

**THE ENIGHED ESTATE AND RUIN OF ST. JOHN, U.S.V.I.
AN HISTORICAL SURVEY**

Prepared by :
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Staff Historian

ISLAND RESOURCES FOUNDATION
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Department of Conservation and Cultural Affairs
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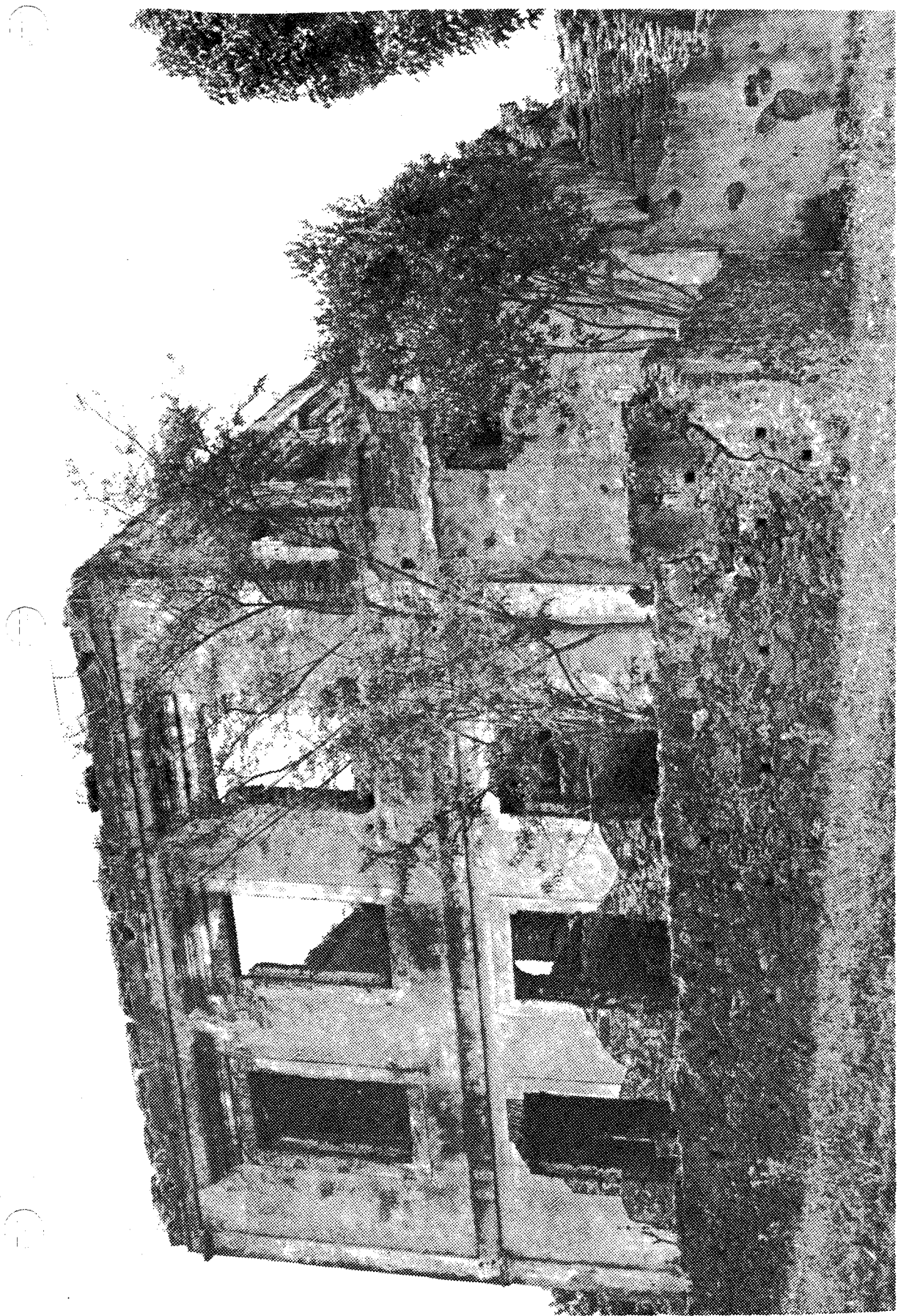
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Introduction	1
The Estate and Its Owners	4
The Laborers	12
The Enighed Ruin	14
Conclusion	19
Bibliography	21
Appendix A: Enighed Estate History, 1786-1946	26
Appendix B: Residents on Enighed, 1803-1870	29
Appendix C: St. John Statistics, 1728-1940	47



ENIGHED RUIN 1976, NORTH FACADE

INTRODUCTION

What follows is a history of the Enighed¹ estate and ruin located one-quarter mile southeast of the town of Cruz Bay on the island of St. John, U.S. Virgin Islands, formerly the Danish West Indies.

European colonization of St. John dates from March, 1717, when the Danish government of St. Thomas sent a ship carrying 5 soldiers, 20 planters and 16 slaves to establish a settlement at Coral Bay on the south side of the island.

Capitalized by St. Thomas merchants and planters, and cleared by slave laborers from St. Thomas and Africa, St. John was rapidly transformed into a plantation colony. By 1721 thirty-nine cotton and sugar estates had been parcelled out. By 1728 there were 87 estates, 123 whites and 677 slaves. Five years later the numbers had risen still further to 106 plantations, 208 whites and 1,087 slaves.²

St. John's development as a plantation colony was only temporarily checked by the great slave rebellion of 1733-34 during which damage in lives and property amounted to 7,905 rigsbankdalers.³ Although in the wake of the devastating insurrection many of the original landholders moved to the newly acquired island of St. Croix, their places were quickly filled by aspiring newcomers. By 1739 there were still 109 plantations, with 1,414 slaves and 208 whites.

The golden age of St. John's plantation economy was between 1750 and about 1840. In 1773 the island had 69 operational sugar and cotton estates, 2,330 slaves and 104 whites. In 1796 850,000 lbs. of sugar were produced. Although the number of sugar estates declined from 26 to 15 between 1800 and 1846, the amount of sugar cultivated remained high. During the period 1821-1826 sugar production averaged 1,100,000 lbs. per year. By 1838-1840 the yearly average had fallen only slightly to 993,000 lbs.⁴

¹There have historically been several spellings: Eenigkeit, Eenigheit, Eenighed, Enighted. Enighed is the Danish word for "United" or "Harmony" which may allude to the "Unitas Fratum," or Moravian Brethern Church which, while not directly associated with Enighed estate, had its origins on St. John at Wilthagen estate on nearby Enighed or Moravian Point and at Bethany mission, just northeast of Enighed estate. See James W. McGuire, Geographic Dictionary of the Virgin Islands of the United States (1925), p. 72.

²Waldemar Westergaard, The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule, 1671-1754 (1917), pp. 127-130.

³For the St. John slave rebellion, see Westergaard, ibid., pp. 164-78; C.F. Paludan, "Leaves from the History of the Danish West Indies," Museum Tidsskrift for Historie og Geographi, Vol. 3 (1894); and the fictionalized account Night of the Silent Drums (1975) by John Anderson.

⁴Westergaard, ibid., p. 255.

By the mid-nineteenth century several factors had combined to gravely affect the development of St. John's plantation economy. Among these debilitating factors the most important were: declining soil fertility, rising production costs, unfavorable world market conditions, and, perhaps most importantly, the emancipation of the Danish slaves in July, 1848.

After 1848 the plantation economy of St. John quickly disintegrated. Between 1846 and 1870 the number of sugar plantations fell from 15 to 1, and a visitor in the latter year observed that "the whole island is fast becoming a wilderness again."¹ Over the same period the total population shrank from 2,450 persons to 1,054.

During the last half of the nineteenth century a few planters tried to postpone the inevitable by converting their lands to provision culture and stock grazing. However, most plantations were abandoned altogether and their lands were engrossed by an emergent local peasantry practising subsistence agriculture.

In 1917, when Denmark sold St. John to the United States, subsistence agriculture had completely replaced the plantation economy. During the first half of the twentieth century St. John peasant cultivators eked out a meager livelihood from fruits and vegetables, raising small numbers of livestock, making charcoal, fishing or collecting bay leaves for the bay rum industry. Times were hard, but the people were their own masters and in possession of their own land. The advent of the tourist boom starting in the 1950's has brought a modicum of prosperity to many St. Johnians, but only at the expense of selling their land to retired continentals, the Rockefellers, and the U.S. National Park Service.

Much of St. John's history can be illuminated through studies of the plantations which dominated the insular economy until the last half of the nineteenth century. In the context of Virgin Islands and Caribbean history, a plantation can be defined as a settlement institution established in a tropical setting by European colonizers for the purpose² of crop exploitation within the context of an emergent world market economy.

The study of plantations is of considerable importance to historical understanding, for besides functioning as the primary generators of local economic development plantations have helped shape insular social institutions, social relationships, social attitudes and ideologies, in short the entire social system. In the words of one of the leading authorities on plantations, Edgar T. Thompson, "this institution has systemitized entire social orders."³

¹E.H. Perkins to Hamilton Fish, February 11, 1870 in U.S. Consular Despatches, St. Croix.

²For a discussion of plantations and plantation systems see the publication by the Pan American Union, Plantation Systems of the New World (1959).

³Ibid., p. 26.

Everywhere it has existed the plantation has profoundly influenced the cultural and physical habitat. As the noted West Indian economist George Beckford has put it: "The nature of the plantation and of the conditions which gave rise to its establishment left a very distinctive imprint on the plantation colonies."¹ Plantation studies, therefore, can do much to clarify the complex forces and ideas that have gone into making St. John, and the Virgin Islands generally, what they are today.

It is true that on St. John the plantation system had virtually ceased to exist by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and that consequently its overall impact has been somewhat attenuated by the subsistence economy practiced by Afro-Westindian peasants that emerged from its ruin. Karin Fog Olwig has correctly observed:

When you examine the ruins of the old days of slavery and sugar cultivation it might ... be worthwhile to consider that the adventure of the European planters was relatively short and unsuccessful, whereas the independent small farmers, who rose out of the failing plantation system, established a long, living pattern of life and livelihood, and can be seen as the true founders of the island's present culture.²

Nevertheless, the legacies of the plantations and the particular type of social order they helped fashion are still an evident part of social realities in St. John.

Considerable research needs to be done in the field of Virgin Island plantation studies.³ Such work will surely provide important data concerning the economic, social, political and cultural history of these islands. It is hoped that the following study of the Enighed estate, its owners, its workers and its economic history will make a small contribution to a richer understanding of St. John's past and present.

¹George L. Beckford, Persistent Poverty (1972), p. 35.

²Karin Fog Olwig, "Estate L'Esperance," a paper presented to the St. John Historical Society, September 25, 1974, p. 4.

