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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND REPORT

ESTATE BETHLEHEM OLD WORKS SETTLEMENT SITE

KINGS QUARTER NO. 16
ST. CROIX, U. S. VIRGINS ISLANDS

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1. INTRODUCTION

The focus of this historical background report is a 23 acre parcel of land located in the north-eastern corner of King's Quarter No. 16, which is under lease by the Government of the Virgin Islands to the St. Croix Farmers in Action. This Study Area contains cultural remains associated with the settlement site of a large sugar plantation known variously and sequentially as "Nevo", "Bethlehem Old Works", "Lower Bethlehem", "Lower Works" and, in the twentieth century as "Bethlehem". In this report, this property will be referred as Bethlehem Old Works.

Bethlehem Old Works itself was part of a larger property, called "Estate Lower Bethlehem" or "Estate Bethlehem", that encompassed a total of 1,162.05 Danish acres spread over eleven separate plantation grounds: the whole of King's Quarter Nos. 15, 16, 25, 26 and 34 and portions of King's Quarter Nos. 4, 14, 17, 24, 27, and 33). Two other settlement sites were established with the boundaries of Estate Lower Bethlehem: "Bethlehem Middle Works" (also known as "Bethlehem New Works") located on Kings Quarter No. 25 and "Bethlehem Lower Works" (also known as "Fair Plain") located on Kings Quarter No. 33b. Because of its scale and the richness of its soil, Estate Lower Bethlehem was the largest single sugar producing property on St. Croix from the time of its founding in the mid-eighteenth century until the end of the sugar industry in the 1960s.

The purpose of this historical background report is to utilize historical documentation and cartographic representations, along with previously published sources, to provide a contextual framework that will help determine the nature, extent and significance of the cultural remains found within the Study Area at Bethlehem Old Works.

Several short histories of Bethlehem Old Works have been written (Antonsen 1975; Aushermann, et. al 1984; Lenik 2002) in order to contextualize archaeological or historic site investigations. While each of these contains useful information, none of them present a complete or wholly reliable narrative. Moreover, some of the historical information they present is factually incorrect. Their deficiencies derive largely from inadequate utilization of the enormous amount of historical and cartographic documentation found in overseas libraries and archives.

By contrast, this Historical Background Study is based largely on extensive archival research and careful analysis of the evidence unearthed by that research. It relies primarily on tax records (*matriklerne*), inventories, census records, published primary sources, as well as cartographic and photographic representations. What is presented, however, is necessarily only a bare skeleton suggestive of the far more corpulent narrative that can be generated from the rich historical documentation relating to Estate Bethlehem and the people who shaped its history.

2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF RURAL SETTLEMENT ON ST. CROIX

St. Croix was among those Caribbean islands that Christopher Columbus encountered and claimed for Spain during his second voyage to the New World in 1493. When the Admiral's fleet anchored off the island on November 13th, it found the island well cultivated and "well populated" by Carib Indians (Lewisohn 1970). After a brief skirmish with the Indians the Spaniards sailed on to Puerto Rico. Spain made no subsequent attempt to colonize St. Croix. Although subject to periodic Spanish raids, the Caribs, who reportedly occupied 20 villages between 1509 and 1542, retained possession of the island until the end of the sixteenth century, when they departed of their own accord (Figueredo 1978a).

Englishmen from Barbados made the first attempt to establish a European colony on St. Croix in 1631, but they were driven off by a Spanish force from Puerto Rico three months after their arrival. Three years later the Spanish expelled a group of Frenchmen (Figueredo 1978b). The location of these fledgling settlements cannot be determined from available documentation.

In 1640 or 1641 English colonists from St. Kitts established a settlement on St. Croix, which most likely was located at the west end. A group of Dutchmen conquered these English settlers in 1642, but allowed them to remain under Dutch sovereignty. The Dutch, who concentrated around the Salt River estuary, also permitted a group of French Huguenots to take up residence on the island (Lewisohn 1970; Figueredo 1978b).

Dutch rule ended in 1645, when the English settlers rebelled and regained control of the island. English dominion lasted until 1650, when following a contest for power between Englishmen, Spaniards, Dutchmen and Frenchmen, the French emerged victorious. Thereafter, the French managed to dominate St. Croix until 1696, when they voluntarily abandoned it (Caron & Highfield 1980).

At its peak in the 1680's the French colony numbered about 1,300 (half of them Negro slaves), who lived in some 130 settlements scattered throughout the island. These colonists maintained a precarious existence by producing small quantities of sugar, cotton, tobacco, coffee, indigo, cocoa and ginger, and engaging in illegal trade with the neighboring Danish colony of St. Thomas (Caron & Highfield 1980; Caron 1982). In 1696 the 1,200 settlers inhabiting St. Croix were evacuated by the French Navy to the more promising colony of St. Dominique (Caron & Highfield 1980).

The French maintained a weak title to St. Croix from 1696 to 1733, but made no effort to reoccupy it. During this interregnum St. Croix was periodically visited by parties of mariners and woodcutters. In the late 1720's impoverished British planters from Anguilla and the British Virgin Islands began settling on the island (Caron 1982). By 1734, their unauthorized settlement, thought to have been located at the center of the island, numbered over 150 white persons and 450 slaves (Lewisohn 1970).

France sold St. Croix to Denmark in 1733, but Danish occupation did not commence until January 1735. Coveting quick, lucrative colonial revenues from the mass production of export staples, particularly sugar, the Danes adopted a land distribution policy calculated to discourage all but large-scale plantation agriculture. Between 1735 and 1755 they divided the largely uninhabited island into some 500 tracts approximately 150 Danish acres in size, which were sold to aspiring planters. Many of the original tracts were subdivided or enlarged by their

owners, so actual plantation sizes ranged between 50 and 750 acres. The resultant plantation system dictated rural population and settlement patterns until the mid-twentieth century.

Crucian plantations, like those elsewhere in the Caribbean, had four primary human activity zones, each with its own set of structures and features. These culturally significant areas were:

1. **Great House Complex:** owner's and/or manager's residence, kitchen and other service buildings, servant quarters, wells, cisterns, privy, burial grounds, hospital.
2. **Factory Complex:** grinding mill, boiling, curing and still houses, storerooms, craft shops, stables, overseer's house, pens, bell, cotton ginning house.
3. **Workers' Village:** cottages, barracks, kitchens, garden plots, burial grounds.
4. **Field System:** stone walls, fencing, terraces, water troughs, watch houses, wells/fan mills, aqueducts, burial grounds.

The first three of these complexes were typically concentrated together on a few acres of land, preferably on high ground near the center of the property. In most cases they occupied no more than 10 acres. The remaining estate land was used exclusively for agricultural purposes.

Slave laborers from Africa (chiefly the Gold Coast region) and other West Indian islands were imported to work the plantations (Green-Pedersen 1971; Pope 1969). Before 1800, slaves accounted for over 90% of the total population, which rose from 2080 in 1742 to 25,873 in 1775 and then to 28,803 in 1796.

Initially, slaves lived in village compounds consisting of daub and wattle huts, which they erected in accordance with African architectural traditions. After 1800 stone houses were built for them on the more prosperous sugar plantations. Barracks type housing made its appearance on some of the larger proper estates during late nineteenth century (Tyson 1986; Chapman 1991).

Since few Danes showed any inclination to engage in tropical agriculture, Danish colonial authorities encouraged other nationalities to bring their capital, slaves, expertise and technology to the infant sugar colony, thereby creating a truly multinational colonial enterprise. During the second half of the eighteenth century Danes made up only about 22% of the plantocracy. Britons, comprising some 40% of the plantation owners, and most of the plantation supervisors, constituted the dominant economic and cultural group. British cultural influence became even more pronounced during the nineteenth century (Hall 1985).

The plantation system spread rapidly throughout St. Croix after 1740. By 1750 a total of 370 grounds had been surveyed. These parcels were assembled into 231 occupied plantations, of which 105 cultivated cotton, 95 produced sugar and 31 were used to raise provisions and/or livestock (Tyson 1990).

The number of plantation settlements peaked in the 1760s, when there were over 260 inhabited complexes (Tyson 1990). Thereafter, the number of occupied plantations began shrinking through consolidation of land holdings. In 1792 there were 231 inhabited estates, of which 162 produced sugar, 33 cultivated cotton, 9 grew both crops and 27 raised livestock and provisions

for sale to the sugar plantations and the growing seaport towns of Frederiksted and Christiansted (Rigsarkivet 1792).

By this time approximately 85% of the land-mass had been cleared for plantation agriculture. Sugar cane was cultivated intensively on the flat, southern coastal plain extending between Christiansted and Frederiksted. It was also grown within the narrow coastal belt and alluvial valleys of the northwestern uplands. Cotton was cultivated in the drier, rockier region east of Christiansted.

Between 1790 and 1820 the Crucian plantation system underwent major structural modifications as its two-crop economy gave way to sugar monoculture. The price of sugar doubled after 1795, stimulating a frantic rush to increase productive capabilities. The sugar boom wiped out the economically unstable cotton industry and led to the expansion of sugar production into the East End quarters (Tyson 1992).

