreage: 452	Total acres: 415
Total value: 61,662.1 Pes.	Total value: 107,957 Pes.	Total value: 192,410 Pes.	Total value: 70,812 Dollars	Total value: 5,659 Rigsdalers

Table 10: Comparison of St. John Sugar Plantations in 1808

OWNER	ESTATE/S	TOTAL ACRES	ACRES SUGAR	TOTAL SLAVES
Cruz Bay Quarter				
Wm. Wood Heirs	Enighed	70	50	52
Wm. Ruan	Little Caneel, Lindholm & Solamons	525	120	121
J&P van Beverhoudt	Beverhoudtsberg	225	65	51
Jn. Knevels	Susannaberg & Denis Bay	300	90	143
Wm. Mc Bean	Adrian & Trunk Bay	300	100	117
Jms. Heyligor	Cathirinaberg & Jachumsdahl	300	160	117
Dj. Vriehuus Heirs	Lesperance	225	80	82
Maho Bay Quarter				
Wm. Turnbull	Rustenberg & Adventure	450	60	79
Madam Cronenberg	Cinnamon Bay	300	105	116
Jos. Vannini	Vanniniberg, Maria's Hope, Mariadahl	550	100	121
Jms. Murphy	Annaberg, Mary's Point, Betty's Hope, Munsbury, Leinster & Brown Bay	1,245	494	591
Coral Bay Quarter				
Schimmelmann Heirs	Carolina	1,687	104	173
Tho. Braithwait Heirs	Bordeaux & Lohman	400	40	127
Reef Bay Quarter				
P. & H. Hassell	Par Force & Pasquerau	464	130	121
Lou. Michel	Misgunst & Hope	283	50	65
M. Renggon	Sieben & Mollendahl	371	7	111
Totals:		7,696	1,765	2,187

Highest Number	
Second Highest Number	
Third Highest Number	
Fourth Highest Number	

**Table 11: Tabulations and Written Comments
from the 1805 Plantation Reports
for James Murphy's Properties on St. John**

			Annaberg *1	Leinster *2	Munsbury *3	Totals
Total Negroes			147	182	131	460
Male			83	115	67	265
Female			64	67	64	195
Creoles			67	99	54	220
Africans			80	83	77	240
Christians			47	94	63	204
Heathens			100	88	68	256
Field Negroes			127	131	108	366
House Negroes			4	5	4	13
Tradesmen			5	31	4	40
Invalids			11	15	15	41
Certain or Appearing age	Under 5 Years	Males	7	9	3	19
		Females	5	6	11	22
	From 5 to 10	Males	2	6	3	11
		Females	0	4	3	7
	From 10 to 20	Males	8	31	14	53
		Females	12	19	6	37
	From 20 to 30	Males	19	22	15	56
		Females	16	4	18	38
	From 30 to 40	Males	29	14	9	52
		Females	15	18	13	46
	From 40 to 50	Males	13	20	12	45
		Females	9	4	9	22
	From 50 to 60	Males	1	9	4	14
		Females	2	1	3	6
	Above 60	Males	4	4	7	15
		Females	5	6	1	12
Matrimonies	Lawful	How Many Pair	1	11	10	22
		How many Children begotten by these in the last year	0	2	3	5
	Natural	How Many Pair	10	10	7	27
		How many Children begotten by these in the last year	5	2	0	7
Total Amounts of Births		Boys	2	2	1	5
		Girls	3	1	2	6
How Many of them Baptized, and in what Church		<i>In The Moravian Church</i>	1	1	0	2
How many Negroes connected in Matrimony with Negroes of other Estates		Males	1	11	3	15
		Females	11	3	7	21

**Table 11: Tabulations and Written Comments
from the 1805 Plantation Reports
for James Murphy's Properties on St. John**

			Annaberg *1	Leinster *2	Munsbury *3	Totals
Deaths In The Last Year	Males	Dead born	0	0	0	0
		Under one Year	0	0	0	0
		From 1 to 5 Years	1	0	0	1
		From 5 to 10	0	0	0	0
		From 10 to 20	0	0	0	0
		From 20 to 30	0	1	0	1
		From 30 and thereabove	0	0	2	2
	Females	Dead born	0	0	0	0
		Under one Year	0	0	0	0
		From 1 to 5 Years	0	0	1	1
		From 5 to 10	0	0	0	0
		From 10 to 20	0	0	1	1
		From 20 to 30	1	0	2	3
		From 30 and thereabove	1	0	0	1
Total amount of Deaths			3	1	6	10
Number of Negro Houses			44	55	40	139
The Number of Acres the Estate Contains	Cane Land	In Canes	118	80	116	314
		Fallow	12	18	0	30
		In Provision	0	50	0	50
	Pasture and Uncultivated		15	223	51	289
	Laid out for Negro Houses		5	4	5	14
	Total Amount		150	375	170	695
Children of Female House Negroes on the Estate		Males	0	0	1	1
		Females	0	0	0	0
Negroes belonging to people dwelling on the Estate		Males	0	0	0	0
		Females	0	2	0	2
		Their Children	0	0	0	0
Local Situations of Negro Houses		On High Ground	On an eminence, well sheltered	On an eminence	On high ground well sheltered from North winds	-
		On Low Ground	0	0	0	0
Negroes employed as Watchman			5	6	6	17
Negroes employed in the Still and Boiling House			11	6	8	25
Negroes employed to watch the Mules and Cattle			4	7	6	17
Negroes employed in the Sick House			1	3	2	6
Total amount of Negroes to be put in the Field			85	76	82	243

**Table 11: Tabulations and Written Comments
from the 1805 Plantation Reports
for James Murphy's Properties on St. John**

*1

"Of the Estate called **Annaberg**, laying in the *Mahobay* Quarter, No. 9 Belonging to *James Murphy* Showing the total number of negroes on Said Estate, with proper elucidations.

Observations: *On this estate is a wind mill, cattle mill, a large & convenient set of works, a magass house, a mule pen with sheds all built since 1797. The land is a rich black mould [soil] on a stiff clay, but the land being steep and rocky is very laborious, the gang with the assistance of those of the two other estates cultivate part of deWindberg purchased by the former owners, of which 20 acres in canes are to be taken off this year and as many more are open ready for planting. The remainder of said land is at present in negroe grounds. The whole is suppose to contain 103 acres, deemed excellent land, it also joined number 7 & 8 called Franchy's and Mary point. The latter had about 40 acres lately planted with Guinea grass. This remainder of both tracts in crops & pasture although the greatest part might be cultivated with great advantage were there a sufficient supply of negroes. They are supposed to contain 250 acres & with part of the land purchased from deWindberg will form a very fine settlement. St. Johns 14th January 1805- [Sig.] Owen Sheridan, manager [and] John Rawbone and MOS Kyrne, overseers"*

*2

"Of the Estate called **Leinster bay**, laying in *Mahobay* Quarter, No. 10 belong to *James Murphy*, showing the total number of Negroes on said estate, with proper elucidations.

On this estate is a convenient dwelling house, kitchen, stable negro rooms, and a cattle mill with a very commodious set of works, a magass house, a mule pen with a house over part of it, answering the double purpose of a shed and storage for provisions, utensils etc. There is besides the largest and most convenient and comfortable

being all hilly and rocky would require at least a hundred able field negroes to keep the land at present in canes & fallow in due order. Independent of this there is a piece of land of 75 acres of very superior quality which might be cultivated to great advantage and taken off with the same works were the strength of the negroes adequate. The negroes cultivate as much fine rich land for themselves as they have a mind to. St. John 14th of January 1805- [Sig.] Owen Sheridan, manager, Char. Odell, Overseer"

*3

"Of the Estate called **Munsbury**, laying in *Mahobay* Quarter, No. 6, belonging to *James Murphy*, showing the total number of Negroes on Said Estate with proper elucidations.

extent of these, a magass house, mule and cattle pens with sheds and a small sick house. The negroes since it has been purchased by the present owner work the grounds for themselves on a part of de Windberg, purchased by the proprietors of Annaberg. The land is rich and contiguous to their dwellings and they are allowed to plant as much as they please. Munsbury being very hilly and rocky soil should have at least 100 able works in the field. Many of these inserted in this list in the column of field negroes not being of that description. St. Johns 14th January 1805 - Owen Sheridan, Manager, John A. Hartly, Overseer."

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Extract from the 1732 probate proceedings for Isaac Constantin
with the appraisal of his St. John Plantation

En Plantage for paa St. Jan. som er et Inden med for nogle og mindre udsmede og hvedt med for paa St. John Plantation paa St. Thomas som er Omgivet for 7		4500-00
Brester		
En fjerde		40-00
En fjerde		50-00
En fjerde		30-00
En fjerde		30-00
En fjerde		10-00
En fjerde		40-00
En fjerde		24-00
Negerer		
En Negermand		200-00
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En Negermand		145-00
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En Negermand		140-00
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En Negermand		5-6-00
En Negermand		15-6-00
En Negermand		6-00
En Negermand		5963-4

Extract from the St. John Mortgage Register where James E. Murphy's Purchase of the shares in the Annaberg estate were recorded

[illegible]

Document 3 of 10

Reproduction of Original Document

Last will and testament of James and Elisabeth Murphy, 1792

In the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety two this 16th day of March before me Frederick Wilhelm Berg appointed Secretary in the Royal Council and Notary Public of the Islands of Thomas and John in America, personally appeared Mr James Murphy Merchant of this Island with his wife Mrs Elisabeth Murphy Widow of May both being in perfect state of health, memory and understanding, who declared and said that they in consideration of the uncertainty of the time of death hath with mutual consent agreed to make their last will and testament which they declared should consist in the following articles viz

After all the debts as provided by the survivor is to pay a will and any dealing the whole Estate real and personal as long as the survivor remains unmarried or until the Children are of age but in case the survivor should again marry then there must be made a dealing between the survivor and the Children, and in such case the Children must all inherit an equal share, that is to say the boys must not get more than the girls and the girls no more than the boys - 214

They give and bequeath to the Danish Lutheran Church of this Island 50 Rix Dags fifty pieces of eight and also sum sum to the Roman Catholic Church, which both sums are to be paid when this will takes place - 34

As Executors to this their last will and testament they have appointed jointly with this survivor Messrs Robert Willmer Charles Clagart and Zacharias Ross which Gentlemen are to act as dealing matters in their Estate in order to regulate and finish their dealing, excluding at the same time the ordinary Dealing Court of this Island to have any thing to do or any administration to undertake with

In witness whereof I have signed this will and testament at the place above said the 16th day of March 1792
 In presence of me the above said Notary and my Witnesses, further declaring that all the foregoing testaments which might have been made by them before this shall be of no value and are hereby annulled.
 J. Murphy
 Elisabeth Murphy
 Alla actum presentis testis De Wilhelmo Berg attestor, sub
 Sigillo Notariatus huius insule x marianus mea, de Thomas
 in America, In Mexico Anno ut ante
 1792
 F. W. Berg
 Notarius Publicus

Appraisal of Annaberg in James Murphy's Probate, 1809
Page 1 of 3

[illegible][illegible]

Approachments over the Estate & on Monday this day the 13th October 1790
I Mr D. M. G. & Dr. Brown went to visit the place and saw

under this way
1 complete *Coccyzoides*

1 Nov. Ill - yellowed bark & lopping wood - were killed
Chestnut tree all the same

2000

2. Pcs. of 250 Gall. each, 1 w/iron bottom & 1 floor beams 1000
2. 300 Gall. each 80

1 - House of 200 on each
1 - House, 60 by 24 ft. Multiple with shade 100.
2000.