³There have been few studies of individual plantations in the Virgin Islands. Richard Pares has briefly discussed the Pinney plantations on St. Croix in his excellent A West-India Fortune (1950). Short histories of other Cruzan plantations can be found in Florence Lewisohn St. Croix Under Seven Flags (1970). Inge Borg Antonsen of the Danish National Museum has outlined the history of Bethlehem estate in The Daily News of August 1, 1975. For St. John, Charles Hatch of the U.S. National Park Service has published reports on Reefbay (Parforce) and Annaberg plantations, while Karin Fog Olwig has written the short paper on estate L'Esperance cited above. A new era in plantation literature may be stimulated by the in depth studies of several Cruzan plantations currently being prepared by a team of students and professors at the University of Copenhagen, which is soon to be published.

THE ESTATE AND ITS OWNERS

The earliest recorded owner of Enighed was Agent Johannes or John Wood, who is shown by Peter Oxholm's original map of St. John as being in possession of the estate in 1780.¹ Johannes Wood's ownership is confirmed by the 1786 land list (matriklerne), which is the first such list in the Danish or U.S. archives to specify the ownership of either "Enighed" Estate or Number 1, Cruz Bay Quarter.

The precise date the Wood family acquired Enighed is unknown. No family member is cited as owning property in St. John by the land lists existant for the period before 1786.² The best guess is that the Wood family purchased the estate sometime between 1750 and 1757, when the family name first begins to appear in the historical records.

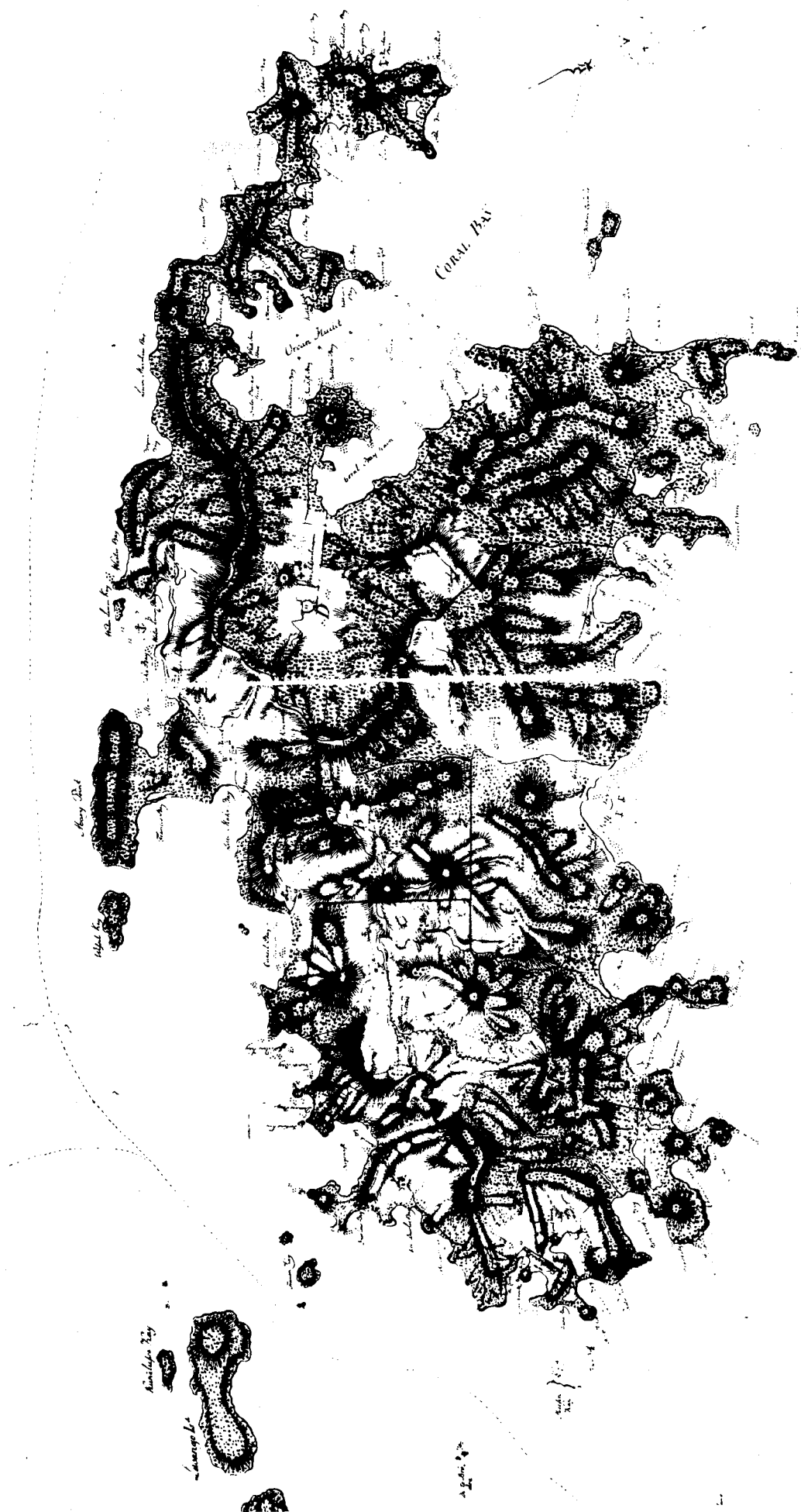
Although undoubtedly of English ancestry, the Woods came to the Danish West Indies from the Dutch island of Saba in the middle of the eighteenth century. Doing business as both merchants and planters, family members acquired a number of plantations on St. Thomas and St. Croix as well as St. John. After 1750 John and Richard Wood were doing business on St. Thomas. Peter Wood, a resident of St. Croix, owned property both on that island and on St. John. A Jacobus Wood lived on St. John in 1758. The Wood females helped extend the family connections through marriage to prominent local landowners and politicians. For example, in 1765 two Wood women are recorded as being married to members of the Durloe family of St. John, while a third Wood female from Saba was the wife of Captain de Nully of St. John. Chatarmia Wood married

¹In his monograph Virgin Islands National Park. St. John Island ("The Quiet Place")... (1972), Charles E. Hatch states (pp. 139-40) that Oxholm shows Enighed as belonging to "Agail Wood" which he surmises means "Abagail Wood." A close inspection of the original Oxholm map in the Danish archives clearly showed the inscription to read "Agent Wood."

There is absolutely no archival or literary evidence to substantiate John Anderson's claim (on page 6 of his "Random Notes on the History of St. John," /1970/) that Enighed estate was first established by the Moravians.

²Documentary authentication of ownership of Enighed by the Woods or anyone else before 1780 will be difficult to secure. The St. John land lists are extremely fragmentary until 1786. Moreover, the situation is complicated by the fact that before 1800 property holdings were not recorded either by name, i.e., "Enighed," or by Number, i.e., #1, Cruz Bay Quarter, but by vague geographical references to adjoining estates. Perhaps by using the plantation map which appears on the inside cover of John Anderson's Night of the Silent Drums (1975) as a base, together with the 1728-1739 land lists and Oxholm's maps, it would be possible to reconstruct original estate boundaries and ownership for all St. John plantations. However, such an enterprise would be extremely time consuming and would yield only approximate results.

PART of TORTOLA



St. John 1780, by Peter Oxholm.

Abraham Oijen, another St. John planter, around 1755. Johanne Elizabeth Wood was married to Johannes van Beverhoudt of St. John.¹

The first family member to own Enighed was undoubtedly William Wood, whose gravestone, which is still on the property, reads as follows:²

WILLIAM WOOD
FIRST PARISH ELDER
J.C. AND OLD BURGHER
CAPTAIN ON SJN
BORN ON SABA 22 MARCH 1692
AND DIED ON ST. JOHN 9 APRIL 1757

Johannes Wood, who was most likely the son of William, is first recorded as being in St. Thomas in 1750, at which time he took out a burgher brief. Between 1765 and 1771 he resided on St. Thomas and was married first to a member of the Creuitzer family and later to a Malleville. The bulk of his property holdings was on St. Thomas, but he spent at least some time on St. John where he acted as government agent or representative. He died in 1803, bequeathing a considerable fortune to his heirs.

Johannes Wood owned Enighed until 1791, when he deeded the estate to George Hassel (or Hazzel) and Co. George Hassel, a merchant and planter of St. Thomas, had also come to the Danish islands from Saba and was married to Johannes Wood's daughter Anna. The Wood-Hassel transaction has the appearance of an intra-familial transfer of property for legal or credit purposes because in 1798 Johannes reacquired Enighed and it remained in his hands until his death five years later.

Under the ownership of Wood and Hassel Enighed became a major sugar estate. We do not have production figures for the years before 1803, but we do know that in 1791 the estate had some 57 slaves and was valued at 66,702 West Indian rigsbankdaler, a considerable sum for the time. At the time of Johannes Wood's death in 1803, Enighed had 225 total acres; 110 acres were planted in sugar and 15 acres in pasture and provisions. There were 64 slaves, and the estate buildings consisted of a dwelling house, a horsemill, a boiling house, a cure house, a sick house and kitchen, a still house, a store house and 30 negro houses. The estate had increased in value to 77,085 rigsbankdaler.³

¹Information concerning the Wood family comes from the Christian Marfeldt Mss. which are part of the William Westergaard transcripts at the Library of Congress; from various items in the Royal Danish American Gazette and St. Thomas Tidende; and from data supplied by Rafael Valls, Librarian, St. John Public Library.

²From a translation provided by Rafael Valls. According to "Neptune" Richards and Kay Ellington, St. John residents, there used to be six or seven gravestones on the estate grounds. Today there are only two, one of which is virtually illegible.

³St. Jan Registrerings-og Vurderingsprotokol 1797-1807, fol. 39, Royal Danish Archives.

In 1803 Enighed stood at the apogee of its development as a sugar estate. Under the ownership of Johannes Wood's heirs (who are never identified in the records¹), Enighed's sugar production fell rapidly. By 1821, when the heirs were forced to sell Enighed at public auction, the total acreage had been reduced from 225 to 150, of which only 20 acres were planted in cane and 4 acres were devoted to pasture and provisions. The slave population had been halved, from 63 to 32 souls. The entire estate was evaluated at only 26,494 rigsbank-dalers.²

The new owner was Guert Sprewert de Windt, a member of a prominent merchant-planter family with landholdings on St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John. The de Windts, who had originally come to the Danish West Indies from the Dutch Islands, were among the earliest landowning families on both St. Thomas and St. John. Guert Sprewert (1748-1831) was a Creole, having been born on St. Thomas. His father was John de Windt, possibly the wealthiest single individual on St. Thomas in the eighteenth century. John was a merchant who had extensive commercial ties on both sides of the Atlantic, particularly with the North Americans with whom he traded before and during the American Revolution.³

Although he lived full-time on his estate in St. John, Guert Sprewert de Windt (who should not be confused with his famous uncle of the same name) did little to improve Enighed during his ten year ownership. Between 1821 and 1831 the total sugar acreage increased slightly from 20 to 25 acres, pasture and provisions from 4 to 5 acres, while the slave population stayed constant at 32.