By 1815 cotton was no longer being produced, while the number of sugar estates had increased to 179. They engrossed 90% of the land and 97% of the rural population. The average sugar plantation contained 260 acres and 113 inhabitants, 97% of whom were slaves. Despite its relatively small size, St. Croix had become the fourth largest sugar producing colony in the Caribbean. In 1812, its peak year, St. Croix's 26,000 slaves produced 46,000,000 lbs. of sugar and some 12,000,000 gallons of rum for export into the world market economy (Westergaard 1917). Rising profits enabled many planters to move to Europe and North America, leaving their properties in charge of resident agents. Revenues were also used to expand and improve estate "works", great house and villages. Many of the plantation structures found on the island today date from this era of unprecedented prosperity.

The sugar boom peaked in 1820. Thereafter the sugar industry experienced mounting difficulties brought on by falling sugar prices, mounting production costs, declining soil fertility, scarcity of investment capital and a shrinking labor force (Dookhan 1974). Deteriorating economic conditions led to the failure of many marginal producers and the number of sugar estates fell from 179 in 1815 to 138 in 1847. Several holdings on the East End were permanently abandoned at this time. Other properties were absorbed by more successful producers. Another consequence of the depression was a shift from family to corporate ownership of many properties.

Slave emancipation in 1848 compounded these problems by weakening the plantocracy's control over the rural proletariat and by further increasing production costs. A stringent contract labor law was only partially successful in binding the field workers to the plantations (Green 1972), and its restrictions were removed after a major labor insurrection in 1878. However, post-emancipation legislation and police activity proved generally effective in preventing squatters from establishing themselves on abandoned plantation land.

Despite official efforts to staunch the drain of plantation labor power through legislation and the importation from cane cutters from other Caribbean islands, the rural population declined steadily after emancipation, shrinking from 16,613 in 1846 to just 7,183 in 1917 (U.S. Census Bureau 1917). As labor problems intensified and production costs continued to rise, Crucian sugar planters found it increasingly difficult to compete with European beet sugar and other low cost producers.

Many marginal sugar producers succumbed to adversity either abandoning their property or shifting to stock raising. Between 1805 and 1920 the number of occupied sugar plantations dropped from 181 to 84, while the number of non-sugar plantations rose from 16 to 59. During the same period, the amount of cane land contracted by almost 50%, dropping from 24,283 to 12,474 acres (Rigsarkivet 1805; NARS 1916-1924). Starting in the 1870s, many planters began sending their canes to new central factories at Estates Lower Love, Bethlehem and Richmond, rather than processing it themselves. They shut down their factories and convert their old windmills into water cisterns.

Although weakened by these nineteenth century trends, Crucian sugar plantations managed to retain their dominance over the economy and landscape until the middle of the twentieth century. In 1915, the sugar plantations occupied nearly two-thirds of all land (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915). By 1930 their percentage of all land holdings had dropped only slightly to 55%. Overall, the plantation system engrossed 43,533 acres, or 85% of St. Croix's land mass in 1930 (Kramer 1930).

Those sugar plantations that survived did so by enlarging their land holdings, by practicing scientific land management and by adopting technological innovations, such as steam powered mills. The first steam mill appeared on Hogensborg plantation in 1815 (Lewisohn 1970), and by 1855 sixty others had been built (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915). Because of these adaptive strategies production levels during the first two decades of the twentieth century approximated those of a century earlier, even though fewer acres were being cultivated by far fewer laborers. Output began falling after 1920, but it was not until 1963 that sugar cultivation ceased altogether.

Survival of the plantation system into the twentieth century insured continuation of the rural settlement pattern associated with it, albeit in attenuated form. During the nineteenth century, many plantation settlements, particularly on the east end and the north side, were abandoned and fell into ruin. Thus, there were only 75 occupied plantations in 1905 compared to 197 in 1805. Over the same period the number of occupied worker houses dropped from 3315 to 682 (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915, 1804). Between 1880 and 1917 nearly all of the sugar factories and sugar mills on the occupied plantations fell into disuse, as the planters had their cane processed in the new central factories. By 1917 only eight plantations still processed their own sugar (Zabriskie 1917).

Through the first half of the twentieth century virtually all rural inhabitants continued to live in the old plantation villages (Shaw 1934). After 1880, estate abandonment and the central factory system provided an opportunity for laborers to acquire or rent small parcels of plantation land for the first time. The Danish Government led the way by parceling out 36 plots on three contiguous estates (Work and Rest, Retreat and Humbug) to small holders. By 1917 there were 246 privately owned small holdings throughout the island compared to just 42 in 1875 (U.S. Census Bureau 1917; NARS 1916-1924). Some corporate and family owners also began renting a few acres to so-called "squatters" in order to keep them on their estates. By 1930 there were some 600 such tenants, with over 1,000 acres of cane under cultivation (Tyson 1991)

These trends, however, had little impact on the historic rural settlement pattern. Few small holders or squatters lived on their land. Nearly all commuted from residences in the towns or in the old plantation villages (Shaw 1934; Green 1972).

During the 1930s the character of rural settlement did change somewhat as a consequence of government sponsored homestead programs, which purchased abandoned plantation land, and sold it at low prices for use as farmland and/or home building. By 1937 some 3000 acres had been sold to over 400 homesteaders on St. Croix (Tyson 1991). Between 1930 and 1940 the number of farms under 50 acres rose from 104 to 538 (Agricultural Census 1940).

But, few homesteaders actually acquired or constructed new housing. Moreover, the new settlements that did emerge were confined to a handful of government owned plantations, such as Whim, La Grande Princess and the Northside Estates (Tyson 1991). Thus, with the exception of a few areas, the U.S.G.S. topographical sheets issued in 1958 portrayed a settlement pattern on St. Croix that differed little from that prevailing in 1800. That historic pattern was not significantly altered until after 1960, when the advent of a tourist and industrial economy began pushing residential, industrial and commercial development throughout the rural district.

3. HISTORY OF ESTATE BETHLEHEM OLD WORKS

3.1 PRE-DANISH PERIOD 1635-1734

Historical studies relating to seventeenth century St. Croix (Lewisohn 1970; Figueredo 1978b; Caron and Highfield 1980; Caron 1982) make no specific mention of the Study Area. The primary sources of information about settlement distribution during this period are two maps dating 1647 and 1667 respectively (Figures 1-2). The 1647 map (Figure 1), prepared by an anonymous Spaniard, and known as the "Spanish Spy Map", shows the Study Area as uninhabited. The 1667 map (Figure 2), drawn by the French military engineer Blondel, also shows the Study Area as an uninhabited wilderness.

A 1671 printed version of the Blondel map attributed to LaPointe (Figure 3) does appear to locate a French habitation settlement named "Baron" in the vicinity of Bethlehem Old Works, and this representation has been cited by some historians (Antonsen 1975; Lenik 2004) as evidence of a possible pre-Danish settlement at or nearby Bethlehem Old Works. However, the more reliable Blondel map does not depict a settlement at this location, nor does it identify any settlement with the name "Baron". It is possible that "Baron" was established sometime between 1667 and 1671 and thus included on the later map, but careful comparison of the Blondel map with its 1671 version shows that it would be the only such addition. Beyond this, there is a further problem of establishing an accurate location for the Baron settlement on the highly impressionistic and very distorted 1671 map. For example, if the Krause Lagoon, or Salt River are used as geo-reference points, then the Baron settlement would be located considerably to the east of the Study Area. It would appear, therefore, that pre-Danish settlement within or nearby the Study Area is highly unlikely on the basis of existing evidence.

3.2 DANISH PERIOD 1734-1934

In terms of governance, the Danish period lasted from 1734 to 1917. But, in terms of ownership of the Study Area it lasted from 1734 until 1934. The history of Bethlehem Old Works during these two centuries can be sub-divided into four sub-periods: 1) Royal Plantation 1735-1751; 2) Family Plantation 1751-1831; 3) Corporate Plantation 1831-1904; 4) Central Factory 1904-1934. A complete chain of title for the entire period and beyond is annexed as Appendix 1.

3.2.1 ROYAL PLANTATION 1734-1751

In 1735, at the beginning of Danish colonization, the land comprising Bethlehem Old Works belonged to the King of Denmark, who took title to all 34 plantation grounds in what became known as Kings Quarter. This vast rectangular holding, extending over a mile inland from a reef protected shoreline fronting the Caribbean Sea, encompassed, some of the richest and best watered sugarcane land on St. Croix. The first crops, however, were maize, cassava and cotton, which the royal administrators and enslaved Africans began cultivating on two plantation grounds – Kings Quarter Nos. 23 and 24 (Hopkins 1987:287-288).

The first settlement site was established at the junction of King's Quarter Nos. 23, 24, 17 and 18, approximately where the Territorial Court Building and its parking area are located today (Hopkins 1987:287-288). In 1740, the inhabitants of this site comprised 9 free men and 43 enslaved Africans (Rigsarkivet 1740). Sometime between 1740 and 1743, this original

settlement was abandoned in favor of a new one, bordering the water-course near the center of King's Quarter No. 17 (Figure 4). The fact that this new settlement contained a sugar works, underscores that the move was dictated by the beginning of sugar cultivation that took place in these years (Rigsarkivet 1743). This new settlement, surrounded by canefields, is depicted on a map of 1750 (Figure 5). In that year, it was inhabited by an enslaved population of 106 enslaved men, women and children (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915:1750).

During the period of royal ownership, the Study Area was uninhabited and wooded, as shown by a series of maps prepared between 1736 and 1743 (Hopkins 1987:285-89; Figure 4) and the Cronenberg-Jaegersberg map of 1750 (Figure 5). The latter map shows sugar cane growing immediately to the east of the Study Area in Kings Quarter No. 17, and it is likely that the Study Area was brought under cane cultivation within the next few years.