1 White Caterpillar, white ground 270 feet long, and about
diameter 8 feet high 1600—

I have Accepted & simplified
the offer of \$1500 per hour

80-
100-

Horizontal 330 feet long without 1/2 feet high

65. *Myrica maritima* L. 3000 ft. 2000

11. Alaska Seal	100
100 acres in Canada	1000

20 d. as a piece, being manufactured at 1463. 1170.

[illegible]

100	100	100
150	150	150
200	200	200
250	250	250
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16. <i>Aspid.</i>	900
17. <i>Lily. Little</i>	225
18. <i>Aspid.</i>	200

[illegible]

625 21.00 1000 106.41

[GDP] Central Management and the Registrar for St. John, 1825-1911 (Dissertation, Dumbarton Oaks)

Page 2 of 3

Document 5 of 10

Page 3 of 3

Document 5 of 10

The 1835 census of enslaved laborers on Estate Annaberg
In which individuals who were “punished by judgment” were noted.

[SJR] Central Management archives, Registers for St. John, 1835 - 1911 (Rigsarkivet, Denmark).

Reproduction of Original Document

Announcement of the Auction of Annaberg and Leinster Bay
After the death of Governor Berg in 1862

AUCTION.

BY request of the Executores testamenti of the late Vice-Governor H. H. BERG and Attorneys of Kammerjunker E. F. MURPHY, will be put up for sale at one Auction, provided an acceptable offer be made, either jointly or separately,

**THE SUGAR AND STOCK ESTATES
Annaberg & Leinsterbay,**

situated in Mahobay Quarter sub No. 4 and 5, in this Island, and belonging, the first named property to the dealing of the deceased Vice-Governor H. H. BERG, and consisting of 200 acres of land, whereof 50 acres in cane cultivation, and with a stock of 18 horses, 17 mules, 5 asses, 53 head of horned cattle, 66 sheep; and the second, to Kammerjunker E. F. MURPHY, and consisting of 275 acres of land, whereof 25 acres in cane cultivation, with a stock of 18 horses, 17 mules, 5 asses, 53 head of horned cattle, 65 sheep.

AND IMMEDIATELY AFTERWARDS:
**SOME GOOD MAHOGANY
FURNITURE,**

as Tables, Chairs, Bedsteads, etc., etc.; a good LIBRARY of about 1,360 volumes, a Spanish stallion ass, a creole ditto, and a Sloop, all belonging to Kammerjunker E. F. MURPHY.

The Auction will be held on the Estate *Leinsterbay*,

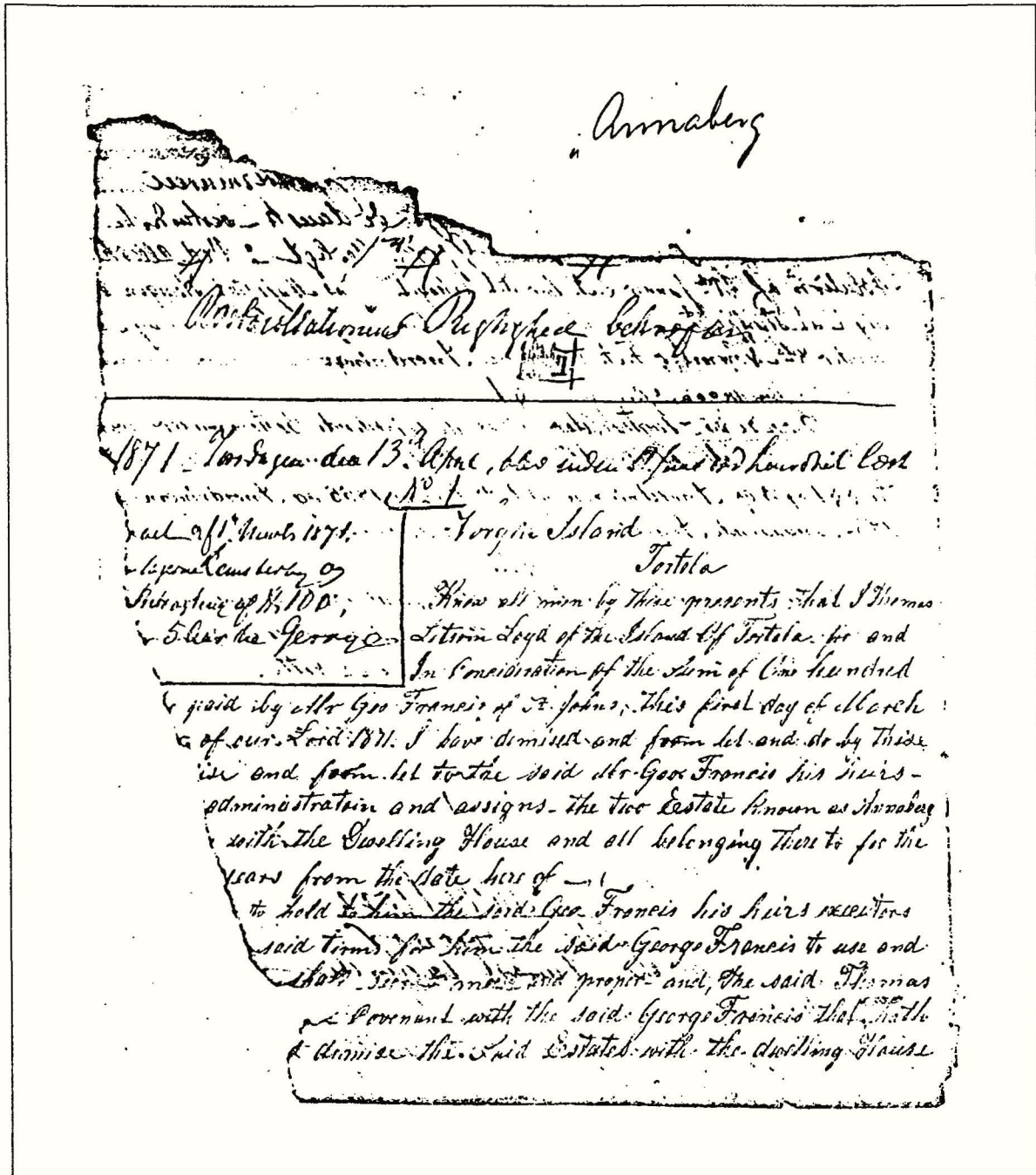
TUESDAY, the 2nd of December ensuing, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon precisely, and the conditions for the sale and the appraisements may be seen at this Office, as also at the Printing Offices of St. Thomas and St. Croix.

St. John's Auction Office, 16th October,
1862

F. A. DEWHURST.

Reproduction of Original Document

Extract from the Register of Deeds
showing the sale of Annaberg and Leinster Bay
by Thomas Letson Loyd to George Francis for \$100.00 in 1871



[STM] St. Thomas / St. John Mortgage & Deed Registers, NA (Office of the Recorder of Deeds, St. Thomas, Virgin Islands).

Reproduction of Original Document

Tax form for Estate Annaberg filled out and signed by Antoine Anduze in November of 1882

TAX-LIST 1882

For the Estate *Annaberg*

situated in *N. 4, Hørdøby* Quarter, belonging to *Antoine Anduze*

NUMBER OF PERSONS BELONGING TO THE ESTATE.

		Domestic servants attending on the Owner, Renter, Manager and Overseers.		LABORERS.																								Persons living on the Estate, but without being employed to work there.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											
				TRADESMEN.												Field laborers and pasture people, (tradesmen working only a part of the year in the field excepted).												Laborers not engaged to work in the field, as cartmen &c. (not tradesmen, domestic servants and others before mentioned excepted).												Married couples of laborers.				Invalids.				Laborers' children above 6 years and other children staying with them of the same age.				Laborers' children under 6 years and other children staying with them of the same age.				Renters of former laborers' houses.				Other persons not engaged to work on the Estate.																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																											

NUMBER OF STOCK ON THE ESTATE.

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Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
Males										Males										Males									
Ages										Ages										Ages									
Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
Males										Males										Males									
Ages										Ages										Ages									
Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
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Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
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Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
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Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
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Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
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Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
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Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
Males										Males										Males									
Ages										Ages										Ages									
Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
Males										Males										Males									
Ages										Ages										Ages									
Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									
Single										Single										Single									
Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants										Houses or Tenants									
Males										Males										Males									
Ages										Ages										Ages									
Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)										Married Couples (young wives not included)									

BUILDINGS.

Number of Letters: 10000 Aggregate number of rows of the man 10000
--

CULTIVATION AND PRODUCTION.

For account of the Estate.										The estimate of the land in cane and pasture is correct to the best of our knowledge, to which we can take oath, if required.									
Name of land in Cane and Pasture Ch. In Cane Ch. In Pasture Ch. In Cane Ch. In Pasture Ch. In Cane Ch. In Pasture Land actually within boundary in Cane and Pasture Acres of land but not in previous ground in Cane and Pasture If any land has been purchased not, but such may be obtained from Field Number of Acres																			

This list is correct to the best of my knowledge, to which I am willing to take oath, if required.