In 1832 Ernst Jacob Weinmar purchased Enighed from the Danish Crown. A member of a wealthy St. Thomas family which had come to the Danish islands from Holstein, Weinmar was a wealthy merchant and planter living on St. Thomas. The Weinmars were related to the de Windts by marriage, for in 1799 Margaret de Windt had married a Weinmar living on St. John. Ernst Weinmar died in 1837 and the ownership of Enighed, together with that of two other St. John estates -- Rustenberg and Adventure -- passed to his two sons Ernst Philip and Peter Ewald. The Weinmar brothers retained ownership of Enighed until 1852, when they went bankrupt.⁴

¹One of the heirs was possibly the St. Thomas planter John Malleville Wood, who Nissen states was appointed President of St. Thomas in 1809 by the British occupation force; see Johan P. Nissen, Reminiscences of a 46 Years' Residence in the Island of St. Thomas... (1838).

²St. Jan Skiftedokumenter, No. 12/1831, Royal Danish Archives. The depreciation of property value was not as great as would appear since the Danish rigsbank-daler had been drastically devaluated in 1813 when the Danish State went bankrupt. Nevertheless, even allowing for devaluation, the decrease was significant.

³Data concerning the de Windt family comes from the Christian Marfeldt Mss.; the "de Windt" file at the St. Thomas Public Library; the article "Nine Generations of Virgin Islanders," Virgin Islands View (March, 1967), pp. 56-61; and various items in the St. Thomas Tidende.

⁴Information concerning the Weinmar family comes from the "Weinmar" file at the St. Thomas Public Library; various items in the St. Thomas Tidende and legal documents, cited below, in the Royal Danish Archives.

Under Weinmar ownership a determined effort was made to exploit Enighed's potential not only as a sugar estate, but also in the area of provision cultivation and cattle raising. Between 1832 and 1846 the sugar acreage almost doubled from 24 to 40, while the total acreage devoted to pasturage and provisions grew from 4 to 60. Concurrently, the number of slaves rose from 32 to between 40 and 45.

The Weinmars, however, found their economic upswing suddenly checked by the emancipation of the slaves decreed by Governor Peter von Scholten in July 1848. With their most valuable capital assets, the slaves, now declared free, the Weinmars found themselves caught in a serious credit squeeze, and in 1852 the Danish state seized Enighed for non-payment of a mortgage amounting to \$12,131.23.¹ The Weinmars appealed the case to the courts, arguing an inability to pay because they had not yet received compensation from the State for the precipitous emancipation of their slaves. The court ruled against them, and the estate reverted temporarily to the Crown in 1852.² According to an auction notice of 1853, the estate had been appraised at \$5,898 and \$4,250.³

William Smothergill, a Briton, purchased the estate in 1854. We know little about Smothergill, except that he owned Lameshur plantation in St. John and was married to Louisa Augusta de Windt, the daughter of Guert Sprewert de Windt. Under Smothergill Enighed stagnated. During his brief tenure of ownership between 1854 and 1858, sugar cultivation ceased altogether -- a reflection of the inability of St. John plantations to profitably produce sugar without slave labor. At the same time, the amount of land in provisions and pasturage plummeted from 30 to 2 acres.

In 1858 Smothergill sold Enighed to Robert Collymore of Barbados, who lived on the estate with his wife, son and sister for less than a year. Collymore also purchased the adjoining Contant estate, thus increasing his combined landholding to three hundred acres. Apparently he became discouraged with the prospects of a successful planting enterprise in St. John, for in 1859 he sold both Enighed and Contant to John Wilhelm Weinmar.

The exact relationship of John W. Weinmar (1814-1874) to the Weinmars who had previously owned Enighed is undetermined. Weinmar was born in St. Thomas, while his wife Elizabeth was a St. Johnian by birth. Of his three children, one was born on St. John and two in St. Thomas. After dividing his time between St. Thomas and St. John in the 1850's, Weinmar and his family took up permanent residence at Enighed. In 1865 Weinmar was elected to the St. Thomas/St. John Colonial Council as a member from St. John, and he served in that body until being defeated in the election of 1870.

¹In 1849 the U.S. monetary system was introduced into the Danish West Indies.

²St. Jan Justits-og Domsprotokol, 1844-1856, pp. 113-16 and St. Jan Skiftedokumenter 6/1853 in Royal Danish Archives. Although the slaves had been emancipated in 1848, it was not until 1853 that Denmark enacted a law to compensate the slave-owners. In 1854 Ernst Philip Weinmar (his brother Peter died in 1853) received compensation for a total of 44 slaves freed on the Enighed estate; see Record Group #55, Box 1904, Office of the Sheriff, St. John, 1853-54, pp. 70-3, U.S. National Archives.

³St. Thomas Tidende, January 15, 1853.

Like the earlier Weinmars, John Wilhelm undertook to tap the full economic potential of his Enighed-Contant estate. Shunning sugar production altogether, he concentrated his resources on cattle raising and the cultivation of provisions for export to St. Thomas and the neighboring islands. By the end of 1859 he had over 50 acres of pasture and provision land in use, and, in addition, he was employing laborers to cut wood and make charcoal for export.

Weinmar's economic expectations soon ran afoul of the Danish laws governing the employment of free labor in the post-emancipation era. According to the Labor Act of 1849, laborers in the Danish islands had to be paid a set maximum wage of \$2.00 per month by their employers to whom they were bound by yearly contracts. At the end of each contract year the laborer had the choice of leaving his employer or signing a new contract. In St. Croix this law had the desired effect of binding the laborers to the plantations and thus securing to the planters a large pool of cheap labor. However, on St. John conditions were different. As soon as they realized that they were being systematically exploited, St. Johnian laborers simply did not renew their contracts, choosing instead either to eke out a subsistence livelihood on one of the increasing number of abandoned sugar estates on their island, or emigrate to the neighboring islands of Tortola -- where there was land available for farming -- or St. Thomas where the Danish labor law was not strictly enforced and higher wages were paid.¹

The flight of St. John laborers is clearly documented in the population statistics (see Appendix C), which show that between 1846 and 1870 the total population of the island fell from 2,450 to 1,054 persons. Under these circumstances, aspiring St. John planters like John Weinmar had little option but to pay their laborers higher wages in order to keep them from leaving the island, or to entice back those who had emigrated. Yet, however much they might want to increase wages, they were precluded from doing so by the maximum wage rate set by the 1849 Labor Law.

As a member of the Colonial Council for St. John, Weinmar made every effort to have the labor regulations affecting St. John ameliorated. In June, 1869 Weinmar rose in the Council to criticize the Danish government for neglecting St. John and for allowing the economy of the island to stagnate. He singled out the Administrator, Judge Dewhurst, for especially harsh criticism and demanded that reforms be immediately forthcoming. In response, the Council authorized the establishment of a commission to investigate the complaints of the planters.²

The Commission, however, was never convened. In August, 1869 a disgusted John Weinmar once again rose to the attack, publishing in the St. Thomas Tidende his

¹For a discussion of the Labor Law in St. John and St. Thomas, see the "Colonial Council Proceedings" printed in the St. Thomas Tidende of December 4, 1869 and April 20, 1870. The Labor Law of 1849 is printed in full in John P. Knox, Historical Account of St. Thomas (1852), pp. 248-55.

²"Colonial Council Proceedings," St. Thomas Tidende, July 7, 1869.

list of "9 Points which the people of St. John require to make an unmolested livelihood."¹ These points called for a new, more liberal administrator, the easing of restrictions governing the sale of various products by St. Johnian sellers, the abolition of the passport system in order to encourage St. John laborers on St. Thomas and Tortola to return to St. John, police assistance on St. Thomas to return contract laborers who had run away, and the abolition of the Labor Law, thus freeing employers to pay their laborers as much, and by any method, as they preferred.

In November 1869 Weinmar complained in the Colonial Council that a Commission had not yet been established, and demanded immediate action. He again condemned Judge Dewhurst for his arbitrary administration and insisted that many departed laborers would return to St. John immediately once he was removed from his office. St. Johnian planters, he insisted, desired the same lax enforcement of the Labor Law as prevailed in St. Thomas.²

Despite Weinmar's pleas no commission was established and no reforms undertaken. In April, 1870 Weinmar made one final effort to stir government into action. In a memorial to the Colonial Council he enumerated his complaints against Judge Dewhurst, concluding that until he was dismissed and the Labor Law abolished, St. Johnians would continue to be faced with "A perfect loss of credit, cramped means of living, loss of property and loss of employment; doubts of the condition of others, doubts of our own conditions; and all this without the hope of improvement or change."³

Although several other Council members supported Weinmar's memorial, the Danish Vice-Governor remained unmoved, declining to take action on the grounds that he could not easily order Judge Dewhurst to ignore the law and that any alteration in the Labor Law would have to be made in Denmark. In a subsequent election Weinmar lost his Council seat to H.L. Krause and the question of the Labor Law had to await the St. Croix Labor Rebellion of 1878 before being reformed by Denmark; by then, however, it was too late to resuscitate the plantation economy of St. John.

Weinmar's remonstrances were hardly disinterested. He had on several occasions been rebuked by Judge Dewhurst for disregarding and circumventing the Labor regu-

¹St. Thomas Tidende, August 21, 1869. The Labor Law was not the only obstacle preventing Weinmar from earning a living. In 1870 he "banished" his wife and two daughters from his home at Enighed until they allowed him "to make an unmolested livelihood by his property." See Appendix B.

²"Colonial Council Proceedings," St. Thomas Tidende, December 4, 1869. Earlier, Weinmar had been sued by the St. Thomas police because of his complaints in the Tidende against their failure to return St. John laborers who had broken their contracts and fled to St. Thomas.

³"Colonial Council Proceedings," St. Thomas Tidende, April 20, 1869.

lations. Moreover, his Enighed-Contant estates were steadily declining. Between 1859 and 1870 the total acreage given over to provisions and pasture fell from 50½ to 10, while the number of recorded laborers decreased from 19 to 11.

Weinmar's deteriorating personal circumstances and his public complaints help clarify the dismal situation confronting St. John planters in the second half of the nineteenth century. Hampered by a dwindling labor force, decreasing soil productivity, rigid and outmoded laws enacted in a distant Mother Country and an unresponsive colonial administration, most planters had no choice but to cease cultivation altogether. In 1846, on the eve of emancipation, there were 15 sugar estates in operation; by 1870 only Estate Adrian continued to produce sugar. Those planters, like Weinmar, who had converted to cattle and provision raising similarly found themselves hard pressed to carry on profitably.