3.2.2 FAMILY PLANTATION 1751-1831

In 1751, the King of Denmark sold King's Quarter Nos. 16 and 17, along with 13 other plantation grounds in King's Quarter to Johannes and Pieter Heyliger, two wealthy brothers from the Dutch island of St. Eustatius. After Johannes Heyliger, a former governor of St. Eustatius (1743-1752), died at Virgin Gorda in 1752, his half share passed to his heirs, which included his widow Judith Simonsz Doncker Heyliger and his daughter Elisabeth Heyliger (Hoff and Barta 1982).

Pieter Heyliger and the heirs of Johannes Heyliger maintained joint ownership of this large holding until 1760, when they divided it between themselves (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915:1760). The document for this property division survives in the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet 1760). In accordance with its terms, the heirs of Johannes Heyliger received the western half of the 15 plantation grounds. This portion, which included the Study Area, subsequently became known as "Lower Bethlehem" or simply "Bethlehem".

Peter Heyliger took possession of the eastern half, which included the royal plantation settlement on King's Quarter No. 17. In 1765, according to the land tax records (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915:1765), Peter Heyliger sub-divided his portion between himself and several family members. Peter kept for himself 50 acres of Kings No. 17, which included the royal sugar plantation settlement, 50 acres each of parcels No. 23 and 24, and all of King's No. 18. This 300-acre plantation came to be known as "Upper Bethlehem" or "Kings". Thus, the royal plantation settlements of 1735-1750 became part of Upper Bethlehem and not Lower Bethlehem.

With respect to Lower Bethlehem, according to the land tax records, title remained vested with the heirs of Johannes Heyliger heirs through 1766, (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915). In 1767, Jan Jacob De Windt, who had married Johannes Heyliger's daughter Elisabeth in 1765 (Hoff & Barta 1982) was recorded as the sole owner of record. In that year, the property was a highly developed sugar estate inhabited by 8 White people and 203 enslaved Africans (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915:1767).

The Question of Location. Jan Jacob De Windt's sugar plantation settlement is located on two maps dated 1767. The first of these, a revised version of Jens Beck's 1754 map of St. Croix (Figure 6), places the settlement site, identified by a windmill, in King's Quarter No. 15, roughly 2,000 feet northwest of the Study Area. The 1767 map by Kuffner (Figure 7) which

was printed in Oldendorph's history of the Moravian Mission (Oldendorph 1770:35), assigns it to the same location, but adds the name "Nevo" next to it. Kuffner's map gives the name "Bethlehem" to the old royal plantation settlement on King's Quarter No. 17 that belonged to Peter Heyliger Sr. In his narrative, Oldendorph (1770:151) specifically states that "Nevo" and "Bethlehem" were two distinct, recently named, plantations.

The "Nevo" settlement on King's Quarter No. 15 was established by Johannes Heyliger, and/or his heirs, in the early 1750s. It does not appear on the Cronenborg-Jaegersberg map of 1750 (Figure 5). However, it is depicted with a cattle mill symbol on Beck's map of 1754 (Figure 8). The revised Beck map of 1767 places a windmill at the same location, as does the Kuffner map. Of course, there is the possibility that this settlement was misplaced by Jens Beck on his original 1754 map, and that this error was replicated on the revised Beck map and the Kuffner map. But, this possibility seems unlikely, partly because of the general reliability of the original Beck map with respect to settlement locations, and partly because the Kuffner map was drawn on the ground (possibly by Oldendorph himself) in 1766 or 1767, independent of the Beck map.

Unfortunately, the *matriklerne* (land and head tax records) cannot be used to definitely resolve the question of the settlement's location. Between 1751 and 1760, when the property was jointly owned, these records lump all inhabitants together and do not specify their location. Between 1761 and 1771 a settlement at Lower Bethlehem is recorded, but its location is not specified. The *matrikel* for 1772, which represents a deliberate attempt on the part of the Danish authorities to clearly define property ownership and settlement location throughout St. Croix, places the entire enslaved population belonging to Jan Jacob De Windt on King's Quarter No. 15 (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915:1772). The head tax return for 1772, on which the *matrikel* was based, provides the same information, listing a total of 336 enslaved people, including 30 Bosals.

The head tax returns for Bethlehem Old Works continued to locate the inhabitants of that plantation at Kings Quarter No. 15 through 1776. Thereafter, however, they, and the *matriklerne*, list the inhabitants at No. 14 (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915; Rigsarkivet 1772-1818), even though it is well documented from von Meley's plan of 1779 (Figure 9) and the Oxhlom map of 1794 (Figure 10) that the settlement was located on King's Quarter No. 16 from at least 1779 onwards. The inaccurate post-1776 listings call into question earlier listings. Nonetheless, in trying to date the relocation of the settlement from No. 15 to No. 16, the change in listing that occurred in 1777 is suggestive of some kind of shift.

In summary, cartographic and documentary evidence strongly suggests that the original Bethlehem Old Works settlement was located neither within King's Quarter No. 17 nor No. 16, as previously thought (Antonsen 1780, Ausherman, et. al. 1984; Lenik 2002), but within King's Quarter No. 15.

The Question of Occupation. Exactly when the Bethlehem Old Works settlement site on King's Quarter No. 16 was established has not been positively ascertained. The earliest cartographic evidence found for this settlement is von Meley's very detailed and reliable plan of Estate "Bethlehem" dated 1779 (Figure 9). This plan depicts three settlement sites within the boundaries of Estate Bethlehem. Bethlehem Old Works was clearly located in the northeast corner of Kings Quarter No. 16. The other two settlements, called "Middle Works" and "Lower Works", were located on Kings Quarter Nos. 25 and No. 33b respectively.

Given its name, it can be assumed that von Meley's "Old Works" settlement predated 1779 and was constructed prior to the "New Works"/"Middle Works" settlement. In this regard, it is interesting to note that the 1772 head tax return and matrikel for Bethlehem Middle Works lists only 15 free and enslaved residents, an indication that the settlement site for that property may have been under construction in that year. The 1773 return for Bethlehem New Works listed a total of 152 residents (Rigsarkivet 1772-1818:1772-1773).

Given the evidence presented above, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Bethlehem Old Works settlement at Kings Quarter No. 16 originated sometime between 1768 and 1778. If, however, the maps of 1754 and 1767 misplaced this settlement on Kings Quarter No. 15, the establishment of Bethlehem Old Works can be pushed back to sometime between the completion of the Cronenberg-Jaegersberg map in 1750 and its misplaced appearance on the original Beck map of 1754.

Jan Jacob De Windt most likely financed the Bethlehem Old Works settlement at King's Quarter No. 16, as well as the construction of the Middle Works and Lower Works settlements. Born on the Dutch island of St. Eustatius on July 17, 1745 (Hoff & Barta 1982), he inherited a substantial fortune from his father (Rigsarkivet n.d.), which he augmented by marriage to Elisabeth Heyliger and his own business activities as both planter and merchant - it is interesting to note that his mercantile pursuits included slave trading (*Royal Danish American Gazette* 1776). It appears that he settled on St. Croix in 1765, for in May of that year he received a Burgher Brief as a planter (Rigsarkivet 1744-1768:1765). By the mid-1770s, he was considered to be one of the richest men on the island (Rigsarkivet n.d.).

According to evidence in the land tax records, the De Windt family preferred living in Christiansted rather than on Lower Bethlehem, which helps explain the rather modest scale of the great house at Bethlehem Middle Works. Only in 1767-1768 and 1776-1778 are the owners listed as residing on their plantation (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915).

In 1779, Jan Jacob De Windt left St. Croix with his family, never to return. His wife Elisabeth, with whom he had produced several children, died in Holland in 1779. He then moved to Paris, where he died on May 15, 1789 (Hoff & Barta 1982). Upon his death, title to Estate Lower Bethlehem passed to his children, collectively referred to as "the heirs of J. J. De Windt" in the land tax records (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915).

The heirs of John Jacob De Windt retained ownership to Estate Lower Bethlehem between 1790 and 1831. During this period, one or more of them usually lived in the great house at Bethlehem Middle Works (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915; St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1775-1903). Assertions by some researchers (Antonsen (1980) and Ausherman, et. al. 1974) on behalf of ownership by the Heyliger family between 1790 and 1824 are based on their confusing Estate Upper Bethlehem (which the Heyligers did own) with Estate Lower Bethlehem.

In 1819, the heirs, then consisting of Peter De Windt, James De Windt, William De Windt, Judith (De Windt) de Rastignac and Peter Henry Adolphus De Windt, took out a sizeable mortgage on Estate Lower Bethlehem. Declining sugar prices and productivity in the 1820s resulted in further indebtedness, as did the cost of several capital improvements, such as the installation of an eight horsepower steam engine at Bethlehem Old Works between 1826 and 1830 (Rigsarkivet 1825, 1830). Finally, on August 1, 1831, the heavily encumbered property

was brought to auction, where it was purchased by its primary creditor, the firm of Benjamin de Forest & Company of New York (St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1775-1903).

3.2.3 CORPORATE PLANTATION 1831-1903

Acquisition by Benjamin de Forest & Company marked a shift from family to corporate ownership for Estate Lower Bethlehem. Henceforth, the property would be controlled by absentee businessmen with diversified portfolios, who endeavored, with varying degrees of success, to apply capitalistic business principles and practice to plantation management. Relying on resident managers to oversee day-to-day operations in accordance with corporate directives, these investors sought to maximize their profits through careful cost accounting, strategic capital investments, technological innovation, opportunistic marketing, government subsidies, and, of course, by extracting maximum labor productivity at the lowest possible cost.