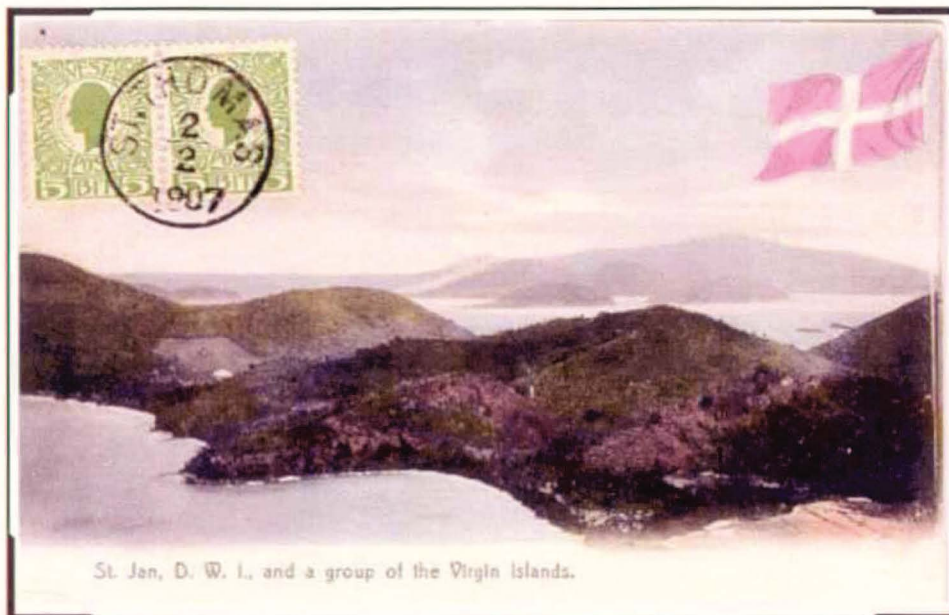
ST. THOMAS, the *15th* *November* 1882

Antoine Anduze

Census form for Annaberg and Leinster Bay from the first United States Census compiled in 1917

[VIC] Department of Commerce, Record Group 29, Records of the Bureau of Census 1920, Virgin Islands [compiled in 1917] (U.S. National Archives, Washington, D.C.).

Annaberg Photograph Gallery



St. Jan, D. W. I., and a group of the Virgin Islands.

Rare early postcard of Maho Bay St. John postmarked February 2, 1907
The Francis home and pasture land can be seen on Mary's Point
(Postcard by Johannes Lightbourn, VIH&GRC photograph collection, St. Thomas, VI)



Approaching the Annaberg factory on the old cart road from Leinster Bay in the spring of 1919
(Photograph by Tyge Hvass, Danish National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark)

Annaberg Photograph Gallery



Above: Ruins of the Annaberg and Leinster Bay Estate House just after the 1916 hurricane
(Royal Library Photograph Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark)

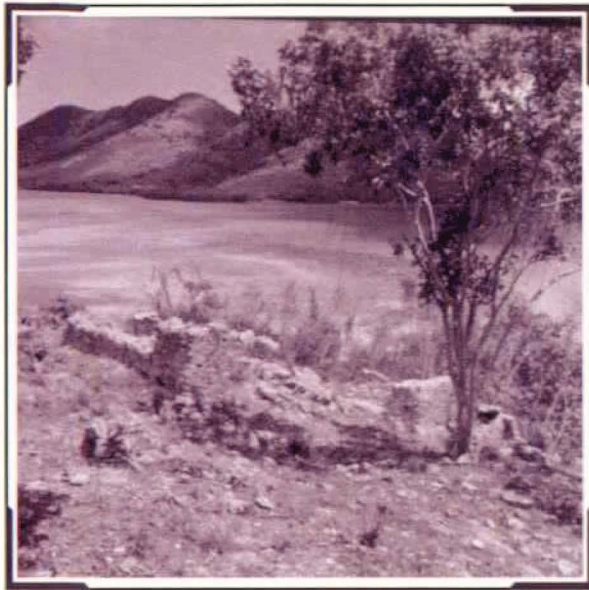


Above: Looking west into Mary's Creek from the ruins of the Annaberg factory complex, circa 1917
(Royal Library Photograph Collection, Copenhagen, Denmark)

Above Left: Remains of the laborers' village, 1958

Above Right: South face of the factory, 1958

Annaberg Photograph Gallery

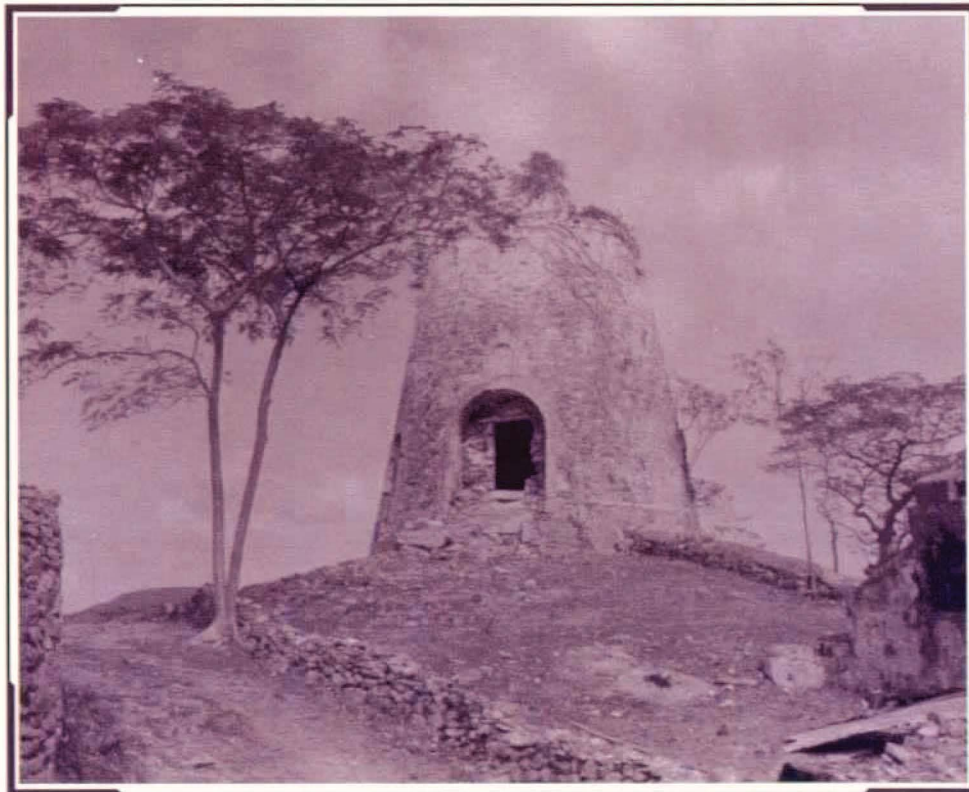


(NPS photograph, St. John repository)



(NPS photograph, St. John repository)

Above: The windmill tower before stabilization, 1959



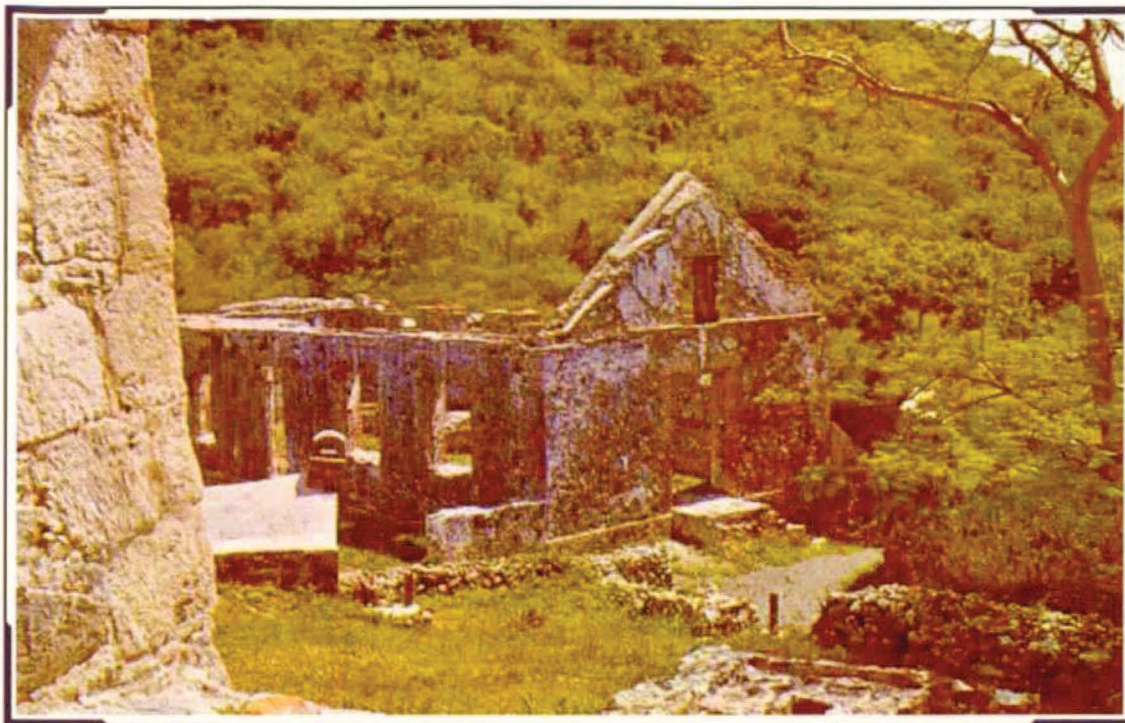
(NPS photograph, St. John repository)

NOTE: A substantial collection of photographs taken of Annaberg throughout the stabilization efforts carried out between 1958 and the 1960s is housed in the NPS repository on St. John

Postcard of the ruins of the Annaberg sugar factory, circa 1965

(Photograph by Richard Divald, Published by VI Cards)

Annaberg Photograph Gallery

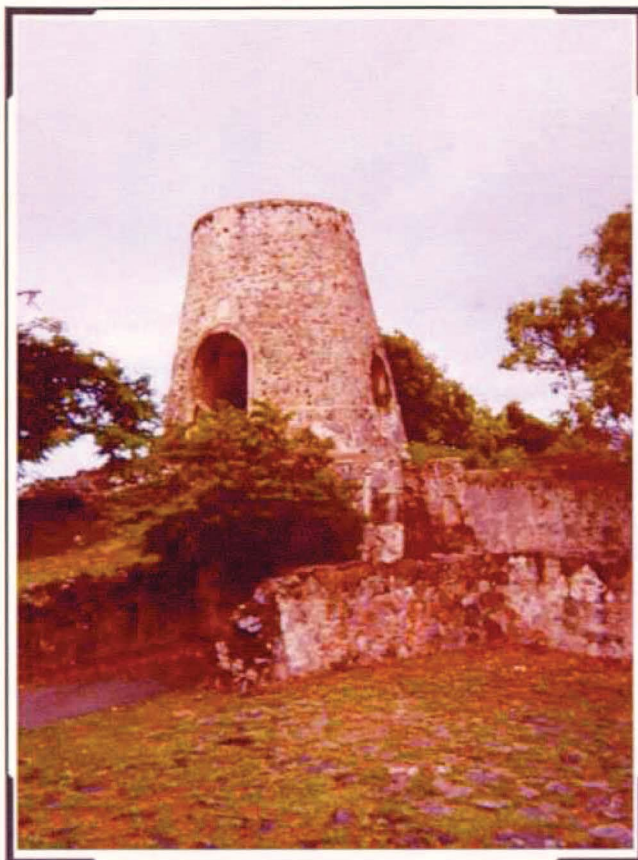


Aerial view of the ruins of the Annaberg Factory Complex, circa 1974
(NPS photograph by Alan Robinson)