John W. Weinmar died in 1874 and his widow Elizabeth was forced to auction off Enighed and Contant estates. The new owner was Alfred Maisonneuve Lebrun from St. Lucia who paid only \$822.60 for the property, a price reflecting the considerable depreciation in property value since 1853 when the estate had been evaluated between \$4,250 and \$5,898. Lebrun made one last, but futile effort to cultivate sugar and provisions on Enighed. In 1877 he had 4 acres in sugar and 12 in pasture and provisions. Three years later, however, sugar production had ceased altogether, while provision and pasturage had fallen to 9 acres and Lebrun was compelled to sell Contant estate to Abraham Leright. Lebrun and his son Denveil lived on Enighed for ten years during which time efforts to exploit the land economically were abandoned once and for all. By 1883, when Lebrun sold Enighed to Judge Johan or Julius Frederick Colberg, the raising of cattle and provisions, as well as sugar cultivation, had ceased entirely.

The next two owners of Enighed -- Judge Colberg, who held the estate from 1883-1898, and Judge Jens Peter Jorgensen, who had possession in the years 1899 through 1918 -- were both Danish Administrators of St. John and lived on the island for political rather than economic reasons. To them Enighed provided at best a comfortable part-time residence rather than a profitable business undertaking.¹

Neither Colberg nor Jorgensen had much opportunity to enjoy his residence at Enighed. Colberg, who was born in Denmark in 1812, died in December, 1883, the same year he purchased the property. His wife sold some of his personal effects and the remaining livestock.² Whether she stayed at Enighed or returned to St. Thomas is unknown. In 1898 the Danish State claimed Enighed, along with Colberg's other property on St. John.³

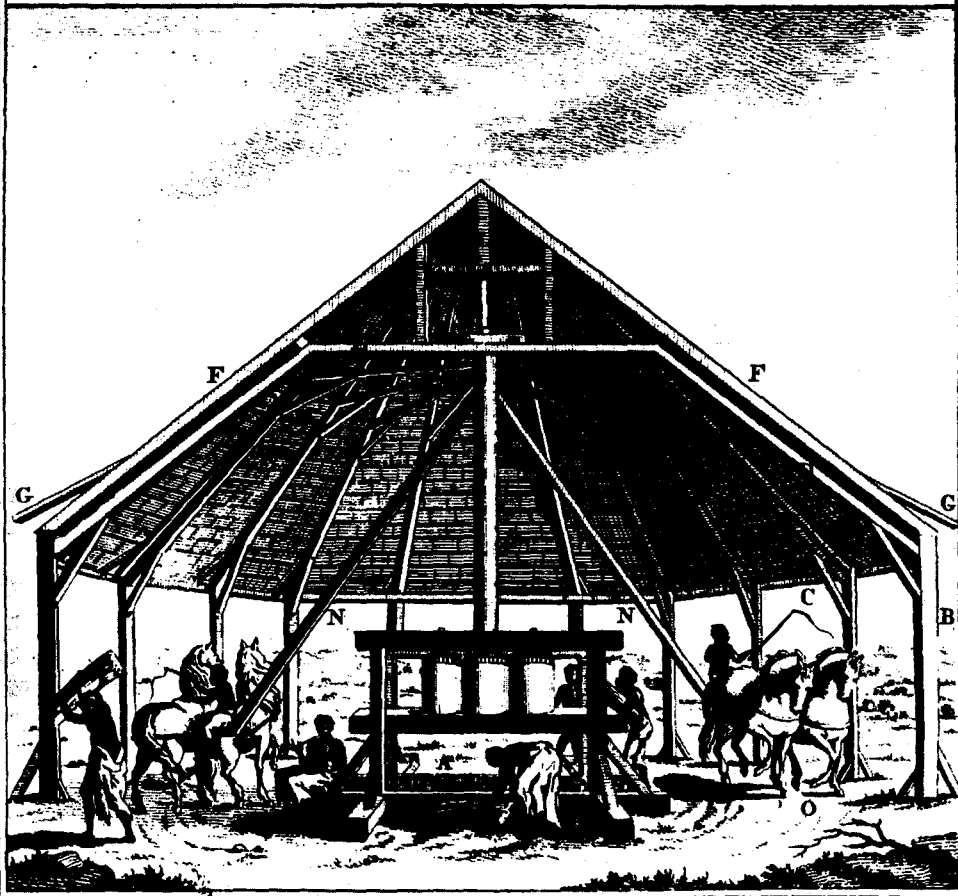
¹In 1905, when the estate still belonged to Jorgensen, 10 acres were being used for pasturage and provisions, but most likely it was not Jorgensen who was directly involved, but a local St. Johnian who was leasing the land from him.

²St. Thomas Tidende, February 6, 1884.

³From information provided by Rafael Valls.

ZUCKERMÜHLE.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| A. Gefelle mit den Trommeln. | G. Die Vorstende. |
| B. Pfähle. | H. Das Radwerk. |
| C. Tragbalken. | L. Der Stützbaum. |
| D. Die Stützen. | M. Die Jungfer. |
| E. Hauptbalken. | N. Mühlenarm. |
| F. Die Sparren. | O. Pferde, welche die Mühle ziehen. |



Horse mill, similar to the one at Enighed in nineteenth century.

Sukkermølle drevet ved hjælp af heste. I midten de tre valser, hvorigennem sukker-rørene blev presset.

Horse drawn sugar mill. In the middle three rollers in which the cane was crushed.

In 1899 Judge Jorgensen purchased Enighed from the State. The purchase price of \$270.00, when compared to the \$822.60 which Lebrun paid in 1874, clearly reveals Enighed's economic decline in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.¹ Jorgensen (1847-1926), a distinguished St. Thomas lawyer and politician who also owned Annaberg estate, may have resided part-time in the Enighed estate house until around 1903-05 when a fire, accidentally started by some brush being burnt by caretaker Howell, destroyed the roof and floor.² The last known resident at the Enighed estate house was one Scipio, a seventy-three year old fisherman said to be living on the estate, probably as caretaker, in 1901.³

After the fire at the turn of the twentieth century, Enighed was all but abandoned. The estate house remained a burnt-out ruin, while the estate acreage was only utilized by small-time stockmen like Halvor "Neptune" Richards.

In 1918 Captain Alfred Benjamin ("Benny") White, the owner of the adjoining Contant estate, purchased Enighed from Judge Jorgensen.⁴ White was one of the few planters still active in the Cruz Bay Quarter of St. John in the first half of the twentieth century. Like the Lindqvist and Francis families, he acted as a middleman, shipping the produce of local cultivators along with his own from St. John to St. Thomas and other islands.⁵ It is not unlikely that White used Enighed land for his various economic activities. At the same time it was he who began the process of parcelling out the estate to local small holders. In April, 1920 he sold 4 acres to Halvor "Neptune" Richards, and in August of the same year he sold another 30½ acres to Athoner Morehead.⁶

In 1941 White sold the remainder of the estate to Alice Maud Nielsen. Three years later Nielsen sold the property to the Municipality of St. Thomas and St. John. In 1945-46, as part of the Homestead program in the Virgin Islands, the St. Thomas-St. John Municipality began parcelling out the estate land to local Virgin Islanders. Among those who acquired Enighed land at that time

¹Ibid.; "Enighed" file, Recorder of Deeds Office, St. Thomas.

²"Neptune" Richards, interview of 9/23/76; confirmed by Paul Boulon, St. John resident, who heard it from Nathan Small, interview of 9/5/76.

³From information provided by Rafael Valls.

⁴White initially tried to purchase Enighed in 1900; however, the deal apparently fell through because the title was not in order. From information provided by Rafael Valls. White had purchased Contant in 1894.

⁵See "Reminiscences by Late A.M. Lindqvist," The Daily News of the U.S. Virgin Islands, March 12, 1974.

⁶"Enighed" file, Recorder of Deeds Office, St. Thomas.

were Cory Bishop, Mario Watlington, Sylvia Massac, Christian Samuel, Herman Smith, Vivian France and Josephine Williams.¹ The Virgin Islands government, however, maintained ownership of some land including the .60 acre on which the old burnt-out ruin presently sits.

THE LABORERS

Afro-Westindian laborers, whether slave or free, were the sinews of Enighed as well as all other West Indian plantations. Unfortunately, we know very little about the life histories of these heroic, industrious people. This is not too surprising, for history has always been written by the colonizers for the colonizers. Nevertheless, from Enighed's historical records we are able to glean some information about those individual workers whose blood, sweat, toil and suffering generated the profits which made the Enighed estate house, as well as the leisured and prosperous life style it symbolizes, possible.

One hundred and forty-two laborers can be identified from the records (see Appendix B) as having lived and worked on Enighed during the years 1803 through 1870. There were undoubtedly many others, but our data is rather fragmentary, particularly for the years between 1803 and 1841, the year when the first Danish census was introduced. Of the 142 identifiable laborers, 81 were males and 61 were females. The vast majority of these men and women were field laborers, but a few like William and Hellena, who lived on Enighed between 1831 and 1870, were house servants. Still others had special skills. For example, Andreas, who had been born in Africa and lived on Enighed between 1803 and 1850, was a carpenter and as such was the most valued slave on the estate in 1803. Abraham and Matheus, born on St. John and St. Thomas respectively, were also carpenters. Other artisans of the slave period were George and Jacob, both coopers. The preferential treatment which such valuable craftsmen received is reflected in their advanced ages. Matheus reached at least the age of 81, and Abraham, Jacob and Andreas all lived beyond fifty years of age.

After emancipation the occupations of the Enighed laborers became more diverse. Petrus, a St. Johnian who lived on the estate between 1831 and 1870, was a boat captain and fisherman. John Frederick and William Henry were sailors. John from Tortola was a pastureman, while Jacob, Joseph Theodor and Carl Augustine were all pasture boys. Lucia and Susannah, a St. Johnian who lived on Enighed from 1831 to 1860, were washerwomen.

The duration which most of these laborers resided on Enighed in the nineteenth century was rather short indeed, usually between 5 and 10 years, a fact which reflects both the severity of the slave regime and the high mobility of St. John freedmen after 1848. Of the 63 slaves living on Enighed in 1803 only 15 or 16 survived until 1831. Of the 32 slaves on the estate in 1831 only 15 remained in 1850. As would be expected, the turnover rate was particularly dramatic in the post-emancipation era. Between 1850 and 1857 at least 31 workers

¹Enighed file, Recorder of Deeds Office, St. Thomas.

disappeared from the estate records, while between 1857 and 1870 another 23 men and women left the estate.