The firm of Benjamin de Forest & Company made several improvements to the property during its twenty-seven year tenure. At Bethlehem Old Works an overseer's house and blacksmith shop were built in the 1830s, and the factory was modernized in the 1850s through the installation of a twenty horsepower steam engine (the largest on the island) and construction of a new curing house. The village was also upgraded through the construction of over fifteen double stone cottages. Sugar production increased from an average of 505,000 lbs. per year during 1820-1831 to 626,000 per annum between 1832-1858 (Hatchett 1862:13-14).

In 1850, Benjamin de Forest died. His company struggled on for a few years before being dissolved. In 1858, Lower Bethlehem was sold for \$150,000 cash to St. Croix merchant William Moore, who had been serving as its resident attorney for many years (Hatchett 1859:7; *St. Croix Avis* 1878). Moore was born in Ireland in 1797. He moved to St. Croix from New York City in 1825 and took up residence as an overseer at estate Jealousy. A few years later he moved to Frederiksted to go into the mercantile business. After working briefly as clerk to I. C. Whitmore, he opened his own firm specializing in trade with the United States firm (*St. Croix Avis* 1878). By the 1840s he had become one of the leading merchants of Frederiksted. On July 3, 1848, the day of the Emancipation Rebellion, his well stocked store on Strand Street was ransacked by an angry group of enslaved demonstrators "inspired by the...belief that Moore had advised the Fort Commander to 'shoot them down like dogs.'" (Hall 1994:219).

Following his purchase of Lower Bethlehem, Moore began acquiring other distressed plantations throughout St. Croix. By time of his death on August 10, 1878, he was the largest land owner on the island, holding title to over a dozen sugar plantations comprising a total of 6,300 acres and employing more than 2,000 laborers (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915; *St. Croix Avis* 1878).

William Moore's extensive holdings suffered considerable damage during the 1878 Fireburn Insurrection that broke out less than three months after his death. His large store on Strand Street in Frederiksted was burnt to the ground and nearly all of his plantations lost buildings, implements and standing cane. The damage at estate Lower Bethlehem alone amounted to \$17,000, which broke down as follows: \$9,000 damage to the factories, managers' houses, sick houses and stables at both Old Works and Middle Works; \$3,000 damage to the great house; \$1,000 damage to inventory; \$1,000 damage to plantation products and \$3000.00 damage to standing cane (Rigsarkivet 1878).

These losses, combined with other financial liabilities forced the executors of Moore's estate to auction off his plantation holdings. However, Estate Lower Bethlehem remained in his family. It was purchased in 1879 by Clendenen Graydon, a kinsman of widow Eliza Moore. A few weeks later title was transferred to Sidney O'Neale a relative or friend of the Moore family. Twenty months later, on January 20, 1882, O'Neale sold Lower Bethlehem, along with the surrounding estates Upper Bethlehem, Fredensborg and Jealousy to William Moore Carson, son of William Moore's eldest daughter, Matilda Graydon Moore and her husband Joseph Carson of Baltimore (St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1775-1903; St. Croix Avis 1975).

William Moore Carson was an absentee owner, who resided in New York City, where he was a partner in the firm of Moore, Wood & Company. He took a direct interest in the management of his Crucian plantations, making semi-annual inspection visits to St. Croix, which, among other things, enabled him to avoid paying the absentee tax. His uncle, William Moore, acted as his resident attorney and town agent at a fee of \$100.00 per month (Merwin 2001:37-39, 59).

William Moore Carson has been credited by some writers (Lewisohn 1970:333; Lawaetz 1991: 205; Lenik 2004:55) with building a new Central Factory at Bethlehem Old Works. This was not the case. What he did do, in 1883-1884, was to expand and modernize the existing factory through the introduction of new machinery, including a centrifugal and vacuum pan, which helped economize on fuel and allowed for the primary conversion of cane sugar into sugar crystals (Taylor 1888:174; Quin 1892:15; Bronsted, et. al. 1953). These improvements enabled him to process the cane from all five of his plantations at Bethlehem Old Works, and to cut production costs by shutting down the old factories at Bethlehem Middle Works, Jealousy, Upper Bethlehem and Fredensborg (Quin 1892:15). Carson's modernized factory at Bethlehem was considered to be as good as the more costly central factory at Richmond (Merwin 2001:75) and so encouraged similar modernization of factories at Barren Spot and Carlton (Taylor 1888:174).

3.2.4 DANISH CENTRAL FACTORY 1903-1934

In 1903, Carson sold his holdings on St. Croix to Jacob Lachmann, President of the West India Sugar Factory, a new corporation formed in Denmark, with government assistance, for the purpose of revitalizing the floundering Crucian sugar industry (St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1775-1903; Bronsted 1953). In 1904-1905, Lachmann tore down the old masonry factory and chimney at Bethlehem Old Works and erected a new central factory on virtually the same spot. The new factory consisted of a steel frame covered by corrugated iron and was outfitted with British and Austrian machinery. Also built at this time were a large sugar warehouse and several auxiliary buildings (Smith & Ames 1923).

When Jacob Lachmann died in 1909, the West India Sugar Factory took title to Lower Bethlehem, along with Jealousy, Upper Bethlehem and Fredensborg. During the next decade the concern bought up over forty additional plantations in Kings, Queens, Prince and Northside B Quarters, thereby increasing its land holdings to some 13,000 acres. Three quarters of these properties were acquired in 1912 from the New York firm of Bartram Brothers (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915), which had been operating a state-of-the-art central factory at Estate Lower Love since 1893 (Taylor 1905:12). Shortly after this transaction, the Lower Love factory was shut down and its machinery was sold off.

Starting in 1909, the West India Sugar Factory began constructing a narrow gauge railway for hauling cut cane from its many properties to the central factory at Bethlehem Old Works. Eventually, this railway extended over a length of twelve miles (Rollinson 2001:72).

Capitalized by private investors and the Danish Government, the West India Sugar Factory realized modest profits on its operations through 1920. However, during the next decade it suffered devastating losses in all but two years. In 1930, it declared bankruptcy and shut down its operations, throwing over one thousand field laborers and factory hands out of work (NARA 1942b). As part of the liquidation process, most of the properties purchased from the Bartram Brothers were sold in 1931 to the La Grange Central Factory near Frederiksted, the only concern still processing sugar on St. Croix.

3.3 AMERICAN CENTRAL FACTORY 1934-1966

In 1933, Governor Paul M. Pearson, Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes and other members of the Roosevelt administration "Brain Trust" decided that it would be a clever idea for the U. S. Government to resurrect the operations of the bankrupt West Indian Sugar Factory under a new guise, as a means of revitalizing the Crucian sugar industry.

While the motivations behind this scheme remain to be clarified by historical research, some speculation can be ventured as to their nature. One consideration was certainly the ending of prohibition in 1933, which persuaded the New Dealers that American alcohol dependency would render profitable an operation that had failed in the 1920s because it did not have legal access to that dependency. Another factor may have been American hubris, which helped persuade federal authorities that American business "know-how" could succeed where bumbling Danes had failed.

What did not influence their decision-making was any belief in the federal homestead program initiated in 1932 as a viable development strategy for St. Croix (Tyson 1991). Nor were they imbued with any moral or ideological concern about the American government being engaged in the business of promoting alcohol dependency, or any business at all, for that matter.

The official explanation put forward by the advocates of the scheme - that private capital could not be found to revive the sugar industry - was disingenuous at best. The La Grange Central Factory was investing in expansion of productive capacity, and the Central Sugar Factory at Richmond had been reopened in 1933 by a group of native Crucian businessmen.

Whatever their motives, Governor Pearson and the New Dealers resurrected the West Indian Sugar Factory under the new name of the Virgin Islands Company (VICO), capitalized it with federal funds, and promoted it as a mechanism for "effecting the economic rehabilitation of the Virgin Islands". When they couldn't persuade the municipal government of St. Croix to charter this benevolent savior into existence, they got the municipal council of St. Thomas-St. John to do so (Boyer 1983:172).

Thus it came to pass that on April 9, 1934 the Virgin Islands Company was chartered in St. Thomas to effect the salvation of St. Croix through sugar, a crop that for the previous two centuries years had brought only misery and oppression to the vast mass of Crucian people. VICO's Board of Directors, appointed by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, consisted of Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior, Oscar L. Chapman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior,

Paul M. Pearson, Governor of the U. S. Virgin Islands, along with two native Virgin Islanders D. Hamilton Jackson of St. Croix and Lionel Roberts of St. Thomas. Former government secretary, Boyd J. Brown was appointed general manager (Evans 1945:303).

In September 1934, the U. S. Government purchased for \$90,000 the non-liquidated holdings of the bankrupt West India Sugar Factory, consisting of Estate Lower Bethlehem, Estate Jealousy, Estate Upper Bethlehem and Est. Fredensborg and the central factory at Bethlehem Old Works. It also acquired the new reopened Central Sugar Factory at Richmond. The land (totaling 2210 acres) and the two mills were leased to VICO at no charge.