Above: Annaberg Factory Complex, ruins of the windmill , November 2000
(Photograph by D. Knight, 2000)

Annaberg Photograph Gallery



Above: Annaberg Factory Complex, ruins of the boiling house, November 2000
(Photograph by D. Knight, 2001)



Above: Annaberg Factory Complex, ruins of the factory still, November 2000

Annaberg Photograph Gallery

(Photograph by D. Knight, 2000)



Above: Annaberg Factory Complex, ruins of the factory still, November 2000
(Photograph by D. Knight, 2000)

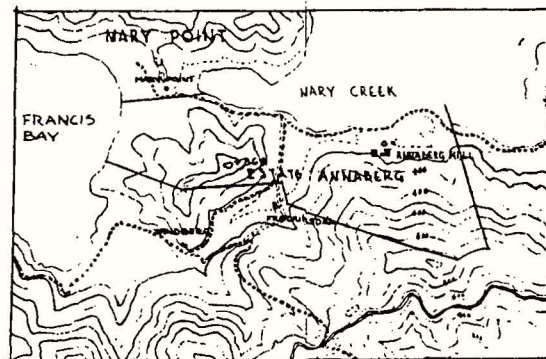


Annaberg Factory Complex, ruins of the firing trench, November 2000
(Photograph by D. Knight, 2000)

Ab
ove
:

SUGAR FACTORY

ESTATE ANNABERG, ST. JOHN



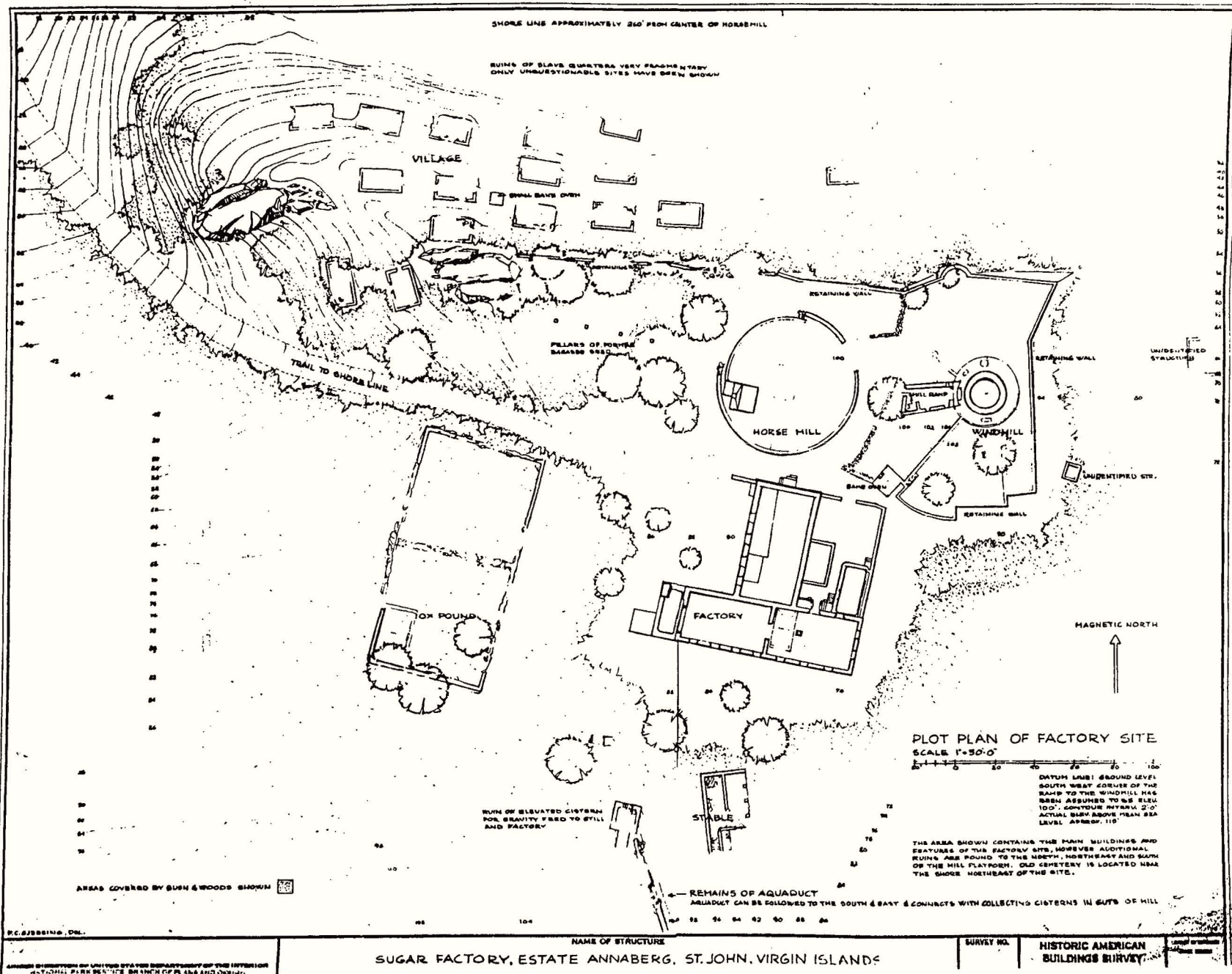
MAP OF ESTATE ANNABERG
SCALE 1:100,000, CONTOUR INTERVAL 100 FT.

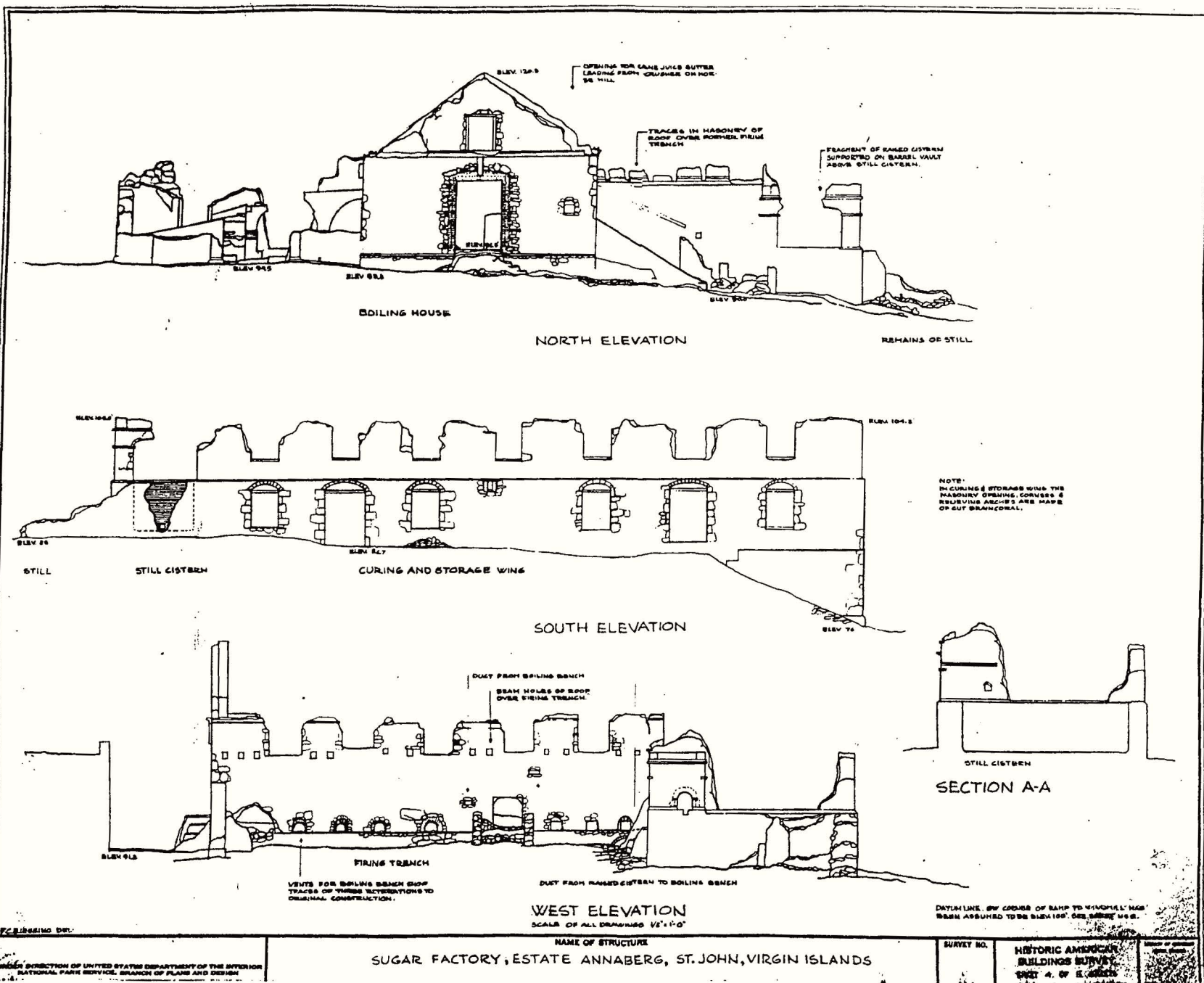
ESTATE ANNABERG SUGAR FACTORY IS AN 18TH CENTURY MILL. THE FACTORY CONTAINS REMAINS OF 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY CONSTRUCTION AND REVEALS TRACES OF SEVERAL RENOVATIONS. BUILDER IS UNKNOWN.