The reasons for the high turnover rate were many. A large number of people died from various causes: malnutrition, harsh treatment, disease; seldom of old age. The cholera epidemic of 1855 killed 25 people at Enighed.¹ Others undoubtedly perished in hurricanes and other natural disasters.

After 1848 a considerable number of laborers left Enighed of their own free will, moving onto abandoned estate land for the purpose of subsistence farming, emigrating to Tortola, where farm land was available, or to St. Thomas where wages were considerably higher and opportunities greater.

The flight from Enighed had actually begun during slavery. In 1803 one Cubma is listed as a maroon or runaway slave. Desertions became more frequent after 1834 when slavery was abolished on the neighboring island of Tortola. Enighed slaves were among the many on St. John who fled to freedom on Tortola. In 1848 four former Enighed slaves were reported to be on Tortola. Washington and Beth lived in Roadtown. Josva lived outside Roadtown and earned a living by cutting grass for horses. Michel, who also lived somewhere in Tortola, reportedly died a year or two after emancipation.²

Despite the general trend a few laborers stayed on Enighed for a considerable period of time, indicating an attachment that transcended personal status or attachment to a particular owner. Among the males, Jacob, Benjamin, Frederick and Andreas are recorded as having lived on the estate during the years 1803-1850. And Petrus, who was probably born on Enighed around 1831, was still there in 1870. Among the females, Cecila was resident between 1803 and 1846; Susanna, who was probably born on Enighed circa 1818, still lived there in 1860; and Helena, another who chose to remain on the estate well beyond emancipation, is recorded as being resident between 1841 and 1870. But it was Julianna who set the record for longevity, despite the fact that for most of her life she worked as a field laborer. She is listed on every estate census between 1803 and 1857 -- a residency of at least 54 years!

The data is much too fragmentary to provide reliable information about birth rates on Enighed. Nevertheless, it is possible to state that at least 24 people were born on the estate between 1803 and 1850; whereas between 1850 and 1870 there were at least five probable births.

Very few marriages are recorded among the slaves, although the data is particularly incomplete here. In 1841 and 1846 only 3 of 23 men are recorded as being married. We have no data on the women. In 1850, 3 males and 2 females were married and another male was a widower out of a total of 42 resident laborers. In 1857, 6 males and females were married and there was one widower out of 19 resident laborers. And in 1870, 5 people were married and 2 were widowers out

¹From information provided by Karin Fog Olwig.

²Record Group #5, Box 1904, Office of the Sheriff, St. John, 1853-54, pp. 70-3, U.S. National Archives.

of a total of 15 resident laborers. To risk a generalization from this data, it would seem that with the decline of sugar and slavery, marriage became more common among the Enighed laborers.¹

The Enighed records provide information about the laborers in two other areas: their provenance and their religious affiliations. Of the 87 Enighed laborers, free and slave for which we have information about their place of origin, 4 were born in Africa, 14 were born in St. Thomas, 3 were born in St. Croix, 2 were born in Tortola, 1 was born in St. Eustatius and 63 were born on St. John.

As for religion, as might be expected from the close proximity of the Bethany Moravian Mission established in 1754, the overwhelming majority of Enighed's laborers were of the Moravian faith. The breakdown is as follows: 61 Moravians, 5 Catholics, and 2 Lutherans.

THE ENIGHED RUIN

Historical research in local, U.S. or Danish archives has yielded very little hard data concerning the present Enighed Ruin. Interviews with several knowledgeable St. Johnian residents have been fruitful, but hardly definitive.

Our earliest source of information about the buildings on Enighed comes from Peter Oxholm's original 1780 map of St. John which shows two main structures, one of which is probably a tread mill and the other a dwelling house, as being located on top the knoll where the present ruin now stands. The map also shows a cluster of smaller buildings, probably representing out buildings and slave quarters, on the southern slope of the knoll running toward Enighed Pond.

The first documentary evidence relating to Enighed's buildings comes from an

¹On St. John as a whole, according to one visitor from St. Croix in 1870, marriage among the Afro-Westindian population appears to have been more frequent than on St. Croix, "the reason being that the Moravians will not baptize illegitimate children, and this ordinance of the Church is considered of the greatest importance by the people, hence many feel compelled to marry who otherwise would not." E.K. Perkins to Hamilton Fish, February 11, 1870 in U.S. Consular Despatches, St. Croix. Perkins added: "Strange as it may appear ... these marriages produce much trouble in families. That parties after marriage will quarrel who before lived together in peace and happiness. The solution of this apparent mystery being that the marriage ... destroys the necessity of mutual good behavior which existed before and when either party could at anytime dissolve the contract should the other prove an unpleasant companion."



Laborers at work in cane fields.

1803 estate inventory which shows the existant buildings and their value as follows: 1 dwelling house (1,400 rd.), 1 "old dwelling house" now used as a store house (100 rd.), 1 horse mill (1,500 rd.), 1 boiling house, 1 cure house and 1 still house (combined value 12,000 rd.), 1 sick house with two rooms and a kitchen under the same roof (3,300 rd.) and 30 Negro houses (1,500 rd.).¹

It would appear from the more pronounced representation of the Enighed dwelling house on Oxholm's 1800 map, compared to the 1780 map, that the new dwelling house of the 1803 inventory was built sometime between 1780 and 1803. A devastating hurricane hit St. John in August 1793 severely damaging many plantations including the Bethany mission.² It is not unlikely that the new dwelling house was built in the wake of this hurricane.

An 1821 tax record of Enighed shows the estate buildings and their evaluation as follows: 1 dwelling house (500 ptc.), 1 boiling, curing and still house under the same roof plus a second still house (combined value of 7,000 ptc.), 1 mill and millround (600 ptc.), 15 Negro houses (750 ptc.) and the ruins of a kitchen (25 ptc.).³

A registration of property following the death of owner G.S. de Windt in 1831 lists the following buildings: 1 dwelling house, 1 horse mill, 1 boiling, curing and still house under the same roof, 1 still house with a cistern, 1 kitchen, 1 house with two rooms. Unfortunately, there are no valuations attached to these buildings.

In August 1837 Enighed buildings were again damaged by a devastating hurricane. St. John officials reported that the dwelling house, still house, curing house, boiling house, horse stable, cart house, kitchen and all Negro houses were "down."⁴

Whether the hurricane completely destroyed the dwelling house is unknown. We do know that between 1837 and 1853 the dwelling house was either rebuilt or repaired, for an auction notice appearing in the St. Thomas Tidende of January 15, 1853, stated that on the Enighed estate "there is a large dwelling house of mason work with a shingled roof and 13 houses for the laborers."

¹St. Jan Registrerings-og Vurderingsprotokol, 1797-1807, fol. 39.

²John Holmes, Historical Sketches of the United Brethern... (1827), p. 313.

³St. Jan Skiftedokumenter, 12/1831, "The Estate of Guert Sprewert De Windt." The lower evaluations of 1821 reflect the devaluation of the Danish currency in 1813.

⁴Information from Paul Olsen of the Royal Danish Archives.

We have been unable to locate any further descriptive references to the Enighed buildings after 1853. A St. John map of 1914 shows 4 buildings of equal size clustered on the knoll in the vicinity of the present ruin.¹ And an American map of 1934 shows a solitary structure on the present site.²

There are two sources for dating the present Enighed ruin as being built in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

In the late 1940's, John L. Anderson, an amateur historian, wrote that the "present ruins of Enighed are not old at all, probably don't go back beyond the boom of seventy-five years ago, if that far." Anderson's undocumented assertion first appeared in print on page 43 of St. John and St. Thomas, Virgin Islands of the United States (1950) by National Park Historian Clarence L. Johnson, and was subsequently repeated verbatim by Mr. Anderson on page 5 of his "Random Notes on the History of St. John" (1970).³

Frederick Gjessing, architectural historian of the U.S. National Park Service and a leading authority on the architecture of the Danish West Indies, also believes that the present Enighed ruin dates from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He bases his judgement on an architectural comparison of Enighed's architectural and decorative details are less elaborate and less articulated than those of "Par Force" estate house at Reef Bay which dates from the 1840's. Whereas, in its architectural layout and design, Enighed resembles some of the St. Croix plantations constructed in the last part of the nineteenth century.⁴

It is our contention, however, that Enighed dates from an earlier part of the nineteenth century and that the mason work house with shingled roof mentioned in the 1853 auction notice and the present ruin are one and the same building.

We take this position for several reasons. In the first place, it is certain that some construction work took place between the hurricane of 1837 and 1853. From oral sources on St. John we know that one, perhaps two, stone masons worked on Enighed about that time. In the case of one of these stone masons -- John Bernadine Sprauve -- family tradition holds that he actually built Enighed. Miss Elaine Sprauve of Cruz Bay, St. John heard that it was her grandfather, J.B. Sprauve, who built Enighed.⁵ Miss Sprauve's aunt, Miss Idalia Lans, also stated that John Bernadine Sprauve "worked on Enighed and built the house in town afterward."⁶

¹Royal Library of Denmark map, 1915, No. 587.