Acquisition of the Central Sugar Factory at Richmond was critical to the successful start-up of VICO. The central factory at Bethlehem Old Works, which had been shut down for over four years, required considerable rehabilitation before it could become operational. By contrast, the Central Sugar Factory had started producing and selling rum in 1933, using cane purchased from independent small cultivators (NARA 1942b). Thus, VICO was able to go into the rum business immediately by taking advantage of, and control over, local entrepreneurship. Dependency and not self-reliance was indeed the name of the game.

With "Government House Rum" sparking the engine of commerce (total rum production in 1935 was the highest in fifty years thanks to homesteaders and other small cane cultivators), VICO could turn its attention to clearing, planting and expanding its own cane fields, thereby lessening its dependency on homesteaders and other producers. By the end of 1936, it had acquired some 3000 additional acres from the La Grange Sugar Factory (NARA 1936), cleared 2,938 acres and brought 1,604 acres under cultivation. The Central Sugar Factory had been modernized and a contract had been let for the rehabilitation of the Bethlehem central factory. Overall, a total of 1,116 persons were employed by VICO on a full or part time basis, and work had begun on housing construction and rehabilitation in 12 villages, including the one at Bethlehem Old Works (Governor Report 1936:).

By 1940, VICO had assumed virtual control of the Crucian sugar industry. Its work force was cultivating 40 percent of the crop of sugar cane and the Company was processing almost 70 percent of the sugar and 80 percent of the rum produced on St. Croix (Governor Report 1940:18.) After the La Grange central factory shut down operations in 1941, VICO had a near monopoly of sugar and rum production. In addition, it raised cattle for export to Puerto Rico, and for slaughter at its own abattoir, operated a poultry farm at Estate Karaval and maintained a rock quarry and crusher (NARA 1942b). During World War II, it went into the electricity business. After losing money in all but one year between 1935 and 1942, it enjoyed three straight profitable years from 1943 to 1945, due largely to rum sales (Dookhan 1972:63) In 1944, its most profitable year ever, it finally managed to complete the rehabilitation of the Bethlehem Central factory and bring it back into operation for the first time since 1930 (NARA 1944).

With the ending of World War II, VICO once again became unprofitable and its operations had to be subsidized by increasing infusions of federal funds. Chronic budget deficits, coupled with questionable management practices, eventually led Congress to recharter the company as a federal corporation in 1949. Renamed the Virgin Islands Corporation, it was granted extraordinary powers and authorized to continue all VICO enterprises except the manufacture of alcoholic beverages (Dookhan 1972; Boyer 1983:176). The latter prohibition led the Directors to dispense with the Central Sugar Factory at Richmond, which was sold to the Paiewonsky

family (Paiewonsky 1990:70). Thereafter, the central factory at Bethlehem Old Works became the focal point of VICORP operations.

The loss of rum revenues after 1949 could not be compensated for by other operations, so VICORP suffered huge financial losses from that year onward. Meanwhile, loss of local labor to post-war tourism and residential development, forced VICORP to recruit and employ increasing numbers of immigrant laborers, thereby further undermining its claims to federal support (Dookhan 1972).

In May 1963, under pressure from Congress and the Paiewonsky administration, the Board of Directors of VICORP made a decision to discontinue sugar production at the end of the 1966 grinding season. In May 1964, the Board agreed to dispose of all its assets on St. Croix. As a result, 1,000 acres, which included the Study Area, were donated to the Government of the Virgin Islands. The remaining 2,352.25 acres were sub-divided into seventeen parcels and sold on bid along with the Bethlehem sugar factory. The Harvland Corporation of Los Angeles, a subsidiary of Harvey Alumina, Inc., purchased twelve parcels, comprising 2006.50 acres, along with the Bethlehem mill, with the condition that sugar production would continue through the 1966 season (Paiewonsky 1990:246).

In 1966, the last crop of sugar was taken off for processing at the Bethlehem mill. Shortly thereafter the mill was dismantled and sold to a Venezuelan company. Concurrently, roofs were torn off VICORP housing at Bethlehem Old Works and other villages in order to force the residents to move elsewhere. Since then, the Study Area has been virtually uninhabited and the structures associated with its long history as a cornerstone of the Crucian sugar industry have fallen into ruin, or have disappeared altogether through natural and human agency.

4. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES AND STRUCTURES IN THE STUDY AREA

4.1 Plantation Period 1754-1904

As noted above, the Study Area was a tropical wilderness up to 1750. Sometime between 1751 and 1779, and most likely between 1768 and 1779, the settlement complex for the Bethlehem Old Works sugar plantation was built within its boundaries. The earliest known representation of this settlement complex is the plan prepared by von Meley in 1779, which shows it situated in the northeastern corner of Kings Quarter No. 16 (Figure 9). All subsequent historical maps (Figures 10-18), place this settlement at the same location.

Von Meley's finely detailed plan shows the Bethlehem Old Works settlement complex as being spatially divided into two distinct components: an industrial area for the processing of sugar cane, and a village for the enslaved laborers. According to the legend on von Meley's plan, the industrial area contained a windmill, an animal mill, a sugar factory with cistern, a magus shed, cattle and mule pens, horse stable and kitchen. The village was located north of the industrial area. It contained forty rectangular-shaped houses, of wattle and daub construction, arranged in four rows of ten houses each. Garden plots for the villagers were located along the western side of the village. The village and the garden plots were enclosed by a masonry wall (Figure 9, Antonsen 1975). In 1780, this village housed a total of 166 enslaved people, or 4.15 persons per house (Rigsarkivet 1742-1915:1780).

Conspicuously absent from Bethlehem Old Works settlement depicted on von Meley's plan was housing for the owners and/or administrators. The owners' rather modest great house, was, and still is, located about 1/2 mile to the south, on a hill just above the Middle Works settlement complex, near the center of Kings Quarter No. 25. The managers' house for Lower Bethlehem was also situated within at the Middle Works settlement (Figure 9, Antonsen 1975). The three overseers who resided at Bethlehem Old Works at the time of von Meley's drawing (Rigsarkivet 1772-1821:1779) were probably lodged in rooms above the factory, a common practice in the eighteenth century.

The absence of any kind of dwelling house for the white residents in 1779 is further evidence that the Bethlehem Old Works settlement depicted by von Meley on Kings Quarter No. 16 was not the settlement, depicted on King's Quarter No. 15 by the maps of 1754, 1766, 1767, for that early settlement, as the only settlement of the period, would most certainly have had some sort of dwelling house for the owner or resident manager.

Comparison of the von Meley plan with subsequent representations of Bethlehem Old Works in 1856 (Figure 11) and 1904 (Figure 12) reveals that the spatial organization of the settlement site remained remarkably unchanged between 1779 and 1904. The very detailed and exact 1904 plan, most likely prepared by surveyor Schousboe, depicts a settlement complex with exactly the arrangement, and in the same location, as the von Meley plan.

While the spatial organization of the settlement site remained constant over the period 1779-1904, the architectural components of both the factory and village complexes were altered in accordance with changing management practices and technology. Some of these modifications can be ascertained from the contents of a series of inventories prepared for Bethlehem Old Works between 1803 and 1850.

The earliest inventory found for Bethlehem Old Works dates from 1803 (Rigsarkivet 1803, see Appendix 2). It lists almost the same set of buildings as the von Meley plan. The only recorded change being the expansion of the village from 40 to 48 houses of wattle and daub construction. In 1804, according to another source, the village consisted of 52 houses and occupied six acres of land. In that year, it was inhabited by 183 enslaved individuals, or 3.5 persons per house (Rigsarkivet 1804). The 1803 inventory gives the following dimensions for the factory: Boiling House, 66' x 20', with 11 coppers; Curing House 54' x 24'; Still House 47' x 22'.

Seven inventories prepared between 1821 and 1850 (see Appendices 3-8) show the following changes taking place within the factory complex during that period: 1) dismantling of the animal mill between 1822 and 1824; 2) addition of an 8 horsepower steam engine and steam chimney between 1826 and 1830; 3) construction of an aqueduct between 1826 and 1830; 4) construction of a blacksmith shop between 1831 and 1838 and 5) construction of a two-room overseers house between 1831 and 1838 (Rigsarkivet 1821, 1824, 1825, 1830, 1831, 1838, 1850). Some of these inventories refer to Bethlehem Old Works as "Lower Works", a designation that appears to have come into use at this time.

Within the village, 6 additional wattle and daub houses were built between 1804 and 1821 for a total of 58. In 1824 there were only 41 village houses, all of which were described as being in "very bad" condition. By 1825 the number had shrunk to 37. Between 1826 and 1838, 19 new, double-room, masonry houses with shingled roofs were constructed, while the old wattle and daub houses declined to 21, six of which were "barely tenable". By 1850, the village contained

a total of 43 double room, masonry houses, just three houses more than in 1779 (Rigsarkivet 1821, 1824, 1825, 1830, 1831, 1838, 1850).

The British Admiralty fieldmap of St. Croix, prepared between 1852 and 1854 (Figure 11) depicts the Bethlehem Old Works settlement complex with almost the same configuration and structures as the von Meley plan. The only obvious addition was a small building just east of the factory that was most likely the overseer's house of 1831-1838. The windmill, which was declared "unusable" in the 1850 Inventory, is not represented on this map.