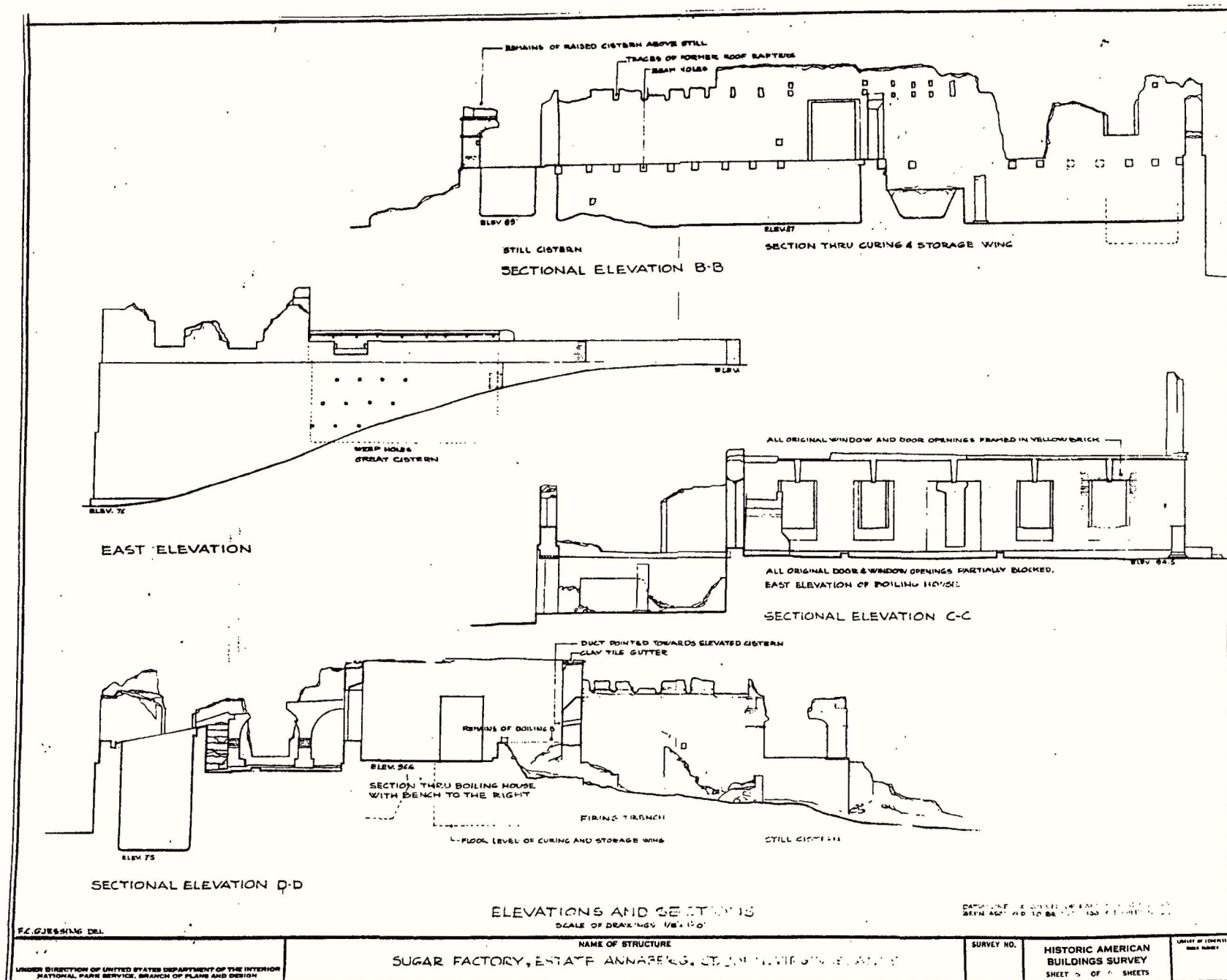
RECORDED BY THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL PARK SERVICE.

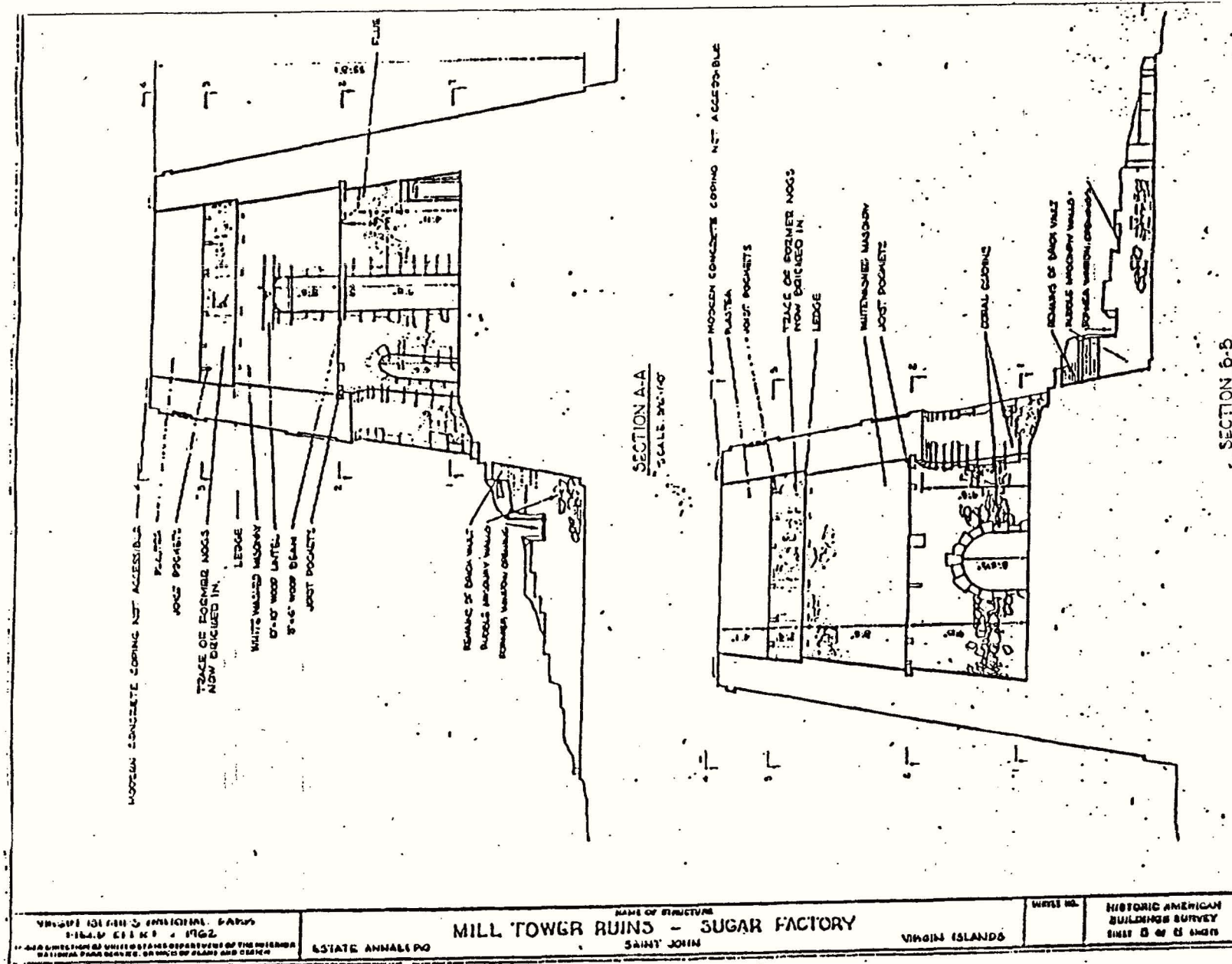
THIS PROJECT WAS FINANCED FROM FUNDS OF THE MISSION 66 PROGRAM OF THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE MEASURED AND DRAWN DURING THE PERIOD AUG-OCT 1959 UNDER THE DIRECTION OF CHAP. E. PETERSON, SUPERVISING ARCHITECT, HISTORIC STRUCTURES BY ARCHT. R.C. GUELLING, ARCHITECT J. MICHAEL EVERETT, STUDENT ASSISTANT ARCHITECT T. ANN. W. UNIV. OF PA., AND AUSTIN, DALLIDA.

FOR INFORMATION ON MONUMENT, TERRAIN, AND OTHER FEATURES OF SITE SEE SEPARATE MAPS.









HABS Drawing of Annaberg Windmill.

VIRGIN ISLANDS NATIONAL PARK
FIELD OFFICE - 1962
A DIVISION OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT, BRANCH OF PLANS AND DESIGN

ESTATE ANNABERG

MILL TOWER RUINS

NAME OF STRUCTURE
SUGAR FACTORY
SAINT JOHN

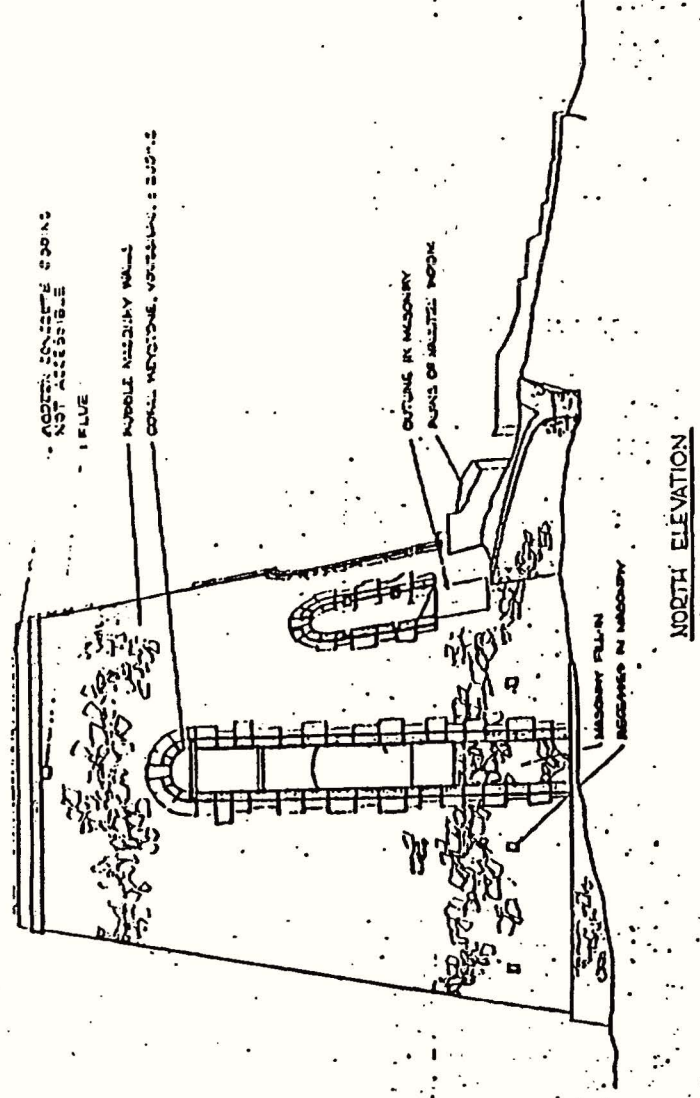
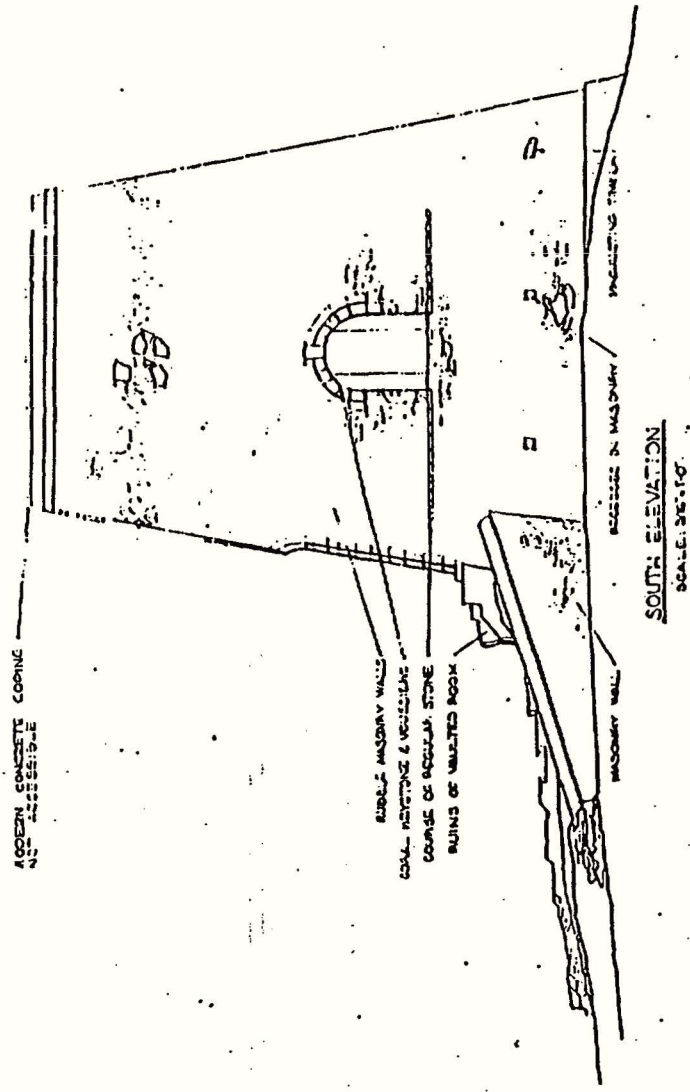
SUGAR FACTORY