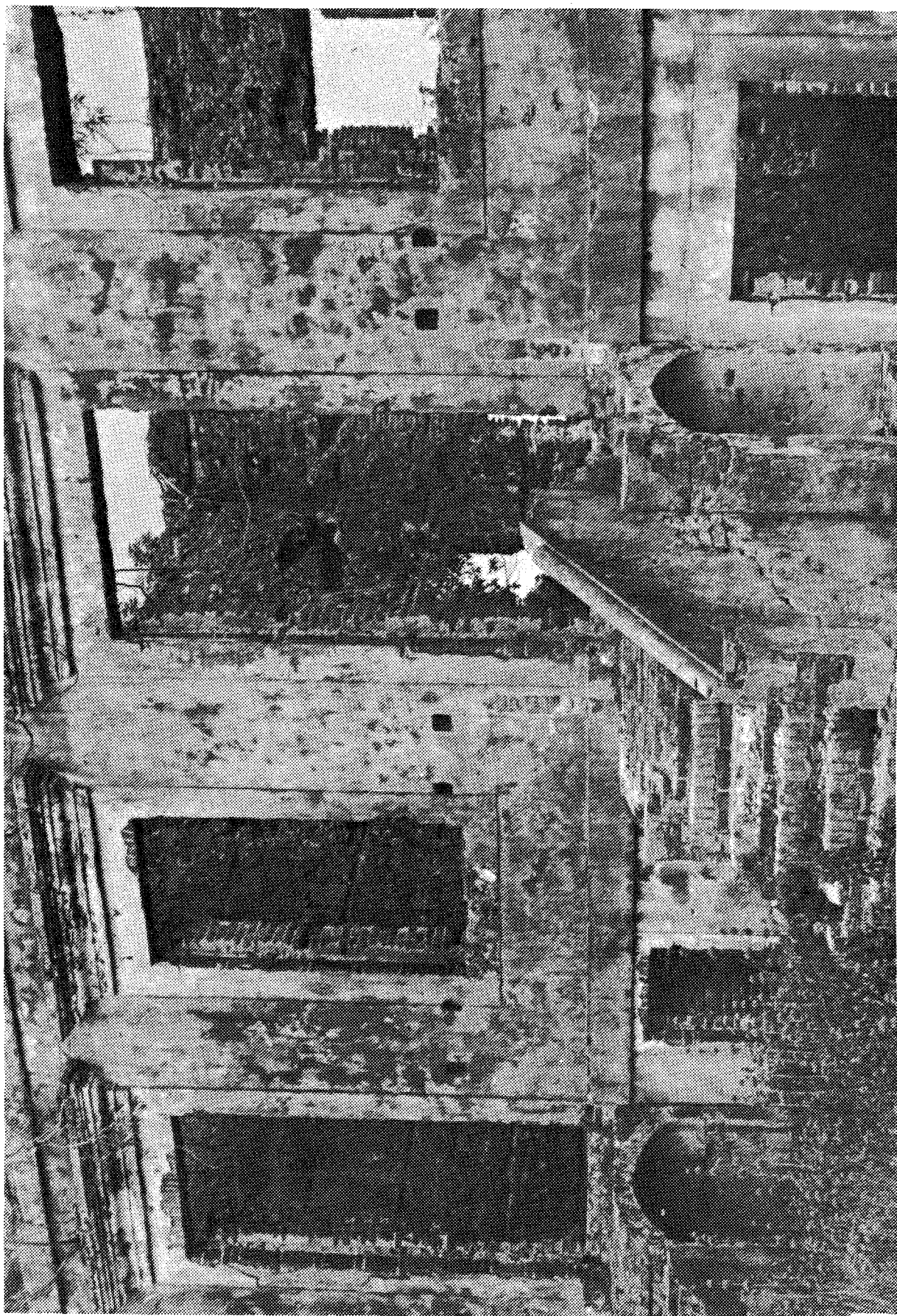
²Located at the St. Thomas Public Library.

³In a letter to the author dated 7 February 1977, Mr. Anderson states that his dating was inaccurate: "instead of '75 years' I should, in 1951, have said '100 years or more.'" His source was Geraldine Boynes ("Aunt Dina") of St. John.

⁴Frederick Gjessing interview of 10/21/76.

⁵Elaine Sprauve, St. John resident, interview of 9/7/76.

⁶Idalia Lans, St. John resident, interviews of 9/8/76 and 9/23/76.



ENIGHED RUIN 1976, REAR ENTRANCE

John Bernadine Sprauve was born on St. Thomas circa 1811,¹ where he held the rank of Sargeant Major,² probably in the Brand Corps of Free Negroes. He came to St. John sometime in the early 1840's, for in 1846 he and his wife, the former Amanda de Windt of St. John, were living on the island and had their first son Altoman, the father of Idalia Lans. Between 1855 and 1860 Sprauve and his wife are recorded as living and working at John Wright's house. In 1860 they acquired some waterfront property at 4B Cruz Bay Quarter, where John built the masonry house whose ruin is still standing. John died sometime in the 1860's for in the census of 1870 Amanda is recorded as living in her Cruz Bay property, a widowed seamstress.

The second stone-mason associated with Enighed was George Nissen, a great grandfather of the Boynes brothers of St. John. John L. Anderson has written that the Enighed ruin was built by the grandfather of the Boynes brothers.³ Neptune Richards of St. John recalls hearing from Nissen's son-in-law, Martin Boynes, that Nissen had done work on Enighed.⁴ Idalia Lans has heard the same thing.⁵

George Nissen, or "Boss Nissen" as he is called by St. Johnians, was born in Africa circa 1810.⁶ Arriving in St. Thomas he acquired the trade of stone mason, and like many other slave artisans of the period eventually earned enough money to purchase his freedom from his master, Jens Peter Nissen, in 1839. Soon afterward he moved to St. John where he practiced his trade as stone mason. In 1855 he is recorded as working at Lameshur estate which at that time belonged to William Smothergill, who also owned Enighed. Nissen married Marion George of St. John and lived on the island until his death in 1903. Nissen worked on many St. John estates ("he was always working

¹Biographical data concerning John Bernadine Sprauve comes from Rafael Valls; and from Karin Fog Olwig in a letter to Maureen Lynch, V.I. Planning Office staff, of January 1, 1976.

²Idalia Lans interviews of 9/8/76 and 9/23/76. Miss Lans believes that her grandfather originally came from Haiti.

³Anderson, Notes, op.cit., p. 5. Anderson erroneously states that the Boynes' grandfather was named "Boygne" and had come from Haiti. Nissen married Marion George; their daughter Angelina married Martin Boynes in 1872. The son of Angelina and Martin was Thomas Alfred Boynes, who married Geraldine Sprauve, a granddaughter of John Bernadine Sprauve. Thomas Boynes and Geraldine Sprauve produced three sons who are still alive: James, Anton and Loredon Boynes. From information provided by Rafael Valls.

⁴"Neptune" Richards interview of 9/23/76.

⁵Idalia Lans interviews of 9/8/76 and 9/23/76.

⁶Biographical data on George Nissen comes from Rafael Valls and Karin Fog Olwig in a letter to Maureen Lynch, V.I. Planning Office staff, January 1, 1976.

around old places; fixing old places all his days"¹) and it is not unlikely that both he and Sprauve worked together or separately on Enighed.

A second reason for believing that the present Enighed ruin dates from 1837-1853 in preference to a later period is that between 1874 and 1900 the owners of the property show little evidence of prosperity. During these years no more than 16 acres were ever in use at one time, and the estate was clearly in decline as an economic unit. In contrast, during the 1837-1853 period the estate belonged to the Weinmar family, which had considerable wealth from their mercantile and planting activities in St. Thomas. While in possession of Enighed they showed every indication of striving to expand its capital operations and profitability. Ewald Weinmar lived on Enighed, and it is not improbable that after the 1837 hurricane he had the old 1803 estate house rebuilt in a style that would mirror his wealth, pretensions, and status.

There is also some architectural evidence to support a pre-1850 dating for the Enighed ruin. Ms. Alexandra Tarr and Mr. Gustavo Araoz, two architectural historians currently inventorying Puerto Rican historic sites for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, have concluded that the simple elegance and restrained proportions of the Enighed ruin would indicate that the structure was built sometime between 1800 and 1860. Russell Wright, an architectural historian who helped prepare the inventory of Virgin Island historic sites for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places, is also of the opinion that Enighed's architectural characteristics date the building from the early part of the nineteenth century.

Tarr and Araoz have also noted some architectural similarities between the Enighed ruin and the Sprauve ruin in Cruz Bay, an indication that John Bernadine Sprauve did in fact work on, if not build, Enighed estate house.

In sum, it would appear that the present Enighed ruin dates from the period 1837-1853. Renovation and expansion of the earlier 1803 dwelling which was damaged in the hurricane of 1837 was probably done by John Bernadine Sprauve, and perhaps George Nissen. Additional repair work after 1870 was undoubtedly carried out by George Nissen. Between 1803 and 1883 the structure was used as a traditional estate house by residential planter families. Between 1883 and the fire of circa 1903 the house was probably only occupied part time as a country house by St. Thomas politicians temporarily residing on St. John. It should be emphasized that these conclusions are highly tentative. Frederick Gjessing's expert opinion is difficult to discount, and our documentary and oral evidence is fragmentary at best. Hopefully more definitive evidence will one day surface.

¹"Neptune" Richards interview of 9/23/76.

CONCLUSION

From the above survey it is clear that in many respects Enighed was a typical St. John plantation, which has been intimately connected with the economic, social, political and cultural history of the island.

Between 1780 and 1835, the golden era of St. John's economic prosperity, Enighed was primarily a sugar estate. At its peak in 1803 the estate had 110 acres in sugar production and was valued at 77,085 rigsbankdalers. After 1803, however, sugar acreage gradually declined to between 20 and 25 acres. Between 1832 and 1858 the owners combined stock and provision raising with sugar cultivation in an effort to overcome the debilitating effects of soil exhaustion, declining world sugar prices and slave emancipation. This diminished emphasis on sugar reflected a general trend for St. John, where total sugar acreage fell from 1,788 acres in 1805 to only 839 acres in 1845. In the same era the number of sugar estates dropped from 26 to 15. By 1870 only 1 sugar estate remained operative.

Between 1858 and 1880 sugar cultivation on Enighed virtually ceased and the owners, like so many other planters on St. John, turned their estate lands over to cattle raising and provision growing with a view to exporting their meats and vegetables to St. Thomas and other neighboring islands. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, this kind of commercial venture also proved unprofitable and Enighed, like so many other St. Johnian estates, was gradually abandoned. After 1880 Enighed's land was seldom in use, except for subsistence agriculture, stock grazing, and the making of charcoal by the local peasantry.

Enighed's abandoned and burnt out ruin symbolized the depressed state of St. John's economy in the first half of the twentieth century. When the Americans took possession of St. John in 1917 they found that there was "much misery and want on the island."¹ During the first decades of American sovereignty little was done to change the situation. As "Neptune" Richards, who was among those trying to eke out a livelihood in Enighed's shadow, succinctly put it, "money was short"² in those precarious years.

The current commitment to restore the Enighed ruin on the part of the Virgin Islands government and the St. John citizenry reflects to some extent the economic upswing and resurgence of community pride which has occurred on the island since the early 1950's.

Besides mirroring the overall pattern of St. John's economic development from sugar cultivation to provision and cattle raising to subsistence agriculture, Enighed's history reflects other aspects of St. John's past. For example, a study of the estate owners reveals that not only did they come from many diverse national backgrounds -- Holland, England, Denmark, and perhaps France --

¹Theodor de Booy and John T. Farris, The Virgin Islands Our New Possession... (1918), p. 145.

²"Neptune" Richards interview of 9/23/76.

but that several, like Guert S. de Windt and John W. Weinmar, were Creoles who were born either in St. John or St. Thomas. Moreover, these families were often closely inter-related by marriage.

Again, a study of the Enighed laborers reveals the central and pervasive influence of the Moravian church within the Afro-Westindian population of the island, and thus underscores the contributions of that faith to the social and cultural heritage of St. Johnians.