Only one inventory of Estate Lower Bethlehem has been found for the period 1850-1922. Prepared in 1879 as part of William Moore's probate, this document makes no distinction between buildings found at Bethlehem Old Works and Middle Works. It does, however, list a single sugar factory, with the following components: "boiling, still and curing house, 1 steam engine 20 horse power, 4 clarifiers, 6 coppers, 6 coolers,...a still, 22 new butts, watermill, megoss house, smith shop." (Rigsarkivet 1879). This most certainly refers to the factory at Old Works, the 20 horse power mill having been added between 1850 and 1858 (Hatchett 1859:7). The factory at Middle Works probably ceased operating after being damaged during the Fireburn Insurrection. The 1879 inventory, without distinguishing location, went on to list the following structures: pens, a manager's house, an overseer's house, 52 laborer houses with 204 rooms.

An unsigned, undated scale drawing of estate Lower Bethlehem and the other estates acquired by Jacob Lachmann in 1903 is part of the map collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Figure 12). It is probably the property plan prepared by surveyor Schousboe in 1904 that is referred to in the literature of the period (Smith and Ames 1923; NARA 1932). This plan shows the Bethlehem Old Works settlement with the same basic configuration and buildings as the 1779 and 1851 representations, but with the following new additions: 1) a building with staircase that has been labeled the "manager's house" by Ausherman, et. al., 2) a cistern to the north of this building; 3) a small square building (probably the overseer's house) and 4) a long rectangular building, both of which were situated between the cistern and the factory and 5) the gabled stable just southwest of the manager's house. All of these structures, except the overseer's house, appear to have been constructed after the 1850 inventory, which does not make mention of them.

The village in 1904 contained four rows of houses as in 1779, but with only 4 to 6 houses in each row for a total of 20. Just above the northernmost row were four other houses, a large cistern, and a small square structure that may have been a kitchen. Nineteen village houses had vanished since 1850. Probably they had been destroyed by the hurricane of 1899, which is documented as having done considerable damage to the Old Works village and led to the construction of new barracks type housing with wooden walls (NARA 1935b:2).

In 1901, Bethlehem Old Works was inhabited by 205 residents of whom 127 were male and 78 were female. Immigrant workers, predominately male, accounted for 45 percent of all residents. The vast majority of these immigrants had been born in Barbados and St. Kitts. There was Puerto Rican and one Hindu from Calcutta. The manager was Irish, the overseer was from St. Thomas and the head sugar boiler was from St. Croix. These three men lived together, presumably in the manager's house. A total of 202 persons inhabited the village. Assuming that the village consisted of the 24 houses depicted on the 1904 drawing, an average of 8.5 persons inhabited each house. Most people (141 individuals or 70 percent of the population) lived in

family units ranging in size from 2 to 8 persons per family. Overall, the village community consisted of 45 families and 61 single persons (Rigsarkivet 1901).

The 1901 census return is the only return taken between 1850 and 1930 that clearly specifies the population of Bethlehem Old Works. All other censuses combine the populations of Bethlehem Old Works and Middle Works without differentiation. For this reason, demographic analysis of the Bethlehem Old Works village population between 1848 and 1930 has not been undertaken. American censuses after 1930 are restricted.

4.2 Danish Central Factory Period 1904-1934

The very detailed U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey field map prepared in 1921 (Figure 13) shows that the creation of the central factory did not alter the basic north-south division between the village and factory areas. The division actually became better defined by a new road (now Route 707) that was built to connect Bethlehem Old Works with Bethlehem Middle Works and the north shore road leading to Christiansted (Route 75). However, major alterations were effected within each of these complexes.

Within the factory complex, at least 13 or 14 new structures, including the factory building were erected between 1904 and 1921. Of these new structures, six were located west of the factory, one was located south of the factory, and six or seven were located east of the factory. Among the latter additions were two large rectangular structures, possibly row houses and one small square structure. Additionally, a new railway track ran on a north-south axis through the factory area.

An inventory prepared in 1923 (Smith and Ames 1923) listed the following buildings in the factory complex:

1. Central Factory Building built of structural steel with corrugated galvanized roof and siding;
2. Repair and wood working shop, 51' x 155' x 19' built of structural steel with corrugated galvanized roof and siding;
3. Sugar Warehouse, steel construction;
4. Laboratory, 40' x 40' x 15', brick walls, iron roof;
5. Two story office building, brick and wood, with iron roof;
6. Carpenter shop, 50' x 25' x 13', of wood with iron roof
7. Repair house for trucks and tractors, 75' x 37' x 10', of wood with iron roof;
8. Truck repair house, 25' x 18' x 11', of wood with iron roof;
9. Truck and trailer storage house, 41' x 33' x 11', of wood with iron roof and sides;
10. Lumber shed, 56' x 25' x 15', of wood with "Texaco" roof and sides;
11. Garage 17' x 24' x 10', of wood, with "Texaco" roof and sides;
12. Pumping plant for pumping water from river to factory.

The location of these structures is not specified. But, from reference to maps and other documentation, it can be determined that the central factory (No. 1) was built on the same spot as the old factory; the sugar warehouse (No. 3) was built over the old animal pens, and the two-story office building (No. 5) was the manager's house built between 1850 and 1904.

Factory expansion northward and construction of the new access road (Route 707) virtually obliterated the old village cluster built by Jan Jacob De Windt and sustained up through 1904.

By 1921, all that remained of this historic village were four houses, located just north of the new access road (Figure 13). Comparison of the U.S.C.G.S. fieldmap of 1921 (Figure 13) with the 1779, 1851 and 1904 representations of the village (Figures 9, 11-12) demonstrates that these four surviving cottages belonged to the northernmost row of village houses, which ran along the boundary line between Kings Quarter 15 and 16. The other three rows of houses were torn down and the land was incorporated into the factory complex, south of the new access road.

The new village was characterized by a dispersed and highly variegated housing pattern. Neatly arranged rows of small cottages with pathways and shared communal space had given way to several new long row houses and a scattering of smaller structures all of which were segmented by estate roads and railway tracks. Most, if not all, of the barracks type row houses, were of wooden construction (NARA 1935b:2). The village lost definition and cohesion in the wake of capitalistic industrialization.

4.3 American Central Factory Period 1934-1966

A plan of the Bethlehem Old Works settlement complex prepared in conjunction with its acquisition by the U. S. Government in 1934 (Figure 14) shows that the only major change that had taken place since 1921 was the construction of a large building (called "The Ginnery", see blow) immediately to the west of the sugar warehouse. An inventory associated with this map listed the following buildings at Bethlehem Old Works (NARA 1934):

1. Employee residence, 1 story, 37' x 38', 6 rooms, wall and frame, galvanized roof;
2. Employee residence, 1 story, 38' x 41', 7 rooms, wall and frame, galvanized roof;
3. Employee residence, 2 story, 23' x 54', 7 rooms, wall and frame, galvanized roof;
4. Employee residence, 1 story, 32' x 32', 3 rooms, wall and frame, galvanized roof;
5. Ginnery,* 3 story, 43' x 112', 3 rooms, wood, frame, galvanized sides and roof;
6. Sugar store house, 1 story, 69' x 208', 1 room, steel frame, galvanized sides and roof;
7. Garage, 1 story, 35' x 72', 1 room, steel frame, galvanized sides and roof;
8. Employees residence, 2 story, 40' x 56', 9 rooms, stone and wood, galvanized roof;
9. Stable, 1 story, 20' x 80', 1 room, stone, galvanized roof;
10. Office, 2 story, 22' x 54', 2 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
11. Cistern & storeroom, 1 story, 58' x 70', stone, galvanized roof;
12. Village house, 1 story, 111' x 22', 10 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
13. Village house, 1 story, 22' x 22', 4 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
14. Village house, 1 story, 92' x 22', 10 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
15. Locomotive shed, 1 story, 30' x 40', open, galvanized roof;
16. Village house, 1 story, 20' x 112', 11 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
17. Village house, 1 story, 20' x 112', 11 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
18. Village house, 62' x 24', 10 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
19. Village house, 16' x 148', 12 rooms, stone, galvanized roof;
20. Overseers house, 1 story, 24' x 24', 4 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
21. Village house, 1 story, 14' x 58', 5 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
22. Village house, 1 story, 99' x 14', 8 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
23. Village house, 1 story, 30' x 12', 3 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
24. Village house, 1 story, 24' x 12', 2 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
25. Village house, 1 story, 112' x 14', 8 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
26. Village house, 1 story, 44' x 14', 3 rooms, wood, galvanized roof;
27. Tractor shed & garage, 1 story, 70' x 30', open, wood, galvanized roof;

28. Steam plough shed, 1 story, 30' x 30', wood, galvanized roof;
29. Scale house, 1 story, 20' x 30', 1 room, wood, galvanized roof;
30. Cane shed, 36' x 54', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof;
31. Mill Building 36' x 23', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof;
32. Boiler house, 46' x 90', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof;
33. Boiling house, 82' x 93', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof;
34. Pan house, 43' x 85', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof;
35. Machine shop, 51' x 90', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof;
36. Carpenter shop, 51' x 66', steel frame, iron covered, galvanized roof.

The factory, equipped with one Krajewski crusher (from Fletcher, Derby, England), three 30" x 60" mills and 3 steam engines, had a capacity to handle 600 tons of cane per 24 hours (NARA 1934).