VIRGIN ISLANDS

SHEET NO.

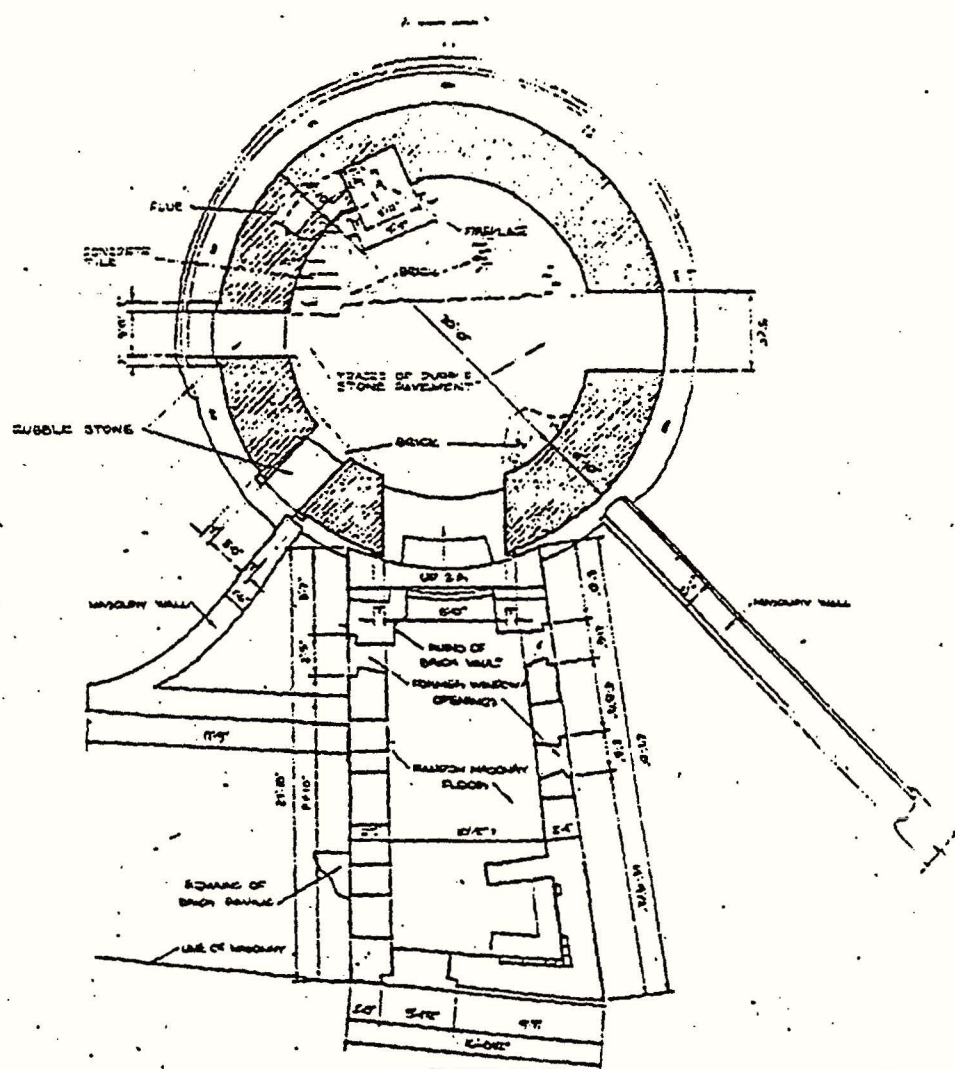
HISTORIC AMERICAN
BUILDINGS SURVEY
SHEET 4 OF 5 SHEETS

11



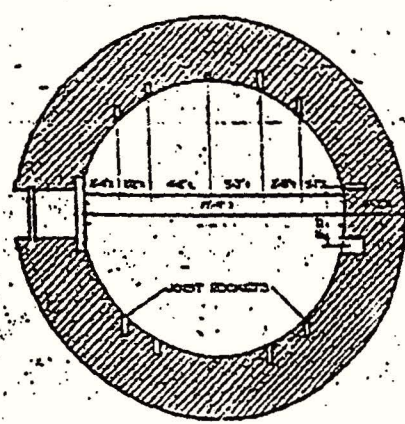
HABS Drawing of Annaberg Windmill.

HABS DRAWING (NATIONAL MAP)
 SCALE 1:1250 - PLS
 ESTATE ANNEXES
 MILL TOWER RUINS - SUGAR FACTORY
 SAINT JOHN
 VIRGIN ISLANDS
 HISTORIC AMERICAN BUILDING SURVEY
 1987 & 1988

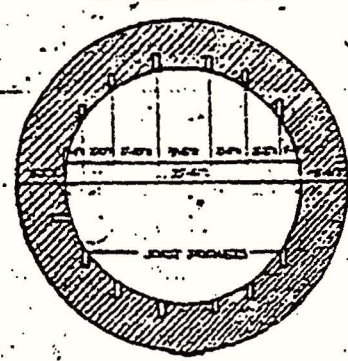


FLOOR PLAN
 SECTION 1-1
 SCALE: 1/8" = 1'-0"