Enighed's history also brings into focus the emergence of Cruz Bay as the administrative and commercial center of St. John. When the Danes initially settled the island, Coral Bay, with its excellent harbor, was the nominal capital of the island. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, however, there was a dramatic shift in population and cultivation from the Coral Bay area to Cruz Bay, and in 1780 we find that the representative of the Danish government, Agent Johannes Wood, was living at Enighed overlooking the growing town of Cruz Bay. Other Administrators of St. John, among them Judges Colberg and Jorgensen, were directly associated with Enighed, and the imposing Enighed estate house must have been a familiar landmark to visitors and residents alike whenever they made the journey along Centerline Road into Cruz Bay or arrived by sea at Cruz Bay harbor.

Because Enighed's history is so closely enmeshed with that of St. John, and because several locally prominent families have been directly associated with the estate, the present Enighed ruin, with its distinctive architecture, represents an historic site of considerable significance. It stands as a monument not only to the handful of Europeans who owned and operated the estate during its heyday, but equally to the hundreds of Afro-Westindian laborers who also lived there and without whose strength, skill, stamina, courage and resourcefulness a tropical wilderness could never have been tamed.

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APPENDIX A
ENIGHED ESTATE HISTORY, 1786-1946

ESTATE HISTORY 1786-1946*

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>ACREAGE</u>	<u>SUGAR</u>	<u>PASTURE & PROVISIONS</u>	<u>SLAVES/ LABORERS</u>
1786	Johannes Wood	225	?	?	44
1791	Johannes Wood deeds Enighed to George Hassell & Co.	225	?	?	57 (1790)
1798	Johannes Wood reacquires Enighed	225	?	?	66 (1800)
1803	Johannes Wood dies; ownership passes to the Heirs of Johannes Wood	225	110	15	64
1814	Heirs of Johannes Wood	150	?	?	50
1820	Heirs of Johannes Wood	150	25	5	31
1821	Guert Sprauve de Windt purchases Enighed	150	20	4	32
1823	G. S. de Windt	150	20	5	34
1825	G. S. de Windt	150	24	4	37
1831	G. S. de Windt goes bankrupt; estate reverts to the Danish Crown	150	25	5	32
1832	E. Weinmar acquires Enighed	150	24	4	39
1834	E. Weinmar	150	20	4	43
1835	E. Weinmar	150	20	10	46
1837	E. Weinmar dies; ownership passes to his sons Peter Ewald and Ernst Philip	150	30	20	42

*We are indebted to Leif Calundan-Larsen for much of the data which appears in this Appendix.

ESATE HISTORY 1786-1946 (continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>ACREAGE</u>	<u>SUGAR</u>	<u>PASTURE & PROVISIONS</u>	<u>SLAVES/ LABORERS</u>
1840	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar	150	30	20	42
1841	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar	150	30	50	45
1845	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar	150	35	30	45
1846	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar	200	40	60	40
1847	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar	200	40	10	41
1850	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar	150	30	10	44
1852	P.E. and E.P. Weinmar go bankrupt; estate reverts to the Danish Crown	150	30	35	
1854	William Smothergill acquires Enighed	150	30	30	
1855	William Smothergill	150	19	1	
1858	Robert Collymore acquires Enighed and the adjoining Contant estate	300 *	-	2	19
1859	John W. Weinmar purchases Enighed	300	-	50.5	?
1860		300	-	45	15
1862		300	-	30	?
1865		300	-	16	?
1870		300	-	10	11
1874	Alfred M. Lebrun purchases Enighed	300	-	-	?
1875		300	-	2	?
1877		300	4	12	?
1880		150	-	9	8

*Reflects the total combined acreage of Enighed and Contant estates.

ESTATE HISTORY 1786-1946 (continued)

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>OWNER</u>	<u>ACREAGE</u>	<u>SUGAR</u>	<u>PASTURE & PROVISIONS</u>	<u>SLAVES/ LABORERS</u>
1883	Julius Colberg buys Enighed	150	-	-	?
1885		150	-	-	?
1890		150	-	-	?
1895		150	-	-	?
1899	Jens P. Jorgensen purchases Enighed	150	-	-	?
1905		150	-	10	?
1910		150	-	-	?
1914		150	-	-	?
1918	A.B. White buys Enighed	150	-	-	?
1941	Alice Maud Nielsen buys Enighed	150	-	-	?
1944	Municipality of St. Thomas/St. John buys Enighed and in 1945-46 sells parcels to Cory Bishop, Mario Watlington, Sylvia Massac, Christian Samuel, Herman Smith, Vivian France and Josephine Williams.				

APPENDIX B
RESIDENTS ON ENIGHED, 1803-1870

SLAVES ON ENIGHED, 1803 *

OWNER: HEIRS OF JOHANNES WOOD

<u>MALES</u>	<u>VALUATION</u>	<u>MALES</u>	<u>VALUATION</u>
Peter (driver)	600 rd.vc	Will	500 --
Zachaeus	370 --	Jack	400 --
Felix	470 --	John "Stumphoved"	230 --
Christian	600 --	Frederick	430 --
Andreas	450 --	Liverpool	530 --
Andreas (carpenter)	670 --	Martin	450 --
Amos	570 --	Adam	350 --
Moses	500 --	Johannes St. Jan	280 --
Manuel	670 --	Johannes St. Thomas	350 --
Manuel (sailor)	600 --	Johannes Frederik	200 --
Diligent	440 --	Daniel	150 --
Charlo	550 --	Bent	400 --
Cubma (maroon and said to be dead)	000 --	Gottlieb	80 --
Polydor	565 --	Jacob	350 --
James	550 --	Johnni (sailor)	600 --
George (cooper)	330 --	Providence (--)	500 --
Alexander	300 --	Plymouth (--)	500 --
Jimmy	50 --	Benjamin	300 --

*From St. Jan Registrerings-og Vurderingsprotokol, 1797-1807, fol. 39.
Royal Danish Archives.

SLAVES ON ENIGHED, 1803

OWNER: HEIRS OF JOHANNES WOOD

<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>VALUATION</u>	<u>FEMALES</u>	<u>VALUATION</u>
Amalia	500 rd.vc.	Seraphina	630 rd.vc.
Jushua	550 --	Martha	270 --
Dora	430 --	Priscilla	200 --
Johanna Bourdeaux	570 --	Marietta (weak and old)	0 --
Mathilda	400 --	Maria Cathrina	500 --
Sara	320 --	Anna Maria	130 --
Salmy	550 --	Juliana	230 --
Cecilia	300 --	Susanne (venereal disease)	0 --
Maria	600 --		
Santa	560 --	Anna Margaretha	380 --
Sebilla	630 --	Judith	280 --
Galatea	200 --	Anna Christina	180 --
Cea	630 --	Louisa	150 --
Sophia	320 --	Juliana	30 --

TOTALS: 36 males
 27 females
 63 slaves

SLAVES ON ENIGHED, 1831*

OWNER: GUERT S. DE WINDT

MALES

FEMALES

Abraham (carpenter)	Sanchy
Jacob (cooper)	Sebilla
Johannes Cipio (driver)	Ann Margaret
Johannes Gottlieb	Juliana
Benjamin	Sephima
Daniel	Nora
Frederick	Dora
Jurgen	Louisa
Amos	Susanna
James (Blind)	Maria Magdalena
Joseph	Ann Maria
John Jacob	Elisabeth
August	Maria Benta
John William	Anna Johanna
Edward Moses	
John Hercules	
Petrus	
James Henry	

TOTALS: 18 males
 14 females
 32 slaves

*From St. Jan Skiftedokumenter, No. 12/1831. Royal Danish Archives.

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1841

ENIGHED

OWNER: MESSRS. E.P. AND P.E. WEINMAR

<u>UNFREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MORAL CHARACTER</u>
Johannes	Male	St. John	married	Big Gang	good
Jacob	M	St. John	married	Cooper	good
Abram	M	St. John	married	Carpenter	good
Frederick	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Jurgan	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Daniel	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Joshua	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Pavroe	M	St. Thomas	unmarried	Big Gang	bad
Peter	M	St. Thomas	unmarried	Big Gang	bad
Andreas	M	Africa	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Bristol	M	Africa	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Jim	M	Africa	unmarried	incapable of work	good
Washington	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
John Jacob	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Ben	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Achile	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1841 (continued)

<u>UNFREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MORAL CHARACTER</u>
Henry	Male	Africa	unmarried	Big Gang	good
John William	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Hercules	M	St. John	unmarried	Small Gang	good
Wallace	M	St. John	unmarried	Small Gang	good
Maj. Daniel	M	St. John	unmarried	Big Gang	bad
Petrus	M	St. John	unmarried	Small Gang	good
Jan	M	St. John	unmarried	Small Gang	good
William	M	St. Thomas	unmarried	incapable of work	good
Andreas	M	St. John		Small Gang	good
Johannes	M	St. John		Small Gang	good
Christian	M	St. Thomas		incapable of work	good
Mathew	M	St. Thomas		incapable of work	good
John	M	St. Thomas		Big Gang	good
Margaret	Female	St. John		incapable of work	good
Juliana	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Louisa	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Helena	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Susanna	F	St. John		Big Gang	good

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1841 (continued)

<u>UNFREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MORAL CHARACTER</u>
Little Helena	Female	St. John		Small Gang	good
Cecile	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Marten	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Catherina	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Maria	F	St. John		Big Gang	good
Anna Marie	F	St. John		Small Gang	good
Maria Benta	F	St. John		Small Gang	good
A. Johanna	F	St. John		Small Gang	good
Elizabeth	F	St. John		Small Gang	good
Rebecca Testamaker	F	St. John		incapable of work	good
Margaret	F	St. John		Small Gang	good

TOTALS: 29 unfree men
 16 unfree women
 45 unfree

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1846

ENIGHED

OWNERS: E.P. AND P.E. WEINMAR

<u>FREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MORAL CHARACTER</u>
E. Weinmar	Male	St. Thomas	36	widower	Manager	
Margaret Sever	Female	St. John	52	unmarried	Housekeeper	

UNFREE

Jacob	Male	St. John	49	married	Cooper	good
Abraham	M	St. John	48	married	Carpenter	good
Matheus	M	St. Thomas	67	married	Carpenter	good
Frederick	M	St. John	39	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Jurgen	M	St. John	45	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Pauroe	M	St. Thomas	45	unmarried	Big Gang	"bad"
Peter	M	St. Thomas	30	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Andreas	M	Africa	44	unmarried	Big Gang	good
John Jacob	M	St. John	23	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Ben	M	St. Thomas	40	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Henry/Heevrc	M	Africa	30	Unmarried	Big Gang	good

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1846 (continued)