During the next twenty years, the Virgin Islands Company made many changes to the Bethlehem Old Works settlement complex. Most of these alterations are reflected on the USGS topographical map, which though printed in 1958 is based on aerial photographs taken in 1954 (Figure 15). Comparison of this representation with the USCGS fieldmap of 1921 (Figure 13) shows the following changes within the factory area:

1. an addition to the south side of the sugar warehouse;
2. construction of three rectangular buildings north of the central factory;
3. construction of two northern access roads into the factory area from Route 707 resulting in:
4. demolition of two small service buildings (Nos. 10 and 14 on Figure 13);
5. demolition of two or three small structures (Nos. 1, 3, 4 on Figure 13) near the entrance of the western access road;
6. erection of a shed on the north side of the western access road;

The village area had been significantly enlarged through construction of new housing on both sides of Route 707. By 1954, 15 new structures had been added to the village complex on the north side of Route 707 and 13 new houses had been built within the Study Area on the south side of Route 707.

Work on this new housing had begun in 1936. In 1935, VICO had found the housing at Bethlehem Old Works and the six other villages under its control "all in a dilapidated condition". Initially, it wanted to rehabilitate all this existing housing and began doing so at Bethlehem Old Works and Fredensborg (NARA 1935c). This approach was strongly opposed by Chief Municipal Physician Dr. James Knott on public health grounds. He declared that the seven old villages, inhabited by an average of 125 each, were "grossly overcrowded and congested", thus fostering a bad disease environment. Instead, Knott urged construction of new housing, each house with its own toilet and cistern, spread out in an "open village arrangement" similar to the Puerto Rican model (NARA 1935a; 1936).

At first VICO management resisted Knott's recommendations. But, in 1936, under pressure from Governor Lawrence Cramer, they relented. By the end of 1936, Governor Cramer reported that (Governor Reports 1930-1940:1936:8):

"An active program of housing construction for workers employed in the fields and factory of the company has been carried forward: 15 new village housing units accommodating 38 families and 8 single persons and 2 village community houses have been completed. Twenty-four old village houses have been reconstructed to accommodate 17 additional families. In various stages of completion are 18 additional units planned to accommodate 66 families and 32 single persons."

At Bethlehem Old Works, in early 1937, four new houses for the factory mechanics had been completed and five others for the field workers were under construction. Each house was designed to accommodate two families, with two rooms per family. Additionally, several old village houses had been rehabilitated and a community center had been built (NARA 1937). By 1940, as shown by Figure 16, most, if not all, of the concrete block houses within the Study Area had been constructed.

Although not reflected on the U.S. Geologic Survey map of 1982 (Figure 17), which shows the same set of structures as in 1954 (Figure 15), some additional housing and other construction must have taken place at Bethlehem Old Works between 1954 and 1966. A field and aerial survey undertaken by the Virgin Islands Planning Office in 1984 as part of a National Register nomination (Ausherman, et. al., 1984) disclosed the ruins of 46 houses and other structures within the north village area and 15 housing units within the Study Area, for a total of 61 structures, compared to 46 in the same areas in 1954. The Planning Office survey also identified a total of 25 structures within the factory area, compared to 16 in 1954. These results, depicted on Figure 18, indicate that 2 houses and 9 others structures may have been added to the Study Area between 1954 and 1966.

A photograph taken of Bethlehem Old Works in 1965 (Figure 19) shows most of the structures within the Study Area just before the entire operation was shut down and the site was abandoned. The small reservoir that appears south of the sugar warehouse in this photograph must also date from after 1954 as it does not appear on the U.S.G.S. map of that year.

The structural findings of the 1984 Planning Office site survey were displayed on a layout plan and described on accompanying sheets included in the nomination form (Figure 18). While this plan has many shortcomings - the structures are imprecisely located, they are not drawn to scale and most are incorrectly dated - it does have the virtue of depicting and numbering most, if not all, of the structures found on the site in 1984. What follows, in the form of a table, is an attempt to accurately date the structures displayed on the plan, using cartographic and documentary evidence presented in this report. While many of these structures have been destroyed by the construction of the National Guard Armory, it is hoped that this dating exercise will not only help to establish the historical significance of structural and archaeological remains within the Study Area, but will promote informed decision-making with respect to surviving historical and archaeological remains within the jurisdiction of the Virgin Islands National Guard.

Table 1: Estimate Dates of Standing Structures, Bethlehem Old Works 1984

Structure 1. Stable. This structure dates from 1880-1904. It is not shown on the Admiralty field map of 1856, nor is it mentioned in the inventory of 1879. In the 1904 survey it appears at

the eastern end of the eighteenth century animal pen. In the inventory of 1934, it is specifically identified as a "stable".

Structure 2. Shed. This structure dates after 1954, as it does not appear on the USGS topographical map printed in 1958.

Structure 3. Manager's House. This structure dates from 1856-1904. It is not shown on the Admiralty field map of 1856, nor is it mentioned in the inventory of 1850. It first appears on the survey map of 1904.

Structure 4. Warehouse. This is actually two separate structures. The northernmost structure is built of concrete and dates from 1934-1954. The southern structure is of masonry construction, and was built as a cistern between 1850 and 1904, probably at the same time as the manager's house. The concrete cistern attached to the eastern side of this building was probably added by VICO.

Structure 5. Machinery Repair Shop. This structure dates from 1934-1954. It appears to have been built over a smaller rectangular building built between 1904 and 1921.

Structure 6. Laboratory ?. This structure dates after 1954, as it does not appear on the USGS topographical map printed in 1958.

Structure 7. Quonset Hut?. Probably built between 1904-1921.

Structure 8. Factory. These are actually the remains of two separate structures that were linked by elevated walkway. The core of the northern structure was the central factory built in 1904-1905 and reconstructed in the early 1940s. The southern portion of this structure was built on top of the eighteenth century factory which was torn down in 1904-1905. The southern structure was the sugar warehouse built in 1904-1905 over the eighteenth century animal pens. The southern half of this building was added between 1940 and 1954.

Structure 9. Gable Roofed Building. This structure dates from 1934-1954.

Structure 10. Platform with Cisterns. This structure dates from 1934-1954.

Structure 11. Gateposts. These structures date from 1904-1921.

Structure 12. Gatekeeper's Residence. This structure dates from 1934-1954

Structure 13. Office/Residence. This structure dates from 1904-1921.

Structure 14. Outbuildings. These two structures date from 1904-1921.

Structure 15. Storage Shed. This structure dates from 1921-1934.

Structure 16. Pump Station. This structure dates from 1934-1954.

Structure 17. Storage Tank. This structure, a molasses tank, dates from 1934-1954. It was built over a earlier structure built between 1904 and 1921.

Structures 18-20. Outbuildings. These structures date from 1934-1954.

Structure 21. Smoke Stack. This structure was built in 1904-1905.

Structures 22-23. Outbuildings. These structures were built 1934-1954.

Structure 24. Outbuilding. This structure was built 1904-1921.

Structure 25. Outbuilding. This structure, which may incorporate a portion of an eighteenth century village house, was probably built 1934-1954.

Structure 26. Storage Tank. This water storage unit was originally built between 1851-1904.

Structures. 27-84. Workers' Cottages. Most of these structures were built between 1934 and 1965. A few, such as Structures 30, 50, 52 or 53, and 59, were built 1904-1921.

Structures 27 and 21 (west of Structure 5) Unidentified. One of these structures dates from 1921-1934; the other was probably built after 1954.

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6. APPENDICES 1-8

Appendix 1. Estate Bethlehem Chain of Title 1735-1964

1735-1751	King of Denmark
1751-1752	Peter Heyliger Sr. and Johannes Heyliger
1752-1760	Peter Heyliger Sr. and Johannes Heyliger heirs
1760-1766	Johannes Heyliger heirs
1767-1789	John Jacob DeWindt
1790-1830	John Jacob DeWindt heirs
1831-1858	Benjamin de Forest & Company of New York
1858-1878	William Moore
1878-1880	William Moore heirs
1880	Clendenen Graydon (April 12 – May 5)
1880-1882	Sidney O’Neale
1882-1903	William Moore Carson
1903-1909	Jacob Lachmann, President of West India Sugar Factory
1909-1917	West Indian Sugar Factory
1917-1934	St. Croix Sugar Factory
1934-1964	Government of the Unites States of America

Rigsarkivet 1742-1916, 1759; NARA 1934; St. Croix Recorder of Deeds 1775-1903; Paiewonsky 1990.