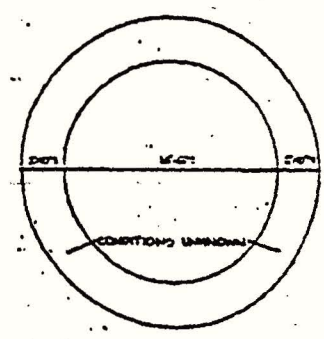
PLAN SECTION 2-2



PLAN SECTION 3-3

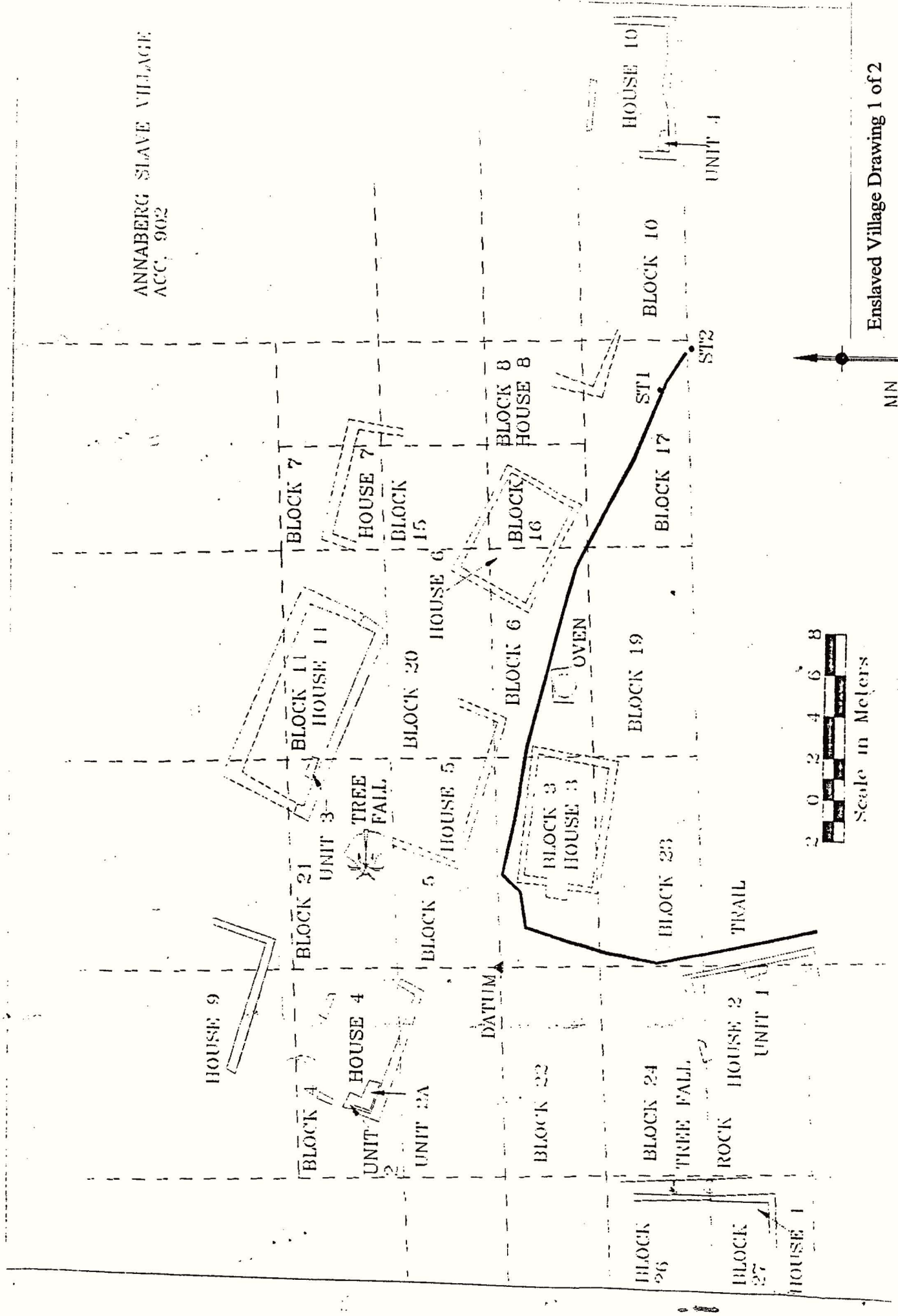


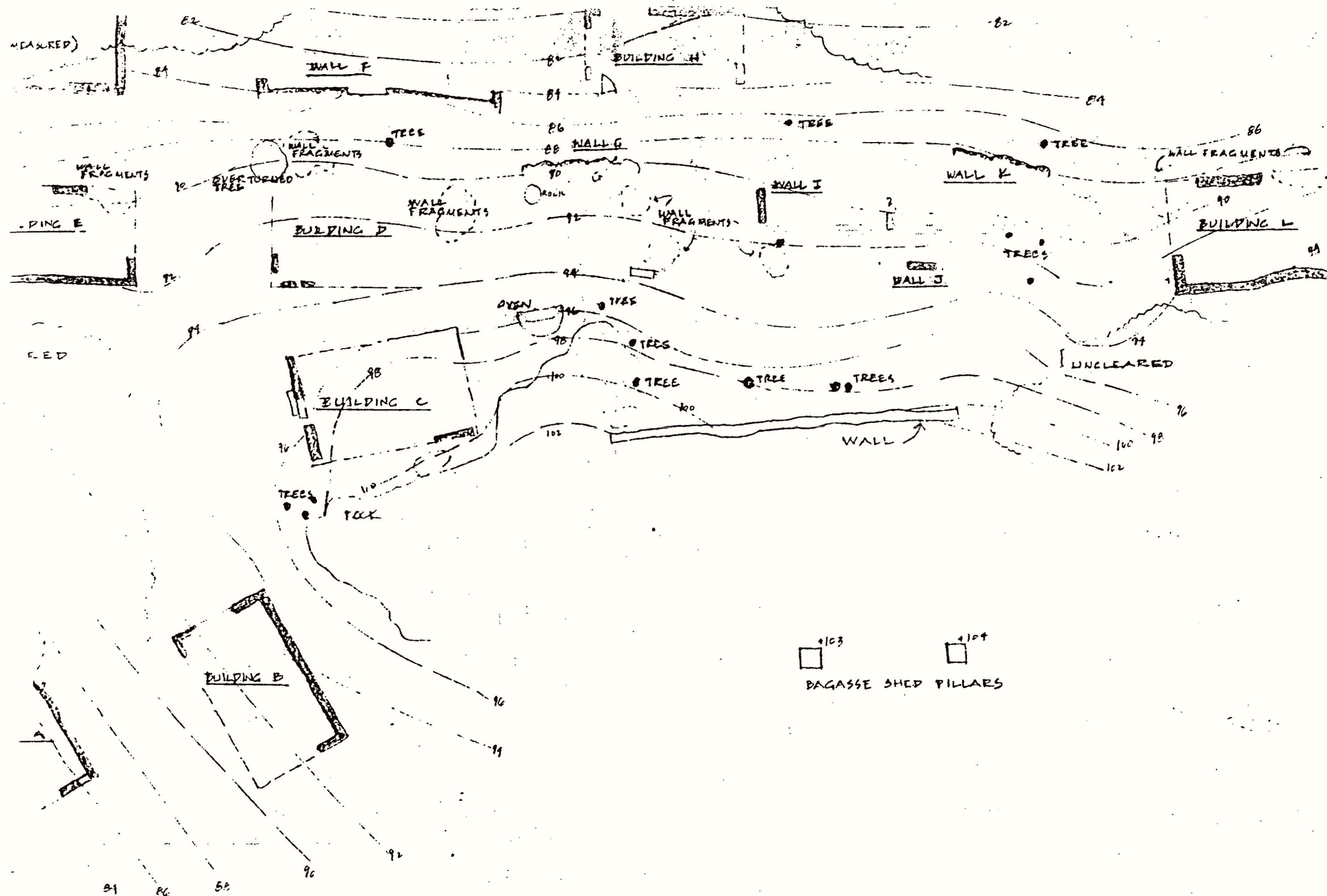
PLAN 4-4



HABS Drawing of Annaberg Windmill.

ANNABERG SLAVE VILLAGE
ACC. 902





SITE PLAN SLAVE QUARTERS ANNABERG ST JOHN

1" = 10'

NOTE

ELEVATIONS INDICATED DO NOT REFER TO FEET ABOVE SEA LEVEL.

DRAWN BY ANNE HILSH ARCHITECT 87 1/2 WEST MARKET ST ST JOHN, V.I. N- 14830

MAY 1991

DOCUMENTATION OF STRUCTURES AT ANNABERG ST JOHN, USVI

NOVEMBER 2000

- Summary

Volunteers assisted the Virgin Islands National Park Service in the documentation of structures at Annaberg. Ken Wild, archeologist and cultural resource manager, and Brian Coffey, historian, from the Atlanta office led Caribbean Volunteer Expeditions with 14 Elderhostel volunteers who cleared and measured structures at Annaberg and also Mary Point. This work helped identify structures to be included on the National Park Service LCS: List of Classified Structures.

These consisted of the following:

- Structure # 1

This stone structure was built into the hillside to the east of the retaining wall near the windtower. The walls were about 6 feet high on the lower side. The building was about an 8 feet square. On the east wall was a brick arch.

- Cistern # 2

This cistern has exterior walls, some of which are collapsed. The south side leads to an aqueduct. The walls are about 19 inches thick, plastered on the inside. The cistern is filled with dirt and rubble. It is about 14'-5" by 11'.

- Structure # 3

Possible stable or manager's house.

This 42 foot by 28 foot building contains only piers and some rubble stone walls. The wall on the west is a retaining wall about 36 to 30 inches high. There may have been stairs on the south.

- Structure # 4

This large enclosure of about 60 feet by 116 feet has rubble walls; some of these have completely fallen down. The area was very overgrown, and quite disturbed, so it was difficult to examine the entire area.

- Unidentified Structure to the East

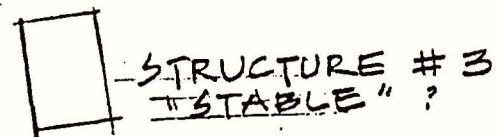
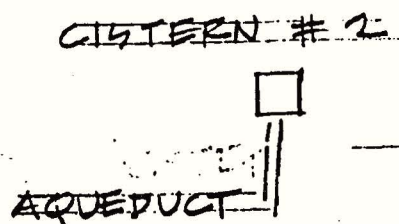
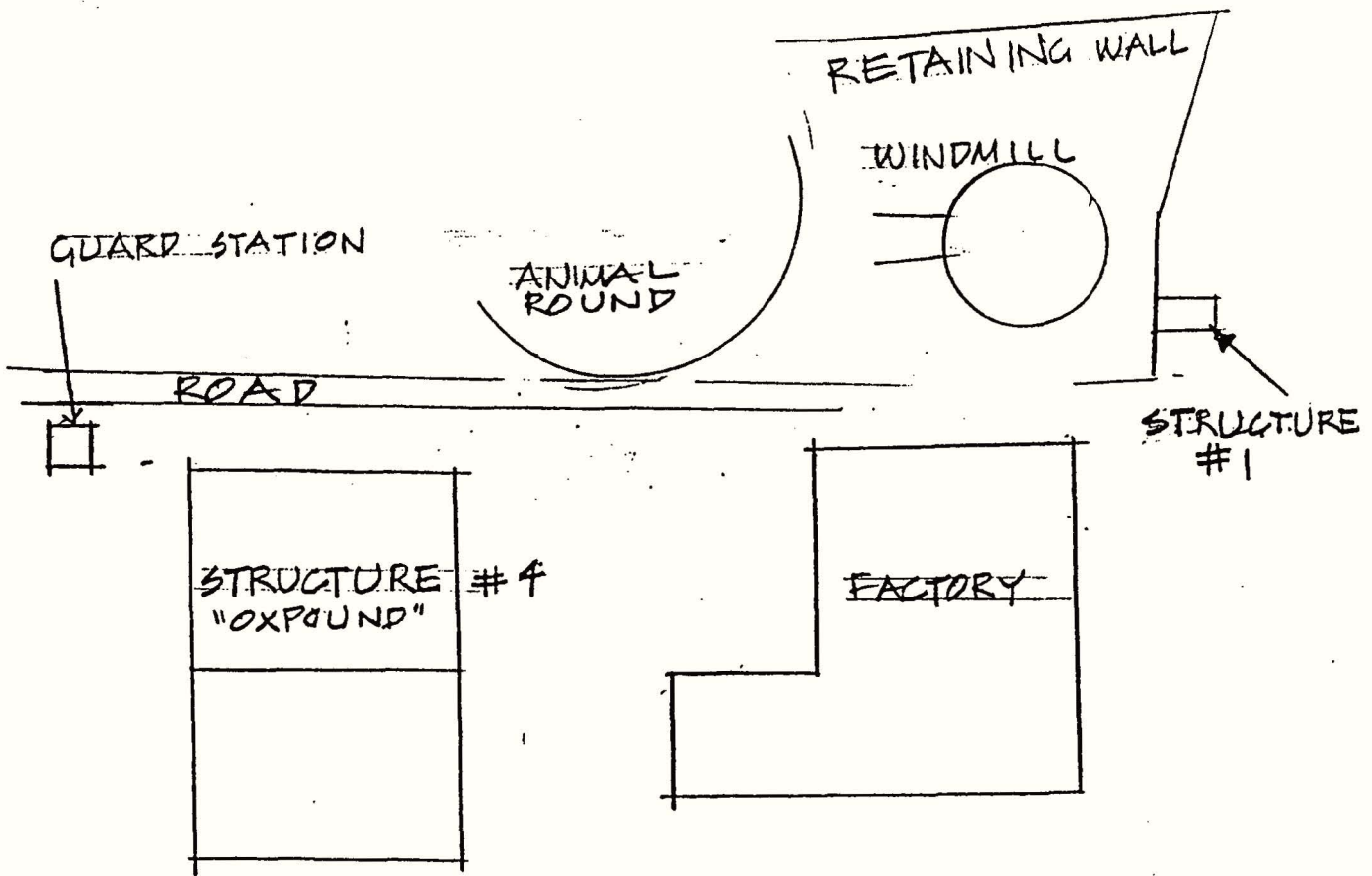
Volunteers spent many painful hours searching to the east for an "unidentified" structure located on the Gjessing map of 1978. However, we were not able to find any walls in this area.