<u>UNFREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MORAL CHARACTER</u>
John William	Male	St. John	18	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Hercules	M	St. John	17	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Wallace	M	St. Eustatius	17	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Petrus	M	St. John	11	unmarried	Small Gang	good
Andreas	M	St. John	17	unmarried	Big Gang	good
Johannes	M	St. John	18	unmarried	Big Gang	good
James/Jans	M	St. John	11	unmarried	Small Gang	good
Charles	M	St. John	3	unmarried	incapable of work	good
Thomas	M	St. John	2	unmarried	incapable of work	good
William	M	St. John	10	unmarried	incapable of work	good
Robert	M	St. John	1	unmarried	incapable of work	good
Joseph Theodore	M	St. John	1	unmarried	incapable of work	good
Nancy	Female	St. Thomas	50		House servant	good
Juliana	F	St. John	49		Big Gang	good
Hellena	F	St. John	42		Big Gang	good
Susanna	F	St. John	25		Big Gang	good

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1846 (continued)

<u>UNFREE</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>	<u>MORAL CHARACTER</u>
Little Hellena	Female	St. John	24		House servant	good
Cecile	F	St. John	40		Big Gang	good
Marten	F	St. John	19		Big Gang	good
Cathrina	F	St. John	22		Big Gang	good
Maria	F	St. John	42		Big Gang	good
Ann Maria	F	St. John	22		Big Gang	good
Maria Benta	F	St. John	14		Big Gang	good
A. Johanna	F	St. John	14		Big Gang	good
Anna Elizabeth	F	St. John	9		Small Gang	good
Rebecca	F	St. John	7		Small Gang	good
Maryset	F	St. John	9		Small Gang	good
Anna Luisa	F	St. John	2		incapable of work	good
Rosena	F	St. John	1		incapable of work	good

TOTALS: 23 unfree men
 17 unfree women
40 unfree
 2 free persons
 42 total residents

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1850

ENIGHED

OWNERS: P.E. AND E.P. WEINMAR

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
E. Weinmar	Male	St. Thomas	40	Danish C.	widower	Owner
Margaret Sever/Seaben	Female	St. John	58	Danish C.	unmarried	Housekeeper
Petrus Cawbeck	M	St. John	35	Moravian	unmarried	Boat Captain
John Frederick	M	St. John	30	Moravian	unmarried	Sailor
William Henry	M	St. John	20	Moravian	unmarried	Sailor
Jacob Francois	M	St. John	35	Moravian	married	Fisherman
Hellena	F	St. John	28	Danish	unmarried	House servant
William	M	St. John	14	Danish	unmarried	House servant
Frederick	M	St. Thomas	38	Danish	unmarried	House servant
Abram	M	St. John	52	Moravian	married	Carpenter
Jacob	M	St. John	53	Moravian	widower	Cooper
Frederick	M	St. John	43	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class Lab
Andreas	M	Africa	48	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1850 (continued)

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
Ben	Male	St. Thomas	44	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
John William	M	St. John	22	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Hercules	M	St. John	23	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Andreas	M	St. John	21	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Johannes	M	St. John	22	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
John Jacob	M	St. John	27	Moravian	married	Driver 1st C
Juliana	Female	St. John	55	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Hellena	F	St. John	46	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Susanna	F	St. John	29	Danish	unmarried	1st Class La
Madlien	F	St. John	23	Moravian	married	1st Class La
Catherina	F	St. John	20	Moravian	married	1st Class La
Maria	F	St. Thomas	46	Catholic	unmarried	1st Class La
Paul	M	St. Thomas	38	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Anna Maria	F	St. John	26	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Awanda	F	St. Thomas	26	Catholic	unmarried	1st Class La
Maria Beatha	F	St. Thomas	18	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Jorzen	M	St. Thomas	50	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La
Henry	M	Africa	30	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class La

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1850 (continued)

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
Wallace	Male	St. Eustatia	26	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Lab
James	M	St. John	15	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Lab
Charles	M	St. Thomas	15	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Lab
Ann Eliza	Female	St. John	13	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Lab
Rebecca	F	St. John	12	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Lab
Margrethe	F	St. John	14	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Lab
Matheus	M	St. John	81	Moravian	unmarried	Pauper
Thomas	M	St. John	6	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor
Robert	M	St. John	6	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor
Joseph Theodore	M	St. John	4	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor
Charles Augustus	M	St. John	7	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor
Anna Louisa	F	St. John	6	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor
Anna Rosewood	F	St. John	5	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor
Carl Augustus	M	St. John	4	Moravian	unmarried	Child of Labor

TOTALS: 29 males

15 females

44 total residents

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1857

ENIGHED

OWNER: ROBERT COLLYMORE

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
Robert Collymore	M	Barbados	26	Episcopal	married	Planter/Owner
Mary W. Collymore	F	Barbados	26	Episcopal	married	wife
Charlotte Collymore	F	Barbados	57	Episcopal	widow	visitor
Robert Collymore	M	Barbados	3	Episcopal	unmarried	son
Helena	F	St. John	47	Moravian	married	Cook
Joan	F	St. John	50	Moravian	married	House Servant
Robert	M	St. John	13	Moravian	unmarried	house boy
John William	M	St. John	34	Moravian	married	Driver
Martha	F	St. John	12	Moravian	unmarried	daughter

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1857 (continued)

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
John Seben	M	St. Croix	60	Moravian	married	1st Class Labor
Lucia	F	St. Croix	65	Moravian	married	wife
Little Lucia	F	St. John	6	Moravian	unmarried	granddaughter
Petros	M	St. John	55	Moravian	married	Boatsman
Lucas	M	St. John	25	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class Labor
Thomas	M	St. John	17	Moravian	unmarried	Cookboy
Wallace	M	St. John	41	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Labor
Maria	F	St. John	57	Moravian	unmarried	2nd Class Labor
Catherine	F	St. John	12	Moravian	unmarried	-
Grace	F	St. John	71	Moravian	unmarried	3rd Class Labor
Susanna	F	St. John	45	Moravian	widow	1st Class Labor
Charles Augustus	M	St. John	11	Moravian	unmarried	nephew
Juliana	F	St. John	61	Moravian	unmarried	Invalid
Joseph Theodor	M	St. John	12	Moravian	unmarried	Grandson

TOTALS: 11 Males

12 Females

23 Total Residents

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1860

ENIGHED

OWNER: JOHN W. WEINMAR

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
John W. Weinmar	M	St. Thomas	46	Lutheran	married	Owner
Elizabeth Weinmar	F	St. John	36	English	married	Wife
Carolina Weinmar	F	St. John	10	English	unmarried	Daughter
Carolina E. Weinmar	F	St. Thomas	7	English	unmarried	Daughter
C.W. Weinmar	M	St. Thomas	5	English	unmarried	Son
Petru	M	St. John	46	Moravian	married	Fisherman
Helen Petru (wife)	F	St. John	42	Moravian	married	Cook
John	M	Tortola	52	Moravian	married	Pastureman
Lucia	F	St. John	56	Moravian	married	Washer
Louisa	F	St. John	7	Moravian	unmarried	their god chil

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1860 (continued)

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>OCCUPATION</u>
Helene	F	St. John	22	Moravian	married	House servant
Jacob	M	St. John	13	Moravian	unmarried	Pasture boy
Susannah	F	St. John	43	Lutheran	widow	Washer
Joseph Theodor	M	St. John	13	Moravian	unmarried	Pasture boy
Carl Augustine	M	St. John	13	Moravian	unmarried	Pasture boy
Catherine	F	St. John	10	Moravian	unmarried	House girl
Johanna	F	St. John	6	Moravian	unmarried	doing nothing
Maria	F	St. John	5	Moravian	unmarried	doing nothing
Mary	F	St. John	60	Moravian	widow	2nd Class Labor
Grace	F	St. John	68	Moravian	widow	2nd Class Labor

TOTALS: 7 Males

13 Females

20 Total residents

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1870

ENIGHED

OWNER: JOHN W. WEINMAR

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>TRADE</u>
John W. Weinmar	M	St. Thomas	54	Lutheran	married	Planter
Elizabeth Weinmar	F	St. John	44	Episcopal	wife *	
Malvin Weinmar	F	St. Thomas	20	Episcopal	daughter*	
Caroline Weinmar	F	St. Thomas	16	Episcopal	daughter*	
Petrus Sheu	M	St. John	69	Moravian	married	Fisherman
Helgma	F	St. John	58	Moravian	married	Cook
R. Gumbs	M	St. Croix	40	Moravian	married	Overseer
Lucretia	F	St. John	30	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class Labor
Edward	M	St. John	24	Moravian	unmarried	1st Class Labor

*banished from husband, father and home until the father is allowed to make
an unmolested livelihood by his property.

ST. JAN CENSUS, 1870 (continued)

<u>RESIDENTS</u>	<u>SEX</u>	<u>BIRTHPLACE</u>	<u>AGE</u>	<u>RELIGION</u>	<u>MARITAL STATUS</u>	<u>TRADE</u>
Richard	M	St. John	8	Moravian	unmarried	3rd Class Labor
Susannah	F	St. John	11	Moravian	unmarried	3rd Class Labor
Joseph	M	St. John	12	Moravian	unmarried	3rd Class Labor
Regulus	M	St. John	8	Moravian	unmarried	3rd Class Labor
Wilforth	M	St. John	11	Moravian	unmarried	3rd Class Labor
Sarah	F	Tortola	22	Moravian	unmarried	Seller

TOTALS: 8 males

7 females

15 Residents

APPENDIX C

ST. JOHN STATISTICS, 1728-1940

ST. JOHN STATISTICS*

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>SUGAR ESTATES</u>	<u>SLAVES</u>	<u>FREE NEGROES</u>	<u>WHITES</u>	<u>TOTAL POPULATION</u>
1728	29	677	-	123	800
1739	24	1414	-	208	1622
1755	?	2031	-	112	2243
1773	27	2330	-	104	2434
1789	?	2383	16	167	2566
1800	26	1992	15	113	2120
1822	?	2200	50	180	2430
1835	16	1971	?	?	2475
1846	15	1790	?	?	2450
1860	13	-	?	?	1574
1870	1	-	?	?	1054
1880	1	-	?	?	944
1890	4	-	?	?	984
1901	0	-	?	?	925
1911	0	-	?	?	941
1917			955	4	959
1940	0	-	718	4	722

* SOURCES: William Westergaard, The Danish West Indies Under Company Rule (1671-1754); P.P. Sveistrup, Bidrag til de Tidligere Dansk-Vestindiske Øers Økonomiske Historie; Charles E. Hatch, Virgin Islands National Park. St. John Island ("The Quiet Place")...; E.H. Perkins to Hamilton Fish, February 11, 1870 in U.S. Consular Despatches, St. Croix; Census of the Virgin Islands of the United States, November 1, 1917 (Washington, D.C., 1918).