Appendix 2. Inventory 1803, March 19

Inventory of the property of the late <u>William Lloyd</u> of <u>Bethlehem</u> in <u>North Carolina</u> in the year 1803.			
384 Acres of Cane Land	a 6 th 22 nd 26 th 28 th		139,000
181 do in Crofton & Pasture	a 10 th		18,100
1 Boiling House 66 feet long & 26 feet broad with 11 Coppers			
Or. A Curing House 54 feet by 22, A Stice House 44.			
by 22 ft broad. Or. Or.			24,000
1 Wind Mill out of repair			11,000
1 Cattle Mill with Stone Round			1,500
1 Cattle & Mule Pen & Magaz. House			2,000
15 pair of Crows	2 10 th		150
a Horse Cattle Pen			150
48 Negroe House	a 70 th		3,360
Negroe Men.		Grand	42,500
1 Alexander	300	15 Guitt	200
2 Hippolyte	500	16 Guitt	500
3 Baptist	750	17 Sack	300
4 Ben run away		18 Isaac	600
5 Ben	200	19 Jacob	400
6 Ben	000	20 Jimmie	250
7 B. da. 2	250	21 Sepray	200
8 B. da. 2	400	22 Joe	600
9 Champain	500	23 John	200
10 B. da. 2	200	24 West	500
11 B. cy	500	25 London	400
12 Dublin	150	26 Lucas	500
13 Emanuel	100	27 Rich	500
14 Fortune	500	28 Phillis	600
	42,500		10,850
			120,410

Appendix 3. Inventory 1821, December 1

565 Acres of Land at <u>old works</u> - of which -		140 "
384. of Cane Land	at 425 ft	163200
181. of provisions & pasture Land	at 200 ft	36200
Boiling house with two sets containing 9 Sugar boilers, Charing house, & still house all of stone		
A windmill of stone in complete order		11500 "
A cattle mill round		500 "
Cattle and mule pens of stone		800 "
A waggon, a box cart and trash cart		400 "
58 Negro houses	at 75	4350 "
3 mules		500 "
9 iron Bulls		1137 "
10 pair of Crooks	at 10 ft	100 "
3 small after horses & 1 ass		150 "
Negroes		503804 "
Men		
Ant brought over - \$12850		
1 David mives	1950 Cuts	700 26
2 Champagn	100 Richard	600 27
3 Copenhagen	300 Pilly	600 28
4 Crook	600 Oliver	600 29
5 Casar	300 Nick	600 30
6 David	200 Jerry	600 31
7 David	800 George	600 32
8 December	450 Joe	400 33
9 Fortune	500 Ellick	400 34
10 Friday	300 Lewis	700 35
11 George	600 Petrus	700 36
12 Harry	800 Anthony	700 37
13 Jack Neale	700 Damond	700 38
14 Johnna	600 George	700 39
15 Lewy	300 Petro	500 40
16 Newby	150 Adam	600 41
17 Nicky	700 Isaac	600 42
18 Peter	200 William	600 43
19 Quashy	250 Charles	800 44
20 Quashy	650 George	550 45
21		

16 pair Crooks		150..
12 yokes & 6 Bull Cart Chains / belonging to the Carts /		
b) <u>Lower Works</u>		
a sett of Works with two sett Coppers & Stills &c		10000..
The Works requiring Shingling; Stills very bad.		
and Liqueur Catts good for nothing.		
a Windmill		3000..
1 Bull Cart		150..
66 76 lb. Sugar a 62.4c. 24 Bl. a 14.4c.		
2 Rumet Run a 50 p.		
41 Negroe Houses very bad a 25 p.		1025..
The Estate contain 1260 acres of Land of which		
is in cane 630 acres at 340.		220500..
188 acres fit for cane but not cultivated a 150.		28200..
442 acres in Pasture a 50 p.		22100..
		112250 27900..
<u>Negroes.</u>		
1 Adam	500. Newport	500.00
2 Abel	150. Peter	000
3 Alick	150. 16 Peter	450.
4 Baptist	300. 17 Polidor	500.
5 Cain	450. 18 Sampson	000.
6 Charles run away	000. 19 Toby	300.
7 Dick	150. 20 Talarend?	500.
8 Jack	500. 21 Samuel	800.
9 January	350. 22 Smith	600.
10 Joe	300. 23 Abraham	700.
11 Josias	500. 24 Joe Cooper?	600.
12 Kingab?	600. 25 Sam	500.
13 Kitt	350. 26 Martin	500.
carried over	4300.	carried over 9950.

Appendix 5. Inventory 1825, December 22

330 Acres in canes		Am't brought over	P 120,000	340
188 Acres fit for cane, but not cultivated		of 275	98750	
		a 100	18,800	
4442 8 in pasturage, Provisions, tangers etc a 50			22,100	
a At Middle works				
Set of works consisting of boiling, curing & still houses with Utensils etc			18,000	
A Windmill			10,000	
Dwelling house with out Offices			5,000	
A Silkhhouse			1,000	
Managers house with out Offices			4,000	
48 Negro houses		a 37. 4	1,800	
1 Gray and a new waggon			500	
2 Box Carts			50	
4 Bull Carts 3 good and 1 bad			1,000	
Cattle pens			150	
24 Crooks (pairs)		a 10 ft	240	
b At Lower works				
Set of works consisting of boiling, curing & still houses with Utensils etc			15,000	
A Windmill			10,000	
37 Negro houses		a 37	1,387. 4	
30 Mules		a 120	5,625	
42 Bulls		a 100 ft	4,200	
10 Cows		a 40 ft	625	
15 Calves		a 24 ft	562. 4	
3 Purses			212. 4	
			P 331,002. 4	
Negroes				
1 Abel	P 000	Am't brought over	P 2100	
2 Alick	100			
3 Apollo	300	12 Manuel	400	
4 Baptist	350	13 Jack	650	
5 Bastian	300	14 January	100	
6 Cane	150	15 Joe	200	
7 Christian	450	16 Isaac	500	
8 Charles	000	17 Kitt	200	
9 Champain	350	18 Kitt	300	
10 Daniel - absent		19 Martin	500	
11 Dick	100	20 Newfort	000	
Am't carried over		P 2100	Am't carried over	P 4950
				331,002. 4

Appendix 6. Inventory 1830, February 8

225 in pasturage & fallow etc	a 75	39375
the works consisting of building curing & still houses at <u>Stanhurst</u>		13700
Windmill	a 8	8500
2 spare points		140
1 spare stock		62.4
The works of at Middle works		11500
Windmill		8500
2 spare stocks	a 43p	150
Watermill complete		1500
Steam Engine at old works with house and all pipes etc		11000
Agreduct at s & s with pipes		10000
95 empty furnitions at both places	a 4p	593.6
Dwelling house and out offices		3500
40 Mules	a 100p	6250
9 Cows	a 24p	337.4
3 Porses	a 40p	187.4
1 Horse		125
20 working cattle	a 60	1875
16 Cows	a 32	800
6 cattle 2 years old	a 24	225
16 Calves	a 10	250
2 Waggon		400
Am' carried over		304971 2
4 Bull carts	a 125	500
3 Box carts & 1 Dray	a 100	400
25 pairs of Carts	a 10p	250
10 New negro houses at middle works	a 150	1500
24 old s	at s viz 12 a 100, 2 a 250 & 10 a 35	2050
19 new negro houses at old works	a 150	2850
15 old s	a 35	525
34 Third's Coals	a 6p	318.6
4 Guys & 3 Blocks		125
A large Auster		25
Sick House		500
Managers house		1000
1300 r.o. Slaves	a 32p	65
200 w.o. Slaves	a 45p	21.0 9
30 w.o. Slaves	a 3p	187.4
1000 w.o. Slaves	a 64p	100

Appendix 7. Inventory 1831, January 11

Inventory		186
Articles in on Estate Lower Dordrecht		
1125 Acres of Land, of which		
600 Acres of Can Land	a 2000	180000.00
525 Acres of pasture Land	a 75	39375.00
The Worms, consisting of Boding, Curing & Millstone at 10000		10000.00
Windmill with 2 spare parts		9000.00
Steam Engine & 3 Mill Cords		9000.00
A gut duct		6000.00
100 Worms at middle worm		16000.00
Wind Mill & 2 spare parts at 100		9000.00
Water Mill complete		3000.00
50 Horses	a 1000	7812.40
7 Cows	a 2000	140.00
18 Working Cattle		1800.00
16 Cows	a 5000	800.00
10 Cattle - 2 years old		1000.00
9 Calves		180.00
3 Horses		300.00
2 Waggon		650.00
4 Bull Carts		800.00
3 Boat 100 & 1 Dray		400.00
25 pair Crows		125.00
10 New negro Houses at middle worm		3000.00
24 old 100 100 at 100		4800.00
24 new 100 100 at 10000		7200.00
15 old 100 100 at 100		1500.00
1 Bull, 4 Cows & 3 Poles		200.00
A large Mortar		25.00
Dwellinghouse with Stables & Outbuildings		5000.00
Workmen's house & Kitchen		1200.00
Hospital		1000.00
Negroes		
1 David	1000	1000
2 Copenhagen	500	500
3 Corn	500	500
4 Caesar	500	500
5 Christian	500	500
6 Charles	500	500
7 Diamond	500	500
8 David	500	500
9 Fortune	500	500
10 David	500	500
11 George	500	500
12 Cornelius	500	500
13 Ferdinand	500	500
14 Harry	500	500
15 George	500	500
16 Anthony	500	500
17 Stephen	500	500
18 George	500	500
Total		322,107.40

Appendix 8. Inventory 1838, January 11

Transport .. Pr		34925	" "	102
Lower of Old Works				
a Set of works in good order		14000	" "	
a Windmill		7000	" "	
a Steam Engine		2500	" "	
an overseers house		500	" "	
a blacksmiths Shop		200	" "	
good walled pens		600	" "	
Aqueduct		300	" "	
a Mule Wagon		350	" "	
2 bull carts in bad order		100	" "	
4 box carts at \$100 — 2 a 25 Pr.		450	" "	
a Mule drey		50	" "	
12 pr. Crooks a 10 Pr.		120	" "	
19 double Negro houses Shingled & floored at Pr. 300		5700	" "	
15 " " Thatched " at Pr. 200		3000	" "	
6 " " barely tenantable			" "	
25 Mules	at \$100	3906	2	"
2 " " very old				
5 blind Bulls	at \$12	93	6	"
6 indifferent Cows	at \$18	168	6	"
12 young bulls	at \$24	450		"
5 heifers	at \$18	140	5	"
1 Ass				"
1 Pony				"
		Total		
		Pr. 75,554 8.8.		