Caribbean Volunteer Expeditions is a non profit organization which recruits volunteers to work on historic preservation projects with local Caribbean Agencies. Volunteers on this project were Elderhostellers:

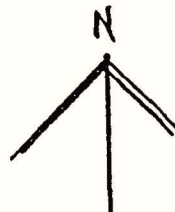
CVE-Elderhostel Nov. 12-19, 2000

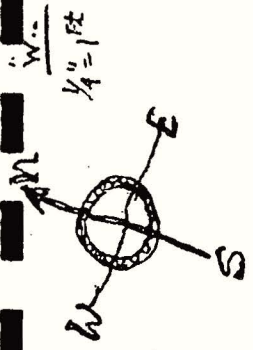
No	First	Last	Address	City state
89012	Carolyn/Grover	Everett	2606 Orchard Ln	Lawrence KS 66049
89012	Rebecca/Timothy	Templeton	141 S Morningside Dr	Le Sueur MN 56058
89012	Sue/Alexander	Eichholz	PO Box 431	Tracys Lani, MD 207790431
89012	James/Janet	Shea	81 Old Street Rd	Petersborough NH 03458163
89012	Nancy Arden	Demarinis Towill	898 Shennocossett Rd	Groton CT 06340
89012	Jean	Danz	7 Oxford La	Smithtown NY 11787
89012	Roberta	Gibbon	6439 Landing Neck Rd	Easton Md 21601
89012	Stewart	Cohen	PO Box 505	West Kingston RI 02892
89012	William	Worth	6164 S Ash Cir E	Littleton Co 801213130
89012	Suzanne Anne	Gordon * Hersh *	Box 765 5 E market St	Nevis, West Indies Corning NY 14830
89012	Abe	Bangoura *	2501 lancaster St	Plymouth MN 55441
Total				

* cve group leaders



SITE: DIAGRAM
NOT TO SCALE





Wells Stabilized
-1970-

Ret & Left Side Well Same.

Front View

Side Hill

Trail

WALL

(no visible wall) 15.10'

5 x 10' (approx) above

3' 2"

140' CAFE

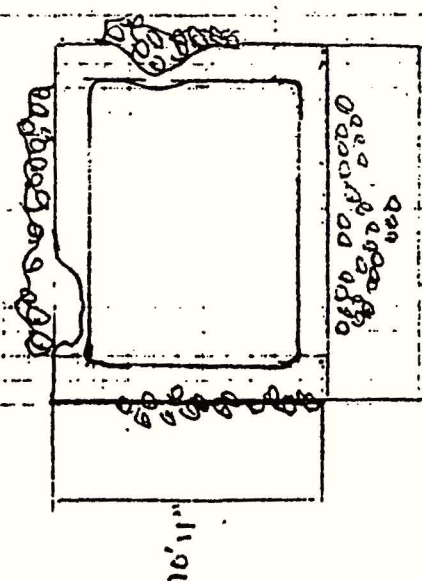
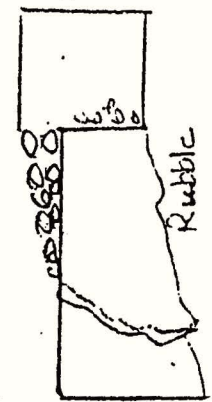
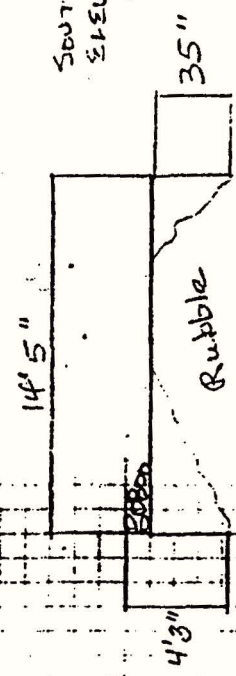
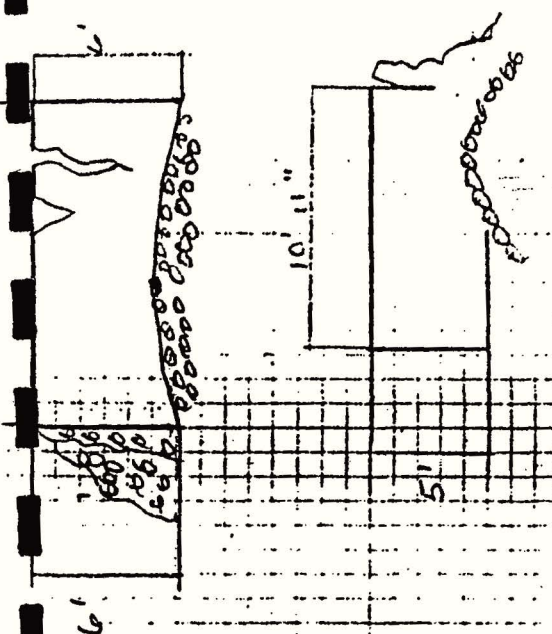
STRUCTURE # 1 11/00	
ANNABERG, ST JOHN	
DRAWN BY	
CVE BOX 388 CORNING NY 14830	

ELEVATION

EAST
ELEVATION

SOUTH
ELEVATION

West
ELEVATION



14' 5" 6 00
6 00 00 00 00
00 00 00 00
00 00 00 00

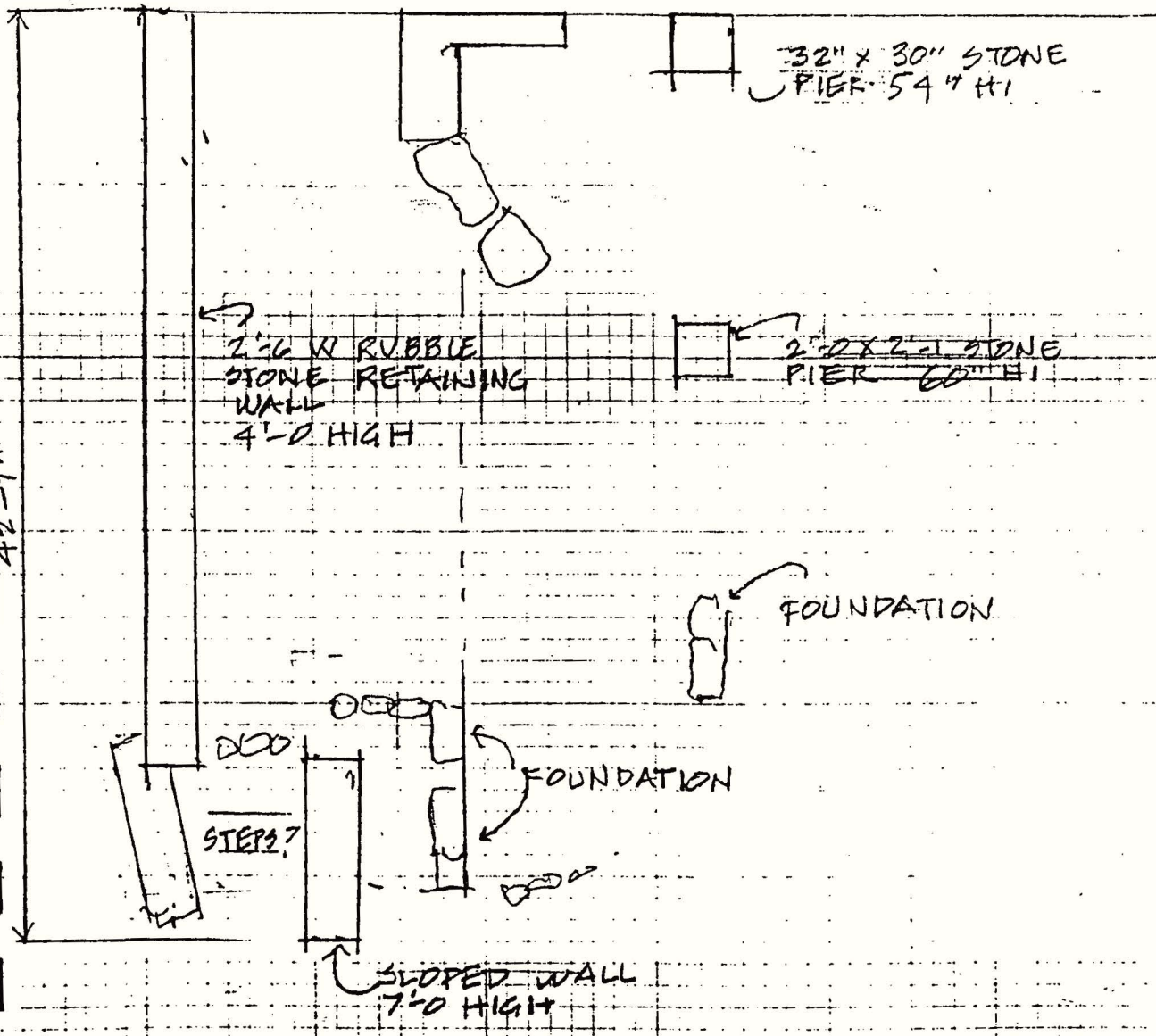
APPROXIMATE (COLLAPSED)

CISTERN

CISTERN #2 11/00
ANNABERG, ST JOHN

DRAWN BY
CVE BOX 388 CORNING NY 14830

27'-8"



"?? STABLE OR ?? MANAGERS HOUSE
ANNABERG ST JOHN
1/8" = 1'-0"

STRUCTURE #3 11/00
ANNABERG, ST JOHN
DRAWN BY
CVE BOX 388 CORNING NY 14830

WALL DISTURBED
IN THIS AREA

LOOSE STONE WALL

ROCK PILE

6' H. RUBBLE WALL WITH
CORAL & STONE

N ←
SCALE 1/8" = 1'-0"

STRUCTURE #4 11/00
ANNABERG, ST JOHN

DRAWN BY
CVE BOX 388 CORNING NY 14830

24" WIDE RUBBLE STONE
WALL 8'-0" HIGH IN
PLACES

LOOSE ROCK WALL

LOW RUBBLE WALL
WITH LOOSE STONES
WALL APPEARS TO
HAVE FALLEN OVER

AREA VERY
OVERGROWN

FALLEN
CORNER ?

FOUNDATION OF WALL
WALL APPEARS TO HAVE
FALLEN TO WEST

WALL
REMNANTS

BRICK
EDGE

HOLE